



Representation of the Ainu in Textbooks and Museums

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The Ainu



- Population:

- About 25,000 self-identified Ainu in Hokkaido
 - 0.0045% of total Hokkaido population

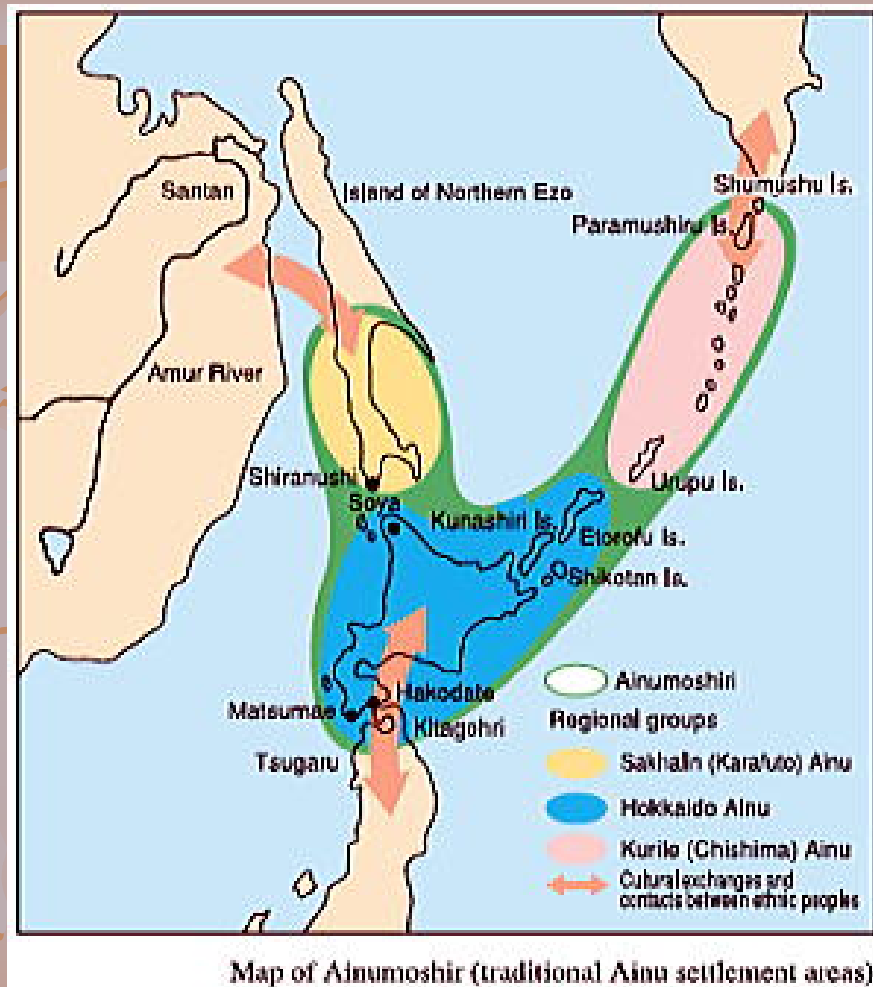
- Several thousand in Tokyo and other cities

- False racial connotations: outlier of Europe?!

- Carleton Coon, Edward Weyer et al

Ainu groups (ca 18~19 centuries)

