

**CHARANKE AND HIP HOP: THE ARGUMENT FOR RE-STORYING THE
EDUCATION OF AINU IN DIASPORA THROUGH PERFORMANCE
ETHNOGRAPHY**

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ABSTRACT

The Ainu are recognized as an Indigenous people across the areas of Japan known as Hokkaido and Honshu, as well as the areas of Russia called Sakhalin, Kurile, and Kamchatka. In this research, the term *Ainu in Diaspora* refers to the distinct cultural identity of Ainu transnationals who share Ainu heritage and cultural identity, despite being generationally removed from their ancestral homeland. The distinct cultural identity of Ainu in Diaspora is often compromised within Japanese transnational communities due to a long history of Ainu being dehumanized and forcibly assimilated into the Japanese population through formalized systems of schooling. The purpose of this study is to tell the stories and lived experiences of five Ainu in Diaspora with autobiographic accounts as told by a researcher who is also a member of this community. In this study, the researcher uses a distinctly Ainu in Diaspora theoretical lens to describe the phenomena of knowledge-sharing between Indigenous communities who enter into mutually beneficial relationships to sustain cultural and spiritual identity. Cultural identity is often knowledge transferred outside of formal educational settings by the Knowledge Keepers through storytelling, art, and music. In keeping true to transformative research approaches, the Moshiri model normalizes the shamanic nature of the Ainu in Diaspora worldview as a methodological frame through the process of narrative inquiry. Through art-integrated *charanke* (Ainu process of argument) and Hip Hop, a multimedia performance ethnography emerged to display the complex ways in which the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers perpetuate the cultural identity of this community, both in and out of formal educational spaces. Telling these stories is important because of the lack of academic literature on this population. In addition, the stories shared by the Ainu in Diaspora speak to the erasure of marginalized people within formal institutions of education who desire visibility.

IYAIYAIKERE (THANK YOU)

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To my Dad: When I was a little girl, we would talk for hours about our history. You filled me with so much pride in my cultural identity. This is the Fuji legacy... I carry it on with pride.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER 1: AINU NENO AN AINU: HONORING SPIRIT IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH.....	1
Approach.....	4
A Note on Style and Language	8
The Birth of a Killer Whale, the Birth of a Charanke.....	9
Theoretical Framework	12
Bricolage	13
Survivance.....	13
Critical Consciousness in Education.....	15
Critical Race Theory	15
Tribal Critical Race Theory	16
Ainu Neno An Ainu	16
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	20
The Ainu Ethnicity.....	20
The Overwriting of a Cultural Identity	23
Ainu Double Consciousness	25
Ainu in Diaspora	26
The Miseducation of Ainu in Diaspora.....	28
CHAPTER 3: METHODS	34
Pokna Moshiri.....	43
Ainu Moshiri.....	45
Kamuy Moshiri	46
The Sharing of Stories	46
Positionality	48
Charanke	54
Performance Ethnography	56
Hip Hop and Performance	57
My Position to Hip Hop.....	61
Participants.....	64
Tara the Blogger	65
Ed the Biker	66
Ayaka of the Sacred Mountains.....	67
Dr. Kaizawa	69
Jo the Scholar	70
Procedures.....	71
Step 1: The Dialogic Interview	71

Step 2: Narrative Inquiry	75
Step 3: Analysis and Storying	76
Step 4: Story Sharing Through Performance	81
Step 5: Charanke-Engaging With Social Media Feedback	83
CHAPTER 4: AINU IN DIASPORA	85
The Opening.....	86
Act 1: Tara the Blogger: The Synchronicity of Salmon	88
The Education of the Ainu Diaspora Genealogy: Part 1.....	90
Questions About Asian Settler Colonialism	92
Act 2: Ed the Biker on the Term “Japanese Indian”	95
Act 3: Tara the Blogger – Finding Value in Finding Ainu	98
Act 4: Jo the Scholar – From the Plantation Town to the University	103
Act 5: Dr. Kaizawa and the Ainu/Japanese American Identity	107
Act 6: Ayaka and the Sacred Mountains.....	109
The Education of the Ainu Diaspora Genealogy: Part 2.....	112
CHAPTER 5: AINU NENO AN AINU IN PRACTICE.....	117
Healing Through Affinity	118
The Meiji Lens, Education, and the Hawai‘i Context	120
Indigenous Technology and the Role of Social Media	125
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	130
The Research Process	132
Future Research: Culturally and Spiritually Sustaining Pedagogy	137
REFERENCES	141
GLOSSARY	150
APPENDIX: FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOL	153

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.Moshiri Model	39
Table 2. Memo and Resulting Lyrics.....	72
Table 3. Themes and Metaphor	80

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Ainu Territories	1
Figure 2. Ainu Photos	6
Figure 3. Repun Kamuy	9
Figure 4. Only Japanese May Buy Japanese Rice. Maui News, July 5, 1918.	11
Figure 5. Tsuishikari Ordinary School Circa 1880	32
Figure 6. Moshiri Model	37
Figure 7. YouTube Screen Shot of We Are Ainu! (Hip-Hop Ethnography)	42
Figure 8. Identity	48
Figure 9. The Ka‘iulani Elementary School	50
Figure 10. Ainu from Hokkaido Visit a Hawaiian Immersion School	53
Figure 11. Childhood Pictures	61
Figure 12. Could Have Been Born Anywhere	88
Figure 13. Susumu “Peanut” Sodekani	90
Figure 14. Susumu & Mary	92
Figure 15. Embracing the Repun Kamuy	94
Figure 16. Ainu Biker	95
Figure 17. Ainu Pride	97
Figure 18. Ainu Fashion	100
Figure 19. Ainu Leather Jacket Designs	101
Figure 20. Ainu in Diaspora Flag	103
Figure 21. Ainu Scholar	104
Figure 22. Grandma Pam	106
Figure 23. Ainu Solidarity With Maunakea	112
Figure 24. Facebook Feedback	127

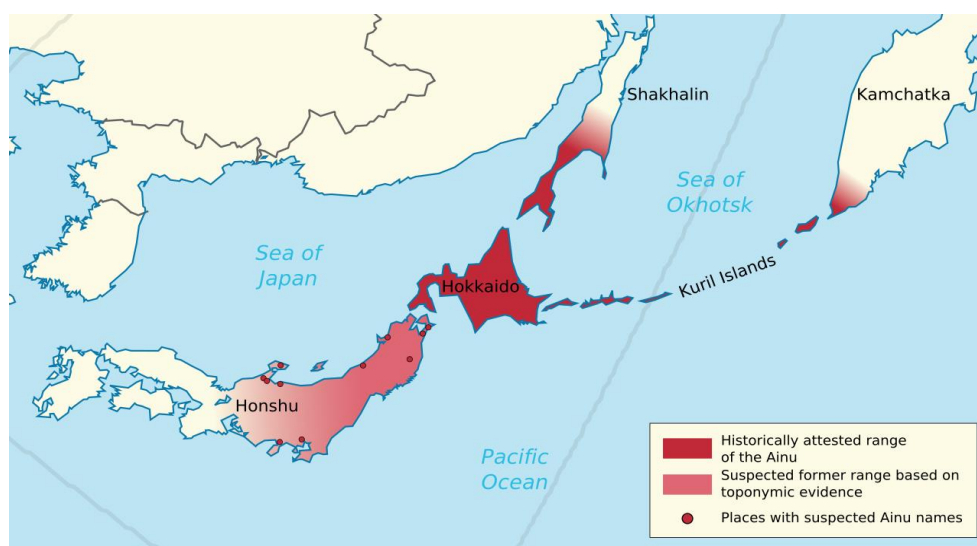
CHAPTER 1: AINU NENO AN AINU: HONORING SPIRIT IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The word uko means “mutually” and the word charanke means to “let words fall.” The compound word of uko-charanke thus refers to the Ainu custom of settling differences by arguing exhaustively. It also implies that Ainu do not solve disputes with violence.

—Kayano Shigeru, *Our Land Was a Forest: An Ainu Memoir*, 1994

The Ainu people are an Indigenous people across the areas of Japan known as Hokkaido and Honshu, as well as the Russian areas of Sakhalin, Kurile, and Kamchatka (Dubreuil, 2007). The Ainu display striking cultural and artistic similarities to varying Indigenous people of the Pacific and Pacific Northwest.

Figure 1. Ainu Territories



Note. From W. Fitzhugh and C. Dubreuil (Eds.), *Ainu Territories: Ainu Spirit of Northern People*. Copyright 1999 Arctic Studies Centre National Museum of Natural History Smithsonian Institute, in association with the University of Washington Press.

Historically, the Ainu are known for their diverse dialect, genetic differences, shamanistic practices, rituals, food, art, housing, and oral histories. In modern times, many Ainu have mixed with other subpopulations of Ainu and *Wajin* (East Asian colonizers of the Japanese archipelago), forcibly assimilated into the dominant culture of the nations of Japan and Russia upon the imposition of national boundaries on the Indigenous clans (Dubreuil, 2007; Tanaka, 2000). The Ainu contend with academic articles by non-Ainu scholars who label the community as “endangered” and even “extinct.” The ability of the Ainu to story themselves through creative literacies both spoken and unspoken has been a crucial component of the perseverance of the Ainu cultural identity.

The popular narrative is that Ainu reside exclusively in Hokkaido, Japan. The term *diaspora* has received use in the context of the Ainu people to discuss those living in the Tokyo area (Ertle, 2015). However, in this dissertation, the term *Ainu in Diaspora* is capitalized in respect to the distinct cultural identity of this population of people who share Ainu heritage and identity, are transnationals, and, in many cases, are generationally removed from Ainu Moshiri (the ancestral homeland). In ancient Greece, *diaspora* indicated migration, colonization, and a history of destruction. In Hebrew, *diaspora* pertained to the resettlement of the Jews outside of Palestine, as well as the forced movement of Africans around the world during the time of slavery. Although applied to various groups of people over generations, in the 1980s, *diaspora* came to describe people who dispersed from their homeland.

Although the literature describes ancient Japan as a place rich in deep, Indigenous culture, being a *dojin* (a pejorative term for an Indigenous person; Dubreuil, 2007) can prevent social mobility in current-day Japan. The history between the Wajin and Ainu often complicates the emotional well-being of Ainu in Diaspora who live among Japanese diasporic communities.

Ainu men were historically subjugated to slave-like labor, whereas Wajin settlers sexually assaulted Ainu females of all ages without legal recourse (Lewallen, 2016). In the Edo and Meiji periods, Ainu were considered subhuman, with Japanese individuals perpetuating a narrative that Ainu were descendants of dogs (Dubreuil, 2017).

The purpose of this study is to tell the stories and lived experiences of five Ainu in Diaspora with a researcher response. As a member of this community, I have found my cultural identity seeded in orality, as no known academic publications document generational populations of Ainu in Diaspora. Telling these stories, as well as sharing my location within these stories, is important because of the lack of academic literature on Ainu in Diaspora who adhere to a cultural identity virtually invisible within educational spheres. Cultural identity is often knowledge transferred outside of formal educational settings by the Knowledge Keepers of that culture. Some Knowledge Keepers have formal credentials as educators, with others not considered educators in the Western or Japanese contexts. The role of the Knowledge Keeper is to transmit awareness and understanding through stories. In the modern context, these stories could appear on social media or might surface through art, fashion, music, and poetry, among other means.

A Knowledge Keeper, in the First Nations context, is a title bestowed upon a person to honor their specific “gifts, talent, or knowledge they possess” (Chudiak, 2018, p. 4) as one who engages in the story sharing process in authentic and meaningful ways to build understanding. The Ontario College of Teachers (2014) acknowledged that every child, parent, and teacher is a Knowledge Keeper, with educators responsible for transferring passed-down knowledge to the students. For this research project, I looked for members of the community of Ainu in Diaspora

who were Knowledge Keepers in that they engaged in storying their experience as Indigenous people in diaspora in some way.

In keeping true to transformative approaches to research as described by Mertens (2010), I designed this study with art-integrated methodologies and the Indigenous Ainu perspective of *charanke* (traditional process of spoken argument) to foster a performative narrative of resistance. To facilitate social justice outcomes, I worked with the participants to gather their stories, facilitated the re-storying process of the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity, and then disseminated ethnographic performances. Despite the absence of Ainu in Diaspora from the written literature, I noticed other Ainu in Diaspora establishing their presence in oral literature through various forms of art, fashion, and technology. Because Ainu heritage holds a stigma for Ainu emigrants, the suppression of Ainu identity for the diaspora community has created a challenge for Ainu to find each other and build community. The narrative of the Ainu in Diaspora is a counter-story to that of the extinct native, as well as a means of visibility. As stories surface, the community surfaces as a whole. I engaged in the process of collecting ethnographic data with the following research question in mind: In what ways do Ainu in Diaspora act as Knowledge Keepers to embody their own cultural identity and re-story their presence, both in and out of educational spaces?

Approach

According to Chilisa (2012), the literature review plays an essential role in conceptualizing research topics; however,

One major limitation of this approach is that the concepts, theories, and the research studies conducted and the literature on former colonized societies have been written by missionaries, travelers, navigators, historians, anthropologists, and so on, who in most

cases looked on the researched as objects with no voice in how they were described and discussed. (p. 59)

Chilisa (2012) highlighted the phenomena of large bodies of literature on Indigenous populations skewed by the lens of the authors who, in many cases, were not themselves Indigenous. These authors assumed superiority over the Indigenous populations about whom they wrote. The majority of the early information recorded on the Ainu incorporated demeaning language in discussions of the Ainu phenotype and cultural practices. As I will later describe, early authors who documented Ainu life benefitted from their objectification and consumerism of Ainu culture and people. Individuals outside of the Ainu community who do not have handed-down oral histories about Ainu resistance would have a difficult time accessing information about how Ainu resisted imperialism and settler colonialism. The narratives of resistance among those fighting colonialism have been lost in the preponderance of histories presented through the skewed gaze of settlers.

In this postcard image in Figure 2, Fitzhugh and Dubreuil (1999), raise the question of whether or not this Ainu man was posed standing on the horse by a photographer. The authors also present the theory that this Ainu man was “playing a joke on the naïve Japanese photographer” (p.95), as no standing riding style has ever been practiced by the Ainu. For the purpose and context of this research, it was important to look beyond the textual documentation of Ainu from colonial perspectives. I therefore carefully examined archival photographs, as well as artistic pictorials and familial photographs submitted by my participants to see what narratives of resistance might surface from those images. In the archival photograph of this Ainu man standing on a horse, one may see an Ainu who became a side show attraction for the colonial gaze. However, from the Ainu lens, this is quite possibly photographic documentation of an Ainu

Figure 2. Ainu Photos



who is guarding his authentic practices from exploitation. There is a long history of Ainu harnessing the arts to resist colonial oppression. In this research, pictures, art, music, and oral story-sharing are ways in which I re-story Ainu history to convey the nuances which the colonial lens may otherwise miss in text.

Patel (2016) warned educational researchers to be cautious of the colonial lens examining Indigenous people in academic literature. To transfer the stories of Indigenous communities into text is complex (Kovach, 2009). Kovach (2009) described the “ache” of putting Indigenous stories into “written text” because the knowledge-sharing norms in the culture of Western academics often “conflict with the interpretive teaching method assumed in Indigenous stories” (p. 101). Additionally, Kovach indicated the need to link Indigenous epistemologies that honor orality and story within Indigenous research methods to avoid a process where “once a story is shared and recorded, ‘facts’ are extracted” (p. 101), with the remaining data deemed unnecessary by the researcher disregarded. Kovach further suggested that researchers dissecting the stories shared with them in this matter is equivalent to acts of plundering that leave the storyteller’s voice silenced, and that “bits are extracted to meet empirical academic needs and the story dies” (p. 101). To honor Indigenous epistemologies in research, it then becomes imperative to recognize that keeping stories alive is an important aspect of the Indigenous research paradigm. The performance of rich, oral nuances and deeper holistic meanings within the story get lost with the scriptural transfer of oral story-sharing to meet Westernized academic standards.

Storytelling is an important part of this dissertation. Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers use stories as a mechanism for knowledge sharing. I reflected on how this research could contribute to Ainu culture as opposed to consuming Ainu culture. In an effort to honor Indigenous epistemologies and practices of the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers, I write this dissertation to fulfill the norms of the academy, performing to acknowledge that orality honors Indigenous voice in a way that textual documentation cannot.

In response to these critiques, this study breaks from the traditional dissertation format. In Chapter 1, I explore theories that influenced my work and how those theories inspired the Ainu Neno An Ainu Framework of Spiritual Affinity. In Chapter 2, I discuss the extant literature that addresses Ainu history, identity, and educational contexts. Chapter 3 includes a discussion of my method, followed by the ethnographic performance text introduced in Chapter 4, which I created through interpretive analysis. In Chapter 5, I explore my recommendations, and implications, and finally in Chapter 6, I discuss my research conclusions. Because there is currently no academic literature on the Ainu in Diaspora outside of the Japanese archipelago, I chose to weave literature, historical photographs, artifact photographs submitted by my participants, and photographs of art created by my participants, throughout this dissertation. These photos are presented to the readers of this dissertation as a backdrop to the narratives shared by these Ainu in Diaspora. I use a variety of art-based story sharing approaches, including vignettes, written pieces as well as written pieces stylistic of the spoken word and hip-hop genres, in an attempt to communicate the nuances of the cultural identity of the Ainu in Diaspora which otherwise could not have been represented textually.

A Note on Style and Language

To honor the genealogy of work before this dissertation by authors such as Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Atleo (2008), Chilisa (2012) Patel (2016), and Kovach (2009), who have all harnessed language and writing stylistics to expand academic epistemologies, I chose to keep in line with the many scholars representing Hawai‘i, Aotearoa, the First Nations of Canada, Aboriginal Australia, Africa and Ainu Moshiri by treating the vocabulary of *Indigenous*, *Aboriginal*, and *Native* as proper nouns. In doing so, I am attempting to standardize the usage of these terms adopted by many people of varying ethnicities who have seen how they identify in their mother tongues obscured due to colonization. In the context of this dissertation, I use language to acknowledge shared oratory culture, worldview, and spiritual beliefs and practices, although the localized traditions, ethnicities, and identities will vary. Additionally, I capitalize *Ainu in Diaspora* to honor the common cultural and ethnic identity of this population. I have also chosen to capitalize *Knowledge Keeper* to honor the genealogy of this term as an honorific title, which is held by those in the First Nations of Canada who preserve and perpetuate cultural identity through story-sharing. In the context of this dissertation, I am applying the First Nations concept of the importance of Knowledge Keepers to the Ainu in Diaspora.

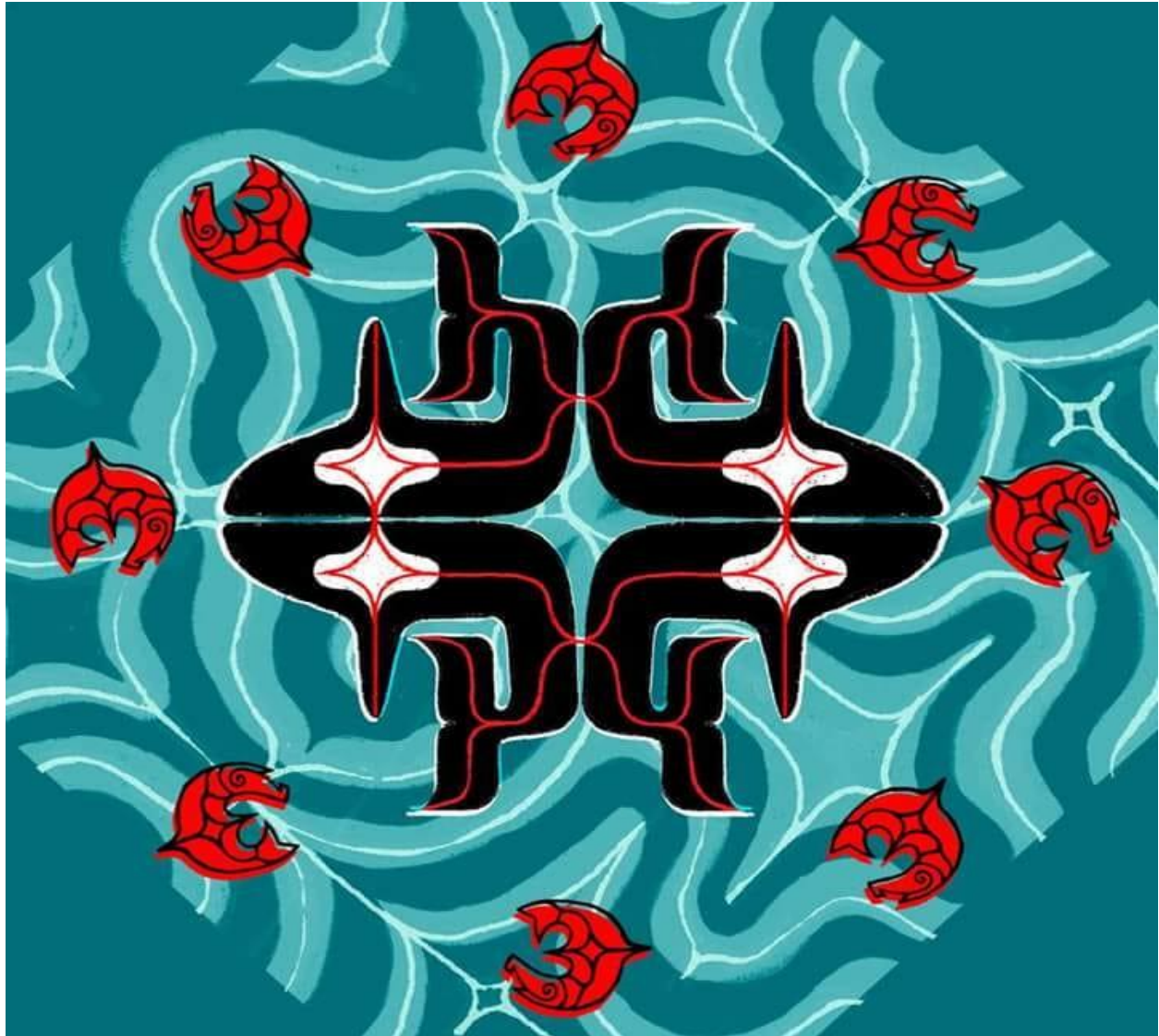
I also choose to capitalize Hip Hop to signify its meaning as a culture. When I refer to the genre of music inspired by Hip Hop culture, it is textually distinguished as being written *hip-hop*. Differentiating Hip Hop as a culture and hip-hop as a musical genre is important, because an individual can participate in the consumerism of hip-hop music without being a member or participant of the global culture of Hip Hop. It is essential to recognize that many who identify as Indigenous, Aboriginal, and Native also sustain the practice of oration by participation in Hip Hop culture.

The Birth of a Killer Whale, the Birth of a Charanke...

This genealogy which partly consists of what can be called mythical tradition does not present a 'scientific' chart based on modern rationalism.

— Katsuishi Honda (2000, p. 52)

Figure 3. Repun Kamuy

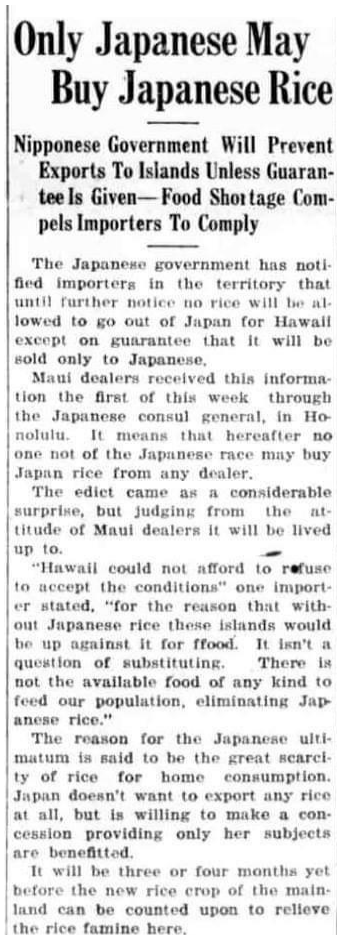


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When I was pregnant with my first child, I felt a deep shift in my being. One night, I sat up in bed and told my husband that I knew this baby was of *Kanaloa* (Hawaiian God of the Ocean). I was not a person who ever enjoyed the beach, and yet, throughout my pregnancy, I needed to be by the ocean. It was a high-risk pregnancy and I had lost five pregnancies before my son. Somehow, I knew I was connecting with a deep source of energy within the ocean. I did not know what that source of energy was, exactly, but I knew that there was something in the ocean that was giving me the strength to continue when, physically, I felt I could give no more. When my son was born, it was as if he surfed out of me in a huge gush of water that I could hear come crashing down onto the hospital floor. It seemed very fitting, considering my entire experience with that pregnancy.

Later that day, a woman came to collect the information for my child's birth certificate. I had never thought twice about placing Ainu on my son's birth certificate. I did not have Ainu listed on my birth certificate, nor did my father or my grandfather before him. This was because, until 2008, the Nation of Japan had not formally recognized the Ainu as an Indigenous people (Okada, 2012); rather, the Ainu were internationally acknowledged as having a language, culture, and genealogical heritage entirely separate from the Japanese population. When my great-grandfather arrived in Hawai'i to labor in the plantations, there was no distinction among the different ethnicities of Nationals coming off the Japanese ships. The *bango* dog tag system of the Hawai'i plantations owned by White American businessmen immediately labeled my great-grandfather as Japanese. Not wearing one's bango tag had serious consequences, as plantation laborers were unable to purchase food or essential items without it. In times of starvation on the plantation, being a Japanese National provided the perk of rice allocation (*Maui News*, 1918; see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Only Japanese May Buy Japanese Rice. Maui News, July 5, 1918.



I wanted better for my son. Having his birth certificate match our ethnic heritage felt, to me, like I was providing him with a stronger foundation of cultural identity than I had as a child. However, I heard first from the hospital staff and, later, the Department of Health that I was not able to place "Ainu" under the category of race for my baby. The Department of Health representative argued that Ainu was a dialect of the Japanese language. I responded that the United Nations acknowledged the Ainu as a race of native people of Japan and Russia; Japanese, in contrast, is a nationality from which I was at least three generations removed. It took a great deal of time and energy to make my plea to the Department of Health representatives, time and energy stolen from when I should have only had my newborn baby as my focus. I endured stress during that delicate time due to the same hegemonic colonial systems that have historically prevented my family from living as

Ainu. This was a war on my cultural identity and my heritage, which spanned across generations. I refused to allow such power structures to forcibly assimilate my baby to continue the lie of assuming solely a Japanese heritage.

The day I learned that I would be "allowed" to place Ainu on my son's birth certificate, a pod of killer whales surfaced in the ocean surrounding my home off the shores of Makaha, O'ahu, an event so rare it made the news. To my knowledge, my son is the first documented Ainu born in Hawai'i. If you ask my husband, the visit of the killer whales to Hawaiian waters is nothing new. If you ask my best friend, the appearance of the orca in Hawai'i is a sign of global

warming. But, for me, in my innermost depth of knowing, I believe that the killer whale, or *repun kamuy*, came to welcome my son and me into our lineage. This is my inner truth, as shaped by the oral histories describing the succession of the world around me, according to those belonging to the Ainu clan of the killer whale. Five years later, I would enter into the same battle with the Department of Health when my second son was born. As Ainu, we have had to fight to keep our heritage, spiritual beliefs, and identity alive in any way possible, whether we were “allowed” to be Ainu or not. As a mother, if I did not prioritize the ways of the killer whale clan within my family, the Ainu ways of knowing, feeling, and learning would be forever lost in my family line.

Theoretical Framework

According to Chilisa (2012) “postcolonial theories critique the dominance of the Euro-Western languages in the construction of knowledge” (p. 57); arguing that Indigenous language and ways of knowing can “play a significant role in contributing to new knowledge, new concepts, new theories, and new rules, methods, and techniques in research that are rooted in former colonized societies’ ways of knowing and perceiving reality” (p. 57). Chilisa noted that academic “theories and literature have not been favorable to historically oppressed and former colonized societies” (p. 59). Similar to critical race theory, postcolonial theory assesses the Euro-Western methodologies, while seeking methodologies “that privilege the disenfranchised, dispossessed and the marginalized colonized Other” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 68). Therefore, both my theoretical lens and my methodology part with colonial tradition to approach the Indigenous diaspora holistically. Under a colonial lens, the disparities of the communities holding the labels of “transnational” or “immigrant” are more apparent. Such labels often blind community outsiders to the resistance narratives and perceived spiritual connections that have facilitated the

sustained cultural identity of those who become diaspora. I employed bricolage to build a framework that includes survivance, critical theory, transformative theory, and the shamanistic ways of knowing and feeling familiar to the Ainu, resulting in Ainu Neno, an Ainu framework of spiritual affinity.

Bricolage

Bricolage complements neocolonialist theoretical frameworks, as the use of a single theoretical perspective would be a “luxury” (Kaomea, 2003, p. 16) for an Indigenous scholar in the middle of the Pacific. In addition, scholars in heavily colonized and globalized communities often draw from “an assortment of structuralist and poststructuralist theorists moving within and between competing or seemingly incompatible interpretive perspectives and paradigms” (Kaomea, 2003, p.16). Kaomea (2003) further noted that “postcolonial studies require such innovation and flexibility” (p. 16). I applied bricolage in the theoretical lens of this research as well as within my transformative, Indigenous, and diasporic methodologies, as described in greater detail in the next chapter. Drawing from the work of Kincheloe (2001), bricolage does not appear in this research as a rejection of theory, method, or boundaries of one’s discipline or practice. As a bricoleur, I use the context of this research to address the complexities of reflecting on the transnational, multicultural, and spiritual diversity of the Ainu in Diaspora. Further, I allow for the interweaving of Indigenous and critical perspectives into the dialogue to deepen and expand our understanding of how Ainu in Diaspora navigate erasure and persevere in their cultural identity.

Survivance

According to Vizenor (2008), survivance is “unmistakable in native stories” and the “character of survivance creates a sense of native presence over absence, nihility, and victimry”

(p. 1). Vizenor (2008) asserted that “survivance stories are renunciations of dominance” (p. 2), often reflecting the lived experiences and historical trauma of Indigenous people, as excruciating and unbearable as these stories may be. Although Indigenous histories are often painful to discuss, survivance exemplifies the importance of the “continuance of stories” (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1). From the lens of survivance, Indigenous people reject “being the victim” (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1) in contrast to allowing colonial narratives to define Indigenous histories and cultural identities. Survivance was a crucial theoretical lens to analyze the stories in this study.

Colonial authors of written histories throughout the Pacific “did not so much as erase Indigenous representations and cultural expressions, but in most cases overwrote them” (Winduo, 2000, p. 599). I posit that the Ainu are another example of a Pacific people who have been impacted by colonial overwriting in written histories. Although there are many publications about the Ainu, little is from the perspective of the Ainu themselves (Tanaka, 2000). To date, there is no academic literature analyzing the Ainu population in diaspora. As someone who identifies as an aboriginal daughter of Ainu Moshiri, I experienced moments in my youth when I felt alone in my connection to my Ainu culture. However, the internet has enabled me to connect with others in the Ainu community who shared similar stories of being cautioned against ever speaking openly about our Ainu heritage.

Very little in the written history is specific to the forced and voluntary migrations of the Ainu. Colonizers of Ainu, as well as Ainu in the homeland, often deny that we exist, despite the history of Ainu in Diaspora captured in oral tales and through the eclectic ways the community has used to perpetuate their cultural identity. In this research, I highlight the experiences of Knowledge Keepers who hold the cultural identity of Ainu in Diaspora and facilitate a process of shifting the power and control from the researcher to the research participants through the re-

storying process, which empowers Ainu in Diaspora to speak their own survivance into reality. Although Vizenor (2008) applied survivance to the Native American context, the idea that survivance stories are a renunciation of dominance is also applicable in the Ainu in Diaspora context. Vizenor suggested that, in any medium, self-expression that tells a story about the active presence of Native people is, in and of itself, and act of survivance.

Critical Consciousness in Education

Critical consciousness, conceptualized by Freire (1993), is an appropriate Western frame for this study specific to how institutions of education might improve for all marginalized students. This model challenges the researcher to activate awareness and reflection around the political and social conditions of the oppressed while working toward systemic changes (Freire, 1993). Although this theory supplies important theoretical discussions around diversity, equality, and equity, which has enriched my dialogue regarding Ainu education, an underlying assumption is that the oppressed are visible through the various labels of lower socioeconomic status—for example, Black, White, Asian, et cetera. Through my review of the literature and other resources, I posit that Ainu in Diaspora are not simply marginalized within Western systems of schooling; rather, our presence is not acknowledged at all and largely invisible in the larger community.

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) emerged from the social sciences and culture related to race, law, power, and control (Hylton, 2013). Inherent in CRT is that the law plays a part in White supremacy; however, it appears to be highly American-centric. The context of racial tension in America differs from that of Japan, whose Native and minority peoples have been so erased that the world thinks of Japan as a fully homogeneous country. Ainu in Diaspora are limited in their engagement under CRT because many are born on lands colonized by America. Their ancestral

lands span between Japan and Russia, making any advocacy of changes in law particularly difficult for Ainu in Diaspora who reside far from the land of their ancestors

Tribal Critical Race Theory

Tribal critical race theory (tribal crit) was another vital frame I examined, as it applies CRT in both Indigenous and educational contexts (Writer, 2008). Tribal crit supports the potential of confronting colonization within institutions of education and societal structures (Writer, 2008; Brayboy, 2005). Like CRT, tribal crit centers on indigeneity within the context of America. This focus can be extremely problematic for the Ainu in Diaspora who understand that their Ainu-ness leaves them in the position of emigrant, or even refugee, in the American context. The tribal crit frame is too narrow to examine the complexity of the Ainu in Diaspora, which may span internationally. However, the concept that “truth-telling becomes an important strategy for decolonization” (Writer, 2008, p. 3) served as an essential guide in my data analysis process. Historically, Ainu have avoided speaking about the parts of their history that have caused shame. Under CRT, truth-telling is necessary in the social justice process, which is complementary to the contemporary approach of *charanke*, amplifying voices once silenced to drive change for the betterment of the community.

Ainu Neno An Ainu

Bricolage provided the foundational approach to layering the parts of existing theories. Survivance, critical consciousness, CRT, and tribal crit all contributed to my process of building a theory that could speak to conditions of Ainu in Diaspora. After collecting the stories of the participants, it was evident that I would need to converge these theories listed into a new frame. There were elements of these theories that could be applied to the experiences of my participants, as well as elements of these theories that did not neatly address the context of the Ainu in

Diaspora. I needed a unique lens to comprehensively display the relationship of these existing theories to the unique experiences and spiritual grounding of the Ainu in Diaspora who had shared their stories in this research. Hence, I crafted the *Ainu Neno An Ainu* framework of spiritual affinity, drawing from the most relevant aspects of the existing theoretical frameworks while acknowledging that a specific cultural and spiritual lens was necessary to better comprehend the context of this population. *Ainu Neno An Ainu* is a play on words in the Ainu language that loosely translates to humanlike human, or to be a truly humane human. The term *Ainu Neno An Ainu* holds both literal and poetic meanings for Ainu in the homeland, reminding Ainu in Diaspora that to be in touch with one's humanity is to coexist harmoniously with spirit and nature.

For Ainu in Diaspora, the *Ainu Neno An Ainu* inspires the community to be the best Ainu they can be. For the Ainu in Diaspora, the word “can” is crucial. Often, the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity hinges on the small components of traditional Ainu culture and worldview subtly passed along in families through generations. Crafting this theoretical frame of how Ainu in Diaspora engage in revealing their presence as Knowledge Keepers is a direct response to erasure, not only within places of settlement but also within the homeland. For the Ainu in Diaspora, approaching storytelling and re-storying requires a great deal of sensitivity. The shared stories of the Ainu in Diaspora are not entertainment, as engaging as they may be. Rather, the sharing of stories, re-storying, and the contemporary process of *charanke* are necessities for the perpetuation and survival of heritage. Bricolage allowed me to identify concepts from existing theories that were applicable to the unique context of Ainu in Diaspora. Through this frame, there is a recognition that the Ainu in Diaspora are not merely casualties of imperialism and colonization on their homeland. The frame also allows one to acknowledge the remnants of the

Native spirituality that defined Ainu culture and identity, as well as the spiritual affinity Ainu in Diaspora hold for other Indigenous people.

The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework is perhaps nestled under the family of critical theories acknowledging the social, racial, and legal disparities of the marginalized. However, when a migration of an Indigenous people occurs, the legal context of CRT and tribal crit are often not applicable to the indigeneity of the migrants due to their highly Americanized context. Consideration of the historical and political context of the Ainu in Diaspora must include the cultural context and historical timeline of the countries that received the dispersed population. As an example, critical consciousness might provide a better understanding of Ainu in the homeland than of Ainu in Diaspora. In a classroom context, critical consciousness is a respectable way to understand the marginalization of various identities; however, Ainu dispersed to places like Hawai'i or Brazil were, in many cases, absorbed into the settler privilege of Japanese emigrants.

The historical timeline is an integral part of understanding the reflexive state of the dispersed and critical. As an example, the Ainu forced from their homeland in the 1800s and 1900s did not receive the same privileges Hawai'i-born Japanese have today, instead living as coolies (laborers) and indentured servants. Japanese were attacked by White supremacists in the beginning of the Hawaiian plantation era, then rose to have an overwhelming presence and undeniable control over political and educational systems. The *Kānaka Maoli* (Aboriginal Hawaiian people) were then left devastated by the Japanese and Okinawan diaspora in power who embodied Asian settler-colonial perspectives while disregarding the Native perspective and worldview.

The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework enables reflexive centering to the homeland and community by providing space for the voices previously silenced while developing genuine

relationships within the place of migration. Individuals dispersed use their history of marginalization and erasure to position themselves as allies to the surrounding Native population. The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework provides insight into a consenting and reciprocal relationship into which the Ainu in Diaspora entered with the Indigenous people around them. The framework indicates a proven relationship between diaspora and Native, fostered through a spiritual affinity the individuals might hold for another. This spiritual affinity held by the Ainu in Diaspora for the Native person of place strengthens understanding of indigeneity and, in turn, their ownership of their Ainu cultural identity. Moreover, the Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity emerges from transformative theories, where the research participants naturally position themselves for social justice outcomes for not only their own culture, but also their host culture with which they share a spiritually driven connection. Survivance indicates that Indigenous people must fight erasure through “active presence” (Vizenor, 2008, p. 1). Through the lens of spiritual affinity, Ainu in Diaspora understand that within their position as a diaspora longing for Ainu-ness exists an obligation to oppose their role in the cycle of colonialism, settler-ism, and racism by privileging the voice of the Native host culture. Drawing from their experiences with injustice, the dispersed and critical work toward social justice outcomes for the Native host community as an act of service to a shared genealogy of knowledge and a spiritual base linking the dispersed and critical in an affinity for the host people, place, and elements. The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity indicates that the often-overlooked or unacknowledged connections of spirit also supply valuable opportunities for cross-cultural education between Knowledge Keepers.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

As indicated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this study was to examine the complex ways in which Ainu in Diaspora act as Knowledge Keepers to embody their cultural identity and re-story their presence in formalized educational spaces. How Ainu in Diaspora choose to express or not express their cultural identity is heavily influenced by the history of Ainu in the homeland. First, Chapter 2 first provides an overview of what the literature defines as Ainu ethnicity, followed by the ways in which textual literacies have erased the Ainu cultural identity from “overwriting” the presence of Ainu in the Pacific. Second, despite inaccurate documentation of the historical emigrations of the Ainu in Diaspora due to Japan’s forced assimilation regulations on the Ainu population, the literature presented in this chapter shows the documented anti–Ainu-ness that has inadvertently led to the displacement of many Ainu populations from their ancestral lands. Third, the literature review includes a discussion of the deterioration of the Ainu cultural identity through formalized schooling.

The Ainu Ethnicity

The Ainu people established their settlements in the northern island of Hokkaido, the northern part of Honshu (Japan’s main island), the southern part of Sakhalin Island (now occupied by Russia), the Kurile Islands (land at the center of dispute between Japan and Russia), and parts of the island of Kamchatcha, which is currently under the national boundaries of Russia (Dubreuil, 2007). Tanaka (2000) identified three maps as official documentation of Ainu ancestral lands with varying disagreements around the placement of the Southern borders. Discussions around Ainu culture and identity often erroneously imply homogeneity of Hokkaido Ainu (Dubreuil, 2007). The physical environment shaped the diversity of the local Ainu customs (Dubreuil, 2007). Although the bear was a major god for Hokkaido Ainu due to its prevalence on

the island, on the island of Kurile, which lacked bears, inhabitants recognized the orca whale as the god of the ocean with equal power to that of the bear of the land (Dubreuil, 2007). The dominant narrative is that the Ainu are a homogenous people; however, the literature indicates both written and oral histories showing that the Ainu culture was diverse and extended far beyond the boundaries of Hokkaido.

Early anthropologists perpetuated a myth that the Ainu were a lost Caucasian tribe (Dubreuil, 2007). DNA evidence now links the current Ainu population to the Native Jomon of Japan, with the name *Jomon* also applicable to ancient pottery found by modern archeologists in the Japanese archipelago (Dubreuil, 2007). The use of this term has been problematic because it erases and nationalizes specific localized tribal histories of people with ethnic identities separate from each other (Dubreuil, 2007; Tanaka, 2000). Despite being Japan's only recognized Indigenous group, the Ainu are not the only Indigenous people of the Japanese archipelago. Aside from the Ryukyans in the formerly independent Kingdom of Loo Choo (present-day Okinawa), the Ainu, the Kumaso, and Ebisu or Emishi people were all ancient Indigenous populations with separate ethnic identities that, like the Ainu, later mixed with the Yayoi or Wajin newcomers to the Japanese archipelago (Levin, 1962). According to Levin (1962), the ethnic Yayoi could not have populated the present Japanese population, whose ancient Indigenous genetic familial ties are visible in the "the tertiary hairy covering which is so noticeable in Japanese as compared with Koreans" (p. 135). For some time, the literature has shown Indigenous histories of Japan to be rich and diverse; however, numerous accounts of the Ainu have become credible sources of academic literature, solidifying harmful stereotypes of the Ainu in published literature.

Textbooks and reference books still cite the erroneous mid-19th century assumption that the Ainu are of European origin (Dubreuil, 2007). The early Ainu of the period looked nothing like the present-day Japanese population; also, the Mongolian blue spots common on the lower backs of ethnic Japanese babies are noticeably absent from the skin of Ainu babies (Dubreuil, 2007). Dubreuil (2007) described the Ainu as having a muscular build; skin tones similar to darker French or Italian individuals; thick, abundant, and wavy body hair; and brown, blue, or green eyes. The literature is clear that the Ainu have distinct physical characteristics from the Wajin settlers.

The Ainu have been in social contact with other groups such as the Nivkhi, Orok, Russians, and Japanese for thousands of years, with genetic exchanges between the Aleut and Kurile Ainu; in turn, Russian colonizers forced groups to labor together, harvesting sea otters in the early 18th century (Dubreuil, 2007). For Native people like the Ainu who come from oral cultures, the art, and its subsequent stylistics, is a valid form of historical literature showing that the Ainu and the people of the Pacific Northwest regularly engaged in personal contact, which influenced Native artisans on both sides (Dubreuil, 2007). Through oral histories recovered from interviews of Ainu and Northwest coast elders of the Tlingit tribe, Dubreuil (2007) found that the Aleutian Islands served as a trans-Pacific route for the Ainu, Aleut, and Tlingit peoples. Beyond written accounts of a forced exchange between Native people and the Russians in the 17th century, earlier exchanges suggested by oral histories and the similarities in art, spiritual beliefs, and culture are indicative of earlier exchanges unaccounted for in written histories (Dubreuil, 2007). Although conversations about Ainu culture largely overlook the Ainu presence outside of Japan, the literature indicates multiple trans-Pacific pathways historically taken by the Ainu into the diaspora.

The Overwriting of a Cultural Identity

Barker and Jane (2012) defined cultural identity as a “description of ourselves with which we identify” (p. 634); in contrast, social identity is a term used to describe the way that “others have of us” (p. 634). According to Chen (2014), cultural identity

Refers to identification with, or sense of belonging to a particular group based on various cultural categories, including nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. Cultural identity is constructed and maintained through the process of sharing collective

knowledge such as traditions, heritage, language, aesthetics, norms and customs. (p. 1)

The cultural identity of Ainu within Japanese systems of education was not only repressed but erased from systems of education in the diasporic context.

Numerous studies involved the benefits of acknowledging cultural identity in educational spaces. Freire (2014) asserted that culture is the beginning of any educational program and indispensable to the education of how people come to know and understand the world around them. According to Kēpa and Manu‘atu (2008), educators tend to “focus on knowledge, attention, and skills so narrowly that principals and teachers have become incapable of thinking and acting beyond prescribed information, skills and roles” (p. 1805), leaving systems of education that “dismiss one kind of knowledge for another in the context of a power relationship” (p. 1806). Kēpa and Manu‘atu stated, “Communities whose specific language and culture are devalued in school are situated in the lowest position in the social, economic, and political hierarchy and are severely discriminated against” (p. 1807). Learners who do not see the familiarity of their likeness within the structure of schooling or school leadership, therefore, face a systemic disadvantage in education.

Winduo (2000) stated that colonial authors of written histories throughout the Pacific “did not so much as erase Indigenous representations and cultural expressions, but in most cases overwrote them” (p. 599). Although not often thought of as such, the Ainu are another example of a Pacific people impacted by colonial overwriting in written histories. Although there are published studies on the Ainu and Emishi as Indigenous people of Japan, Tanaka (2000) noted that “very few have been written by the Ainu themselves, and for most of the rest, the Ainu were never consulted” (p. 35). This omission is problematic because, although there is no shortage in the literature on the Ainu people, a vast majority is from the perspective of colonizers who benefited from the settler supremacy. Specific to recent Ainu education and cultural revitalization efforts, Tanaka wrote, “Ainu studies have suffered from disciplinary and national boundaries, the lack of collaborative framework, the lack of native input, and imperialism” (pp. 13-14). Local customs, traditional place names, and localized stories indicate the historical presence of Indigenous Ainu and Ainu-like people throughout the lands now identified as the Japanese archipelago; however, the modern Japanese narrative about Ainu Moshiri typically stops at the southern borders of the island of Hokkaido.

In 2008, when the Japanese adopted a resolution that recognized Ainu as an Indigenous people (Okada, 2012), many became excited at the potential of public policy to benefit the Ainu people, who have long endured forced assimilation and discriminatory policies. However, despite the 2008 policy showing that Japan had a native population, there was no action around Ainu self-determination, Ainu education, or Ainu health disparities (Okada, 2012). The national Ainu census, the only organized effort to collect information on the demographics of the modern Ainu population, occurs only in the area of Hokkaido, Japan; thus, Ainu living outside of Hokkaido remain unaccounted for (Stathis, 2017). There are no current efforts by the

government to acknowledge the population of Ainu living in the diaspora. To complicate things further, Ainu in Diaspora are absorbed into the more dominant national and ethnic categories of Japanese or Russian while living in places like Hawai'i, Brazil, and the continental United States. The published academic literature is, therefore, lacking information about the impact of the erasure of the diasporic Ainu population within the context of education in the many global subpopulations where Japanese and Russian people live. I was aware that I needed to approach the process of research with a lens that would enable me to identify and name Ainu-ness, despite the numerous cultural and linguistic barriers that inadvertently mask this cultural identity.

Ainu Double Consciousness

Western authors Landor (1970) and Batchelor (1971) are frequent references in the discussion of Ainu history. However, authors like Yamada (2001) asserted that the non-Ainu gaze is biased with cultural misinterpretations. Refsing (2000) also wrote about Batchelor's cultural misinterpretations in publications about the Ainu. Refsing further challenged Batchelor's theories of the Ainu as a lost race of Aryan people. In more recent publications, female academics have questioned the written accounts of Ainu history by creating critical dialogue around the patriarchal nature of those narratives. Tanaka (2012) discussed Ainu men and women internalizing Japanese patriarchy, whereas Lewallen (2016) showed art and fashion used as a form of resistance against sanctioned sexual assault of Ainu women by the Japanese government.

Du Bois (1965) posited that African Americans often carry a double consciousness, otherwise described as "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, by measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (p. 45). For the Ainu in Diaspora, there is a history of being held captive to the delight of onlookers curious about the "hairy Ainu" to examine their bodies and gawk at their "indeterminant racial

affinity” (Parezo & Fowler, 2007, p. 210) via Human Zoo exhibitions. Some well-documented examples of Ainu on public display are the 1903 Human Pavilion held in Osaka, Japan (Ziomek, 2014), and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition held on U.S. soil (Parezo & Fowler, 2007). In a 1998 interview on the *Charlie Rose Show*, Toni Morrison described the difficulty of living “as though our lives have no meaning and no depth without the White gaze” (1998). This identification is a reflection of how U.S. communities of color determine achievements based on the White, middle-class norms that dominate educational institutions (Paris & Alim, 2014). In the context of the Ainu in Diaspora, I pondered on ways in which the Japanese gaze influences people of Ainu heritage both in Japan, and in diaspora. I use the term Meiji lens to describe the current view of Ainu overwhelmingly held by the Japanese population, heavily influenced by the propaganda masked as history lessons within Japanese systems of schooling. Government entities have labeled the Ainu as Indigenous to Hokkaido. The reality, however, is that the Ainu did not receive safeguarding from the patriarchal gaze of White supremacy, and Japanese supremacy proved to be just as devastating. White self-proclaimed explorers and missionaries wrote in depth and inaccurately about the Ainu as barbarians and savages, simultaneously trying to “save” or convert Ainu to Christianity.

Ainu in Diaspora

Whereas the Ainu are recognized as an Indigenous people of the Japanese archipelago, it is important to note that increasingly more Ainu in Diaspora are embracing the complex and globalized diasporic ontology (T. Duffin, personal communication, June 19, 2019), as opposed to place-based Indigenous perspectives. Although there are many interpretations of diaspora, postmodernists define it as a feeling of always being the other, “which may be based on factors other than migration,” a state of relationship where ones “formal membership in a political

community is not congruent with the membership in the social community” (Safran, 2007, paras. 51-52). Safran (2007) differentiated between translocation and diaspora, clarifying that the “diasporic identity is not automatically abandoned when they return to their homeland, for when they do, they may find that it is no longer ‘home’” (paras. 51-52). Many Ainu in Diaspora will never know to what *kotan* or Ainu village they have ancestral connections. They might never have the experience of gathering with their localized and distinct cultural rituals of their clan. The Ainu in Diaspora might not even be welcomed by Ainu in the homeland back into modern Ainu society and politics because of language and cultural barriers. And yet, this population of people in diaspora share a heritage to a highly endangered population whose numbers are rapidly dropping in Japan’s census initiatives.

The National Ainu census takes place only in the area of Hokkaido, Japan (Stathis, 2017). Thus, despite the census being the only organized effort to collect information on the demographics of the modern Ainu population. Currently, the government is making no efforts to acknowledge a population of Ainu living in the Diaspora. Inherent in the discussion around the lack of literature regarding the Ainu in Diaspora is the need to ask critical questions regarding the possibility of the historical translocation of this population under the umbrella term of Japanese Nationals.

In Hawai‘i, where there was a high concentration of Japanese laborers from the 1880s to the 1920s, the Hawaiian language did not differentiate between the ethnic Japanese and the ethnic Okinawans, with their well-documented presence on the islands. Still, plantation-era literature shows Ainu or mixed Ainu populations sent to Hawai‘i. Jung (2006) stated, “Up to the Bayonet Constitution the Japanese were considered by Hawaiian State officials as people resembl[ing] our native [Kānaka Maoli] race very much” (p. 80). More recent scholars such as

Lewallen (2016) have acknowledged the systematic breakdown of the Ainu family through sending Ainu men away in forced labor, with Ainu women then forced into roles as comfort women or wives of Japanese men. Although having an Ainu mistress was highly desirable for the Japanese man, having an Ainu child was not. Lewallen related accounts of pregnant Ainu women often killed by Japanese men, either purposefully or through forcing the women to ingest herbs to abort the fetus. The presence of a population of mixed-race Ainu is known as *shamo tane* (Lewallen, 2016, p. 135). Shamo is an Ainu term for colonizer; thus, Lewallen (2016) translated shamo tane to mean “colonizer seeds” (p. 135). It is possible that the mixed aboriginal Ainu population made up much of the Japanese National labor force in the plantation era of Hawai‘i.

Naming is such an important part of culture and identity. While traditionally Ainu had no surnames (Kayano, 1994), circa 1872 the Japanese created a system of family registry, and as a result, Japanese government officials went to Ainu villages and assigned names to Ainu based off of the geographic characteristics of the village (Hilger, 1967 ; Kayano, 1994). Because of this, many Ainu continue to carry these names today, but do not have familial ties with one another (Hilger, 1967 ; Kayano, 1994). The Japanese names that were specifically assigned to Ainu families during Meiji era reforms are listed in the literature are: Arai, Hirame, Hiramura, Hiranuma, Kawamura, Kaizawa, Kawakami, Kawanano, Kayano, Kimura, Kurokawa, Mamiya, Monno, Nabesawa, Nitani, Orishimo, Shimosawa, and Yoshikawa (Hilger, 1967 ; Kayano, 1994; Ito, 2014).

The Miseducation of Ainu in Diaspora

The Ainu word for school is *ipakashnu-chise*, which is the same word used for *prison* in the Ainu language (Batchelor, 1939). This example of Ainu vocabulary shows a people failed by

the systems of education imposed on them to deteriorate Ainu ways of learning and knowing. According to Fitzhugh and Dubreuil (1999), the early 20th century Ainu children in Japan received treatment similar to Native American children in the United States, with both populations of Indigenous students segregated into special schools based on beliefs they could not intellectually compete with their settler counterparts. In 1901, the Regulation for the Education of Former Aborigines' Children was established to provide primary-school education for Ainu children; however, the act was abolished in 1936 when it was apparent that the segregation of Ainu children was not necessary (Fitzhugh & Dubreuil, 1999). Despite their integration into Japan's compulsory education system since the 1930s, Ainu children continue to face discrimination and socioeconomic disparities in these systems of schooling, making school a historically unwelcoming environment for Ainu.

Prior to forced assimilation, Ainu children learned through play (Fitzhugh & Dubreuil, 1999). According to Fitzhugh and Dubreuil (1999), children imitated necessary life skills through recreation, which would prepare them for adult life in Ainu society. Ainu children would mimic rituals and ceremonies to learn how to position themselves with the kamuy (gods) and nature (Fitzhugh & Dubreuil, 1999). Girls often sat with the women in the family and learned about the intricate clan and familial designs, which they would embroider on the clothing of their loved ones for spiritual protection. Boys often played games, which grew their skills as the future hunters and fishermen of their villages (Fitzhugh & Dubreuil, 1999). Although Ainu education did not meet the approval of the Meiji lens of the Japanese settlers, traditional Ainu society had recognizable and systematic processes of passing on knowledge from the elders of the Ainu clan to the Ainu children.

Walker (2015) compared the Japanese need to conquest Ainu lands and educate Ainu children through the lens of the Confucian “benevolent rule,” to that of the “Anglo-American settler justifications for the conquest of Native American lands, or the so called ‘White man’s burden’ of European empires” (p. 203). Walker stated that Japanese policy “began as Confucian ‘benevolent care’ for the barbaric diseased Ainu, and then shifted to colonial ‘protection’ of the evolutionary lagging Ainu” (p. 203). According to Walker, during the historical expansion of the Japanese empire throughout the 20th century, Japanese imperialism was always “cloaked in the language of extending civilization” by providing “benefits” to those being colonized, a process that entailed the “forced adoption of Japanese names by subject peoples” (p. 203). Walker suggested that, during the 1800s, Ainu participation in Japanese education stemmed from the smallpox epidemic, which devastated the Ainu. Walker wrote,

Indeed, providing medical assistance to Ainu proved one manifestation of Japanese control over Hokkaido. This culminated in 1857, with Edo dispatching physicians to provide Ainu with smallpox vaccinations. Through their encounters with Ainu bodies, physicians such as Kuwata Ryusai began the process of mapping out new boundaries of Japan’s politic. Cultural frameworks proved important as well: Ainu understood smallpox to be a deity, and the fact that Japanese could vanquish the airborne killer with a prick of an arm surely destabilized the Ainu pantheon. Japanese officials also encouraged Ainu to assimilate to Japanese life, including learning the Japanese language. (p. 203)

In the quotation, Walker explained how the Japanese ran systems of education and abused the Ainu worldview to get the Ainu to take part in Japanese systems of education.