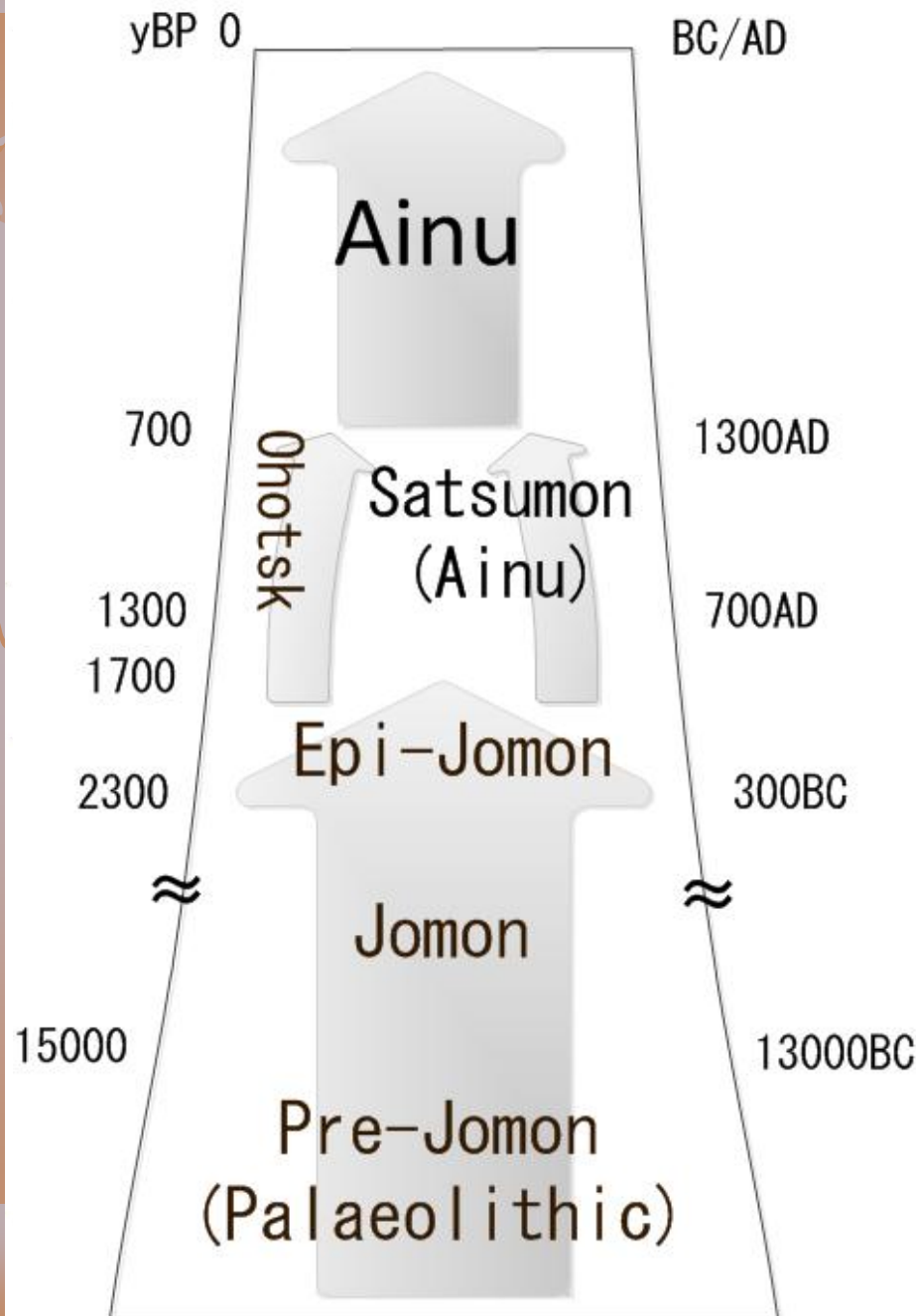




Historical distribution of the AINU

Cultural chronology of Hokkaido

Precedents of the Ainu culture probably are more ancient



Further discussed by Dr. Shinoda next

Illustrated biography of Prince Shōtoku (1)
Shihon chakushoku shotokutaisi eden (on paper)
紙本著色 聖徳太子絵伝 early 14th century



Illustrated biography of Prince Shōtoku early 14th century (2)
Shihon chakushoku shotokutaisi eden (on paper)
紙本著色 聖徳太子絵伝)



The Ainu in the history of Japan

- * 11 - 17th century: widespread trading with eastern Asia
- * Late 14th century: early contact with Wajin
- * 17th century: Matsumae fief established
Hokkaido and Ainu exploited by fief and merchants
- * 16-18th century: repeated armed conflict
- * 1868: Modern nation of Japan
Full-scale assimilation policy begun

Assimilation policy

- * 1868: Hokkaido Colonisation Commission
北海道開拓使
- * 1899: Law for the Protection of Aborigines
北海道旧土人保護法
- * Language suppressed, hunting & fishing prohibited

Ainu today



chipsanke :
(boat launching)
ceremony at river





International developments

- 
- Indigenous movement from post-war civil rights movement
 - * ILO Convention 107 (1957), 169 (1989)
 - * Indigenous movement goes to law courts:
 - Canada, Australia, NZ, US (CANZUS)
 - * Indigenous policies in US, Canada, NZ, Australia affect international situation
 - * UN action active from the 1980' s
 - * International Year of the Indigenous (1994)
 - * UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)

Developments in Japan (1)