However, apart from disseminating smallpox vaccines to assist with controlling the

epidemic of smallpox ravaging the Ainu communities, the health and well-being of the Ainu did not improve with Japanese intervention but declined instead.

When communities forced Ainu children to attend Japanese public institutions of education, the “social education of Ainu children attempted to inculcate a Japanese identity, while extinguishing Indigenous knowledge” (Decoker & Bjork, 2013, p. 103). By 1871, Ainu found their traditional hunting, fishing, tattooing, and funeral ceremonies outlawed. The Wajin/Yamato class decided Ainu should learn to read and write the Japanese language (Heinrich, 2012). Established in 1877, the Tsuishikari Education Center was the first common public school for Ainu children forcibly moved from Sakhalin to Sapporo.

According to Decoker and Bjork (2013), in 1901, the Japanese government released education provision for the Ainu in the Regulations for the Education of Former Aborigine Children. From these provisions two dozen Ainu children in Hokkaido were mandated to attend segregated schools and classrooms. By the 1920’s the school systems in Japan became integrated for Ainu students though many Ainu children experienced discrimination and isolation. After increased pressures to assimilate through the Japanese language and education due to World War II, Decoker and Bjork (2013) state that “by the early 1950’s, most young Ainu had little knowledge of their grandparent’s language and culture” (p. 103). The impact of Japanese benevolent care for Ainu children through education has led to listing the Ainu language as highly endangered, with no known living Native speakers to assist in language and cultural revitalization efforts.

In a memoir, Ainu historian and activist Shigeru Kayano (1994) recalled how impoverished Ainu children who picked berries from hedges around the perimeter of elementary school were forced to “stand in rows and receive huge blows—slap!—slap!—from the teacher’s

huge hand” (p. 47). Writing about his experiences in Japanese formalized school settings caused Kayano to “burn with anger” (p. 47), wondering “Did they know the deep impression it would make on starved children?” (p. 45). Ainu children integrated into schools that were predominantly Japanese often faced bullying, being called *inu*, the Japanese word for dog, and taunted for being “hairy, poor, and other things too painful to write down” (Kayano, 1994, p. 51). Kayano’s firsthand accounts are an important frame for understanding how the Ainu can face marginalization in formalized Japanese school settings with little supports, despite attending school in a time where the segregation of Ainu students was outlawed.

Figure 5. Tsuishikari Ordinary School Circa 1880



Note. Hokkaido University Library, Northern Studies Collection.

Because the purpose of this study is to privilege the voice of the Ainu in Diaspora around how they view their cultural identity, I explored the literature of modern scholars who themselves identified as Ainu. The pool of Ainu scholars from which to choose was extremely limited, but their voices were impactful and broadened the awareness of how forced assimilation

and prolonged erasure in systems of education have adversely impacted the cultural identity of Ainu in Diaspora. Authors such as Landor (1970) and Batchelor (1971) depict the Ainu people as barbaric. In comparison, Ainu-identifying academics, such as Dubreuil (2007) and Tanaka (2000), discussed the many inaccuracies within the existing body of literature, countering false narratives about the Ainu population that have circulated for decades. The overwriting of Indigenous representations and cultures as discussed by Winduo (2000) is a key concept in understanding how textual literature has suppressed oral literature. In Chapter 3, there is a shift from looking at how formal systems of education erased the Ainu in Diaspora through written histories to harnessing the power of orality and collecting the narratives of resistance of the Ainu in Diaspora.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

I entered into the doctoral program of professional practice in Education knowing I was one of very few school administrators identifying as Ainu. I felt strongly that with the privilege afforded to me by my education came the responsibility to de-weaponize the system of education, which was historically mechanized to erase the cultural identity of Ainu people under the guise of ridding Ainu children of their “barbarian” nature (Frey, 2013). I came into this process of research determined to teach the world about my identity. Instead, the research process sent me on a personal journey. I dove deeper into how cultural identity surfaces in educational spaces through the stories of Knowledge Keepers and how Ainu in Diaspora learn about and teach their cultural identity in complex and multicultural exchanges of experiences both in and out of the classroom. I began this exploration feeling as if I was alone in a heritage largely erased in my learning spaces. However, the more I made myself visible as Ainu, the more other Ainu in Diaspora would respond and allow their Ainu-ness to surface. I purposely approach educational research with the intent of privileging the Ainu values of *ramatok* (courage), *pawetok* (eloquence), and *shirotok* (beauty). Concurrently, I explored the contemporary acts of *charanke* that Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers offer to educators regarding their cultural identity in the multicultural and multifaceted contemporary context.

Academic theories behind the research of Native and historically oppressed peoples have furthered the divide in power between researcher and participant, as “Indigenous people have been in many ways oppressed by theory” (Smith, 2000, p. 38). I therefore approached the methodological design of this project with logic consistent with a postcolonialism and neocolonialism theoretical framework, postmodernist definitions of diaspora (Safran, 2007), the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2010), and the Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual

affinity. In Chapter 1, I discussed how bricolage enabled the building of a theoretical lens specific to the Ainu in Diaspora. Additionally, I used bricolage to construct the research project approach. The methodology described in this chapter draws from transformative approaches as well as the traditional Ainu worldview, establishing a methodological base to conduct research while respecting the Ainu identity of my participants, as well as myself as a researcher and member of this community.

Transformative Paradigm and Bricolage

The driving paradigm for the research methodology is the transformative paradigm. This paradigm is a means for academics to address the politics in research through the social justice approach of confronting oppression at whatever levels it occurs (Oliver, 1992; Reason, 1994). Mertens (2019) suggested

The transformative paradigm emerged in response to the individuals who have been pushed to the societal margins throughout history and who are finding a means to bring their voices into the world of research. Their voices shared with scholars who work as their partners to support the increase of social justice and human rights. (p. 10)

Mertens explained that transformative researchers would “consciously and explicitly position themselves side by side with the less powerful in a joint effort to bring about social transformation” (p. 21). In centering the needs and experiences of the most marginalized, the transformative paradigm indicates the necessity to re-story the Ainu in Diaspora experience, essentially co-creating and disseminating stories usually buried under the weight of published academic writings from those not of the community.

Of bricolage, Kincheloe (2001) asserted that “no concept better captures the possibility of the future of qualitative research” (p. 679), also cautioning that bricolage involves complex

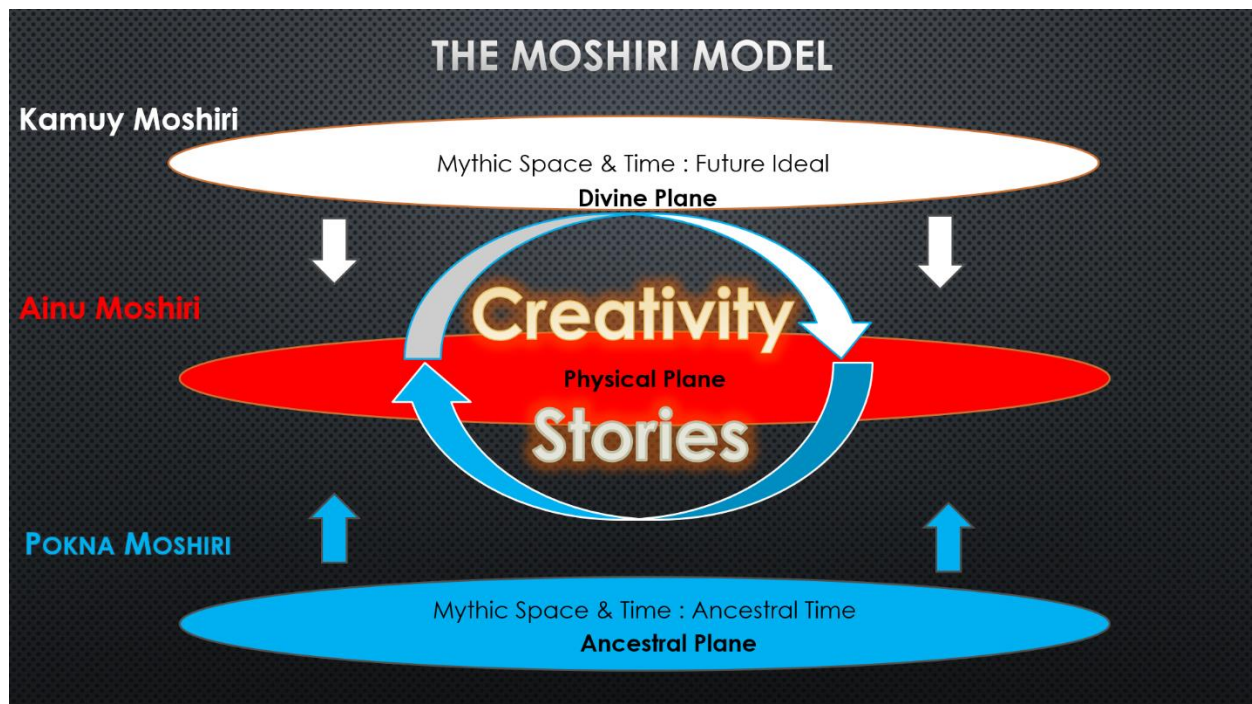
epistemological, methodological, and political negotiations (Kincheloe, 2005). Some descriptions of bricolage show it as being academically exhaustive. However, early in the designing phase of my methodology, I felt I had an opportunity to empower Ainu wisdom through the process of data collection and analysis. I knew that, as a researcher who identified strongly with my participants, I needed to craft a framework for implementing my methods. Consciously developing this implementation framework would enable me to be true to the identity of the Ainu in Diaspora, while remaining reflexive as a researcher and person who identifies as a member of this community.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) described research as an interactive process filtered through “personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, ethnicity and those of the people in the setting” (p. 4). As an Ainu in Diaspora now in the role of researcher, I was motivated by knowing just how destructive the overwriting of Ainu perspectives has been; thus, I sought ways to decenter myself from the process and hone in on the traditional wisdom that remains in the Ainu worldview (Winduo, 2000). I drew on ethnographic performance evolving through story-sharing and re-storying the presence of Ainu in Diaspora in spheres of education. I modified the use of metaphor mapping, producing monologues, spoken word, and Hip Hop pieces.

I heavily relied on the concept of bricolage in designing this framework, to help my participants and me work together through this process to foster social justice for the community of Ainu in Diaspora. As I sought to stay true to the transformative paradigm while honoring my interpretation of the Ainu worldview in a contemporary way, the Moshiri model designed for this study was my guide throughout the process of research so that I could determine (a) how the artifacts collected incorporated the cultural identity of Ainu in Diaspora, (b) how artforms that were not traditionally Ainu captured the cultural identity of Ainu in Diaspora, and (c) how my

participants and I could share our collective stories through a collaborative process of developing an ethnographic performance. Figure 5 shows the Moshiri model as an epistemological frame for the Ainu in Diaspora. This epistemological frame has additionally inspired the actual methods used in this research.

Figure 6. Moshiri Model



In Table 1, I outlined the Moshiri model as my research methodology. Also in Table 1, I showed how this methodology aligns with transformative approaches to research as defined by Mertens (2001). According to Mertens, the transformative paradigm in research facilitates social justice outcomes. Because the Ainu in Diaspora have to navigate such tremendous erasure regarding their cultural identity, I saw myself as a facilitator having dialogic talk-story sessions with Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers. I actively worked to diminish my role as a Western academic with an inquiry, preferring more humanistic approaches to the methodology where I could co-create knowledge with my participants and identify what social justice in education

might look like for this population. Coming together with the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers to re-story the presence of Ainu in Diaspora in Education, the focus moves away from the erasure of this population and shifts to identifying the narratives of resistance that surface through stories.

The Ainu worldview is layered with rich complexity. For the purpose of keeping Ainu identity at the forefront of my research, I used three of the most fundamental layers of the Ainu cosmos to inform my methodology. From a Western perspective, the Moshiri model is comparable to grounded theory in that both are qualitative strategies (Creswell, 2009). Such an approach is appropriate when researchers cannot determine where are going in the research process until they have done a significant analysis of the data, which are grounded in the views of the participants (Creswell, 2009). However, in the Ainu ways of knowing and feeling, I could not wander into research findings. For the Ainu, time is a continuum in which the ancestors and the divine are constantly interacting with the environment of this realm to influence the expression of knowledge. It is important to note that the *moshiri*, or layered planes, within the Ainu worldview simultaneously interact with the Ainu as a conduit for knowledge through creativity. The methodology displayed in Table 1 starts with the plane of Pokna Moshiri to help the reader understand how this worldview molded the methodology of this research. However, the process is not step-driven. The boundaries of the layers are permeable, given the Ainu shamanic worldview of time, space, and place; one reality overlaps with the other, changing how each influences another. Therefore, the research process outlined in this model transverses through the data collection (story-sharing) process.

Table 1. Moshiri Model

Transformative Ainu in Diaspora research	Methods	Methodology
<p>Pokna Moshiri – Axiology</p> <p><i>Lower world where the ancestors who have not yet moved on to Kamuy Moshiri dwell.</i></p> <p>Ainu in Diaspora must look to where they have been before they can recognize where they are going. This exploration can begin with informal investigations of oral histories, and then move toward historical artifacts that provide deeper information than the written words of the colonizer.</p> <p>Create time and space in the research process to honor the deceased and the tales that stem from their time in Ainu Moshiri.</p>	<p>Honoring ancestors through research: A perspective that the ancestors will reveal traditional knowledge. Some Ainu believe in “clamoring blood” (Lewallen, 2000, p. 119) or the idea that bloodline will call individuals back to their lineage.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Honoring family stories. Understanding that some stories can be painful and unfavorable to share with others. ● Looking at traditional forms of oration and storying such as traditional charanke, yukar, and oena. ● Creating historical timelines. ● Learning about the values of Ainu ancestors. ● Review the history of abuses of Ainu by researchers. Create research consent forms with choices, empowering Ainu in Diaspora to choose how they want to or do not want to engage in the research process. 	<p>Honoring the knowledge of elders and ancestors</p> <p><i>Spiritual guidance through the honoring of ancestors.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Literature review. ● Archival research exploring alternative literacies, including traditional Ainu art, examining historical photos, listening to traditional Ainu songs. ● Spoke with elders to gain perspective on historical context. ● Acknowledging my positionality, location, and cultural grounding as a researcher and committee member by collecting familial oral histories and engaging in reflective journaling around my Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity.
<p>Ainu Moshiri–Ontology</p> <p><i>Physical plane</i></p> <p>A key element in this step of the Moshiri model is the</p>	<p>Collection of data</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Identifying the ontological perspectives of Ainu in Diaspora in this realm 	<p>Collection of Stories</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Invited Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers to formally share their

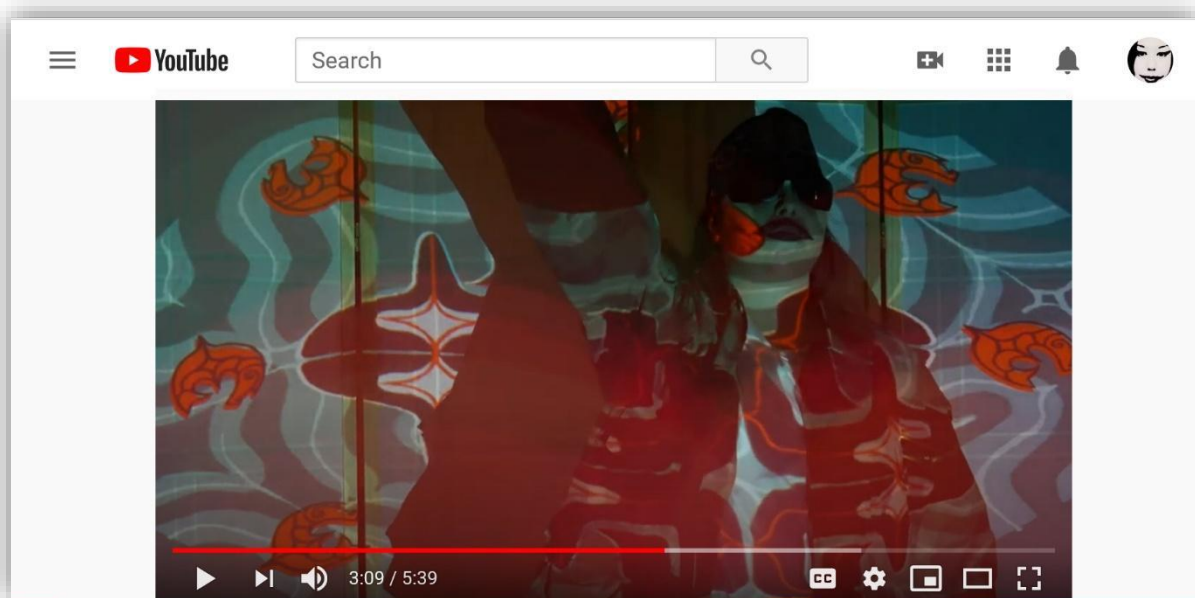
<p>Indigenous person's reconnection to the earth. Within the Ainu worldview, this would mean that persons of Ainu heritage must have hands-on experiences to process and reflect on their relationship with the kamuy, or animistic spirits.</p>	<p>through data collection on contemporary and nontraditional art, music, expressions of spirituality, dance, language, and stories.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Collecting information associated with the connection to people and place with the understanding that, for Ainu in Diaspora, the place and people with whom they find connection to may not be Ainu. ● Empowering Ainu in Diaspora by allowing them to share their stories. <p>Engaging Ainu in Diaspora in the re-storying process.</p>	<p>spoken and artistic stories as research participants over a video conferencing platform. Story sharing can encompass a variety of genres where the Ainu expresses their stories in eclectic ways. Stories can be shared orally or through music, art, dance, and fashion.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Developed protocols for a semi-structured dialogic talk-story, empowering the Ainu in Diaspora to choose their comfort level of anonymity and disclosure of their identity, which included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Choosing to disclose their real names or opting for a pseudonym to maintain confidentiality. - Consenting for me to share their image publicly or, requesting that I keep their video or audio recording confidential. - Participants could elect to provide artifacts that represented their Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity for public display or choose not to share their artifacts publicly. ● Honor the subtle nuances of the spoken story through extending textual documentation of the talk to artistic representation.
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Identify the complex ways in which Ainu tradition and perpetuation of the Ainu world view are mechanized for Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers who re-story themselves in non-Ainu multicultural practices.
<p>Kamuy Moshiri – Epistemology</p> <p><i>Divine realm, used in this framework to symbolize the ideal future.</i></p> <p>The researcher and research participants work together to create change for the benefit of future generations, metaphorically referred to as Kamuy Moshiri, the divine heavenly space where colonization, illegal occupation, and the social aftermath of oppression are nonexistent.</p> <p>The divine or other elements of the spirit can also influence the storying process of the researcher and participants.</p>	<p>Analysis of narratives and presenting findings.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participant check as a process of respect in research that had not previously extended to the Ainu in generations prior. ● Empower other Ainu in the editing of their narratives so they stayed in control of their stories. ● Combat erasure through the re-storying of the narratives. ● Make resiliency visible through the accessibility of the narratives for others. ● Charanke: Share findings to expand or perhaps challenge existing epistemologies. 	<p>Honoring the co-creation of futures through community</p> <p><i>Research sharing circle</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Sharing of agenda and inclusion activity asking the participant to name an element which which they identify. “Describe your mood approaching this discussion as a body of water.” ● Sharing of research findings through similar story themes. ● Embracing the dialogic nature of talk-story and flowing with the group as the conversation spiraled to the interest of the participants. Through these interactive and free-flowing of ideas between Ainu and Diaspora Knowledge Keepers, the co-creation of knowledge and shared cultural identity began to reveal itself.

Although I use words indicative of time, such as “future” or “past,” as an Ainu, I can receive inspiration from *Kamuy Moshiri* or *Pokna Moshiri*. They remain in a mythic time and

space, long before manifesting that inspiration into *Ainu Moshiri* via art, charanke, dance, fashion, et cetera. For the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers who are telling their stories, the layered planes of the Moshiri Model overlap through the expression and creation of art. For the Ainu who is in the role of researcher, to dismiss the story-ing of experiences through the creation of art would be to dismiss the distinct Ainu paradigm that guides the understanding of how Ainu in Diaspora share knowledge. In the Ainu worldview, artistic practices are not out of routine, but out of inspiration from divine sources. As in the example of the “We are Ainu! (We are Diaspora)” Hip-Hop music video (picture displayed in Figure 7) the plane of Pokna Moshiri is represented as I layer stories about the past as an education on the Ainu in Diaspora experience from the Ainu in Diaspora perspective.

Figure 7. YouTube Screen Shot of We Are Ainu! (Hip-Hop Ethnography)



As I stand in the present plane of Ainu Moshiri, I wear modern clothes and sunglasses, but adorn myself with my cultural markings and mantapushi (head band). I am rapping rhythmically while the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity fights to surface above the English

language spoken as a means to story-share in the loss of my ancestral language. Kamuy Moshiri, or the divine, is depicted both in the visual art of the killer whale, as well as in my repeated affirmation that “we are Ainu.” In the plane of Ainu Moshiri, the influence of oppression, patriarchy, and the Meiji lens in my history is undeniable. Ultimately, through performance and multi-media platforms which include Ainu practices, visual imagery, fashion, music, lyrical delivery, and technology; the stories of the Ainu in Diaspora ascend through the Moshiri Model to become narratives of resistance. The simple act of presence is mechanized in the quest for social justice in the Ainu in Diaspora context.

Pokna Moshiri

Yamada (2001) stated, “Oral traditions identify the world after death for humans with Pokna Moshiri” (p. 24). In the account of the oral traditions of the Horebitsu region of Hokkaido in Japan, Yamada identified Pokna Moshiri as “the world where the souls of the dead are destined to go” (p. 25). Despite Pokna Moshiri having a negative connotation due to misuse by Christian missionaries to describe hell, Yamada emphasized that “there is no hell” (p. 25) in precolonial Ainu oral traditions and morality is not associated with death. Some Ainu tribes’ orations indicate that Pokna Moshiri is a physical space in the depths of the earth where the souls of the dead live on; other Ainu orations show the souls of the dead traveling straight to Kamuy Moshiri (Yamada, 2001). For the Moshiri model, Pokna Moshiri served as a metaphorical base for the researcher. This plane of the Moshiri model is inspired by the transformative paradigm’s description of axiology (Mertens, 2001) through understanding the root of Ainu cultural norms as well as developing an appreciation of the current initiatives around social justice reform in the Ainu community.

In a sense, Ainu in Diaspora must look to where they have been before they can recognize their collective past and map out future pathways. According to the Ainu in Diaspora with whom I have spoken, it is usually a family story (or stories) and/or a feeling of reverence for one's ancestors that brings an individual to a place of wanting to explore Ainu identity. For the aboriginal researchers, the Pokna Moshiri phase means delving into the histories of the generations before. This exploration may begin with informal investigations of oral histories and then move toward historical artifacts, which provide deeper information than that revealed by the written words of the colonizer. In the Ainu context, listening to accounts of the elders and learning Ainu chants and orations are critical. Because many Ainu have been harmed by forced assimilation and many stories have been silenced, it is imperative to examine the colonizers' writing and be mindful of the egregious misinterpretations of the Ainu ways of knowing, feeling, and being in colonial accounts. These errors in colonial interpretations of Ainu can facilitate understanding around the circumstances of violence and dehumanization into which Ainu ancestors were immersed during that time in history.

The process of ancestor worship, or veneration, is a deeply ritualistic one that differs among the Indigenous people of Ainu Moshiri. Although I am not suggesting that the Ainu researcher in the diaspora recreates protocols of veneration, creating time and space in the research process to honor the deceased and the tales that stem from their time is essential from the Native perspective. Through this phase of the Moshiri model, if individuals cannot find and connect with their own ancestors, an alternative method might be to support those Ainu who are currently fighting for the repatriation of the bones of the elders of their tribe. From the shamanic worldview of the Ainu in Diaspora, Pokna Moshiri exists in mythic time and space; however, the

researcher in the physical plain will make discoveries about the past, with the guidance from the ancestral spirits who may travel between Pokna Moshiri and Ainu Moshiri.

Ainu Moshiri

Whereas Moshiri can mean *country*, Ainu Moshiri is often a way to describe the aboriginal lands of the Ainu. Moreover, Ainu Moshiri is the realm in which humans, plants, and animals exist along with certain kamuy (Yamada, 2001). Through this plane on the Moshiri model, the Ainu in Diaspora work to honor the connection to place. For many Ainu in Diaspora, there is an expressed desire to connect to the ancestral lands in Ainu Moshiri as a country.

Although physical connection to the ancestral land may not always be possible due to translocation, the Ainu in Diaspora can still hone the Native worldview holistically by learning about the Indigenous people to the land in *repun moshiri* (diaspora). Although many Ainu have familial stories regarding their heritage, the Ainu have undergone waves of displacement, which makes it difficult for many, both in and out of Japan, to identify their tribal lands. Because the Ainu worldview is one of animism, Ainu in Diaspora can honor the ancient beliefs of Pokna Moshiri in the current context. It is not necessary to be physically in Ainu Moshiri to respect the belief about kamuy inhabiting the surrounding animals, elements, and objects. This layer of the Moshiri model draws inspiration from the ontology of the transformative paradigm in that there must be critical interrogation around issues of power and control. In the Ainu Moshiri portion of the model, Ainu in Diaspora can recognize Ainu Moshiri as a metaphorical plane with multiple realities when investigating race, class, economics, gender, age, religion, and ability (Mertens, 2001). Through the framework of this model, creativity and performance in the plane of Ainu Moshiri are the result of metaphysical influence from the plains of both Pokna and Kamuy Moshiri.

A key element in this plane of the Moshiri model is a reconnection for the aboriginal person to the earth. Within the Ainu worldview, this would mean that the persons of Ainu heritage must have hands-on experiences to process and reflect on their relationship with the kamuy or animistic spirits. The process of centering oneself in place facilitates the Ainu in Diaspora to fully engage in critical conversations around survivance and social justice. Within this phase of the model, creative practice and artistic expression lead to the re-storying of self.

Kamuy Moshiri

According to Yamada (2001), Kamuy Moshiri is a physical place above Ainu Moshiri, in the upper part of heaven called Rinkin Kanto. In the Ainu cosmogony, heaven is regarded as a place with several layers, intersecting the Ainu worldview of time, space, and potential, leaving Kamuy Moshiri at “the upper most part of heaven” (Yamada, 2001, p. 19). In this phase of the model, this plane is informed by the epistemology of the transformative paradigm where critical conversations happen as a result of the re-storying process; accordingly, the goal was to produce actionable steps in advocacy, awareness, politics, and education. The process of re-storying the presence of the marginalized creates change in the future realm. The Moshiri model indicates that colonial epistemologies must evolve to recognize that knowledge is socially located and not exclusive to academia (Yamada, 2001). The researcher and research participants worked together to create change for the benefit of future generations metaphorically referred to as Kamuy Moshiri, the divine heavenly space where colonization, illegal occupation, and the social aftermath of oppression are nonexistent.

The Sharing of Stories

According to Creswell (2007), the researcher’s role is to understand the common themes emerging from data to accurately represent, in storied text, the lived experiences shared by

participants. Kovach (2009) challenged Western ideas around taking stories and placing them in text. According to Kovach, “In an oral culture, a story lives, develops, and is imbued with the energy of the dynamic relationship between teller and listener” (p. 101). In alignment with Creswell and Kovach, Linder and Rodriguez (2012) defined inquiry as “the study of lived experiences through story” (p. 386). In this process of narrative ethnography, I recognized that, just as people might embellish a story, there might also be elements of their personal story they are reluctant to tell (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008). The narrative ethnographer examines the “narrative environments—their occasions, and practices” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p. 206) to fully understand the storytelling process. The narrative ethnographer closely scrutinizes “social situations, their actors, and actions in relation to the narratives” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008, p. 205). For this dissertation, I chose an Indigenous, humanizing approach to the process of collecting stories because it became evident that my participants felt social pressures to conceal their Ainu cultural identity.

To honor the relationship between the storyteller and myself, I employed dialogic spiraling (San Pedro & Kinloch, 2017), keeping the conversation open and fluid through the single-person, interactive interviews and focus group. Although I use the term *interview* to explain how I gathered the stories shared for this process, dialogic spiraling was appropriate for this study because humanizing the research process was a priority of my chosen methodology. According to San Pedro and Kinloch (2017), “In considering our relationships and stories with research participants, we find that critical Indigenous and humanizing methodological approaches help us disrupt the researcher-participant binary. To do this, we envision storying as a dialogic spiral” (p. 380). According to San Pedro and Kinloch (2017), a dialogic spiral is a

conversation between two or more people, where the social norms enable authentic speaking and listening, which allows space for trust between speakers.

I chose dialogic spiraling to “disrupt the researcher-participant binary” through the process of feeling heard, listening, and speaking, which “co-creates an area of trust between speakers” (San Pedro & Kinloch, 2017, p. 381). Postcolonial research methodologies allowed me to “perceive literature as language, cultural artifacts, legends, stories, practices, songs, rituals, poems, dance, tattoos, [and] lived experiences,” which may also include “personal stories and community stories” (Chilisa, 2012, p. 60). I also invited participants to share cultural artifacts they felt could enhance the communication of their stories. The artifact-sharing provided a natural segue for participants to share their lived experiences with each other.

Positionality

Figure 8. Identity



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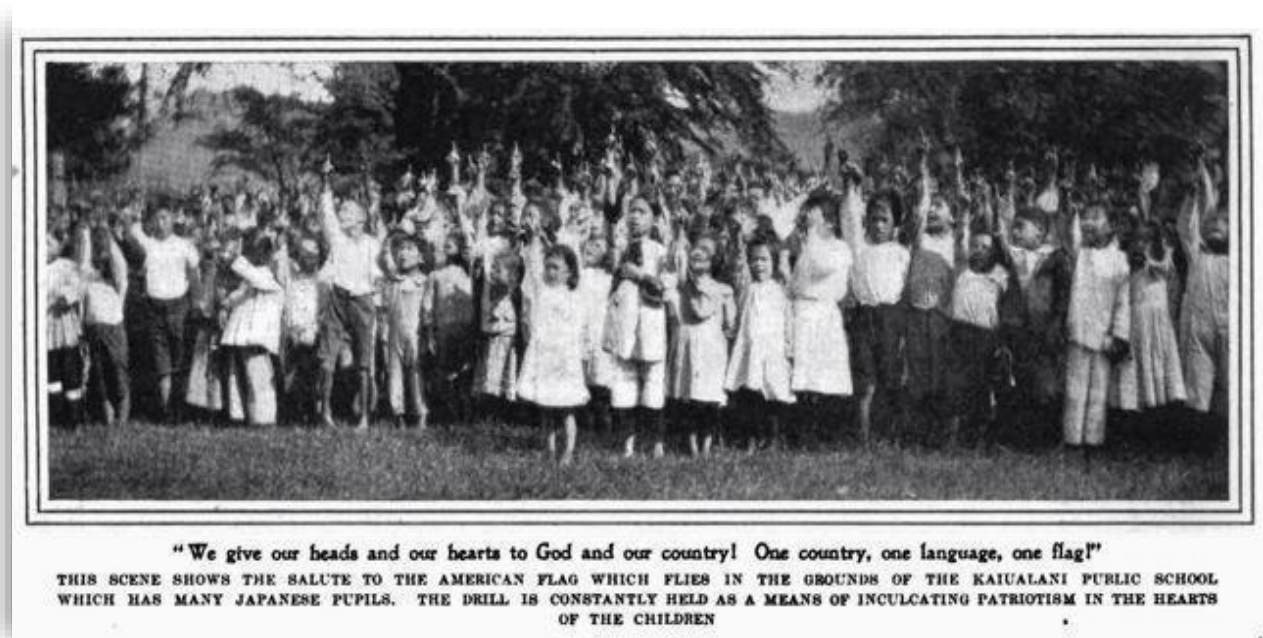
I entered school leadership through a Federal Race to the Top grant, which required that the State of Hawai‘i encourage diversity within its infrastructure by creating alternative pathways to school leadership. This period of my life opened intergenerational wounds of which I had previously been unaware, subsequently, leading to the design of this study. In the Hawai‘i context, the overwhelming presence of Japanese people in positions of leadership is undeniable, despite the so-called melting pot of Pacific Island ethnicities and cultures for whom the educational system is responsible for educating. I began my path as a training school administrator at Ka‘iulani Elementary School. At the time, most of the teachers were Japanese or White, with much of the school’s population being Pacific Islander. In retrospect, the ethnic, socioeconomic, and cultural gaps in understanding between the faculty, students, and predominantly immigrant community were glaring.

I will never forget the sinking feeling when a principal told me, “The principal is the shogun and the vice principal is the samurai.” I am not sure if he understood the Chinese calligraphy for shogun uses the character *yi* (aboriginal), because, historically, “shogun” meant “hunter of aboriginals/Ainu” for their role in eradicating my ancestors. I nevertheless felt that I was in a space where I needed to cloak who I truly was under a Japanese surname and identity, or what I thought was a Japanese identity. I recall the history of Japanese Nationals coming to Hawai‘i to labor on the plantations. These reflections are important because the dominant culture of the Hawai‘i Department of Education is not necessarily a direct result of a Japanese national influence. It is, in fact, the history of plantation classism, internalized White supremacy, and colonization that permeate the educational institutions of Hawai‘i.

Formal educational spaces have historically not welcomed the Native population of the Japanese archipelago. In addition, for any descendant of the Japanese diaspora to the Hawaiian

Islands during the plantation era, the school was not a place that was safe for students of either the Ainu or the Japanese cultural identity. Figure 7 shows students at Ka‘iulani Elementary who were Japanese emigrants to be saying in unison, “We give our heads and our hearts to God and our Country! One Country! One Language! One Flag!” (*Harper’s Weekly*, 1907, p. 222). The article further described such chants as a means of indoctrinating the students into an American or distinctly Japanese American identity. Despite this being a history never taught to me in school, it is my history nevertheless.

Figure 9. The Ka‘iulani Elementary School



Note. Copyright *Harper’s Weekly*, 1907.

To my knowledge, my grandparents received only part of their elementary education, whereas my father was a high school graduate. I think about how Japanese imperialism shaped the historical education of my direct family line, both in and out of Japan. As a first-generation college student, I recognize that the educational system my grandparents knew in Hawai‘i prevented students from learning about and embracing their cultural identity. Yet, I had spent 2 years of my life being someone I was not to achieve the goals I thought I wanted to have access

to leadership training in formalized educational spaces. In my training process, I heard that a good school leader knows who they are and what they value. With that, I was finished hiding and denying my cultural identity.

When I graduated and became a certified school administrator holding a second graduate degree in educational administration, I held a deep pride in being one of the very few Ainu-identifying school administrators in the world. I had decided to participate in the ceremony wearing my *anchi piri* (a mouth tattoo worn by Ainu women outlawed by the Japanese government, leaving Ainu female cultural practitioners to use temporary means within special ceremonies to recreate the tribal marking of protection and connection from ancestors). Instead, I heard a Japanese colloquial saying familiar to all Ainu in the West: “The nail that sticks up will get pounded down.” A person assigned to mentor me within the leadership role of a school administrator made it clear that I would further restrict myself from obtaining potential employment if I wore my *anchi piri* at my graduation ceremony. As much as it meant to me personally, I decided against wearing my *anchi piri* on the day I finally achieved the status of certified school leader. There was a heavy feeling in my gut as I sat through that ceremony, and years later, I can still describe the lump of guilt in my throat. I can remember the burning in my eyes as I sat at the ceremony, disappointed in myself and fighting back my tears. Yet I can hardly remember any other details of that day.

Historical trauma is a genuine issue within any classroom responsible for teaching even one Indigenous child (England-Aytes et al., 2013). Historical trauma is not just an issue that impacts children who are Indigenous. Love (2019) discussed the trauma experienced by the Black community daily:

Historical trauma that has been passed down from [our] ancestors...[for] we cannot heal without addressing [our] ancestors' trauma and sacrifices, and then [our] own. Thus, healing must be intergenerational, and healing is different for different people. (p. 157)

Love's words are significant, showing the power of how experiences mold and shape family patterns, providing hope that trauma can be healed.

Given my experience with educational leadership, I believe it is important to also extend this awareness of historical trauma to educational leadership development programs for adults, thus improving educational and career access for marginalized adult learners. In comparison to the overt discrimination many Indigenous and marginalized people face when meeting dominant posturing, my experiences were nowhere near as stressful. However, I believe there is something to be learned from the resilience of the cultural identity of the Ainu in Diaspora through their navigation of the intentional or unintentional colonial perspectives of Japanese-identifying people.

In 2016, I became the *hope po'okumu*, (vice-principal), of a Hawaiian language immersion school. Because of the heritage learning model of the school, Indigenous educators from around the world visit the campus. For the first time in my life, both professionally and personally, I felt I could be whole. I was surrounded by educators who wore traditional Kanaka Maoli tattoos or kauhi on their face and limbs in manner similar to how Ainu would tattoo tribal markings on their bodies before the Japanese placed colonial restrictions on the practice. Being in that environment strengthened my sense of understanding of my Ainu traditional markings, worn as matrilineal rites of passage, spiritual protection, connection, and as medicine.

Perhaps my biggest area of professional growth came as I learned how important a relationship with one's genealogy can be to educational praxis. In January 2017, a group of Ainu

youth visited my school to learn about Indigenous pedagogy. I wore my traditional marking to greet them. Upon arrival, the students commented that they had never known an Ainu school administrator, let alone seen a school administrator displaying traditional markings outlawed by Japanese society. In Figure 8, the students from Hokkaido dressed me in the Ainu *atush* and *mantapushi* (traditional clothing). The young woman pictured who took off her traditional clothing and insisted I wear them is Maya Sekine. Maya has become popular in the media promoting Ainu language and culture in her home of Hokkaido, Japan. Since my time as a training administrator, working in an educational environment that welcomes the Native cultural identity facilitated my professional growth as a practitioner of Indigenous pedagogy, as well as my growth in cultural identity.

Figure 10. Ainu from Hokkaido Visit a Hawaiian Immersion School



Note. Copyright Ronda Hayashi-Simpliciano, 2019. Personal collection.

I take pride in knowing that my presence alone holds empowerment. As a woman in educational leadership, I unapologetically normalize Ainu identity in formalized educational institutions. Although colonization and displacement have robbed Ainu in Diaspora of knowing language and culture, members learn from each other, remaining open to the lessons learned from individuals outside of the community. My positionality is that of a member of this

community of Ainu in Diaspora and a practitioner of Paris and Alim's (2014) culturally sustaining pedagogy (CSP), which acknowledges the plural and evolving nature of identity and cultural practices, the counter-hegemonic potential held as educators, and the need to foster critical conversations around ways in which youth can reproduce systemic inequalities. I acknowledge my lens is of both Native and settler, depending on the space in which I am positioned; this dual identity is an added complication and disadvantage faced by many in Pacifica who have survived the generational violation of colonization.

In keeping with Indigenous ways of feeling and learning within the practice of research, I share stories. The personal story-sharing throughout this dissertation in textual, spoken, and artistic formats is an integral part of my practice in locating myself as a researcher. In alignment with many Aboriginal and Indigenous approaches to story-sharing, I present to my audience my location in this research rooted in my relationship with my ancestors and my relationship with place, so that others can gain an understanding of the genealogy of knowledge which this dissertation represents. According to Kovach (2009), "Indigenous inquiry involves specific multi-layered preparations particular to each researcher" (p. 109), which include the location and cultural grounding of the researcher. As an Ainu in Diaspora who designed this study, I acknowledge that I am a "researcher in relation" (Kovach, 2009, p. 116). Through my stories, I disclose the cultural grounding that has molded my inquiry and community accountability as a researcher.

Charanke

For the Ainu, *charanke* is an essential ritual of debate. In many ways, *charanke* is a rite of passage into the tribal realm in a culture that values the wit and skill of accomplished orators. Individuals more familiar with the Maori culture might not be surprised when two warriors greet

each other with postures of opposition. The warriors appraise one another to determine if the opposition is worthy enough for the challenge. In many ways, charanke is a mental challenge as opposed to a physical one. Whereas authors like Okada (2012) describe charanke as a way in which Ainu “resolve disputes through conversation and negotiation” (p. 15), while Hilger (1967) sensationalizes charanke as an elaborate ritual which only men can complete. Although both definitions are rooted in the literature, I see charanke as a form of disciplined resistance that Ainu in Diaspora are embracing and redefining for themselves regardless of patriarchal concepts of gender.

I included charanke in the title of this dissertation because, as an Ainu in Diaspora, I find my identity and existence continually challenged. I must always be ready to argue for the existence of not only myself, but my lineage before me and my children after me. Through my online interactions with other Ainu, I realized rather quickly that I would face challenges by Hokkaido Ainu as well as Ainu oppressors. However, after 7 years of forging relationships with Ainu back in Ainu Moshiri, I have come to understand that the Japanese reaction would be to ignore and never react with Ainu in Diaspora. The Ainu reaction to the presence of Ainu in Diaspora is to challenge the understanding of genealogy in relation to the surrounding world—but only with Ainu in Diaspora deemed mentally worthy of such discourse. Additionally, Ainu-identifying people in the diaspora take part in a form of charanke through art, fashion, poetry, activism, and other means of self-expression. These are acts of survivance to establish that Ainu people are, in fact, a thriving population in diaspora.

Performance Ethnography

According to Denzin (2003), the field of ethnography and ethnographic writing has moved to include performance poetry and drama, where creative analytic practices take on diverse reflexive performance narrative forms. These performance narratives can include

Performance autoethnography...short stories, conversations, fiction, creative nonfiction, photo-graphic essays, personal essays, personal narratives of the self, writing-stories, self-stories, fragmented or layered text, critical autobiography, memoirs, personal histories, cultural criticism, co-constructed performance narratives, and performance writing, which blurs the boundaries separating text, representation, and criticism.

(Denzin, 2003, p. 14)

Denzin (2003) stated that “critical performance pedagogy informs educational and ethnographic practice, which in turn helps to create the pedagogical conditions necessary for emancipatory schooling” (p. 31). According to Oberg (2008), performance ethnography is an arts-based method used to add a teaching component, as well as a multimodal learning aspect to research. Oberg described performance ethnography as a process of emancipation for marginalized populations in which the performers and the audience simultaneously examine the now-unveiled oppressive nature of social hierarchy. Performance ethnography is transformative in that it enables a critical lens regarding social values, culture, attitudes, and practices (Gubrium & Holstein, 1999, 2008; Oberg, 2008). As a researcher, I found myself drawn to Mertens (2010). I viewed co-creating stories with my participants, as well as analyzing and disseminating information through performance ethnography, as aligned with the transformational approaches to social justice. Such approaches honored equity of voice, civil disobedience, and resistance through the medium of charanke in the diasporic context and Hip Hop.

Hip Hop and Performance

Like that, little Kanaka that I pushed from my womb
 Hawaiian Soul of George Helm that they tried to entomb
 Like that, Hāloanaka that they wanna consume
 At their lū'au in the hotels that we are not welcomed to
 I'm telling you
 Wahine Toa coming through
 I'm rep'n Pacific stories
 From the Kānaka Maoli to the Ainu

—Hayashi-Simpliciano, 2019

This passage is an example of how I use the composition of hip-hop lyrics as a method of metaphor analysis, as well as a process of re-storying erasure into narratives of resistance. By using hip-hop performance to re-story and share stories, I thread my hip-hop pieces in and out of the narratives of my participants as the interpreter of their stories. According to Zullo (2018), “hip-hop as a genre is rooted in the lived and practiced expression” (p. 20) of people who have been impacted by alienation, economic hardships, and marginalization. Zullo identified expressions of Hip Hop as a culture as defined through performance that displays the many ways in which creativity can thrive in disadvantaged spaces. For Zullo, “hip-hop operates in the realm of knowledge production but executes this intellectual work not only through discourse and lyrical prose, but also within the realm of embodiment (i.e., movement, vocal performance, and self-presentation)” (p. 21).

As I am both a researcher and a member of the community under study, hip-hop performance provided a way for me to process and set aside the traumatic stories that I discover within my history through the information I collect. There were times when the words of my participants moved me to tears. Hip-Hop and spoken word were how I naturally engaged in my journaling process, which allowed me to feel and re-story what I was interpreting from the data. I

then set those pieces aside to differentiate them and to use them to further reflect on my position to the stories of my participants.

Hairston (2016) identified five elements of Hip Hop: graffiti art, DJ/turntablist, breaking (break dancing), emcee (lyricists, rap artists), and knowledge (or consciousness). According to Blanchard (1999), rap can be rhymes spoken over the music of the Hip Hop genre. Emceeing, also referred to as rap, is popularly defined as an element of Hip Hop rooted in West African oral tradition. Blanchard described,

In Malian Dogon cosmology, Nommo is the first human, a creation of the supreme deity, Amma, whose creative power lies in the generative property of the spoken word. As a philosophical concept, nommo is the animative ability of words and the delivery of words to act upon objects, giving life. The significance in the African oral tradition has given power to rappers and rap music within many African American communities. (p. 5)

Rap in the context of the African American community stemmed from respected African oral historians called *griots* (Blanchard, 1999). According to Blanchard (1999), griots “were the keepers and purveyors of knowledge, including tribal history, family lineage, and news of births, deaths and wards. Travelling griots spread knowledge in an accessible form—the spoken word—to members of tribal villages” (p. 6). With a robust Indigenous foundation rooted in the modern context, Blanchard stated that rap “developed as a form of resistance” with the “powerful potential to address social, economic, and political issues and act as a unifying voice for its audience” (p. 7). The knowledge-sharing and disciplined resistance seen in modern rap music are rooted in the aboriginality of African culture. The Ainu traditional orations and the argumentative aspect of *charanke* are perhaps similar to many elements of Hip Hop, given the aboriginal roots of this diasporic art form. Indigenous youth all over the world have connected

with Hip Hop as a culture and hip-hop as a genre of performance to express their cultural identity and survivance, despite histories of colonialism and colonization.

According to Goldberg (2017), Hip Hop is a modification of human survival, a transformative practice that does not constrain the practitioner to a set of rules. Although the violence imposed on African Americans through slavery broke cultural practices, the essential culture of orality, music, and performance were indestructible (Goldberg, 2017). Goldberg asserted that African Americans were forced to operate under a system of “ownership, violence and silence” (13:24) and described Hip Hop as critical creativity, filling a basic human drive for freedom. Despite the importance of acknowledging Hip Hop’s specific genealogy to the context of the African American community in diaspora, the elements of Hip Hop have undoubtedly made strong impressions on communities of all races worldwide. As with many Indigenous communities with strong histories of orality, Hip Hop has become a way for the marginalized to story themselves. Of Indigenous youth engaged in Hip Hop, Marsh (2012) stated,

Through their raps, bets, graffiti, and dance, the students are telling stories—to each other, to their peers, to their families, and to their communities—about how they understand their own politics, acts of resistance and compliance, fears, anxieties, dreams, celebrations, identity, and culture. (p. 24)

Buffam (2011) stated that, for Indigenous youth, Hip Hop is a technology facilitating self-transformation. Through Hip Hop, individuals recreate themselves in meaningful ways, contesting their subjugation to systemic racism. Buffam also suggested that Hip Hop has evolved within Indigenous spaces to take on distinct stylings through which the artist hybridizes Indigenous culture with Hip Hop culture. Kubota (2007) found Hip Hop to be an art form engaged by the Ainu in Hokkaido to voice opposition to oppression and colonialism. Some

Hokkaido Ainu perform Hip Hop–inspired music, which also integrates Ainu fashion, language, and culture (Kubota, 2007). Johnson (2019) argued that the elements of Hip Hop allow for “the process of re-storying and shifting the institutional, social, and cultural narratives” (p. 88). There appears to be a trend of marginalized communities across the globe utilizing Hip Hop culture as a way to story their experiences.

Hip Hop is essentially where my artistic expression, re-storying, charanke, cultural identity, diasporic identity, ethnographic analysis, and transformative practice come together. I engaged a process of creating a performance ethnography to blend the lyrical styling of Hip Hop and spoken word with the approaches of famed ethnographer Anna Deavere Smith, who encouraged the practice of replicating the words she collected from interviews. Smith’s approach theatrically enables the research participant to “speak, as if to each other in much the same way a ‘spirit doctor’ brings ancestors or spirits in contact with the living” (Martin & Smith, 1993, p. 49). This research project presented the means for audiences to have a critical dialogue about the presence of Ainu in Diaspora and the complex layers of cultural identities and influences. The performance itself is my reflexive process and my response to the thoughts and feelings that surfaced while collecting and analyzing the data.

There is much shame surrounding being Ainu, given the history of slavery, indentured servitude, and oppression. The process of re-storying the presence of Ainu in Diaspora with my participants has left me with heavy feelings. The participants shared their stories with me, understanding that I would be sharing their stories in a performance; they did this to establish that Ainu are maintaining space for their cultural identity in systems of education previously used to erase Ainu presence. I am grateful to exist in a time where I can harness my education to facilitate understanding of my cultural identity. I use my Hip Hop voice to further reflect on my

position in relation to the stories I have collected, creating resistance narratives and disrupting my subjection to historical oppression and erasure.

My Position to Hip Hop

According to San Pedro and Kinloch (2017), researchers will always have bias; as such, they must take precautions in relaying the stories of participants, because the act of collecting another person's story, analyzing it, and sharing it is also a form of colonization. I engaged in dialogic conversations with my participants in acknowledgment that, as a member of this community, I am biased from my experiences. As the participants re-storied their experiences, I used Hip Hop to voice the elements of my lived experiences within the final product. As an Ainu in Diaspora, I filled the gaps of my Indigenous language and culture with the language and culture of Hip Hop, just as my study participants have used other traditionally non-Ainu art forms to perpetuate their cultural identity.

Figure 11. Childhood Pictures



Note. Copyright Ronda Hayashi-Simpliciano, 2019. Personal collection.

Born out of the resilience and beauty of the African Diaspora (Goldberg, 2017), Hip Hop speaks to my soul as a human being and my pedagogy as a Knowledge Keeper and educator. Hip Hop is, therefore, my process of reflection, reflexive practice, analysis, cultural practice, and genre of performance. I consider myself first and foremost to be a Hip Hop pedagogue. I was born in 1979, during the time of the renaissance of Kānaka Maoli identity and culture.

Accordingly, I am privileged to have had lifelong training in Hula as well as exposure to *yukara* (which I define as the Ainu process of shamanic oration) at a time when the view of having Indigenous and African heritage was as something to be proud. It is important to recognize that my ancestors did not have such a privilege. Imperialism, slavery, and colonization heavily influenced my direct genealogy. In retrospect, Hip Hop as a culture has filled in the gaps of knowledge regarding my Ainu heritage and language once I no longer had access to the Ainu influence from Ainu elders.

I began beat boxing and break dancing along with my brothers at 3 years of age, when my siblings formed the Hip Hop group Ebony Express and performed locally. In a family of ethnic mixtures often separated into “boxes” based on the divisive nature of societal perceptions about race, Hip Hop became a common culture in which it was safe to voice the differences that made us unique, declaring our humanity to the outside world through dance, beat boxing, and lyricism. In Hawai‘i, where Japanese settlerism is prevalent, Hip Hop became the structure of strength needed for me to acknowledge that Japanese culture would not negate my Ainu heritage. The rhythmic oration of the rap artists was familiar because of styles of Kanaka Maoli chanting, or *oli*, and styles of Ainu storytelling spoken rhythmically. I had a natural inclination toward composition, stringing together words of my own in a rhythmic manner from early preschool age.

Perhaps in another time, place, and culture, an elder would have recognized my talent, encouraging formal training in a traditional style of oration. However, amid the neocolonial Japanese influence on a highly endangered Ainu language, Hip Hop was the specific culture helping me to understand that local stories, and people re-storying their experiences, hold power. As a Hip Hop artist, I received the nickname “Katana,” and have been performing under that name since the 1990s. Hip Hop has become the mechanism that enables and empowers my reflective practice as a school administrator within the Hawaiian language immersion system. Although some traditional Native practitioners assert that Hip Hop only taints the Ainu culture, I argue that, just as Hokkaido Ainu use Japanese language and culture as a way to sustain Ainu culture, Hip Hop maintains my Ainu identity. Hip Hop provides the foundation for the criticism and disciplined resistance needed for me to endure, despite the systemic oppression of American and Japanese supremacist ideologies.

As a critical listener, I further analyzed my interviews to story the data collected together from my participants. My approach was to listen carefully to the charanke of the participants, elicit themes, and weave the interviewees’ stories in a way that facilitated understanding around common experiences of Ainu in Diaspora. Specific to the Indigenous people of Canada, Wilson (2008) discussed the storyteller’s responsibility in weaving together stories, stating, “It is important for storytellers to impart their own life and experience into the telling” (p. 32). An audience understanding the perspectives of the storyteller and how the story is complementary to that storyteller’s life learns from the stories. Wilson’s description of the role of the storyteller is complementary to the way San Pedro and Kinloch (2017) described the significance of dialogic spiraling in fostering relationships in research. In keeping with Indigenous and humanistic approaches to data collection and analysis, my roles as both researcher and member of the

community existed within the arts-integrated dissemination of these stories, allowing me to co-create meaning of the provided themes. Therefore, identifying themes and working with participants to determine themes was a significant component of my process of analysis. The knowledge-sharing and disciplined resistance evident in modern rap music are rooted in the aboriginality of African culture. The Ainu traditional orations and the argumentative aspect of charanke are perhaps similar to many elements of Hip Hop given the aboriginal roots of this diasporic art form. Indigenous youth all over the world have connected with Hip Hop as a culture and hip-hop as a genre of performance to express their cultural identity and survivance despite their histories of colonialism and colonization.

Participants

I chose to use purposeful sampling to select participants who could share different perspectives (Creswell, 2007) around the Ainu in Diaspora experience. I limited participation to adults who met the criteria of being Ainu-identifying adults who were raised in diaspora and worked in the field of education and/or took on the role of Knowledge Keepers of Ainu cultural identity. In addition, participants needed to be able to manage the computer functions of video conferencing and email. Four participants surfaced from an Ainu interest social media page I manage; a fifth participant came from snowballing, or referral, by Dr. Vince Okada, a social worker specializing in supporting Ainu communities. All participants were high school graduates over the age of 18 years. One participant had some college education, and the other four held at least one college degree. I felt it was important to work with the adults of this population because revealing Ainu cultural identity might be emotionally taxing due to the many years of erasure the community has faced. I wanted to engage participants who could reflect on any possible repercussions of talking about Ainu cultural identity to make an informed decision about whether

taking part in this study was the right thing to do, given their context. In addition, because this study focused on Knowledge Keepers within the community of Ainu in Diaspora, it would not have been appropriate to collect the stories of children.

Chilisa (2012) argued that Indigenous research methodologies must take into account the necessity of credibility in communities historically harmed by research. For this reason, I gave participants the option to either disclose who they are or to have a pseudonym to obscure their identity. According to Chilisa, it is important for Indigenous communities to be able to track stories to actual people because of the significant amount of writing about Indigenous communities that is not true. I submitted my proposal along with my consent forms to the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Institutional Review Board (IRB) and received approval to share the identities of my participants who wanted me to do so. Others opted not to share their identities because of the stigma that often follows those who are openly Ainu.

Tara the Blogger

Tara has a popular social media and blog presence on American Ainu perspectives. She lives in the United States in the state of Washington and is in her late 20s. Tara gave consent for me to use her name. Tara was the first to identify Ainu in America as diaspora, which seemed to resonate with many of her social media followers who subsequently identified themselves as diaspora Ainu. Tara is a talented artist and expresses her cultural identity through her digital artwork as well as the fashion she creates, which ranges from traditional Ainu embroidery and jewelry to placing her original Ainu designs on leather jackets. For Tara, artwork makes her visible as an Ainu. In an interview, Tara shared,

I embroider my clothing. I paint designs on my leather jacket. I wear mantapushi to an event, or I'll wear an Ainu necklace; I wear those things to a fancy event. In a lot of my

work, I'm exploring Ainu artwork and finding my own voice in an artistic expression that is informed by Ainu tradition. As a contemporary artist, I'm not interested in preserving any kind of official tradition. I am not interested in validating the notion of an official narrative...that's not a living culture.

Tara views her artwork as an expression of her identity as an Ainu in Diaspora. She sees the cultural identity of the Ainu in Diaspora as a "living culture" that has, perhaps, evolved in a direction away from the traditional Ainu culture of the homeland. Tara incorporates tradition with modern fashion to foster new ways of expression of Ainu cultural identity. Both technology and fashion allow Tara to redefine and reaffirm her own Ainu-ness.