Government reports to U N Commission on Human Rights, UNCHR

- * 1980 “No minority people(s) in Japan”
- * 1987 “The Ainu have full civil rights”
- * 1991 “The Ainu are a minority with protected civil rights
“No international definition of Indigenous, therefore
Ainu cannot be defined as Indigenous”
- * 1997 “Government participating in welfare policy”
“Ainu lived in Hokkaido since medieval times”
➔ passive recognition of indigeneity
- * 2007 Ainu Cultural Promotion Law and increased welfare policy improving living and social conditions
- * 2008 Diet resolution to recognise Ainu as Indigenous

Developments in Japan (2)

- 1986~ : Repeated statements by prestigious politicians
‘Japan is a homogenous (mono-ethnic) nation’
- 1994: Shigeru KAYANO elected to Diet
- 1997: Ainu stated to be Indigenous in Nibutani Dam court decision
- 1997: Ainu Culture Promotion Law【 Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture】
- 2008: “Resolution Seeking to Recognize the Ainu People as an Indigenous People” by both Houses of the Diet
- 2009: Report of the Advisory Council for Future Ainu Policy
Comprehensive Ainu Policy Office established within the Cabinet Secretariat

Museum exhibits of the Ainu in Japan



Permanent museum exhibits

I found no permanent exhibit of contemporary Ainu society in the 21 domestic museums, both public and private.

Contemporary situation sometimes the theme of temporary or thematic exhibits, but little information concerning social/cultural conditions and everyday situation.

No Ainu in 19th century Hokkaido 'development' exhibit



Historical Museum of Hokkaido entrance

Emphasising “tradition” in museum exhibits

Visitors leave with impression that Ainu may not be contemporaneous



Obihiro Historical Museum ↓



The Ainu Museum ↑

Contemporary permanent Ainu exhibits

Of 21 museums researched, none exhibited contemporary everyday life.

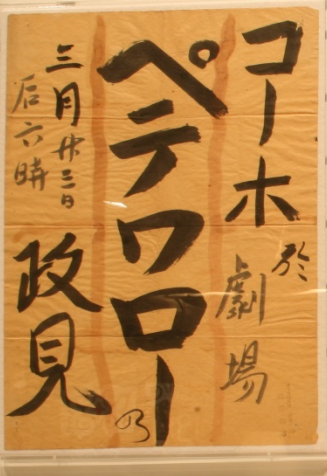
Famous authors & artists only, no contemporary life scenes or people in permanent exhibits

全国アイヌの語る会
National Tellers Group of Ainu
1973年に北海道札幌市で開催された会。この集まりは、経濱ビッキラの呼びかけによって、アイヌ民族の継承と統合を目指して開催された。

新川重雄
1973年、北海道札幌市、大層アイヌ文化協会創立。新川重雄、桂城庄司、成田博平らが模写した会だが、後ともう一人で車で支援金を集めに走ってまわった。金がなかったんだ。百高のアイヌに育てられた重雄の和人に強さしたら30万円を出してくれた。その他、100人以上からお金が集まって、最初の語る会が出来たんだ。山本多助エカシとか、350人ばかりが集まった。全国のアイヌの、大変な苦労が印象に残っている。

豊平川でのアシリチュップミ(新しい鞋を穿る儀式)
1982年、札幌市内豊平川河川敷で、札幌のアイヌ民族が中心となって、およそ100年ぶりに復活させた儀式の様子。

豊川重雄
アイヌにとってとりわけ重要な儀、鞋を穿る儀。儀式が復活された最初から、札幌のエカシに任命されていた彼が、ずっと祭主をやっている。この写真は、イオマレという儀礼をおこなっているところ。アシリチュップミの儀式全体では三四鐘り通す。最初は御神渡のアプツカムイ(夫の神様)に、次はアシリチュップ(新しい鞋)の神々に、最後は先祖にイクバスイ(杯酒)でトノ(御神酒)を捧げる。



「コーホ ベテワロー 政見」
Election poster of Kōhei Ainu candidates for the House of Representatives, 1946
1946年、当時、社団法人北海道アイヌ協会監事だったベテワロー(辺泥和郎)が、戦後初めての衆議院議員選挙に立候補した際の政見ポスター。
近藤繁美
1946年生まれ、北海道勇払町在住、ベテワローの子。
当時百歳だった私は直接覚えていませんが、母や姉によると、父は選挙活動を通じて豪傑で輝いたという事で、お金も支援者もなく、大変だったという話を聞かされていました。和人だった父は、生まれてすぐにアイヌ民族の祖母に引き取られて育てられた和人の母と結婚したことで、アイヌ民族として生きることになりました。正義感のある、一本気な父でした。ウツリ(同胞)を救うため、という気持ちが、選挙に立候補させたのだと思います。