Ed the Biker

Ed is a gentleman in his 60s who also resides in the state of Washington. Ed, a husband and father who completed his college education in environmental studies, is an avid hunter and fisherman. He believes he gets both of these interests from his Ainu ancestors. He said,

Honestly, I think I'm one of those Ainus that would have been of the fishermen living on the coast because fishing comes very natural for me, and I'm very good at it. And a lot of people even admit that I fish better than them. I think [Ainu are] born with that.

I met Ed several years ago on a social media platform, where he would often mentor people about DNA testing and identifying Ainu heritage through science-based methods. Ed's mother was Ainu, and she was born in Hokkaido, Japan. Ed is phenotypically Ainu and grew up on U.S. military bases where, in hindsight, he recalled the Japanese mothers of his friends not wanting their children to socialize with him because of his Ainu physical characteristics. Ed's mother revealed to him that he looked like her father because he is a "Japanese Indian" (a term often used by Japanese when describing Ainu people). When Ed returned to Hokkaido to find a

picture of his Ainu grandfather, he realized that his own features were, indeed, Ainu features. As an adult, Ed chooses to wear his hair and beard in the traditional Ainu way. He explained,

I am a motorcycle rider, biker since 1980. Well, actually, I can't say that we grew our hair out and beards out because I'm a biker because my brother did the same thing. We both had long hair and beards, which was kind of odd for Japanese. We freaked out our family when we came and visited because both my brother and I had beards. Adults understood because we were from America, but the kids didn't understand. They were scared of us. So I just wonder how much impact that might have had on the Japanese when they first saw the Ainu.

These words show Ed identifying closely with his Ainu heritage while sharing his experiences of being “othered” by the Japanese and Japanese American community. In the interview, Ed shared that his family used the term “Japanese Indian” to describe people of Ainu heritage. This was significant because individuals whose families provided oral histories that they were of Indigenous heritage of the Japanese archipelago might not have known they were Ainu; as a result, terms such as Japanese Indian could have described their Native heritage.

Ayaka of the Sacred Mountains

Ayaka (pseudonym) is a female in her early 40s who was born on the island of O'ahu but currently resides on Hawai'i island. Ayaka is part Okinawan, part Japanese, and part Ainu. Ayaka and her husband are Hawaiian lomilomi practitioners. Growing up, Ayaka described feeling as if she did not fit in anywhere.

Little kid time, I had these big Coke-bottle glasses and my hair was terrible, so I got it from everybody. I got it from kids, whether they were Asian, Haole, whoever. I think if people would have just gotten to know me, but when you are a kid, it is so difficult.

People are just rough. And because they also came from a very different upbringing.

...My mom was making me Japanese bento for lunch and everybody else has ham sandwiches. Or sometimes I had kimchi in my bento and they were like, “Whoa!” I don’t think I was cool enough for the local Japanese, either. *[Laughs]*

Ayaka moved to Hawai‘i island to support Kānaka Maoli against the building of the 30-meter telescope on Maunakea; in addition, Ayaka has often stayed at the Pu‘uhonua so she could provide Kānaka Maoli activists with lomilomi treatments at no cost. When asked whether Japan had any sacred spaces to her, Ayaka commented,

Yes, the one that I have stayed connected with since I was a baby is now known as Fuji san. And I guess in the Ainu language it was Huchi. Even when I go to the customs and they say, “What are you here for?” I always say there’s a Japanese word called *tozan*, which means to climb a mountain. We’re not actually climbing Mount Fuji, but that’s what it’s called when you go on a pilgrimage. So we get there; we have this beautiful view of Fuji. It’s always what brings me peace; it’s always where I feel I need to be physically and spiritually. And that’s why, when I started to learn about the Mauna, I knew I could relate to it because I knew nothing about Maunakea after growing up here in Hawai‘i, but I understood the desire and connection, because if somebody told me that I could never go back to my temple to go and be near Mount Fuji, that would break my heart, you know. And that is where I feel the most grounded, to be honest. There is a quiet magnificence being there, and I am sure that is how probably how Kānaka Maoli feel when they go to Maunakea.

Through these words, Ayaka expressed a spiritual affinity to Maunakea as a place and also a social movement. Ayaka presented herself as being in a reciprocal relationship with the Native people of Hawai‘i, despite her history as a diaspora.

Dr. Kaizawa

Dr. Kaizawa (pseudonym) is an educator by profession and has held leadership roles at several universities. Dr. Kaizawa recently moved to Hawai‘i from the mainland United States, where he arrived from Japan in 1964 as a transnational. Dr. Kaizawa described this experience as painful and “unimaginable” by today’s standards; still, he identifies as Japanese. With tear-filled eyes, Dr. Kaizawa related the trauma of the racism he endured in American schools.

I don’t know why I don’t say that I am Ainu even though I am not ashamed of my Ainu heritage. I am much older than you, and I come from a different time. I was being discriminated against and faced oppression for being Japanese in America. And so, maybe, I just began to own the fact that I was Japanese.

When he was a child, his mother revealed to him that she was part Ainu. Dr. Kaizawa explained the layers of Asian identity in diaspora, and said the field of Asian Studies holds a fixed identity that does not work for the complexities within actual communities. He explained,

We never really took into account transnationalism, and how transnationalism has an impact on Asian American communities. And believe me, it does. That is part of the settler-colonialism. When Japan first had the intention of bringing Japanese to Hawai‘i, their original intent was that those people would be colonizers of Hawai‘i. And when the embassies were created, they built Japanese language schools everywhere. All the schools, all the Buddhist temples—they had emperor worship. It is not talked about

widely today, but it is true. Do you hear them talking about this in Asian American studies? No. Is it real? It absolutely happened.

Through these words, Dr. Kaizawa discussed Asian settler colonialism and, specifically, the unique approaches of Japanese colonialism. Dr. Kaizawa asserted that Japanese language schools were historically a place of colonization and emperor worship. Through the stories of Dr. Kaizawa, the histories of the Ainu in Diaspora surface in relation to the complex transnationalism and multi-cultural environments which complicate the Ainu in Diaspora experience.

Jo the Scholar

Jo is a PhD psychology student and a graduate of one of the most academically elite high schools in the state of Hawai‘i. Jo is a mixture of Ainu, Japanese, Caucasian, and Kanaka Maoli. Jo’s grandmother was Ainu, the daughter of an indentured servant brought to Hawai‘i from Fukushima to work during the plantation era. Jo recalled a conversation in which her grandmother told her that she was Ainu:

How come this is the first time I am hearing about this? She said her dad was abandoned as a young boy. Her father was adopted by a Japanese couple. The reason he was abandoned was because he was Ainu. ...They didn’t like to talk about being Ainu.

Jo described herself as someone who is just starting to learn about her Ainu heritage. As an Ainu and Kanaka Maoli, she commented,

Like Native Hawaiians, Ainu should be proud to call ourselves Indigenous. If anyone asks me what I am now, I make sure to say I am Ainu. Maybe someone does not know what that is, but I want to say it. I want them to know that I am Ainu.

Jo's story is one of reclamation. Although her grandmother did not find the history of indentured servitude to be something she could discuss freely, Jo made a conscious choice to talk openly about her family history and make her Ainu-ness visible, combating generational trauma. Whereas the generations of the past may have felt ashamed of the circumstances of poverty, displacement, and indentured servitude that engulfed those of Ainu heritage, Jo proudly asserted that she was Ainu and wanted others to learn about her heritage.

Procedures

Step 1: The Dialogic Interview

According to Denzin (2001) "interviews are part of the dialogic conversation that connects all of us to this larger moral community (p.24). I asked participants for permission to record the reflexive and dialogical interviews via the two-way conferencing video streaming platform Zoom. According to Denzin, (2001) "a performative social science uses the reflexive interview as a vehicle for producing moments of performance theatre (p. 3), where sensitive, moral and ethical issues are can be further explored through performance (Denzin, 2001). According to San Pedro and Kinloch (2017), the dialogic spiral is a humanizing interview method "used to disrupt the research-participant binary" (p.380s) where two or more speakers co-create a space of trust (San Pedro & Kinloch, 2017). If done well, the dialogic spiral reveals the vulnerabilities and the feelings of the speakers involved to expand communication and understanding (San Pedro & Kinloch, 2017).

In analyzing the individual dialogic interviews and focus group data, my first step was to listen to the recordings and then write memos. Memoing is an important step in both the research and artistic process as a tool for self-reflexivity, where I identified my lived experiences within the participants' stories. The memos served as a tool to understand my position on issues that

stood out to me as impactful, and internally push my position, if needed, to revisit participants' narratives that did not elicit my attention upon first review. Later in the process, I stepped into the role of producer of hip-hop tracks, layering the stories of my participants with my own. I returned memoing to gain an understanding of ideas that created strong feelings within myself. In Table 2, I use the memos to identify metaphors elicited, rhythmically reworded, and written in the form of spoken word poetry or hip-hop lyrics.

Table 2. Memo and Resulting Lyrics

Excerpt from memo	Lyrics
1. Despite meeting (Participant) a year ago online, despite talking about historical trauma with her before, she had never been so transparent with me, and I listened to her in a state of shock.	As much as it hurts My people survived the worst (9) Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne (<i>translation: I am Ainu</i>) (13)
2. Later, as I rocked my son to sleep as he lay in my arms, I cried.	As much as it hurts My people survived the worst (9) Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne (13)
3. I knew that I had to go deep in myself as a researcher and social scientist.	As much as it hurts, my people survived the worst (9)
4. I had to ask myself if I was "too close" to this topic. A picture flashed in my mind of a time when I was caring for my father as he was on his deathbed.	My daddy told me that I'm carrying a curse (5) But I refuse to be livin' a life (12) Bagging up all that hurt (12)
5. He told me that our family had acquired "bad karma" from my great-grandfather. My father told me that my great-grandfather drank himself to death on a boat that ended up catching on fire in the waters outside of Haleiwa. My family, till this day, carries this shame of the patriarch of my Hayashi line.	My genealogy goes back 50,000 years upon this earth (6) And yet, a shroud of shame (5) Proclaims Ainu from birth No bath for the children (10) Starving in shacks and dirt The stench of colonization (10/11) Erasing their self-worth (10/11)
6. In 2006, I took a genetic sample from my 1st cousin who is male and found that the y chromosome DNA (from that great-grandfather) was over 50,000 years old, so old, the DNA had five mutations, when most people walking around today only have three. I saw this bloodline, this	'Dem thieves of skulls, they measure our brain 'Dem thieves of land, they dig out our grain Rice patties did steal our water (10) 'Dem rape our Ainu daughter 'Dem Shamo about their power.

<p>genetic link to Ainu Moshiri (Ainu name for Japan and Russia), as a gift.</p> <p>7. Most of my family, however, saw it as a great shame.</p> <p>8. They see this lineage as a “slave” line. Nothing more. And yet, it is quite frustrating that others cannot see how this history of slavery and rape impacted my great-grandfather. They see a descendant of slavery and poverty within Japan’s classist system of pedigree.</p> <p>9. I see a survivor of trauma.</p> <p>10. (Participant) talked in this interview about her grandmother commenting how Ainu smell. (Participant) spoke of her frustration wanting her grandmother to see that the Ainu probably could not afford to live in conditions where they could bathe.</p> <p>11. In many ways I empathize with (Participant), because like her, like her grandmother, I have Japanese identifying family who seem to have a type of loathing of themselves as Ainu. So, I know, that I was not just crying for Tara. I was being selfish in that moment. I was crying for myself. I was crying for my boys. I was crying because I do not want them growing up to feel such shame when they are beautiful.</p> <p>12. I want them to proudly say that they are Ainu.</p> <p>13. This emotion that I am feeling from this portion of the interview is something that I have to bracket out, because I do not want to interject my historical trauma on Tara’s.</p>	<p>’Dem Shamo about the power (<i>translation: shamo = colonizer</i>)</p> <p>As much as it hurts My people survived the worst (9) Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne (13 As much as it hurts My people survived the worst (9) Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne)</p>
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Note. July 17, 2019. Excerpt From Memo and Resulting Lyrics

My hip-hop compositions served as a mechanism to further analyze the ways I could remain reflexive as a researcher who also held the positionality of a community member. This

integration of art and analysis was essential as I began to bracket out the segments of the script that were important stories to the participants. I kept these separate from my voice as an Ainu in Diaspora navigating the historical trauma that I was uncovering simultaneously in the histories of my participants, as well as the histories of my family. After each dialogic interview, I would memo out my deepest thoughts, reactions, and feelings about the stories my participants shared with me. I would then dig deeper into my writings, mining the memo for themes that I would then order, or story, in metaphors linked in rhythm and rhyme.

In Table 2, I used numbers to specify where I grouped a sentence or sentences that I identified as a theme within the memo. I then listed those numbers next to my lyrics, showing how I mapped the themes or metaphors throughout my hip-hop composition. As an example, in Line 5 of my memo where I talk about the deep familial shame caused by historical trauma within my own family, I use the metaphor “shroud of shame” in my hip-hop piece labeled: (5). People often think of Japan as being synonymous with rice. In the lyrical composition, I attempt to link the lack of available bathing water with the colonial acquisition of land and water for rice patties. Through these lyrics, I try to share information with my audience, while finding ways to re-story and reconnect with the stories told to me by study participants.

This interview and subsequent memoing dated July 17, 2019, were turning points for me in the way I looked at historical trauma in the lives of both my participants and myself. I began my lyrical composition inspired by Lines 9 and 13 of my memo in an expression of survival and resistance, as I declare proudly in the Ainu language my heritage. I noted in Lines 1 through 4 of my memo the level of relationship and rapport I developed with the interview participant as she entrusted me with her rawest feelings. I memoed expressing my discomfort with that information, but decided to turn that discomfort into a hip-hop piece. In my lyric writing, I chose

to challenge myself, inspired by the bravery and transparency of my participant. I decided to story this composition with the very personal and painful memories of my father expressing ways in which historical trauma permeated our family.

In Lines 10 and 11, I empathized with my participant, who recognized that the social circumstances of the Ainu led to many negative stereotypes that remain to this day. I took artistic liberties to story the information around Lines 10 and 11 beyond negative descriptions of Ainu, providing a picture of the rough circumstances that many Ainu endured while purposely focusing on the “stench of colonization”, as opposed to the end result of body order from a people who have had their basic self-care resources taken away by colonizers. In this hip-hop piece my metaphors are short glimpses into the oral histories shared with me during my reflexive and dialogic interview process. My hip-hop pieces are also the way in which I bring others into the fold of Ainu in Diaspora history.

Step 2: Narrative Inquiry

When my interviews and reflections through memo writing were complete, I invited the participants to take part in a focus group over video conferencing. Initially, I wanted the group to examine my initial analyses of the themes that emerged from the interviews. I provided the group with a spreadsheet of their stories and possible presenting themes they could read ahead of time in preparation for the discussion. To set a more dialogically supportive environment for our long-distance conversations, I invited each member of the group to share from an Ainu lens an elemental phenomenon (such as a body of water or a type of breeze) they felt represented them. Through the process of dialogic spiraling, the group moved away from the identifying themes to the personal narrative. Dialogic spiraling within the focus group was also the primary strategy for validation via member checks (Jones et al., 2006). Quickly adjusting to flow of the group

conversation, I decided to facilitate a stronger understanding of the collective group story through the sharing of artifacts and the meaning such artifacts may have to individual participants. I invited participants to share artifacts they wanted me to include within my arts-integrated dissemination of their stories. Participants presented photos of self, place, and fashion in which they expressed their Ainu cultural identity. The five focus group members also exchanged information on sustaining Ainu-ness despite the erasure of Ainu in Diaspora identity in formalized educational spaces.

According to Connelly and Clandinin (2006), narrative inquiry is the “study of experience as story” (p. 375), which relies heavily on the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Narrative inquiry privileges the meaning people make out of their story-sharing and the way they live out their stories. According to Clandinin (2013), the experiences that surface in story-sharing fall under the broader categories of personal stories, institutional stories, or cultural-temporal stories. As a research methodology, narrative inquiry enables the exploration of the experiences of people and their interactions with spaces that reflect temporality (relationship between the past, present and future), sociality, and place.

Step 3: Analysis and Storying

After the focus group, I reviewed the stories textually and artistically to holistically absorb participants’ voices. I read transcripts taken from interviews and the focus group session, watched the video recording of our session, listened to audio recordings of the interviews, and observed the artifacts presented. During this critical listening and observation process, I sent copies of my transcripts to the study participants, member checking with them over social media to better anchor my understanding of their collective experiences as Ainu in Diaspora. According to Kim (2016), storying and re-storying consists of moving field texts to research texts to center

the experiences of participants in a way that allows for the participants to relive and reflect on the past and present while also imagining and then reimagining the potential of future realities. Faced with the complexities of a bicultural population, Atleo (2008), also a biracial person of Euro and Aboriginal heritage, sought research approaches to “understand transposition across worldviews, lifeworlds and time” (p. 221). Atleo discussed the analysis process of her aboriginal elders, where stories surfaced through observation, and applied the aboriginal way of analysis provided by her elders for the purposes of “deconstruction and reconstruction” (p. 221) of the stories she collected. Atleo explained,

There are no immaculate perceptions. I have the impression of jumping from rock to rock as the tide moves in and out and actually moving through physical, natural space. I could have theorized from a phenomenological perspective how the social and physical interact in my embodied experience, a means of orienteering in which metaphorical mapping became the vehicle of vehicles. (p. 230)

The narratives of the Ainu in Diaspora that I collected were rich and complex, with multicultural layers. Although I had initially planned to use a qualitative software program to analyze the stories I collected, I decided against such a tool for what I felt was a lack of cultural responsiveness in respecting the context of these stories. Hendry (2007) cautioned that one should “avoid reduc[ing] stories [of people] to objects” (p. 487). Ethnographic performance then became a way to mitigate the damage of research analysis to the life of the story by capturing the vibration of the spoken word, as opposed to laying those words to rest on a page. I then watched until it becomes clear (Atleo, 2008), embodied the role of “weaver of stories” (Guarjado, 2002), and allowed Hip Hop and spoken word to be the art form in which I mapped the metaphors that resonated deeply with the participants. To present this information in the written dissertation

clearly and linearly, I identified the following overarching themes: (a) proclamation and construction of Ainu-ness, (b) kamuy—guided by the unseen (c) reciprocal Indigenous relationships, (d) double consciousness, and (e) fashion and visibility as a necessity for community building. These themes emerged from within my collection of stories. I then used these themes as metaphors and conducted the metaphor mapping process to see which stories might best represented these five themes.

It is important to note, that metaphorically, my participants and I felt that these themes were present in many, if not all of the stories. However, as I worked with my participants through the re-storying process, it was apparent that some stories and artistic literacies more holistically represented the above themes as the stories predominantly spiraled around metaphorical representations of the themes in combination with the expressed similarities in cultural experience of this group of people who had not shared their histories with each other prior to this project. My final script for my performance ethnography centered on the varying stories which surfaced from my conversations with the Ainu in Diaspora, and how they spiraled around metaphors for the previously identified themes of (a) proclamation and construction of Ainu-ness, (b) kamuy—guided by the unseen (c) reciprocal Indigenous relationships, (d) double consciousness, and (e) fashion and visibility as a necessity for community building. As an example, in the monologue “The Synchronicity of Salmon,” Tara the Blogger is the storyteller in this piece as she spirals around the concept of how salmon has spiritual significance for both Ainu and the Indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest. In this story, Tara the Blogger describes her parents meeting because of salmon fishing which brought both parents to live in Seattle, Washington. Tara shares how her Ainu lens has been informed because of the influence of Pacific Northwest Indigenous culture. This story was chosen because the storyteller’s use of






salmon as a metaphor can be interwoven with the overarching theme of (b) Kamuy-guided by the unseen. The story-sharing method of my Chapter 4 script pieces the various lived experiences of my participants' stories together to answer the research question: In what ways to Ainu in Diaspora act as Knowledge Keepers to embody their own cultural identity and re-story their presence, both in and out of educational spaces?

As the Ainu in Diaspora shared their stories, triangulation became an important part of the re-storying process to create my performance script. I utilized information from archives or previously published literature to gain a critical understanding of the stories participants shared. Once I collected the stories, identified themes, and devised timelines, I mined through the interview memos to create poetry and hip-hop pieces. Next, I layered those pieces with the artifacts and stories in the words of participants, co-constructing the collective re-storying of the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity in education via a multimedia, art-integrated performance ethnography.

In Table 3, I display the titles of the stories in Chapter 4, and the themes that they are connected to. I posit that the visual imagery which was submitted by the participants as artifacts, is a form of visual and artistic story-sharing. These visual literacies are separate, but equally as powerful, as the written histories documented in the textual literature review of this dissertation. These works of art, and family photos should be recognized for the story-sharing power that it possesses. The reader of this dissertation has already been introduced to some of these works of visual art displayed in the previous chapters, while some of the visual images will be further displayed in Chapter 4 to add depth to my one-woman performance. Also displayed throughout Chapter 4 and highlighted in Table 3, are videos where oratory story-sharing, visual story-

sharing, and the rhythm of hip-hop audio tracks come together in the presentation of videos to enhance the performative nature of my Chapter 4 script.

Table 3. Themes and Metaphor

Metaphor	Story Titles	Visual Story-Sharing	Multi-Media Titles
Proclamation and Construction of Ainu-ness	Ed the Biker's Story- Japanese Indian		Video: We Are Ainu! (Hip-Hop Ethnography)
Kamuy—Guided by the Unseen	The Synchronicity of Salmon		Video: Ayaka and the Sacred Mountains
Reciprocal Indigenous Relationships	Ayaka and the Sacred Mountains		Video: A Critical Look at Japanese Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i
Double Consciousness	Jo The Scholar's Story		Video: Have You Ever Had An Ainu Teacher?
Fashion and Visibility	Tara the Blogger's Story		Video: Our Stories

Step 4: Story Sharing Through Performance

From a place of deep respect for my connection to the community of Ainu in Diaspora, I used Hip Hop as a method of filling in the gaps around the traditional Ainu practice of charanke and traditional Ainu oration. I weave performance of the hip-hop genre of music together with monologues in the words of my participants, where each piece can both relay and respond to the perspectives being shared. These performances that are scripted in Chapter 4 are intended to be displayed in front of a live audience. On February 29th, 2020, I presented samples of this performance at the Hawai'i Educational Researcher Association (HERA) conference. Each live performance provides me with the opportunity to dive deep into the unique contexts of each participant.

I had planned to perform my script at a local theatre, however, with the onset of the global COVID-19 pandemic, I had to rethink the type of stage in which I would display these stories, and in turn, rethink the type of gathering I would facilitate as I performed these stories. Keeping the health and safety of my audience at the forefront of my intentions, I had to further adjust my methods for telling these stories. I then returned to the platform in which I had first connected with these Ainu in Diaspora. I decided to release these stories through text, visual art, music, and video performances on social media. I created a Facebook page titled “[Ainu in Diaspora](#)” to be the stage in which I would display art based multi-media segments of this dissertation. On May 26th, 2020, I released my soundtrack for this dissertation entitled “[We are Ainu! \(We are Diaspora\).](#)”

In this performance script, I also story my own location within this community and research experience by sharing a vignette about how this research led me to discover an archived oral history. The oral history was provided by my late grandfather's first cousin, the late Susumu

“Peanut” Sodetani, and his accounts of my family’s migration from the nation of Japan to the diaspora. This oral history also included the storyteller’s interactions with my grandparents while living with them at the onset of World War II. As I read this oral history, I entrusted my process to the Moshiri model methodology, respecting Ainu ways of learning, knowing and feeling which encompasses influences from past and future ideal planes of mythic time and space. Before this research, I was unaware of this oral history, which allowed me to locate family members I never knew I had. One of those family members was a professor within my program of study who turned out to be the granddaughter of Sodetani, which, to my surprise, made my professor my cousin. From the framework of the Moshiri model, I interpreted this information which surfaced, as the knowledge that my ancestors in Pokna Moshiri, and that the divine of Kamuy Moshiri, were guiding me to further understand and explore. As an Indigenous person, I thought about how important genealogy is. As an educator, I reflected on both the value, as well as the complexities of genealogy for our students who come from histories of enslavement, war, and immigration. This vignette and hip-hop genre songs which resulted from this oral history is one of the examples of how I conceptualized the layered planes of the Moshiri model manifesting with my performance. With this oral history about the life of Susumu “Peanut” Sodetani, the transformative nature of this research spiraled in the direction of my own familial history. The performative nature of this story-sharing expanded from facilitating social justice by presenting the narratives of resistance of my participants, to allowing the voices of my own ancestors to rise and be heard.

I used Sodetani’s oral history as an anchor piece in the production of my hip-hop song titled “We Are Ainu,” into which I weaved a participant’s story. The Hip Hop genre became a part of my story-sharing through performance. The hip-hop track was produced and recorded on

my android smart phone. This track was written to honor my great-grandmother Shizue Haioka who, as a result of Sodekani's oral history, I learned came to Hawai'i as a 17 year old picture-bride. In this track, I layer in the interview taken from Dr. Kaizawa, to show the complexities of how the Ainu in Diaspora and Japanese American identities are often intertwined together through oppression, historical trauma, and familial trauma. Through the Moshiri model, various arts-centered multi-media approaches are harnessed so that these two stories could be re-storied to share space with each other in the realm of music and hip-hop, to further examine the various contexts and complicated histories of Ainu in Diaspora. Through this multi-sensory performance process, I disclosed my cultural grounding and motivations for engaging in this inquiry and analysis.

Step 5: Charanke-Engaging With Social Media Feedback

I immediately saw some advantages to broadening my stage to the social media platform. Had I performed my script in a theatre, my audience would have been limited to whoever could attend at that time. With the release of my soundtrack, on Facebook, my audience included people who could view this piece asynchronously from any place in the world where there was internet access. I placed links to my YouTube video soundtrack within various social media communities to get a broader audience than just my own friends and family. I was able to obtain feedback from a diverse group of scholars from various Universities who specialize in various fields such as Education (including hip-hop education), Political Science, English, Anthropology, Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, and Social Work; hip-hop artists; people of other Indigenous groups; people who identify as members of the Japanese national as well as the Japanese-American community; and people who identify as Ainu and Ainu in Diaspora. The

number of views on my video had doubled my expectation for live audience attendance within the first day.

I gathered feedback and engaged in exchanges with those who viewed my posts and chose to react. I interpreted these exchanges as a type of necessary ‘charanke’ for education on the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity within these spaces where technology and community meet. I often responded to questions with resources to links, and other supplementary information, and quickly realized that the discussion stemming from my initial posts displaying the stories of the Ainu in Diaspora, are a valuable continuation of the educational component of the story-sharing process.

The live performance is an important part of my interpretation of the stories, as well as my pedagogy in how I teach about the histories of my participants. At the writing of this dissertation, COVID-19 continues to prevent the kind of social gatherings needed for a live performance. I inadvertently ended up with a performance of stories tailored to social media, and a script intended for a live performance. Ideally, I think it would be powerful if I could combine the two together, where my live performance could be further be accented by the multi-media information that has been placed on social media.

CHAPTER 4: AINU IN DIASPORA

Chapter 4 is written in the form of a performance script. This script weaves together oral, visual, and audio imagery to provide nuanced layers which exemplify the perseverance of the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity. This script starts off in my voice as a hip-hop artist and poet. I begin by sharing bombastic lyrics with no music, and then slip in to a smoother spoken word piece. As rage is tempered by reflection, I re-construct and re-story the Ainu cultural identity for myself as I artistically surf through my own double consciousness as a person of both Ainu and Japanese heritage. However, with the change of audio and visual imagery, the voices of my participants begin to rise, and I take on the actual words of Tara the Blogger, Ed the Biker, Ayaka of the Sacred Mountains, Jo the Scholar, and Dr. Kaizawa, to display the interwoven lived experiences Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers. Though this script was originally intended to be a live performance, links throughout offer the audience of this dissertation an understanding how the live performance was adapted into multi-media story-sharing through social media.

To better support the reading audience of this script, this note outlines the writing stylistics of this chapter:

Description of characters: *italics*

Stage direction: (*italics in parenthesis*)

Monologues : plain text, left justified, single spaced.

Spoken language of performer as other characters : Not italicized, double spaced, and indented.

Lyrics: plain text, left justified, single spaced.

Hyperlinks: underlined, and in blue

The Opening

Link to Multi-Media Story-Sharing: [We Are Ainu \(Hip-Hop Ethnography\)](#)

(Delivered as a fast-paced rap)

(Kneeling, wearing a mask and garment over the head like an elderly woman in symbolism of voices being silenced by colonialism. Voice over of the commonly known narrative of the Ainu people is playing. When the narrative is over, performer then stands up to energetically take off mask and garment to begin rap. The performer is wearing modern clothing, such as a beanie and t-shirt. For this opening, the chorus of this rap will be shared and done acapella.)

Chorus of the song titled “We Are Ainu”

Take a good look, at the goddess who shook,
fallacies that I found in your books,
Imperial house? Or a den full of crooks
The impact of trauma’s historical hooks,
Our survivance ain’t always as good as it looks
We are Ainu.
We are Diaspora.
We are here!

(scene fades to black)

(Walks over to microphone. Plays mukuri Ainu or jaw harp).

(Performer is wearing a traditional Ainu headband. After playing the mukuri, the performer then begins to recite poem. This beginning of this poem is delivered in the genre of spoken word and picks up to be more rhythmic toward the end of the piece.)

Kani anak Ainu Ku Ne ruwe ne... I am Ainu.

In our language, Ainu means human. In our stories, Ape Huchi Kamuy, the goddess of the volcano, is the Indigenous womb of the Pacific. The genome of my genealogy is estimated to be 50,000 years old. You will see the familiarity of our Anchi Piri, tribal markings from Hawaiki to the Indigenous people of the Pacific Northwest. I honor my ancestors, a people of the Pacific, who called their home Ainu Moshiri. Today, Ainu Moshiri has been remapped by colonizers to be called Japan and Russia.

Kani anak Ainu, ku ne ruwe ne...

I am Ainu.

I am Diaspora.

I have never actually seen her. But her ocean pulses through my veins. Her earth is the root that anchors me. So coveted, that both Japan and Russia treat her as their jewel to possess, never officially declaring the end of World War II in dispute over her.

They call her Kuril. Her descendants call her homeland.
 Kani anak Ainu ku ne ruwe ne... I am Ainu.
 An aboriginal daughter of the Pacific seas. And then, there is the other me
 Hawai'i born labeled Japanese.
 Sitting nicely on seiza knees,
 make one pot rice,
 soba buckwheat with ice cold,
 that is how I eat,
 mochi
 is the gift to receive,
 my love language is a heart that bleeds,
 O Kage Same De, love, honor, dignity,
 the we before the me...
 Waialua plantation seeds,
 Laborers with little to eat,
 No slippas' to protect 'da feet,
 allowed no shade, work through the heat...
 The opportunities my grandparents would never meet...
 Because they are Ainu labeled Japanese.

(The stage lighting dims. The sound of ocean waves begins to play. The words "Ainu Neno An Ainu" are displayed, along with the diagram of the Moshiri model. The performer takes this time to remove the traditional Ainu headband, and put on glasses.)

(A quote is displayed: "We all could have ended up anywhere." —Tara)

(Performer begins to beatbox and recite lyrics.)

How did we ever get so far?
 How will we ever know who we are?
 How did we ever get so far?
 How will we ever know who we are?

("The Synchronicity of Salmon," is displayed.)

(As the performer recites the lyrics, the performer is pacing around while keeping a steady rhythm while beatboxing between phrases.)

(As the performer fades down the lyrics and beatboxing, the performer settles and stand quietly.)

(An images is displayed.)

Figure 12. Could Have Been Born Anywhere



Note. Copyright T. Duffin, 2019. Personal collection.

Act 1: Tara the Blogger: The Synchronicity of Salmon

Link to Multi-Media Story-Sharing: [Our Stories](#)

(Ainu-identifying artist, age 30, resides in Seattle, Washington.)

Stop me if I'm going on this tangent for a minute. So there's a lot of sort of coincidences about me being here in Seattle relating to being Ainu that I keep thinking about. And one of the things is fish. You know, Ainu, we are salmon people. We're salmon people like the Coast Salish up here are salmon people. And so my

mom didn't work for a fishing company; she had a job doing security on a pier. She was like doing the security or something on the pier in Seattle. I think my parents met on the dock because she was sort of working in that area as a night guard or something for one of the boats. His boat, I guess. And how they both connected was through fish! I just think that is interesting. Again, these two people who come from different parts of the country ended up meeting up here in Seattle in fish people country. And somehow, you know, it just feels like, me, I could have ended up anywhere in the country. We all could have ended up anywhere in the world. I am grateful that I ended up in Seattle specifically, because there's a lot of similarities in the Duwamish, the Snohomish, the Tulalip, all the Coast Salish people up here; there are a lot of similar aspects to the Ainu culture. So I always felt a connection to those cultures, and I was not sure why. You know, I didn't want to be that fetishizing colonist. It was something that I was a little aloof about, but now, it sort of makes sense. Having never necessarily seen anything Ainu before, once I did see it, it all seemed so familiar because of this area in Seattle where I grew up. So I just think that there is a lot of stuff happening. There's a lot of, kind of odd connections that happen in the place where I am from. And I have not sorted through it all, but it's something that I think about it, but I think that's there's kind of an important connection or synchronicity here.

(A picture of Tara is displayed, and the performer begins to beatbox)

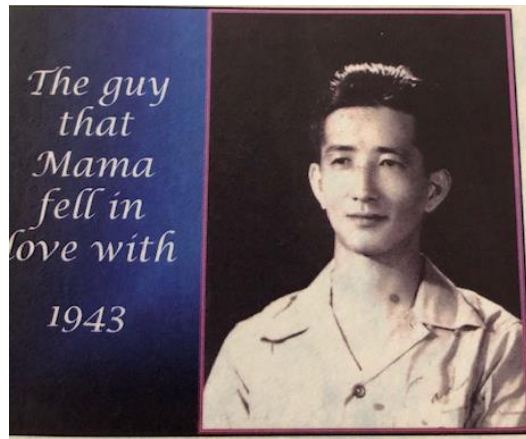
How did we ever get so far?
 How will we ever know who we are?
 How did we ever get so far?
 How will we ever know who we are?

(The lights dim. Performer takes off the glasses, signifying the change from one character to another. Performer walks over to a microphone placed by a stool and a table. There are items on the table such as books and folded clothes, and other vintage items to signify the past. Performer sits on the stool in preparation to story-share.)

The Education of the Ainu Diaspora Genealogy: Part 1

(A picture is displayed.)

Figure 13. Susumu “Peanut” Sodeani



Note. Copyright A. Provines, 2020. Personal collection.

One day, while preparing to write this dissertation, I decided to dig through the University of Hawai'i archives on Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i, wanting to see if I could find additional literature on Ainu presence. I decided to search for my family names to see what I would find. I located an oral history published by Nishimoto (2003) given by Susumu “Peanut” Sodeani, who was the last living

employee of the old Lahaina Sugar Mill. Sodeani revealed how he was ostracized by the Japanese community in 1935 for marrying and having children with a Kanaka Maoli woman. His very personal life story drew me in closer to the oral history. As an Ainu-identifying multiracial person, I had spent most of my life feeling “othered” by the Hawai'i-born Japanese community.

(The performer puts on a man's button-up shirt, and a man's hat over clothes and prepares to get into the words of Susumu “Peanuts” Sodeani. Sodeani's words are spoken in a Pidgin-English accent.)

The other Japanese families, just like they look down upon you, you know. And, although realizing all those things, even at one point my mother used to tell me to get a divorce

and all that. And I said, “No, I love her, I marry her, and I’m not going divorce.”

(Sodetani, as cited in Nishimoto, 2003, p.65)

(Performer takes off the hat and shirt and places them on the table as a cue that the voice of Sodetani is over and the performer is moving on with the monologue in first-person voice.)

Skimming through the oral history, I found that Sodetani’s mother was a Haioka, as was my grandfather’s mother. I then voraciously began to search for all the family names I could remember. Haioka is not a common name. What appeared on my computer screen was the page of a blogger that would forever change my perception of Japanese settler-colonialism in the Hawaiian islands. Dr. Cathy Ikeda, a locally known and respected educator, had publicly shared her genealogy in reflective practice. Dr. Ikeda’s name and face were familiar to me because she was a professor within the EdD program in which I studied. I had read her dissertation and was drawn to her use of poetry as a Kanaka Maoli and Japanese scholar, which deeply spoke to my inner truth. It was the first time I saw similarities in a layered multicultural history between myself and another scholar. Dr. Ikeda (2014) wrote, “I come from Japanese expectations to embrace the patriarchy of America, to see education and teaching as the pathway to life beyond the plantation camps (p.8). To my surprise, the names on Dr. Ikeda’s family tree began to match the names on my own and I realized that Dr. Ikeda and I were third cousins. Our grandfathers, Susumu “Peanut” Sodetani, and Makoto “Mack” Hayashi, were first cousins through their mothers, the Haioka sisters. Until now, our immediate families never knew of each other.

(Performer stands up and picks up a folded hula skirt from the table and puts it on. Traditional Hawaiian music begins to play. Performer dances hula to the Maui Waltz. Pictures are displayed in the background of island life in the 1930’s and 40’s. Then, a hip-hop beat transitions the performer into a rap. A picture is displayed of a man and woman.)

Figure 14. Susumu & Mary



This is the story about Peanut Sodehani and Mary
Kaumeheiwā
A love so strong it was the definition of freedom
He said he was in love and his family didn't believe him
The Japanese around him, pounded and mentally tried to beat
him
The Nikei pedigree on the koseki just don't let thee be
Content and in love
Snubbed in the Japanese community
Not even the daughter of Hawaiian chiefs
Would not have social immunity,
From Meiji era beliefs of Indigenous inferiority
But there was more to this story
Then the ordinary eye could see
When Japanese emigrants hide their aboriginality...

(hip-hop beat fades down)

*(Performer takes off the hula skirt and sits down on the stool
and the lights fade down.)*

Note. Copyright A. Provines, 2020.
Personal collection.

Questions About Asian Settler Colonialism

Link to Performance: [A Critical Look at Japanese Colonialism in Hawai'i](#)

(A quote is displayed: "Chipangu is an Island towards the east in the high seas, 1,500 miles distant from the Continent; and a very great island it is. The people are white, civilized, and well-favored. They are idolaters, and are dependent on nobody. And I can tell you the quantity of gold they have is endless."—Marco Polo)

(The sound of the ocean plays is playing, giving the audience the chance to read the quote. The sound of the ocean stops when the lights come back on.)

Our Ainu elders passed down the legend of our ancestors, the Chupka-un Kuru, or

"people at the base of the sun." When I say that I am Ainu, people will often ask, "What

the hell is an Ainu?” and I will always respond, “What the hell is a Japanese?” My ancient ancestors called themselves Chupka-un Kuru, never Japanese, yet I am unable to escape the label of “Japanese,” despite our theory that Japan, or Japangu is Marco Polo’s mispronunciation of the Native name Chupka-un Kuru, when he wrote it as Chipangu. Most academics are aware of the term Asian Settler Colonialism. However, such discussions never sat right with me—that is, until I found the oral history of Susumu “Peanut” Sodetani (to whom I will now refer as Uncle Susumu out of respect) and the layers of colonialism, imperialism, militarization, and love his story displayed. I realized the story of Uncle Susumu was, in part, my grandfather’s story, my grandmother’s story (both mentioned in the oral history), my father’s story, and my story. But more interestingly, this oral history shared themes with the Ainu in Diaspora whom I had interviewed. I have long disliked the term *Asian settler colonialism*, considering my context as a mixed-race Ainu woman, because it stemmed from Japanese-identifying scholars who have no idea what it is to be Ainu in Diaspora. They talk about this system from which the Ainu benefit as descendants of Asian settlers; however, when my child was born, I had to fight this system, and the Japanese settlers who work in this system, to even place “Ainu” on my son’s birth certificate. It is easy to talk about Asian Settler Colonialism when one is of the colonizer class as opposed to the colonized. Schools do not teach the authentic histories of the colonized, only the voices of the so-called dominant class. Ainu in Diaspora, like other Native people of the Pacific, must then numb the historical trauma from which they came. Upon finding the oral history of Uncle Susumu, which included my family, I recognized my responsibility to carry the conversation forward about the interwoven histories of the Japanese, Ainu, and

Okinawan diaspora to Hawai‘i. I needed to talk about how this unhealthy dynamic of colonialism and shame around aboriginality had inadvertently been hurtful, harmful, and destructive for Hawaiian people. The Ainu in Diaspora shared their stories to talk about the cycle of complex, contemptuous relationships within the various ethnic groups forced upon them by the label “Americans of Japanese Ancestry.”

Figure 15. Embracing the Repun Kamuy



Note. Copyright T. Duffin, 2019. Personal collection.

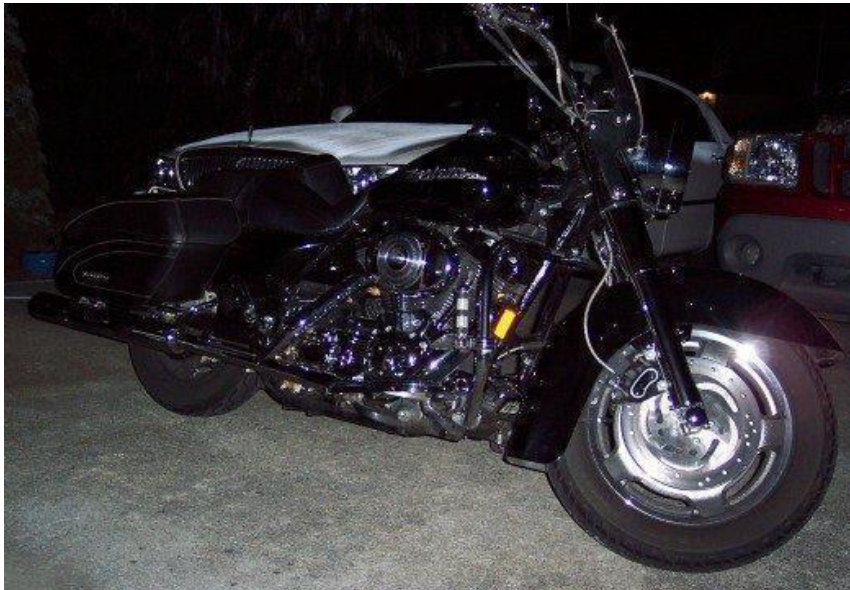
Act 2: Ed the Biker on the Term “Japanese Indian”

Ainu-identifying, early 60s, Tacoma, Washington

(A quote displayed: We came from a whole different migration. We are not Japanese. And I make that a point when I say it. Now, when they ask me my race, I put Ainu. I do not put Japanese or Asian. I put in there Ainu. I know who I am! —Ed)

(A picture of a motorcycle is displayed)

Figure 16. Ainu Biker



Note. Copyright Ed, 2019. Personal collection.

Yeah. I am a motorcycle rider, biker since 1980. Well, actually I can't say that we grew our hair out and beards out because I'm a biker, because my brother did the same thing. We both had long hair and beards, which was kind of odd for Japanese. We freaked out our family when we came and visited because both my brother and I had beards, and adults understood because we're in America. But the kids didn't understand. They were scared of us. So I just wonder how much impact that might have had on the Japanese when they first saw the Ainu. There was no definition for me originally of what Ainu

was. My mom just basically said we were Japanese Indians, and I didn't know what that was. I don't look very Japanese, and I'm often mistaken for Hispanic. Up here, I live in Washington, and of course, we're close to Native American tribes, and I actually blend in very well with them. So I make sure to wear my "Ainu Pride" shirt when I go the local powwows. My mother migrated from Japan to get away from the racism because, even though she looked more Japanese, she had a lot of traits that were not considered Japanese. She had long wavy hair, much like mine. And she also had red in it. My beard is now gray, but that was all red at one time. There's nobody else in our family that has red hair. So it's obviously a trait I picked up from my mom. But she migrated to the United States to get away from the social stigma, and she was very sensitive of racism here.Those memories are kind of painful. They're mostly in the back of my mind. And the funny thing is the kids that we grew up with that were half Japanese; they grew up with us when we were little, so that wasn't a big issue. It wasn't until I started making friends outside of the small town I lived in. In high school, I started running into more Japanese. And some of my friends, who had Japanese mothers, that's when I started noticing they didn't care for me very much. They suspected that I wasn't Japanese. As a matter of fact, one of my close friends, he even said his mom had said something to him. And I think in a couple occasions, they suspected I might have been Ainu or an Indigenous Japanese. And they frowned on it. I mean, they looked down on me. And I couldn't understand why...because I was never brought up like that; I had trouble coping with that. And, again, that's the reason I asked my mom why I didn't look Japanese. That's when she actually told me about her ironing her hair to make it flat. And recently, they're finding out how many Japanese schools made kids dye their hair black...and I

didn't know about that. But my mom was one of those that was dyeing her hair black when she was little so she could try to fit in and be Japanese.

(A picture is displayed of a shirt saying Ainu Pride)

Figure 17. Ainu Pride



Note. Copyright Ed, 2019. Personal collection.

And so, this is when I inquired with my mom. I actually asked her if I had been adopted because I didn't look Japanese. And she, at that point, explained who I was. *[Begins to sob]* And still, to this day, it bothers me. She had to hide it. But I didn't know. I didn't care. She just said, "Well, because you're Japanese Indian." And I kept thinking, "Why wouldn't a Japanese Indian look Japanese?" until I found out. And it's painful that we can't embrace our culture, even removed from it, and ever since I found out who I really was, I've been nothing but searching for my culture.

Act 3: Tara the Blogger – Finding Value in Finding Ainu

Ainu digital artist, jewelry maker, and fashion designer

(Performer gets up and puts on glasses and Ainu jewelry. Performer sits back down on a stool in front of the microphone. The video of Tara begins to play.)

There were things that I assumed about my grandmother for most of my life that turned out to be not true. Like, I always thought that she was born in Sapporo, but I recently found documents to show that she was born in Shiraoi, the Ainu Village. Her whole family had lived and grown up in Shiraoi, for the most part. The most that she would say to me really was that people in Japan would assume that she was Ainu because her eyebrows were too big or something like that, or because her face was too square. She said that she would hear people whisper behind her back, saying that she was Ainu. That is kind of all that she would say about that. She has shared with me some of the opinions that Japanese people have about Ainu people. That, like, the Ainu smell bad. She said that she did go to school with two kids that everybody knew was Ainu. She said that she could tell an Ainu person by the way that they smelled. And I said, “Jesus Christ, Grandma, that’s fucking racist!” And she said, “No, what?” *[eyebrows raised, hand covering the mouth in a bashful manner]*. She was actually really surprised to hear that is actually horrendously racist. All her life, she heard from Japanese people that Ainu people are lazy and they only work when Japanese people make them work. ...That kind of shit. ...It is so cartoonishly horrendous! But I don’t have to live with that; people in Japan do. It sounds cartoonishly horrendous to somebody that doesn’t have to experience those types of prejudices.

(Performer stands up in front of the microphone. Hip Hop beat begins to play. Performer begins to rap.)

As much as it hurts
 My people survived the worst
 Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne (*translation: I am Ainu*)

As much as it hurts
 My people survived the worst
 Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne

As much as it hurts, my people survived the worst
 My daddy told me that I'm carrying a curse
 But I refuse to be livin' a life
 Bagging up all that hurt
 My genealogy goes back fifty thousand years upon this earth
 And yet, a shroud of shame
 Proclaims Ainu from birth
 No bath for the children
 Starving in shacks and dirt
 The stench of colonization
 Erasing their self-worth

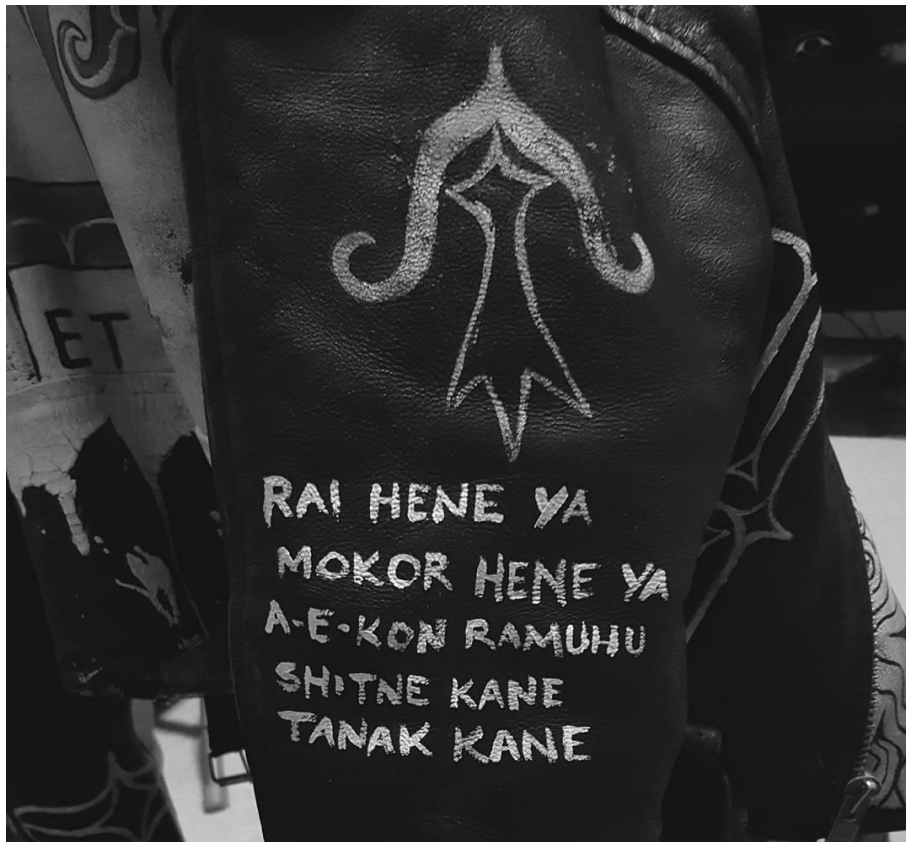
'Dem thieves of skulls, they measure our brain
 'Dem thieves of land, they dig out our grain
 Rice patties did steal our water
 'Dem rape our Ainu daughter
 'Dem Shamo about their power
 'Dem Shamo about the power (*translation: shamo = colonizer*)

As much as it hurts
 My people survived the worst
 Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne

As much as it hurts
 My people survived the worst
 Kani anak Ainu Ku-nei Ruwe Ne

(Performer walks back to microphone and sits on the stool.)

Figure 18. Ainu Fashion



Note. Copyright T. Duffin, 2019. Personal collection.

(Displayed on the screen: How do you teach others about your Ainu cultural identity?)

If I look at Ainu art, it is so bold; it is so graphical; it looks like modern design. Our people were very contemporary. I see all these patterns and designs. It's so easy to see them being put into a contemporary context in contemporary fashion. You can make this shit fashion! Our ancestors were fashionable as fuck! And, I want to bring some of that back. It is something that we should be proud of because it's amazing-looking stuff, and you can see there are already Japanese brands that rip-off Ainu designs. Instead of letting

other people commodify our stuff, we should be taking control of our own self-expression. I want to see Ainu people making Ainu art.

Figure 19. Ainu Leather Jacket Designs



Note. Copyright T. Duffin, 2019. Personal collection. (*Video of Tara begins to play.*)

I want to see Ainu people telling Ainu stories. I want to see us in control of our own narrative. I want people to come to us when they want Ainu authenticity, not to some Japanese scholars. Those guys are not the gatekeepers of Ainu culture. That should be our role. So if we could just put our voices out there. If we could just saturate our own stories; I want that to become the normative experience. ...Imagine that! Ainu voice telling Ainu stories! It's really what I want so my participation in that is me trying to kind of create putting the building block toward that future where Ainu voices can tell Ainu stories; that is really my agenda.

(Question displayed on the screen: What is missing for Ainu in Diaspora?)

A connection. Numbers, or a sense that someone has your back. Or a sense of purpose, really. If you go your whole life and you think you are the only one. ...Extreme isolation, really; I think is what is killing us being disconnected from a sense of family, being disconnected. Disconnected from a sense of tribe, being disconnected from my sense of community. The Ainu context is, first of all, being told that you don't even exist. ...It is gaslighting your whole existence and then telling you you'll never meet anybody because they don't exist, either. It's kind of this weird—it's almost like an episode of *The Twilight Zone*, just the sense of isolation is one of our biggest problems. That, and the inaccessibility of Ainu cultural education.

(The lights dim. The sound of the ocean plays, giving the audience a chance to view the displayed images and quotes.)

Figure 20. Ainu in Diaspora Flag



Note. Copyright T. Duffin, 2019. Personal collection.

Act 4: Jo the Scholar – From the Plantation Town to the University

Link to Multi-Media Story-Sharing: [Have You Ever Had An Ainu Teacher?](#)

(Displayed on screen: “Ainu and Kanaka Maoli raised in a plantation town on the island of O‘ahu.” The performer then puts on a university sweater.)

(Quote displayed on screen: “Folks who come to the University want to see themselves reflected in leadership.” – Jo)

(Question displayed on screen: Have you ever had an Ainu teacher?)

(Two pictures are displayed on the screen)

(The sound of the ocean stops when the lights come back on.)

Figure 21. Ainu Scholar



Note. Copyright Jo, 2020. Personal collection.

I had a lot of Japanese teachers growing up; maybe they could have been part Ainu. And I had one haole teacher. And that is it! From what I know. It never came up in elementary school or any school. *[Laughter]* Being Ainu, or hearing of Ainu—it took me 35 years to hear of anything regarding Ainu. My grandmother was getting older, and she never talked about being Ainu before. My grandmother’s parents came over from Fukushima to work on the plantation. Her dad worked on the plantation; he was an indentured servant. And then they brought her mom over, and her brothers and sisters were born here. I think she had nine brothers and sisters, and she looks really different from the rest of them. People used to tease her that she looked haole when she was a kid, and she had some funny things with ethnicity, I think. She was a tough, tough cookie. So later in life, I was

someone my grandma could confide in, I think, because—I don't know. My mom didn't really follow a lot of the Japanese protocols in the family 'cause we are also part Hawaiian, and so my mom always identified more with the Hawaiian side. I was raised to be aware of all the Japanese rules, but my mom always encouraged me to break them. I think my grandma always saw me as a little bit of an outsider, a loveable outsider and would confide in me.

One day I was sitting at the kitchen table; it was just me and her. And I don't remember how it came up, but she said, "We're Ainu," and I said, "What is Ainu?" And she said, "That is the people from Hokkaido in the North, the Indigenous people of Japan." And I said, "How come this is the first I am hearing of this? That's interesting!" And she said, well, her dad was abandoned as a young boy and he was adopted by a Japanese couple. And the reason why he was abandoned was because he was part Ainu. It was common, I guess, if you had a Ainu kid, you know, maybe even out of wedlock; I am not sure about that story and neither was she. So they didn't like to talk about being Ainu. It is something that wasn't encouraged. But she also didn't explicitly say that it was shameful. She just said that he was adopted. I don't think people know what Ainu is. Maybe I am mistaken. Maybe our generation, because we are post-shame, right.? So maybe our mothers and our grandmothers would know what Ainu is and think that it is shame, but then my generation, our generation, it is like being Native Hawaiian. I feel like you should be proud to be Indigenous. It is part of sustaining the culture. Even the awareness. I might not be able to call myself a cultural practitioner just in an effort to stand in solidarity with ancestors and with other folks who just found out about that identity. ...I

Figure 22. Grandma Pam



Note. Copyright Jo, 2020.
Personal collection.

find it important to be vocal, and whenever somebody asks me what I am now, I make sure to say that I am Ainu, because maybe someone does not even know what that is. And so, I want to say it. I want them to ask, “What is that?” because I think it is important. It makes me emotional, too. Dominant cultures—it is kind of the way of the world, right? Dominant cultures take over and you can’t speak your language; things get lost. And I want to be a part of the cross current to fight that trend. I think it is important to talk about it. So, yeah, I don’t know if it is safe or not, but I kind of don’t care. Well, if someone thinks lowly of me because of that, good, ’cause I don’t want to be involved with those people anyway. So, I think it is safe, but if it is not safe, the only way to make it safe is to be more vocal about it.

(Question displayed on screen: What is your charanke to the University of Hawai’i regarding the inclusion of Ainu education program on campus?)

Given that Aloha Aina is one of the founding themes in our accreditation statement, this conception of self-determination and sovereignty, and what comes with aloha, like Lokahi, the unity of things, I think it is incumbent upon an institution like University of Hawai’i to provide representation, not only in the student body, but in administration and faculty, as well. This is an issue being addressed in the Native Hawaiian population and should certainly be expanded on the basis of logic alone. Folks who come to the university want to see themselves reflected in leadership. So, even if you can’t find a professor who is Ainu, you can find someone with enough knowledge to share in a class.