子規解法
Statement of Chigusa Shōwa
1926年、北海道札幌市在住、アイヌ文化協会創立。子規解法、桂城庄司、成田博平らが模写した会だが、後ともう一人で車で支援金を集めに走ってまわった。金がなかったんだ。百高のアイヌに育てられた重雄の和人に強さしたら30万円を出してくれた。その他、100人以上からお金が集まって、最初の語る会が出来たんだ。山本多助エカシとか、350人ばかりが集まった。全国のアイヌの、大変な苦労が印象に残っている。

結城庄司
The Ainu Declaration (draft), 1941 Draft
1941年、北海道札幌市在住、アイヌ文化協会創立。結城庄司、桂城庄司、成田博平らが模写した会だが、後ともう一人で車で支援金を集めに走ってまわった。金がなかったんだ。百高のアイヌに育てられた重雄の和人に強さしたら30万円を出してくれた。その他、100人以上からお金が集まって、最初の語る会が出来たんだ。山本多助エカシとか、350人ばかりが集まった。全国のアイヌの、大変な苦労が印象に残っている。

Osaka Human Rights Museum

Contradictions in exhibiting contemporary Ainu society

- * Exhibiting contemporaneity may suggest complete assimilation
- * Emphasising 'tradition' suggests Ainu no longer here today
- * Avoiding showing faces: relatives may not wish to be known as Ainu because of discrimination
- * Contemporary Ainu society is diverse
⇒ Which 'contemporary' should be exhibited?
- ★ However, multi-facet contemporary ethnic Japanese society is exhibited

和人の「現代」展示

Exhibit of contemporary (1970's) ethnic Japanese lifestyle



Problems of Ainu museum exhibits

✧ What do the Ainu want and expect of museums

アイヌ自身は博物館に何を求めているのか

✧ predicaments facing museums 博物館が抱える課題

museum scale (private, local, municipal, national) 規模

budgetary limitations 予算

curator burden: administrative duties 学芸員の負担兼務

national vs. municipal 国・都道府県立 vs 市町村立

✧ founding principle (mission) 「ミッション」(設立理念)との関係

✧ few Ainu curators 民族出身の学芸員が少ない

★ Discussed in detail by Director Nomoto

An innovative exhibit

(Asahikawa City Museum)

Iwakute
(ceremonial disposal site)



Museum exhibit ↗

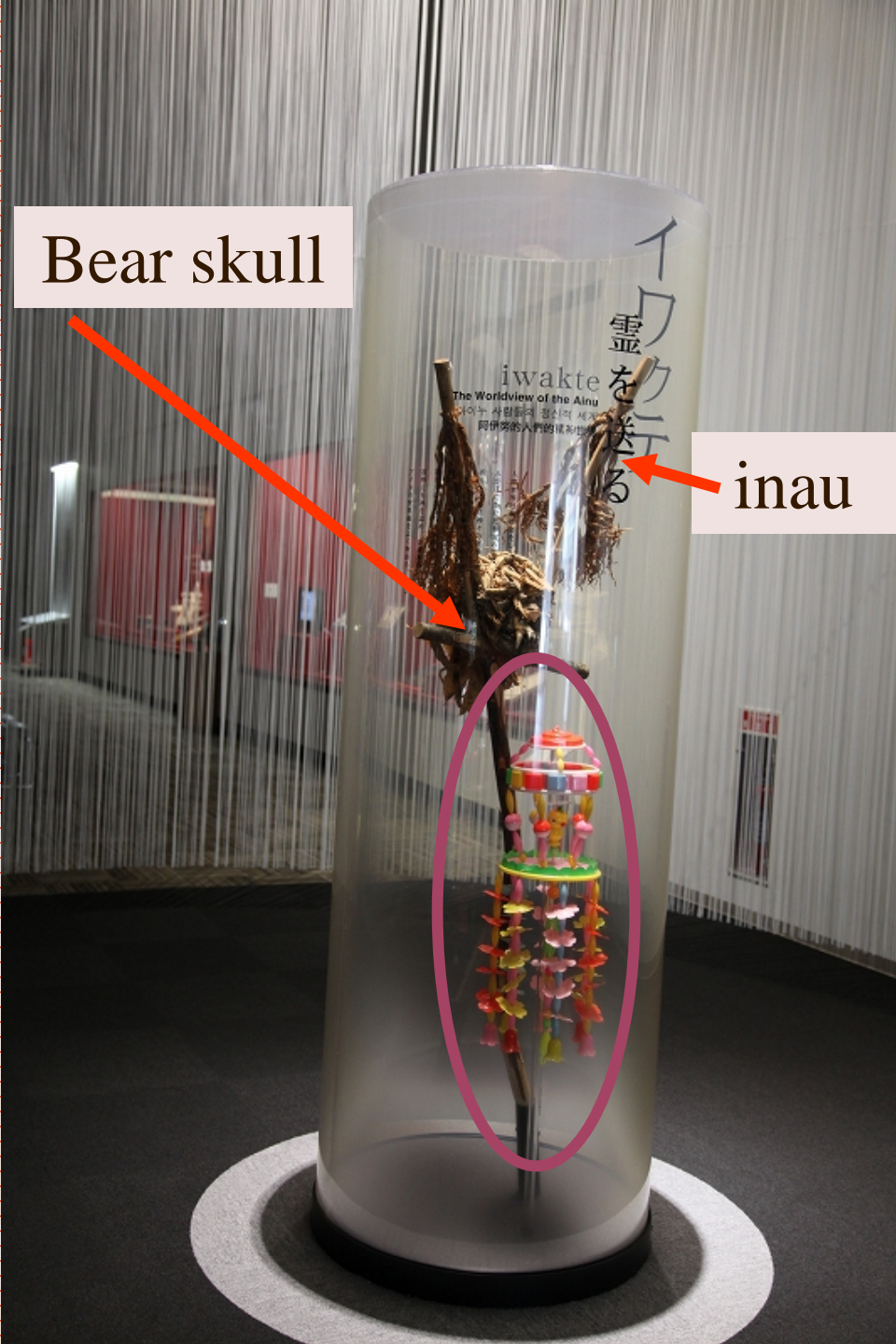
Bear skull



inau

イワクテ
霊を送る

iwakute
The Worldview of the Ainu
이누 사원들의 정신의 세계
阿伊努の人們の精神世界



Ainu in school textbooks

Strong tendency to represent past history with little 'present'.



Accounts of the Ainu usually in the past tense

- ✧ Illustrations usually past historical scenes
- ✧ Little description of present situation, society and cultural legacy
- ✧ Passages of the Ainu (usually a few sentences) overlooked by teachers
 - ➔ Ainu society and history not in university entrance examinations!
- ✧ Ainu history jumps from Medieval to Present with no interim shown
- ✧ Japanese (Wajin) history a continuum from antiquity to present ↓

戦前	第二次世界大戦	1960年	1970年	1990年	2000年
 <p>↑ 製糸工場 (1920年)</p> <p>☞ 焼け野原となった東京 (1945年)</p>	<p>☞ 建設中の東京タワー (1958年)</p>  	<p>☞ 東海道新幹線が開通 (1964年)</p> 	<p>☞ オイルショックの際、品不足になるのを恐れて、トイレットペーパーを買い求める人々 (東京 1973年)</p>  <p>↑ ラジカセが商品化される (1971年)</p> 	<p>☞ MDプレーヤー 写真は2003年発売のポータブルMDプレーヤー</p> 	<p>☞ 工場閉鎖の会社方針に反対するデモ (2000年)</p>  <p>↑ 不景気が続いて工場や会社が減ったんだね。</p> 
<p>かつては農業国だったんだね。</p> 	<p>戦後のスタートは食料の増産だったんだよね。</p> 	<p>安いわりには品質がよいということで輸出が好調だったんだね。</p> 	<p>↑ ラジカセが商品化される (1971年)</p>	<p>↑ 不景気が続いて工場や会社が減ったんだね。</p>	

Problems in school textbooks

- ✧ Accounts of discrimination toward Buraku-min and ethnic Koreans specific and substantial in first person voice: often several pages
- ✧ Accounts of discrimination toward the Ainu vague and abstract
 - “Discrimination against the Ainu must be alleviated”
 - “We should overcome discriminatory practices toward the Ainu”
- ✧ Reference to the Ainu often in the past tense
 - “The Ainu lived in Hokkaido”
- ✧ Ainu history truncated
 - few words: less than 1/100th of ‘Japanese history’
 - Ainu only an auxiliary to mainstream Japanese history
- ✧ Of 1300 high school teachers interviews, only 47% taught Ainu associated subjects

Recent improvements in school textbooks 1 (2012)