It sounds like it would be in alignment with aloha aina and doing the pono thing...which is a part of the institution's motto. I am surprised to hear that there is not one already, and I would encourage the administration to think about how that would reflect on the University to provide a course on Ainu culture or history. I think that the student body would be appreciative, and I think the staff and faculty would appreciate it, as well.

Act 5: Dr. Kaizawa and the Ainu/Japanese American Identity

Japanese-identifying man in his early 60s who has Aomori Ainu heritage

(To cue the audience that the performer is going into the voice of Dr. Kaizawa, the performer puts on a white-collared shirt and business jacket.

(Question displayed on screen: You say that you have Ainu heritage but you do not identify as Ainu. Can you tell me what the difference is for you?)

That's a good question and I'm not quite sure how to answer that, but I think that it's not on the tip of my head every moment of the day, every day. I'm thinking of the fact that I'm Japanese American and I'm Asian American every day. I'm thinking that I'm a person of color. But if you ask me deep down inside, am I thinking about the fact that I am part Ainu, I would be answering, "No." It's not that I am not aware that I'm part Ainu; it is that being Ainu doesn't impinge upon me every single day as the other identities do. I'm older than you guys. I don't mean to sound very paternalistic and old-fashioned, but I'm older than all of you. And when I first came to America, I suffered so much... *[eyes become watery]* So much. That none of you probably will ever go through the kind of suffering I went through. I came to America in 1964 and I was the only Japanese and only Asian in my school. And, to go through what I went through for 10 years. *[shakes head; voice quivering]* It is impossible to describe what I mean. So it's something that makes me aware of the fact that I'm a person of color. I never forgot that.

No matter how much education I got, no matter how much well off I got for a time, I never forgot the fact that I'm a person of color, that I was discriminated against, and I know that a lot of people are discriminated against. I never forget that for a moment, and even if I'm not a woman, if I'm not a Hawaiian, for example, I can sort of understand what they went through because I suffered so much when I first came to America. *[eyes watering]* I cannot say I suffered because I was Ainu. But I can say I suffered because my father was interned, because I was living the Japanese American Experience. I was in high school. I formed a study group. I decided to deal with civil rights, and my entire study group did not want to talk about that. And the others were quite upset that we were covering this as a study group project. They came to my house. We all had our study session. My mother gave them tea and cookies and things like that, and then somebody looked at my house, probably, and on my wall, they saw books. And those 10 books were overdue. I always return the books eventually, but they were overdue. I never showed them that it was overdue, but somebody looked at my books and what ended up happening right after that was, 2 days later, the principal knocked on my door with two police officers and asked my mother and my father for permission to go inside my house and search for stolen property. I felt so betrayed; so betrayed. *[pause; deep breath]* And it was really awful because my mother and my father said, "Oh, I'm so sorry...that my son did this. I'm going to punish him for what he did." They didn't listen to anything; they wouldn't hear me out. They automatically assumed that I stole the books, or I had to be treated like I stole the books. I was a straight-A student. I was suspended for stolen property of school for 3 weeks. I dropped out of school. I didn't want to see any of those students again for the rest of my life. And I felt I had to run away from my home because

I was so mad at my parents. And part of the reason why they did that was because my father went through the internment camps. The Japanese Americans were punished for what they were. My mother, after the war, lost everything. She became...most likely an entertainment person, which is a euphemism. You know what I mean? She was a war bride. She suffered a lot. I have no doubt what she really did. She kowtowed to them all the time. She always was saying, "I'm sorry. Sumimasen sumimasen.. I am so sorry," that kind of thing. She was so polite. It was painful to see her belittle herself. I can't help myself that I don't have the same strong feelings about being Ainu exactly the same as what I feel for being Japanese or Japanese American or being Asian American or being a person of color.

Act 6: Ayaka and the Sacred Mountains

Link to Multi-Media Story-Sharing: [Ayaka and the Sacred Mountains](#)

Ainu identifying woman in her mid-40s who is half Okinawan. Ayaka grew up in Honolulu, but moved to Hawai'i island to support the movement of kānaka maoli on Maunakea, through the lomilomi practice that was shared with her.

(Performer puts on a red and yellow Maunakea shirt on to cue the audience that the performer is going into the voice of Ayaka.)

(Quote visible on screen: "I love so many things about all the different parts of each ancestor line that I come from."—Ayaka)

(Question on screen: Did you ever feel excluded for being Ainu?)

[laughter] If anything, I got discriminated against because I was too [fresh off the boat] F.O.B.. It was just too much for people; they couldn't handle. *[laughter]* Little kid time, I had these big Coke-bottle glasses and my hair was terrible, so I got it from everybody. I got it from kids whether they were Asian, haole, whoever. I think if people would have just gotten to know me, but when you are a kid, it is so difficult. People are just rough. And because they also came from a very different upbringing. ...My mom was making

me Japanese bento for lunch and everybody else has ham sandwiches. Or sometimes I had kimchi in my bento and they were like “Whoa!” I don’t think I was cool enough for the local Japanese, either. *[laughter]* I was born and raised in Honolulu, but every year in my life, I’ve been to Japan. I grew up in a household with two immigrant parents, one being Japanese and one being Ryukyan, or what we would call Okinawan. But everything in my household was Japanese...so everything we ate...everything we spoke, everything we watched. everything we listened to. ...I mainly spoke Japanese at home and then English at school. And then when I went to Japan, I got to live a little bit of a Japanese lifestyle. I had an interesting identity growing up like that because I was never quite Japanese enough. I was never quite American enough, and I was never quite even local enough. I can’t say that I think like an Ainu, or like a Ryukyuan at this point. I do think that maybe I am expressing myself because of Ainu traditions that maybe I have not been aware have been passed down. I’m totally open to that knowledge. I definitely think that I don’t think like a continental U.S. person. I have been shaped by the lineages that I come from. Maybe, I don’t see how exactly I’m expressing myself in an Ainu way, but it’s probably there. The first thing that I always do when I go to the Mauna is offer pule. It is really important for me to...be able to offer to the Mauna of myself, the sanctity that it deserves. I always make sure that I am grounded and my energy is cleared when I go. My intention is always to give. That includes offering pule at the ahu, and my husband and I offer lomilomi. Our intention is to serve those who need it the most. We do what we do and we go home. I’m always grateful for that when a Kumu decides to share that kind of ‘ike (knowledge), it truly is a sacred sharing; they don’t have to choose to share that with you. Especially when you don’t have the koko (blood), when you don’t have the

bloodline, or we are not even their 'ohana (family), 'cause lomi was a part of the 'ohana lineage. So what that teaches me about Ainu or Ryukyuan lineage is that it is so important in order for all of us to respect and know of our culture. If it doesn't get passed down, if it is not shared, and, of course, if it is not shared with the right people. ...Maybe a lot of the traditions were, of course, stamped out by colonizers...but when those traditions get passed down, there is an opportunity for it to live again, and for people to live that way again. And so, when I try to go into my Okinawan side, I wonder what the healing practices were for Okinawans? Because there must have been some lomi (massage) practice? I haven't had anybody to share that with me, so either it was not passed down or it got stamped out somehow. And same thing with the Ainu traditions. Because of all the traumas that happened, so much was lost, and I don't even know how much has been lost. I may not know about the gravity of the loss. ...But, when I'm able to participate in something as beautiful as going to the Mauna or to carry on a tradition of lomi, I don't take it lightly. It is really important to take care of what you have been given, especially if it's not a part of your own lineage. Since I was a baby, I have always connected to what is now known as Fuji-san; I guess in the Ainu language it was Huchi. Even when I go to the customs and they say, "What are you here for?" I always say, "There's a Japanese word called 'tozan,' which means 'to climb a mountain.'" We are not actually climbing Mount Fuji, but that's what it's called when you go on a pilgrimage, so [when] we get there, we have this beautiful view of Fuji. It's always what brings me peace. It's always what I feel I need, physically and spiritually. And that's why, when I started to learn about the Mauna, I knew I could relate to it. Cause I knew nothing about Maunakea growing up here, but I understood the connection.

As the lights dim, the performer takes off the red-and-yellow shirt and places the shirt on the table. The scene ends with a picture being displayed of an Ainu woman's hands positioned in solidarity with Maunakea.)

Figure 23. Ainu Solidarity With Maunakea



Note. Copywrite T. Duffin. 2020. Personal Collection

Because if somebody told me that I could never go back to my temple, to go and be near Mount Fuji, that would break my heart; that is where I feel the most grounded. To be honest, there is a quiet magnificence being there, and I am sure that is how Kānaka Maoli feel when they go to Mauna Kea.

The Education of the Ainu Diaspora Genealogy: Part 2

(When the lights come back up, the performer is placing the men's collared shirt and on and is holding a man's hat in hand. The performer will be going into the voice of Peanuts Sodeani in this next segment.)

Here I was, with this published oral history in front of me, where Uncle Susumu described being with my grandmother during the onset of World War II.

(Performer puts on the hat and speaks in Pidgin-English accent.)

I was staying at Citron Street at the time. Then jumped in bed, and I heard a big bang. Then my cousin's wife said, "Oh, they had a fire going on [U.S. anti-aircraft shells landed on various parts of O'ahu]. Then was on McCully [Street], that drug store. Oh, maybe about three blocks away, I think. So, I put on my boots and went down, but fire. One lady's leg was blown off. Only garden hose. See, like fire engines, ambulance, were all at Pearl Harbor, Wheeler [Field], Schofield [Barracks]. No more nothing [i.e., no emergency vehicles were available] in town. Was sad thing that day. Then radio came on: War with Japan. (Nishimoto, 2003, p. 75)

(Performer takes off the hat.)

Uncle Susumu described the first time he saw his grandfather (the only known account that anyone in my family has of my third great-grandfather!), who was a laborer in Sacramento, California.

(Performer puts on the hat and speaks in Pidgin-English accent.)

I remember his straw hat, and a suit, and a gold chain around his neck like this, and the words that he used to my mother at the time, ducked the head and said, "Okiku natta no," saying, "Grown up to be a fine young lady" or something to that effect. Even at that age, I was thinking, he probably left Japan when my mother was a young girl. (Nishimoto, 2003, p.41)

(Performer takes off the hat.)

Uncle Susumu revealed that his mother was a picture bride. Most likely, this meant my great-grandmother came to Hawai'i as a picture bride, as well. Because of this oral history, I was able to track down the names of my great-grandparents. I wondered what type of education the Haioka sisters had, if any. I wondered if they could read or write.

(Performer puts on the hat and speaks in Pidgin-English accent.)

Health-wise, she was a weak woman, I think. That is why in her younger days, I don't think she attended school too much. Maybe that is the reason why she didn't think much of education. I mean, I'm coming to my own conclusions thinking along that line. This is all hindsight thinking. (Nishimoto, 2003, p. 53)

(Performer takes off the hat.)

I pondered their life and, in turn, reflected on the privilege of choice afforded to me by time. I reflected on the life of my grandfather; whose mother encouraged him to leave school in the third grade to work. Was school even a place that felt safe for my ancestors? What I found most interesting about this oral history is that Uncle Susumu, who was much younger than my Grandpa Hayashi, identified himself as Japanese. He admitted that he could only speculate as to why two generations before him had left Japan to reside in different corners of the Pacific, only to face poverty, bigotry, and discrimination in American and Americanized colonial spaces. In the oral history published on Uncle Susumu, there were enough nuggets of information to make me wonder if my grandfather's mother had aboriginal heritage, as well. I knew from family stories and genetic testing that my paternal line of the family was Ainu. I contacted the family members of Uncle Susumu whom I could find on social media. For the first time, I spoke with my cousins from this family line and I saw pictures of ancestors who, in very old photographs, appeared to have features that were phenotypically Ainu. Colonization, displacement, and the deep historical trauma of being a diaspora post-World War II has left me to piece together a broken family tree. Genealogy is the core of indigeneity, and here I was, finding lost family who were right before me all along. I wanted answers but

have been left with speculations—speculations that I come from a clan or clans of the Native people of the Japanese archipelago purposefully and methodically fragmented across the Pacific Ocean beyond repair. We know that in just two generations, the Hawaiian language and culture became endangered. The Ainu had faced 200 years of indoctrination into the national identity of imperial Japan. Was it possible that, when my own family became Ainu in Diaspora, the Ainu cultural identity was subsumed by the propaganda of the Japanese American experience hallmarked by efforts to survive plantation life and the social pressure around becoming an American during World War II? There was still a page left unturned in my family history. I had to approach my professor, Dr. Cathy Ikeda, to let her know we were cousins and ask her thoughts on the possible Ainu heritage of our shared family. Disclosing that we had common ancestors whom I thought looked phenotypically Ainu, I stood, nervous about what her reaction might be. I have had family members who have told me to never say that I am Ainu, to let the stories die with the generations past. The comment that rattles me with guilt whenever I say I am Ainu is, “This story is painful and is not just yours to tell.” I had spent the last year collecting the stories of other Ainu in Diaspora. To my surprise, Dr. Ikeda’s response was one that I heard over and over again while working on this project: I always felt like there was something different about the way my family looked. I would look at my Japanese family and I would look at other Japanese, and there was just a “look” that we had that was different. Technology had, once again, served as a bridge over time, space, and relationship, with some guidance from the ancestors. My research had replicated itself in my life...

(Performer puts on the Ainu mantapushi, or headband. The hip-hop beat begins to play; performer stands up and walk around, rapping the song “We Are Ainu!” in its entirety.)

We are Ainu! (We Are Diaspora)

Take a good look at the goddess who shook,
Fallacies that I found in your books,
Imperial house? Or a den full of crooks
The impact of trauma's historical hooks,
Our survivance ain't always as good as it looks

We are Ainu.
We are Diaspora.
We are here!

Ancestors are calling and I take a stand
Stepped on this journey to know who I am
And here I find displacement from land
Feet never again touch ancestral sands
More purpose than
to be the comfort woman
She stepped on that boat to this distant land
Without her,
I'd never be who I am

I am Ainu.
I am Diaspora
And I am here!

Body so beaten it hurts just to sneeze
Praying and hoping that no one would see
Picture that young bride right after she bleeds
Bango tag, now
She got mouths to feed
All to escape homeland poverty
Who can blame her for having a dream
Unaware of the despair
That her fate would meet

Take a good look, at the goddess who shook
Fallacies that I found in your books,
Imperial house? Or a den full of crooks
The impacts of trauma's historical hooks,
Our survivance ain't always as good as it looks

But we are Ainu.
We are Diaspora!
And we are here!

CHAPTER 5: AINU NENO AN AINU IN PRACTICE

Even when I am in the role of school administrator, attending meetings in a business suit and heels, I am a representation of the disciplined resistance of the Ainu that is at the core of the practice of charanke. I do not need to be holding a microphone or to be in a state of rapping over beats to be the presentation of revolutionary and radical Hip Hop. Charanke and Hip Hop are my guiding philosophies of disruption in the face of patterns of power and control. As an Ainu in Diaspora in the seat of researcher, disrupting meant that when other researchers might draw lines and step away, I stepped closer. I went deeper into personal depths of my genealogy, and my historical trauma, to be dialogically interwoven with those who chose to share deeply personal familial histories with me.

The following discussion highlights what Ainu Neno An Ainu looked like for me in my practice as a performance ethnographer and as an educator. I discuss the findings of this study, which surfaced in two specific segments of this research. Part of my findings surface from the voices of the five Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers that I interviewed and conducted a focus group discussion with. The other part of my findings surfaced as I took feedback from the story-sharing process of my live performance at the HERA conference on February 29th 2020, and the feedback obtained between May 26th- June 9th, 2020 around my multi-media presentation of this dissertation on social media. Through my creation and performance of the re-storying of the Ainu in Diaspora presence in education, there were three major findings which surfaced as a result of this story-sharing process: healing through affinity; the Meiji lens and its subsequent impact on Native people across the Pacific; and the role of technology and social media within indigenous communities.

Healing Through Affinity

The stories that surfaced showed how Ainu in Diaspora saw themselves as settlers of Indigenous heritage who inadvertently developed an affinity with the Indigenous peoples whose land they have now settled on. This affinity appeared to be mutual, as the Ainu with whom I spoke had sustained rich, and often intimate relationships with other Natives of the host culture. My participants often spoke of familial ties with the people of the host culture. Some participants, like Ed and Jo, were of mixed-Aboriginal heritage with ancestral ties to the host culture. Ayaka, for example, was a participant who privileged with the opportunity to become a student of a cultural practice typically passed on within the familial blood lines of the host culture. Ayaka talks about her gratitude for being taken into a lineage of knowledge within a traditional healing art of the host culture. I continuously heard that the Ainu in Diaspora had reflected on their history to navigate relationships with other Aboriginal/Indigenous people. The narrative of resistance of the Ainu in Diaspora is that they look at their historical trauma and apply their learnings in a mindful way, with a desire to be “less troublesome immigrants” (T. Duffin, personal communication, June 19, 2019), for other Aboriginal/Indigenous people. This aspect of Ainu culture counters the common and harmful narrative of the Ainu as complacently being in a state of extinction. On the contrary, the stories that surfaced highlighted the cultural identity of the Ainu in Diaspora is in a state of being sustained by Knowledge Keepers who are in a reflexive, mutually sustaining relationship with the support of Natives of the host culture.

Cultural exchanges have become an essential part of how the Ainu learn about the ways other cultures restore their Native language and practices. From the Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity, these exchanges could and should be less centered on learning about social differences and more on allowing the deep ancestral connection binding the Ainu to

reveal themselves in both the spiritual and physical planes. The Moshiri model indicates that stories are important conduits for teaching, learning, and healing from historical trauma. Within these stories, the term *diaspora* is nonjudgmental, whereas other terms such as *settler*, *immigrant*, and *migrant* immediately place limitations on the context of the individual carrying such labels. Implied in these limiting terms is that people's existences are only relevant in the societal hierarchy once they reach Western soil, where ancestral lands and the journeying of previous generations lack value.

For Native people in general, genealogy and stories inform individuals about points of interconnectivity within the world around them, bringing much-needed empowerment and healing after generations of erasure. As I performed the ethnographic collection of stories, I began to reflect the idea of "clan." I had always heard that Ainu are a tribal people, but that meant nothing to me because my perception was that I existed in isolation. With the interconnectivity among others of my cultural identity and worldview came the healing of deep wounds, which I did not realize I had. The revelation that individuals can connect interpersonally to find healing from a cognate spiritual source was an important finding, serving the basis for the creation of the Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity. The definitions of Ainu in Diaspora and Ainu Neno An Ainu framework that resulted from this study push the boundaries of diaspora through a neo-diaspora lens, challenging the aspects of globalism and transnationalism that embody imperialism and colonialism for other Indigenous peoples.

As a school administrator who incorporates the Moshiri model into my Indigenous pedagogy, I reflect on my own erasure in American and Japanese classrooms. Hence, I am conscious of how stories—the story-ing of cultural identity and allowing Native children to exist as spiritual beings in formalized educational spaces—can make a difference in a student's sense

of belonging and connection to school. I view my school environment as a plane within the Moshiri model. It is from this plane that teachers, students and families within our school community, can channel creativity inspired by the genetic memory programmed within every individuals' DNA. Honoring ancestors is an important part of finding one's positionality to a curriculum that paves the way for paths to the future which entails whole-community as opposed to whole-child well-being. Healing through spiritual affinity is neither strategy nor method that starts in the classroom. Healing through spiritual affinity is work that must be done first, with the adults on the campus and in the community as educators recognize that positive school climates do not begin within classroom perimeters. Positive school climates begin with intergenerational connections through restoring not only heritage, but spiritual practices.

The Meiji Lens, Education, and the Hawai'i Context

In Chapter 2, I discussed the similarities of the African American double consciousness to that of the double consciousness I postulate as permeating through the Ainu in Diaspora community. Although we would like to believe that Ainu in Diaspora do not face discrimination, when we examine the stories of Ed the Biker and Jo the Scholar, we find that both had their heritage withheld from them in an attempt to shield them from the covert inequalities and biases of the Japanese diaspora. They were taught to live following the Japanese spoken and unspoken social rules, and are now navigating how their Ainu in Diaspora identity and their Japanese identity can co-exist with one another. The dominant presence of the Japanese diasporic community inadvertently harms Ainu consciousness whether one knows they are Ainu or not. Ed candidly shares his feeling of rejection from the Japanese community for his Indigenous phenotype, long before learning that he was ethnically Ainu.

In Chapter 2, I also discuss the Meiji lens, a term I created to describe the colonial gaze of the Japanese people stemming from Japan's Meiji-era regime that has molded the Japanese ethnic identity as known today. In Chapter 4, I used the oral history of Susumu "Peanut" Sodehani to talk about his rejection from the Japanese community for marrying Mary Kaumeheiwa, a woman from a prominent Kanaka Maoli family. Uncle Susumu's history provided me with a realistic picture of the complexities around the Meiji lens on Aboriginality and how Ainu in Diaspora might experience double consciousness amidst social biases in the Japanese diasporic communities against Aboriginal people. In the Hawai'i context, where the Japanese population has risen to the dominant class in politics and education (Benham & Heck, 1994), it is not hard to speculate why individuals of Ainu heritage would feel compelled to diminish their Ainu-ness, or even choose to pass as Japanese. As Tara the Blogger stated, "Nobody wants to be the descendant of the hairy barbarians, and if you hear enough negative about yourself, your ancestors, you eventually believe it."

My participants spoke about the generations before them painstakingly trying to hide their Ainu heritage through such acts as (a) dying their red hair black to look more Japanese, (b) ironing their hair so that it appeared straighter, (c) staying out of the sun, so their skin would stay lighter, (d) removing body hair, and (e) refraining from publicly identifying as Ainu. Several of the Ainu I interviewed talked about their Ainu relatives speaking negatively about Ainu, including that they smell, they are hairy and descend from dogs, they are stupid, and they are meant to be slaves and servants. As Tara the Blogger suggested,

If the only education that you have received on your culture, or indigeneity, has been negative, then you won't learn to value your culture. If you only heard the racial

profiling, the Japanese propaganda. If you hear it enough, eventually you will believe those things about yourself and your people.

Although I have defined Ainu in Diaspora culture among those with shared experiences, there are regional differences in the histories of the Ainu in Diaspora. These variations have led to social power differentials between people of Ainu heritage incorporated into Japanese-identifying populations, subsequently benefitting from the privilege of Japanese settler-ism. The Hawai'i-born Ainu, Okinawan, and Japanese populations have not had the opportunity to unpack their history of classism, colorism, and deeply engrained anti-aboriginality that created diasporic communities. To date, I am not aware of any effort to address the historical trauma among Ainu descendants impacted by forced assimilation, othering, enslavement, and human trafficking. Japanese-identifying communities often display toxic behavior perpetuating shogun, samurai, and kamikaze narratives of both Meiji-era and World War II propaganda, when pedigree and blood quantum were means to exclude community members of Indigenous heritage. Although Ainu in Diaspora usually socialize within the ethnically Japanese communities, those who carry the Ainu phenotype have shared painful stories of communities of Japanese ancestry never fully accepting them. Ed the Biker stated,

In high school, I started running into more Japanese. And some of my friends who had Japanese mothers, that's when I started noticing they didn't care for me very much. They suspected that I wasn't Japanese. As a matter of fact, one of my close friends, he even said his mom had said something to him. And I think on a couple occasions, they suspected I might have been Ainu or an Indigenous Japanese, and they frowned on it. I mean, they looked down on me.

This quote from an Ainu in Diaspora highlights the experience of being othered and excluded. Ed's experience is an example of how Ainu in Diaspora face microaggressions from the broader community of Japanese diaspora.

In the Hawai'i context, this toxic colonial mentality is a detriment to marginalized communities, especially Kānaka Maoli. The Native name of popular surf attraction Banzai Pipeline has been forgotten over time, replaced by this Japanese war cry rooted in the same emperor worship that violently eradicated Ainu language its ancestral place. Japanese, Ainu, and Okinawan communities in diaspora must begin to talk about how they have internalized and perpetuated the Meiji lens through colonization, militarization, violence, privilege, and the lie of homogeneity for the sake of surviving horrendous propaganda against their communities. The context surrounding racism is complex in Hawai'i (Jung, 2006). Jo the Scholar said, "I tried to follow the Japanese rules, but my mom identified more with our Hawaiian side and felt that those Japanese rules should be broken."

The oral history from Susumu "Peanut" Sodegami (Nishimoto, 2003) shared in Chapter 4 is one example of how Japanese transnationalism led to the ostracizing of other members within the larger community of descendants of Japanese nationals. This history has led mixed-race Ainu-Kanaka Maoli to shield themselves from the mental and emotional abuse by the broader Japanese diaspora. In the Hawai'i context, educators of Japanese, Okinawan, and Ainu heritage must deconstruct the ways in which the Meiji lens influences their relationships with students who are Kānaka Maoli, Micronesian, or belonging to other marginalized Pacific Islander groups. It is my hope, that the stories and artistic literacies of the Ainu in Diaspora, can become a reflection tool for educators of Japanese national and Japanese diaspora ancestry; who want to be allies for their Kānaka Maoli, Indigenous, and marginalized students.

After generations of deliberate programming by Meiji-era policies as well as educational policies created by White Supremacists in the Hawaiian islands, descendants of Japanese emigrants in Hawai‘i continue to relive the cyclical nature of historical trauma by internalizing and perpetuation colonial and imperialistic approaches to education. According to Benham and Heck (1994), from the 1800’s to the 1920’s Japanese immigrants to the Hawaiian islands, are listed along with Native Hawaiians, Chinese, Filipino Portuguese immigrants and other Polynesian groups, are listed under the category of “Forgotten Player” (p.424) in terms of ability to influence educational policies in Hawai‘i. After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government, the American elite ran the Hawaii systems of schooling. However, after World War II, the *nisei* or Hawai‘i born Japanese, began to obtain systemic power in the Hawaiian island. Benham and Heck states that, “The American business elite saw in a governing structure in which their economic desires were met, thereby creating a school system that gave Caucasian privileges over Hawaiians and Asians. The Democratic *nisei* saw education as a means to attain the benefits of such American ideals as private land ownership and economic prosperity” (p. 445-446). The presence of the Japanese diaspora in educational leadership has been consistent in the Hawaiian islands since the late 1940’s whereas the Kānaka Maoli voice has been neglected in school leadership processes since the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.

As a practice, effective educators identify their biases and understand where their biases come from. Love (2019), writes that to be an abolitionist educator, an educator who is willing to fight against oppressive institutions of schooling for Black and Brown children, educators must identify where they have privilege in order to get to the point where they can let go of their privilege. Many educators who find themselves under the umbrella term “Americans of Japanese Ancestry” could have aboriginal heritage yet might not be comfortable with, or aware of their

aboriginality. Such educators of the Japanese diaspora were victims of colonial and patriotic indoctrination in formalized systems of schooling. The stories shared by the Ainu in Diaspora in this dissertation can help educators of Japanese ancestry reflect on ways in which they can work with students to dismantle racist, sexist, heteronormative, ableist and capitalistic schooling practices which suppress freedom (Love, 2019). In the context of Hawai'i classrooms, I encourage all educators of the Japanese diaspora to reflect on their relationships with their Kānaka Maoli and Pacific Islander students and ask themselves if they have helped to facilitate their students' growth in their cultural identity and ancestral language, or have they facilitated their students' growth in the culture acceptable within formalized systems of schooling? There are many publications speaking to the approaches of White educators in teaching children of color. Applying these concepts of privilege to the Japanese diaspora are particularly difficult given the history of oppression and degradation that Japanese emigrants have endured. However, in the Hawai'i context it is important to acknowledge the Hawai'i born Japanese-settler rise in systemic power. Educators of the Japanese diaspora carry a type of privilege from plantation days long past through systems of colorism and classism, which haunt our understandings of each other in a so-called melting pot of cultures. While Hawai'i is often hailed as a place of racial harmony where the once oppressed Asian emigrants have risen above plantation social disparities through education, the reality is that disparities in health, economics, and education, have overwhelmingly persisted through the generations for Kānaka Maoli and Pacific Islander students.