- ✧ Individual names and accomplishments (but still few in number)
 - * Yukie CHIRI (1903-1922): renown translator of Ainu Saga *Yukar*
 - * Shigeru Kayano (1926-2006): first Ainu Diet member
- ✧ Photographs of recent events

Demonstration demanding New Cultural Protection law

S. Kayano in Diet



Recent improvements in school textbooks 2 (2012)

Photographs of contemporary cultural revitalisation

Ainu language broadcast →



Ainu language text ↑

Traditional dance →



Recent improvements in school textbooks 3 (2012)

✧ Source of Hokkaido place names is Ainu language

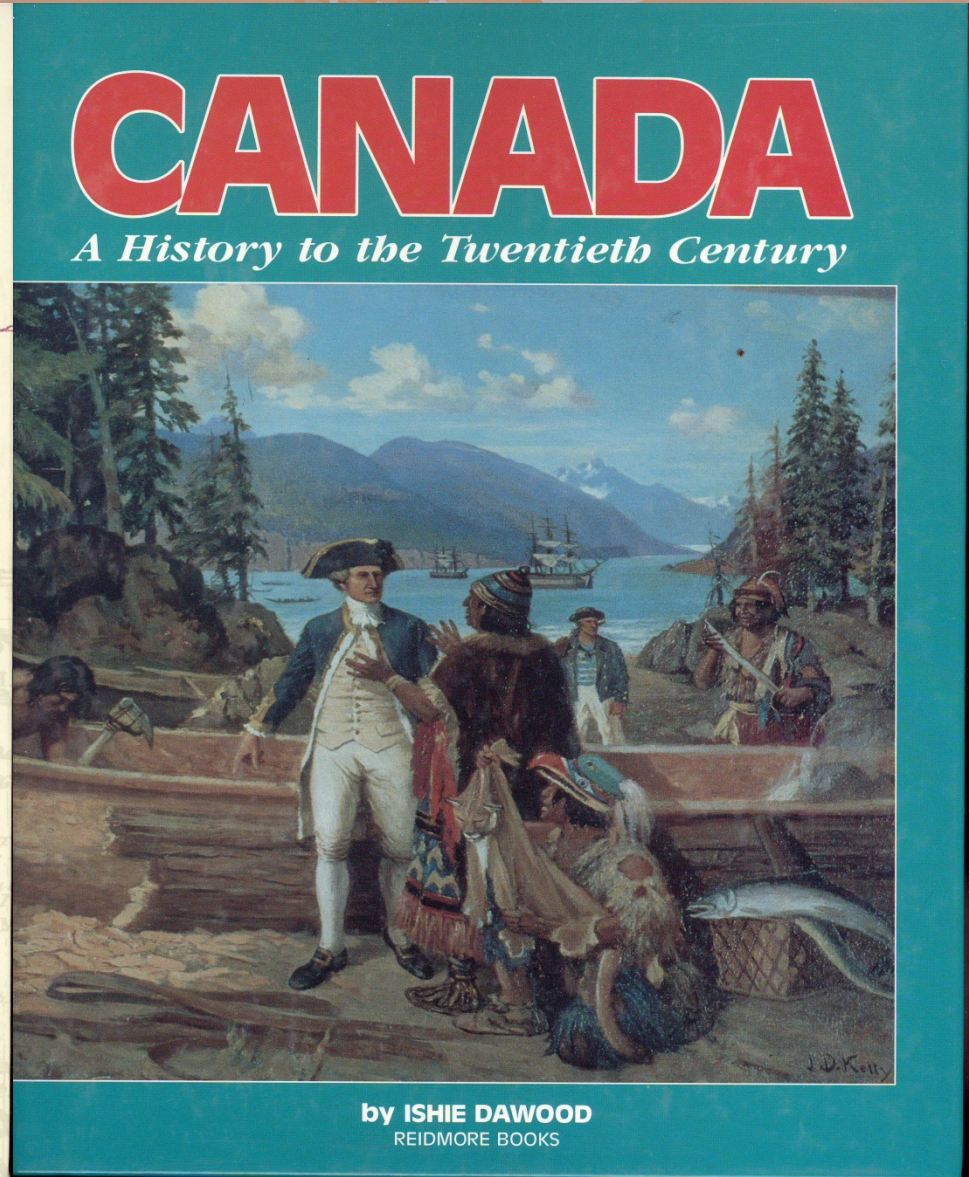
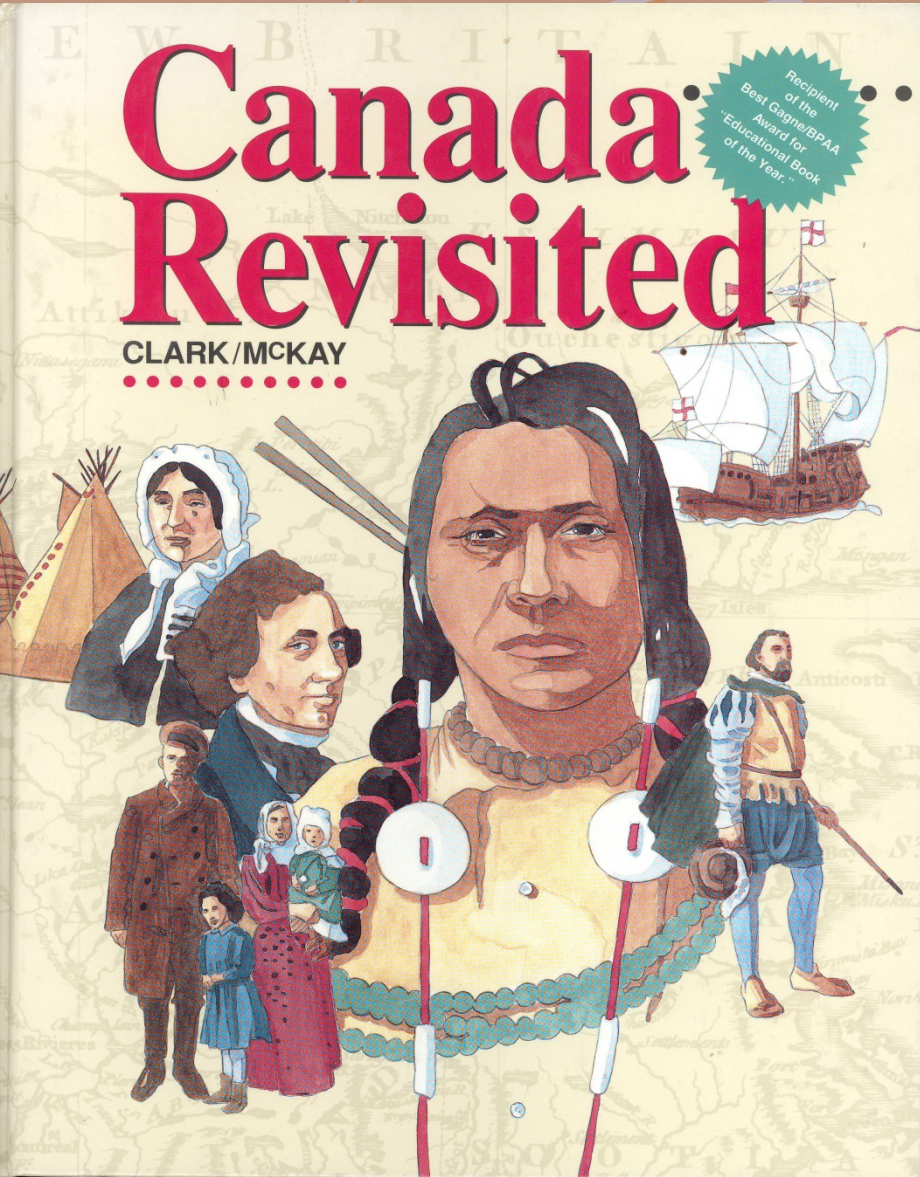
1. Sapporo: 'river covered with reeds', or 'large dry river'
2. Shiraoi: 'place of many horseflies'