Indigenous Technology and the Role of Social Media

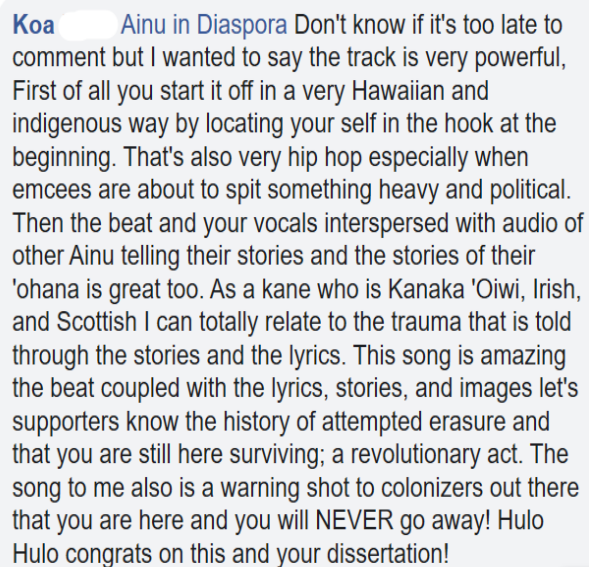
The technological tools used in the study to assist in the re-storying process of my participants were simple. My hip-hop soundtracks were not produced in an elaborate studio.

Instead, my tracks and a majority of video background music was created from my Android cell phone using an app called BandLab. With the help of my husband and my seven-year-old son, I used a headset with a built-in microphone and recorded the vocals for my hip-hop track and video narration. As a researcher in the Education field, it was important to me that the tools used in this study were accessible and inexpensive. I wanted to make sure that any one of my students could tap into my methods, and immediately begin to collect and share their own hip-hop ethnographies using the kinds of technological tools commonly found in today's households. For the participants who gave me permission to do so, I used our Zoom video conferencing recordings to create these multi-media displays of their story-sharing. While some of the audio was not the cleanest or clearest because I was very new at using such tools of communication, the video conferencing with a voice and video recording capabilities was a crucial piece in the way the stories within this project were shared, documented, re-storied, and re-shared while under the threat of a global pandemic.

Though my performance platforms changed drastically due to COVID-19, it is important to note that previous to the outbreak of this pandemic, social media was crucial component in how Ainu in Diaspora are storying their presence and reclaiming their heritage. Social media platforms have enabled Ainu in Diaspora to see one another and experience a feeling of connection and community. Providing glimpses into the lives of other Ainu contributes to the identity-building process of the Ainu in Diaspora. Seeing images of other Ainu normalizes, demystifies, and challenges the narratives of Ainu as a monolithic culture of hunter-gatherers who are endangered. Like other Native populations in a modern world, Ainu require space to deconstruct the misinformation about their existence by having the means and control to establish narratives of themselves. Social media disrupts the flow of information from colonizer

to Ainu, providing space for these communities to exchange knowledge directly with each other, putting Ainu in control of their stories by removing the colonizer as the broker of information. Technology has been an important part of this research. And, technology will play an important role in connecting Ainu in Diaspora to one another, and in the distribution of important information which will help Ainu in Diaspora unpack their complex histories together.

Figure 24. Facebook Feedback



Koa [Ainu in Diaspora](#) Don't know if it's too late to comment but I wanted to say the track is very powerful, First of all you start it off in a very Hawaiian and indigenous way by locating your self in the hook at the beginning. That's also very hip hop especially when emcees are about to spit something heavy and political. Then the beat and your vocals interspersed with audio of other Ainu telling their stories and the stories of their 'ohana is great too. As a kane who is Kanaka 'Oiwī, Irish, and Scottish I can totally relate to the trauma that is told through the stories and the lyrics. This song is amazing the beat coupled with the lyrics, stories, and images let's supporters know the history of attempted erasure and that you are still here surviving; a revolutionary act. The song to me also is a warning shot to colonizers out there that you are here and you will NEVER go away! Hulo Hulo congrats on this and your dissertation!

Note. Screen Shot, 2020. Ainu in Diaspora Facebook page.

Through social media and technology, I was able to share links from my Ainu in Diaspora Facebook page and YouTube channel to a variety of Facebook groups or communities. I openly presented my multi-media displays to obtain audience feedback on my video performances, visual art, as well as other information that I shared from this dissertation which I transformed into social media postings. Overall, I received supportive comments from other scholars, and artists. Several people commented that they had never heard of the Ainu people before, let alone the Ainu in Diaspora community. Some commented that they felt that these stories were important for their own educational growth in learning about different people and

cultural identities. Several people commented that the hip-hop ethnography was an effective and informative way for them to absorb this new information about Ainu in Diaspora, and that they hoped that I would create more information like it. However, I saw a repetition of harmful narratives being repeated over and over by the Japanese and Japanese American community as they left comments on my posts. These comments suggested that the Ainu blood quantum is so low that the Ainu are primarily Japanese and therefore the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity is nonexistent. There were also questions about my own Ainu blood quantum and whether or not I had enough Ainu blood quantum to address this topic. Still, others wanted to know how they might find how if it was possible that they had Ainu ancestry themselves. I took each comment as opportunity to further engage and educate my audience through the social media posts. I provided perspectives on blood quantum politics as a means to erase Indigenous people so that colonizers can obtain control over Indigenous land. I shared information about the genetic diversity of the Ainu, as well as the historically noted diversity within Ainu phenotypes. I offered perspective around how genetic testing combined with family stories are powerful tools in reconnecting people with their Ainu heritage. It was evident that while some Japanese Americans suspect that they have Ainu ancestry, and are open to talking about diversity within the community, there are people in the community who still hold on to this idea that the expression of the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity has no place in the Japanese American community. Technology played an integral part around how I connected with the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers who became the participants of this study.

Technology also played in integral part around how their narratives were re-storied. As I am ending this dissertation, COVID-19 continues to threaten Indigenous populations all over the world. I went into this research studying key textbooks on Indigenous methodology. It is

important to state that in a world before COVID-19, conducting interviews over Zoom video conferencing was not the ideal way to engage Indigenous communities. I had a hunch that because I had connected with these Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers via social media platforms as a researcher and community member, the video conferencing platform would not be an obstacle to connecting with my participants.

In hindsight, I do feel that video conferencing was a powerful tool for the collection of stories in this research. My participants were able to remain in their homes, in the environment and time that was most comfortable for them. As the world now faces health and safety concerns due to COVID-19, technology will become a crucial part of Indigenous research methods. In the context of this study, technology facilitated intimate connections that would have otherwise been severed by distance, ensuring that the participants of this study were not needlessly compromised to the epidemics surrounding our communities. The live performance is an important part of my interpretation of the stories, as well as my pedagogy in how I teach about the histories of my participants. At the writing of this dissertation, COVID-19 continues to prevent the kind of social gatherings needed for a live performance. I inadvertently ended up with a performance of stories tailored to social media, and a script intended for a live performance. Ideally, I think it would be powerful if I could combine the two together, where my live performance could be further be accented by the multi-media information that has been placed on social media. The process of receiving and reflecting on feedback was enriched through engaging with the audience who viewed my posts across social media. I do not know if the same opportunities for such enriching dialogue would have presented itself in the fast-paced interactions that are typical after a live show. These were teachable, as well as learnable moments for me, which organically bloomed in the culture of social media where people are more likely to slow down and exchange thoughts.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

In the modern context, Ainu in Diaspora share their stories through social media, art, fashion, music and poetry; and are reclaiming the philosophies around *charanke*, in order to combat the erasure of their presence. Story sharing by Knowledge Keepers outside of formal systems of education has educational value but is often overlooked in colonial Western and Japanese systems of education. The presence of the Ainu in Diaspora in education is largely unrecognized despite their roles as students, educators, and Knowledge Keepers. As a person who identifies as an Ainu in Diaspora living in Hawai‘i, I faced the problem of erasure of my cultural identity both in and out of educational spaces. In response I developed this project to explore the question: In what ways to Ainu in Diaspora act as Knowledge Keepers embody their own cultural identity and re-story their presence, both in and out of educational spaces? The purpose of this study is to tell the stories and lived experiences of five Ainu in Diaspora, with an interactive researcher/community member response to these stories.

The conceptual framework of this research was created by applying to method of bricolage to several frameworks to ultimately design a framework that fit the unique nature of this Indigenous community in diaspora. I crafted the Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity for the Ainu in Diaspora by weaving together the applicable aspects of the theories of survivance, critical consciousness, critical race theory, and tribal critical race theory, with the Ainu epistemology which is shamanic in nature. The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework encompasses various ways of knowing, feeling, and connecting where the critical conversation of *charanke* do not prevent the meeting hearts, minds, and souls. In response to messages of inferiority about the Ainu epistemology where spirituality and animism are heavily intertwined within one’s worldview, the Moshiri model honors alternate ways of believing, seeking, and understanding

knowledge through creativity. To truly be a humane human, as the term Ainu Neno An Ainu suggests, Ainu learning occurs on the spiritual plane before it manifests in the physical plane. Although bringing spirituality into educational spaces is not an approach typically practiced in Western public education, ignoring spiritual epistemology and ontology for the Ainu in Diaspora would be a continuation of anti-Ainuness in formal educational spaces.

I designed this study to facilitate the sharing of stories of five Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers and to further examine how the Ainu cultural identity is perpetuated both in and out of formal educational spaces. The participants I interviewed organically engaged in culturally and spiritually sustaining practices. These Knowledge Keepers shared having to learn how to sustain their Ainu cultural identity from the Native host culture and other communities surrounding them, while also learning how to sustain their spiritual practices through the influence of the host culture amid the overwhelming Western negative connotations of the shamanic worldview. Though there were many social stigmas that manifested as obstacles that prevented other people of Ainu heritage from joining this project, the participants of this study very candidly shared their life experiences. From a dialogic interview and focus group sessions, the participants assisted in re-storying their life experiences so that their stories could be shared in an arts-based multi-media performative narrative of resistance of the Ainu in Diaspora experience.

This study is an unprecedented documentation of the history and life experiences of people with Ainu heritage who reside outside of Japan. Anchored in bricolage, this study incorporated multi-media, Hip Hop and arts-integrated performative story sharing to engage participants in transformative research. This study pulls from both the traditional Ainu philosophies around *charanke*, the Ainu shamanic worldview, and the philosophies of Hip Hop

as a form of critical analysis to disrupt the status quo in qualitative research. As a result of this transformative research, a methodology was created through the Ainu in Diaspora epistemology. However, the purpose of this study is to break from the traditional and honor the complex ways in which Indigenous communities maintain cultural identity in diaspora. This study is a testament to the impact of erasure of marginalized cultures in education, and that there is a reverberating sense of loss when identity, culture, and spirituality are not present in formalized systems of education.

The process of performing the stories of people—those previously marginalized, dismissed, and even abused by research—for the purpose of documenting those stories in written form to be received by the academy was a daunting task. Their stories and there-storying process was complex and nonlinear, especially given the multiple worldviews the Ainu in Diaspora possess. These stories revealed that even though the Ainu in Diaspora carry the historical trauma of colonization, oppression, and erasure, many have found healing through affinity, namely spiritual affinity with other Indigenous people. The Ainu in Diaspora often must contend with the gaze or Meiji lens of the Japanese diasporic community, which inadvertently harms the Aboriginal identity of both the Ainu in Diaspora, and the Aboriginal host culture. And finally, through technology and social media, the Ainu in Diaspora have displayed resistance and resilience through maintaining control of the way that their cultural identity is storied, by proclaiming and defining their Ainu-ness for themselves.

The Research Process

As I began this dissertation journey, I sought research participants. As I am ending my dissertation process, as a result of intimately positioning myself to project the participants'

voices in the creation of the performance, I feel a sense of kinship with these Ainu in Diaspora who have shared their stories with me. Such a kinship can best be described as *tribe*.

Guajardo (2002) shared,

In integrating the theory with practice, and the academic with story, I am intent on pushing for the process and development of a practice of decolonization. The privileging of this literature—local stories—is a first step toward moving away from the traditional order of things. I consider this exercise of writing a dissertation as an event that epitomizes that traditional order of things and pushes graduate students to stress and isolation. But I have decided that during this exercise, I will disrupt this practice. (p. 113)

Guajardo's words inspired the fourth and fifth chapters of this dissertation. Colonization and the resulting dispersal of my ancestral lines took a toll on the unity of my family and, over time, subsequent tribal affiliations, and community relationships. At the core, Ainu in Diaspora are a people who come from a culture of collectivism as opposed to individualism. I was inspired to resist conforming my Ainu in Diaspora lens within the research process for the sake of "the traditional order of things" (Guajardo, 2002 p. 113). Rather, I sought to acknowledge that, as Ainu in Diaspora myself, a descendant of those who once used school as a metaphor for prison, I must hold a presence in scholarly spaces as my authentic, whole self. I chose to invite other Ainu in Diaspora into the process of research with me, speaking and writing into existence their presence in the academy as Knowledge Keepers. Because of practitioners in the field of educational research like Guajardo, I am continuously pushing myself to decolonize my role in research and strive for transformative approaches (Mertens, 2010), where re-storying presence with other Ainu in Diaspora—the practice of reflection and reflexivity through stories—becomes the mechanism for social justice through performance: oral and visual literacies.

Research does not have to be about holding power and control in isolation. Throughout this process, I sought to challenge the role of research formalities, which have historically been unhealthy for Ainu mental health and well-being. Through the act of establishing relationships with the Ainu in Diaspora who volunteered for this study, I contributed to a paradigm shift to researchers telling stories of their communities. Additionally, this project was an opportunity to expand the Ainu narrative about the relationship to research as opposed to historical accounts of Ainu in the position of research subject, which promoted abusive relationships between the researcher and Ainu serving as voiceless research subjects. As an educator within a model of heritage learning for cultural restoration, I seized the opportunity to expand the Ainu narrative around research from that of victim, to technician, scientist, engineer, and researcher. Our Ainu ancestors have historically submitted in humility to the process of inquiry and reflection, made observations of the world around them, and documented their learning in ways that were open, free, and innovative, without a prerequisite of format. Orations, embroidery, carving, song, dance, and weaving are just a few examples of how the Ainu traditionally documented their worlds through ethnographic story-sharing.

As I journeyed through the process of this research, it became evident that if I allowed preconceptions to dictate where to find knowledge, with whom I would find knowledge, and how to document my discoveries, many gems within this research would have remained undiscovered. I would not have been able to accurately portray the narratives of resistance of the Ainu in Diaspora through only text. Written accounts alone could not capture the rich complexities, tragedies, and victories of the Ainu in Diaspora.

The Ainu values of ramatok (courage), shiratok (appreciation of beauty), and pawetok (eloquence), which were at the core of this research, speak to vibrations and senses that

transcription alone cannot capture, and therein lies the value of integrating art and performance. This research combined modern Ainu in Diaspora re-interpretations of the traditional Ainu practice of *charanke*, hip-hop, and multi-media displays of creativity, to further push the parameters of how ethnographic performance can serve as a tool for radical social justice. The research and subsequent performance of this dissertation enabled critical reflection about how Ainu cultural identity endures, despite virtually complete erasure within formalized educational settings. Every time I have an opportunity to immerse myself in the performance of the Ainu in Diaspora voice, my positionality and understanding are informed and reshaped. In order to tell the stories in a voice that is a reflection of my participants' experiences, I have to identify my positionality to the participant, and my location to the story being told. It is important I read, not only the script, but the little nuances of word choice, body language and tone of my participants in an attempt to adequately reframe and re-story the Ainu in Diaspora experience.

My lens encompasses multiple worldviews; as such, scholars within Japan would likely label it as unofficial or nontraditional. Had I not spoken with other Ainu in Diaspora, I likely would not have realized that, as a descendant of the Ainu people, I carry the burden of walking in multiple worlds, multiple planes of spiritualism, and multiple perceptions of time simultaneously—nor, especially, would I have shared these perspectives aloud. This realization also extended to the notion that other Ainu in Diaspora navigate this journey with me; I am not alone. Through this dissertation process, I was the antithesis of what Guajardo (2002) described as the lonely and stressed graduate student. The transformative nature of the research process (Mertens, 2010), as guided by the Moshiri model, led me to connections I could not have foreseen before engaging in this process.

Limitations

My sample of participants was small. There were other Ainu whom I had hoped would participate in this study, but family and social pressures discouraged them from openly sharing their stories. A sample of five allowed me to get to know the participants on a much deeper level. My role as a member of this community who faces the same social stigma from openly claiming my Ainu cultural identity enabled me to establish a rapport in ways that a non-Ainu in Diaspora researcher might not have. It must be explicitly noted that the term Ainu in Diaspora is being used by people of Ainu heritage who felt that the complexities of their identity was not being recognized by Ainu who remained in the ancestral land. Ainu who are from, and reside in the bounds of the ancestral homeland were not included in this study.

Initially, I defined Ainu in Diaspora as any Ainu outside of Hokkaido, Japan, which opened the participant pool to Ainu Knowledge Keepers who resided in Japan. Almost immediately, I noticed that I had to watch the group dynamics because the two Ainu who resided in Japan would make degrading comments about the Ainu in Diaspora. In social media groups Ainu who resided in Japan, but outside the boundaries of Hokkaido explicitly told Ainu living in the United States that in order to learn the authentic Ainu culture, the Ainu in the United States would have to learn the Japanese language and come to Japan. I began to hypothesize that the lens of the diaspora across the Pacific, was distinctly different than the lens of the Ainu-identifying Japanese national. I became unsure if comments made by the Ainu-identifying volunteers who lived in Japan were a result of a cultural or language gap. I then decided to go with a smaller and more intimate group of Ainu in Diaspora who resided in the Pacific North West region of the U.S. or Hawai‘i. I made this decision early on in my research to ensure the focus group felt like a safe place for the Ainu in Diaspora to share their stories.

Future Research: Culturally and Spiritually Sustaining Pedagogy

Ladson-Billings (1995) proposed culturally relevant pedagogy as “a theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate” (p. 469). Culturally relevant pedagogy facilitated the educator’s renewed commitment at the classroom level to affirming students’ cultural, racial, and ethnic identities. Paris (2012) proposed that CSP furthers the work of Ladson-Billings as a response to the continually evolving demographic changes in schools. CSP acknowledges the influence multicultural exposure has on the identities of students, as well as how students reimagine and re-story themselves in relation to the intersections of these complex and vibrant heritages. Indigenous students might be unable to separate spirituality from heritage. Using the Ainu as an example, all aspects of culture and culturally sustaining practices should involve a shamanic lens, which drives the Ainu way of life. Although I did not have the chance to delve into how culturally and spiritually sustaining pedagogy might be implemented at the school level during this study, spiritually sustaining practices appear to be important for the Knowledge Keepers whom I interviewed. I posit that expanded CSP research could include both a culturally and spiritually sustaining pedagogy for Ainu youth, as well as other students with Indigenous heritage. For future research studies, I would suggest looking into the ways that indigenous spirituality can be incorporated back into Native knowledge transference. Can Indigenous spirituality be embraced and implemented at the classroom level, or is Indigenous spirituality better learned from Indigenous Knowledge Keepers?

Paris (2012) stated that CSP “seeks to perpetuate and foster—to sustain—linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling” (p. 93). In the

context of the Ainu in Diaspora, this philosophy of cultural pluralism drew me to CSP, which acknowledges “both traditional and evolving ways of cultural connectedness for contemporary youth” (Paris, 2012, p. 95). Paris and Alim (2014) cautioned against adopting pedagogies of “heritage practices of communities of color without taking into account contemporary/evolving community practices” (p. 85). I sustained Ainu cultural perspectives through nontraditional practices as a result of my exposure to the Hip Hop culture that arose from diasporic African practices around orality. My study evolved from this idea of blending the traditional and contemporary to generate cultural and spiritual interconnectedness. My hope is for more researchers to explore the intersections of spirituality with methodology and pedagogy.

As I began to unpack the similarities between the Ainu and African worldview that manifests in the culture of the Hip Hop performance, art, and fashion sustaining the Ainu in Diaspora cultural identity, I began to uncover shamanic aspects rooted in these contemporary practices, which pushed the bounds of Indigenous pedagogy as I understood it. There appears to be a natural link between spirituality and Indigenous pedagogy. Yet, educators in the Western public sector tend to operate with the understanding that public schools must promote a secular climate to separate religion and state. However, when engaging in the conversation around cultural restoration or sustaining culture, scholars often ignore the deeply spiritual worldview of many Indigenous cultures. According to Edwards (2019), it is virtually impossible to distinguish religion and science from the worldview that is Indigenous or Earth-based, where “seeking spiritual knowledge and seeking scientific knowledge are on in the same” (personal communication, 2019). Edwards asked, “If secularism is an ideology based on scientific reason where religion is irrelevant (as the dominant narrative would have it), how is it possible to apply that concept in an Indigenous context where science and religion are inseparable?” (personal

communication, 2019). In a system of education where the goal is to preserve Indigenous heritage, privileging secularism can be harmful to Indigenous students.

According to Edwards (2019), colonization is a process of various suppressive abuses which, over time, manipulates the colonized to doubt the value of their culture and heritage. Such systemic manipulation disconnects Indigenous people from their religious and spiritual heritage, producing historical trauma in colonized people leading to depression, “suicide, substance dependence, mental illness, physical illness and even the perpetuation of violence” (Edwards, 2019), which Edwards argued are symptomatic of a “spiritual assault” caused by “disconnecting people from their religious and spiritual heritage” (personal communication, 2019). While gathering the stories for this study, it became evident that Ainu in Diaspora also contend with symptoms of historical trauma. This study allowed me to focus on the collection of stories and re-storying the presence of Ainu in Diaspora in terms of the way that Ainu Knowledge Keepers maintain cultural identity in educational spaces. More research, however, is necessary regarding the impact of historical trauma in the community of Ainu in Diaspora, as well as how the spiritual beliefs and practices of this community might assist in fostering a process of reconnection and healing. Burke and Segall (2011) explored the pervasive impact of patriarchy and Christian supremacy in American systems of education today. Their findings showed that discursive practices that “are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns of general behavior, in forms of transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which at once, impose and maintain them” (p. 12), are crucial for dismantling the systemic spiritual suppression of students. From this research with Ainu in Diaspora, it was evident that the Ainu shamanic worldview prevails in the diaspora; accordingly, it is important to reflect on colonial uses of Christian supremacy and patriarchy within American systems of schooling, and to further

examine how a culturally and spiritually sustaining pedagogy can benefit children who are of Indigenous heritage.

Love (2019) talks in depth about the concept of spirit murdering and race-centered violence, where in the context of schools, spirit murdering is felt deep in the souls of students who experience the denial of nurturance and acceptance due to institutionalized structures of racism. Though we are at a place in time where it is generally recognized that there is great value in the perpetuation of Ainu language and culture, the stories shared by the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers who participated in this study, show that the Ainu people are still impacted by the spiritual assault (Edwards, 2019), and spirit murder (Love, 2019) rooted in Japan's forced assimilation educational policies, as well as the Meiji lens upheld by Japanese and Japanese American educators; even while generationally and spatially removed from the origin institution of oppressive education. The Ainu Neno An Ainu framework of spiritual affinity, and Moshiri model methodology which resulted from this framework, recognizes that de-colonial and anti-racist educators, can no longer afford to separate the student from the spirit in heritage restoration education.

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GLOSSARY

Ainu Text In This Dissertation

Historically, the Ainu people did not have a written language. The Ainu language is currently being formally written both in Japanese katakana, as well as the Latin alphabet. In this dissertation, I have chosen to honor the ways in which the Ainu in Diaspora Knowledge Keepers colloquially spell Ainu words in their posts on social media, which complement the phonetic rules of English language reading. In an Ainu language academic text, ‘charanke’ might be formally spelled ‘caranke’. A majority of this Latin alphabet Ainu vocabulary listed in this glossary are aligned with the spelling found in the Ainu English Dictionary, written by Batchelor (1905).

Ainu: human description of a person with genealogical heritage to the Ainu people.

Ainu in Diaspora: term coined by American Ainu writer Tara Duffin to mean a person of Ainu heritage living outside of Japanese archipelago.

Ainu Moshiri: ancestral homeland of the Ainu people; country; Used in the Moshiri model to describe the physical plane.

Anchi Piri: reference to female Ainu tribal markings.

Ape Huchi Kamuy: Ainu goddess of the fire and hearth said to provide the warmth needed to sustain all life.

Bango: tag, also referred to as a ‘dog tag’ system on Hawai‘i plantations for Japanese immigrants.

Charanke: ritualized argument traditionally that according to some sources was exclusively conducted by men. A term sometimes used colloquially by Ainu in Diaspora to

describe a verbal debate with people and/or kamuy. Used by the author to describe disciplined oral resistance.

Dojin: Slur in the Japanese language used to describe people of Aboriginal or Indigenous heritage.

Hale‘iwa: Town on the Northshore of the Hawaiian island of O‘ahu

Huchi: grandmother; respected female elder; also used affectionately for Ape Huchi Kamuy who is an important goddess or spiritual entity, said by some Ainu elders to be embodied as Mt. Fuji.

Ipakushnu-Chise: Ainu word for both school and jail.

Kanaka Maoli/Kānaka Maoli: Aboriginal Hawaiian/ Multiple Aboriginal Hawaiians

Kanaloa: Hawaiian god of the ocean

Kamuy: Spirit, essence

Kamuy Moshiri: Divine plane in the traditional Ainu world view; used in the Moshiri model to describe the ideal future.

Kotan: Traditional Ainu village

Lū‘au: traditional Hawaiian feast

Oena: traditional Ainu stories.

Oli: Hawaiian word for chant

Pawetok: Eloquence

Pokna Moshiri: said in some Ainu traditions to be the realm where the dead reside. Used in the Moshiri model as a plane for past ancestral relationships.

Pu‘uhonua: Hawaiian word for place of refuge; used by Ayaka to describe Pu‘uhonua ‘o Pu‘uhuluhulu on Maunakea.

Ramatok: courage

Repun Kamuy: killer whale considered by Ainu to be the lord of the ocean.

Repun Kuru: term used by Ainu in Diaspora to describe people of Ainu heritage living in diaspora.

Repun Moshiri: Term used by Ainu in Diaspora for diaspora as a place.

Shamo: unfavorable Ainu term for Japanese colonizer.

Shamo Tane: Colonizer seeds, children of Wajin ancestry

Shirotok: appreciation for beauty

Tozan: Japanese word, to climb a mountain,

Wajin: East Asian colonizer of the Japanese archipelago

Yukara: Ainu oration of traditional epic tales where the speaker goes into a shamanic trancelike state.

APPENDIX: FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOL

Date: June 14, 15, or 16, 2019

Facilitator: Ronda Hayashi-Simpliciano

Start time: 5:30 p.m.

End time: 6:30 p.m.

Location: College of Education Classroom

SAY:

Thank you for participating in this focus group. While participating in this research may not directly benefit you, it may help to strengthen awareness on the presence of Ainu in Diaspora in educational spaces, as well as provide the College of Education a better understanding of applied theatre as we re-story our experiences together for the purpose of creating a public production. We do appreciate your time and insights.

Let's review the consent form that was previously emailed to you. (Verbally review details of the form.) If you have no further questions, please sign and hand them over at this time.

We will be taking a Zoom cloud video conferencing recording as well as an audio recording this discussion, so please speak up. After transcribing the record, we will then destroy the original recording. We will protect your privacy by using a pseudonym (fake name) so that you are anonymous, unless you have selected on your consent form that you would like your identity to be revealed. Please be as candid as possible with your feedback.

If at any point you are uncomfortable with answering a question, please feel free to pass. You are also free to withdraw at any time with no consequence.

DO:

- Invite participants to bring snacks.
- Invite participants to bring their artifact.
- Email consent forms prior for the participants to review the forms. (Only participants who have signed the consent forms will be invited to participate in this focus group due to the nature of video conferencing. However, it will be important to review the consent forms once again with all the participants together in case there are any additional questions.)
- Participants will be emailed copies of the questions so that they can follow along as I read the questions.
- Make sure recorder is ON.
- Probe or extend by asking: "Can you give an example?" "Please explain..." "Say more about that..." or "What makes you say that?"

Allow the cyber circle focus group to share their artifact, and explain which part of the Ainu world view their artifact represents to them (Pokna Moshir, Ainu Moshir, Kamuy Moshir).

1. What was your emotional reaction to the artifacts that were brought today?
2. What was a moment in this sharing that stood out to you? Why?
3. What was something that you discovered or learned about other Ainu in Diaspora through this sharing?
4. How were you educated about Ainu in school? Did this differ from how you were educated about being Ainu in your home?
5. How do you feel your experience as a student of Ainu heritage influenced you as you in your current efforts as an educator?
6. In what ways do you feel your Ainu identity surfaces in your life?
7. When people find out that you are Ainu, what are their typical reactions?
8. What questions did this focus group raise for you? What more do you want people to know about Ainu or Ainuic people in Diaspora?
9. Do you have any other thoughts or reflections about important stories that should be honored in this production that you haven't shared with us yet?