✧ Nibutani dam
where sacred sites
were drowned

Comparison with North American textbooks

✧ Indigenous peoples integral part of history



Two points of view

Scientific ↓ and Indigenous ↓ interpretation

Chapter 1

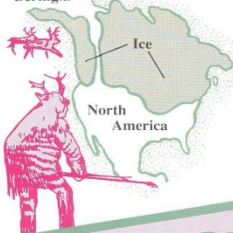
The First People (up to the 1400s)

Overview
Use this Overview to predict the events of this chapter.

Theory

Approximately 32 000–36 000 years ago and again 20 000–28 000 years ago, ice-age hunting peoples, following herds of animals, travelled from Siberia across the Beringia land bridge into North America.

Beringia



Theory

Through the centuries elders have passed on legends telling how the First People were created in North America by the Creator and have always lived here.

Some Other Theories

- The First People are really Polynesians who came to America in huge outrigger canoes.
- The First People are descendants of a Chinese Buddhist monk spreading the word of Buddha.
- The First People came to North America as the only survivors of the legendary island of Atlantis.



Different cultures developed throughout North America, depending on the resources available in a particular environment.



1400s

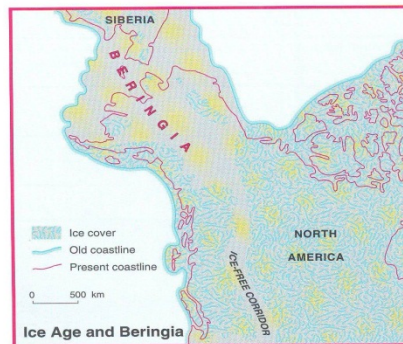
Time of Dekanahwideh, the great peacemaker. Founder of the Iroquois Confederacy, with decision-making done by consensus after long discussions.

Origins

Who were the First People? How did they get to the Americas? Many possible explanations or theories have been advanced to clear up this mystery.

The Beringia theory suggests that ocean levels dropped about 65 to 138 metres during the ice age that occurred in the last million years. This lower water level exposed large masses of land and created a continent-sized land bridge joining Siberia and North America. Scientists have named this land bridge Beringia.

Some scientists and scholars believe that nomadic Asian people began to follow animals across Beringia and down the central ice-free corridor to pastures in North America. These Beringian pioneers could later have spread across the continent to become the ancestors of the Native peoples.

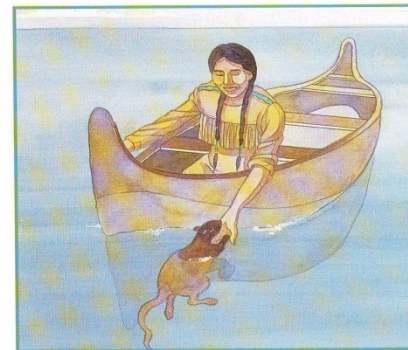


Many Native people do not agree with the scientists who advance the Beringia theory. Many traditional Native people believe that the First People were created in North America by the Creator. The elders pass Native history from one generation to another through their stories. The first woman and the Trickster—identified as the Old Man in the following legend—figure prominently in this Native version of the creation of the world.

On the great waste of waters created by Manitou, Old Man was sitting. Nearby was the first woman, whom Manitou had just finished making. They were trying to decide what substance Manitou used to hold up the water.*

“I will send down one of these creatures to find out,” declared the woman.

First of all she sent one of the fishes, but it soon forgot



why it had been sent, and swam off in another direction. Then the woman sent an otter, but being a timid animal, it lost its courage and sank to the bottom. Next, the woman allowed the boastful wolf to try, because he was a conceited fellow, and was always telling the other animals what to do. Before he got wholly immersed in the cold water, his boastfulness was gone and he was glad to cling to the side of the boat. Last of all the woman sent the muskrat. The muskrat stayed below water for so long a time that the others gave him up for dead. At last his round wet head reappeared and in his forepaw he clutched the sticky brown substance which lay below all the waters. It was mud.

When the woman rolled it about in her hands, it grew larger. Presently it grew so large that she could not hold it, so she cast it into the water. It quickly spread over a wide area and formed an island.

The island was empty until the woman got tired of the troublesome and quarrelsome wolf. She scolded him roundly and flung him onto the island. He ran up and down in the soft mud, and wherever he went his tracks made deep lines. When he stopped to paw the ground, he made a hole that filled with water. These were the beginnings of the rivers and lakes.

Traditional—believers of the old ways: the old customs and traditions

*The First People do not all use the same name for their Creator. There were many names for the Creator or Great Spirit, including Manitou and Ihtsipaitapiyo'pa.

This legend has been adapted from: Mabel Burkholder, *Before White Man Came* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923) 289–93.

“To be or not to be” Ainu youth today



Conclusions

1. Ainu history sadly underrepresented in textbooks and museums.
2. Ainu history peripheral to 'Japanese' history, not part of nation building
3. Museum exhibits focused on Ainu history and material culture
 - ➔ Present existence of the Ainu made vague
 - ➔ Majority know themselves, little need for museum exhibits
4. Mainstream apathy and discrimination hindering expression of Ainu identity in people young and old.
5. We need to integrate Ainu history and 'today' and 'tomorrow'
6. To these ends, what may we learn from foreign experiences?

★ We in Japan must solve these problems

Thank you

“The Ainu Art Project Band, Nibutani, 2011

