

AINU POLITICS AND INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: REVISITING THE DIVIDED RUSSO-JAPANESE AINU-COMMUNITY 1976-2010

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Abstract: This paper explores: 1) How the shifts in international and domestic politics have continued to affect my methodology as a field anthropologist studying sociocultural changes among the Ainu during the past thirty four years; 2) Why my long term Eurasian research has continued generating new ethical challenges to my teaching of applied anthropology and inter-cultural communication in Japan; 3) How the Ainu grassroots activists used the G-8 Summit (that was held in Hokkaido in 2008) to mobilize international NGOs and gain global media coverage for their cause.

Key words: Ainu field research; Japanese ethnic minorities; Applied Anthropology; Intercultural curriculum; Auto-ethnography; Ethnographic filmmaking; New Media; TV programming; G-8 Summit.

INTRODUCTION

Since my first fieldwork among the Ainu of Hokkaido during the winter of 1976/77 both anthropology and the surrounding cultures have undergone major transitions (Hendry and Wong 2006; Horne and Kaminski 1981; Goodman 2000, Goodman 2008). The number of globally active field anthropologists grows steadily and so does the number of ethnically fueled conflicts over access to natural resources. The changing geopolitical boundaries and instant access to information across national borders continue to alter our professional and private lives (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Kaminski 1994a, Kaminski 2007b). The Internet has undermined state control over the dissemination of information and *globalization* has become one of the most frequently googled words.

What has, however, remained unchanged in 2010, is the continuing absence of a Peace Treaty between the world's geographically largest state, the Russian Federation, and the world's third largest economy, Japan. Technically, Russia and Japan still remain in a state of war. This political stalemate has a direct impact on the 50,000 people making up the Ainu community that remains divided between Russia and Japan. Behind the decades-long bilateral negotiations over the four disputed Kurile Islands (known in Japan as the "Northern Territories") is the question of access to potentially rich underwater oil and gas fields (Kaminski 2004). From the Ainu perspective these islands have belonged neither to Japan nor to Russia. They have been always an integral part of *Ainu Mosir*, or the Ainu Homeland inhabited by Ainu Gods living in the nature (Kayano 1975). While for the Japanese and Russian negotiators the major issue shifted from ideological differences to economic interests (oil exploration rights), for the Ainu activists the issue has always been the same: *How to secure their cultural survival and rights to practice ancient community rituals in their own language on their divided ancestral lands* (Kayano 1987). To secure their cultural rights, the Ainu needed to be

formally recognized as the indigenous people of the lands that both the Japanese and Russian Governments have continued to claim. The new generation of Ainu leaders realized that they have to utilize New Media and IT to educate international community about their oral history as well as be actively involved in the political process, including participation in televised parliamentary debates, addressing the UN General Assembly, and alerting global leaders during G-8 Summits. (Fitzhugh and Dubreuil 1999; Howell-Wasilewski 2010; Kaminski 2007a; Kayano 1994; Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008).

PART I. AINU: EURASIAN FIELD RESEARCH AND AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHY.

DISCOVERING BRONISLAW PILSUDSKI'S AINU RESEARCH

During my studies of Ethnology at Warsaw University in the early 1970s I was first introduced to Ainu research. One of my fellow students, WK, was related to an Ainu family who was repatriated from Russian Sakhalin to Japanese Hokkaido after the end of WWII. WK was a grandnephew of the Polish political prisoner in Siberia turned Ainu researcher, Bronislaw Pilsudski (1867-1918). Pilsudski's pioneering field research during his forced exile among the Ainu tribesmen of Sakhalin and Hokkaido won him international acclaim (Pilsudski 1912) but his name had remained obscure among the younger generation of anthropologists in the Communist-controlled Poland of my student years (1965-72) due to the changing geopolitics in post-Yalta Europe. Bronislaw, whose Ainu descendents I had traced in Japan, was an older brother of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski (1887-1935), the first head of the newly recreated Polish State in 1918 at the end of WWI, a fiercely anti-Soviet statesman.

Though Bronislaw and Jozef Pilsudski's contributions to the Polish history and culture were never part of our official academic curriculum, nevertheless the Pilsudski brothers' works and secret visits to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) were discussed in private among students and teachers. These informal and often critical discussions played an important part in our education beyond our ideologically structured textbooks (Domoslawski 2010; Kapuscinski 2007).

We sought to make sense of the past. How did the 1945 Yalta Agreement between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt (and the subsequent '*Iron Curtain*') affect the teaching of Polish culture during the following decades? Was the 1968 anti-Semitism provoked by the Polish communist leadership both a political and a socio-cultural phenomenon? What was the *real* situation of Jews, Roma-Gypsies, Inuit, Ainu, and other transnational minorities in the post-1968 Soviet Union and its satellite states?

The knowledge we had gained through this parallel education and unofficial curriculum was outside the tedium of our academically graded studies. Some of our teachers were respected by the students for their official academic publications, the others for what they had refrained from publishing, or endorsing in the state controlled media (Giedroyc 2010). The circular process of learning and re-learning how to navigate between the

ideological contradictions was as intellectually exciting, as the initiation into the hidden ethical rules of a complex academic subculture (that functioned in spite of the official state ideology). All this, however, involved a certain degree of risk. Leading educators were denounced as 'revisionists' by official media and forced to leave the country while their works were removed from the officially approved academic curriculum*. The other scholars chose to remain in self-imposed domestic exile by publishing in foreign media under assumed names. Against this socio-political background, being part of an informal anthropological introduction into the academic subculture and into the increasingly active Civil Society required a bond of trust between both sets of parties involved, our teachers and our fellow students.

Among a few trusted fellow students (who like myself later ended up in exile) was WK. It was through my 1970 encounter with WK that I first learned about his great uncle Bronislaw's marriage to an Ainu woman Chuhsamma of Southern Sakhalin Ai kotan and the other details of their Eurasian family history (Pilsudski 1912). Sakhalin was divided between Russia and Japan at the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. Ainu clans were divided again forty years later and the Ai kotan was renamed to Sovietskoye. After Sakhalin and four other northern islands inhabited by the Ainu were taken over by the Soviet Union in 1945, Bronislaw and Chuhsamma's son Sukezou (1903-1971) and daughter Kiyo (1905-1984) were repatriated to Hokkaido. The remains of Chuhsamma who died in 1936 remained in the Soviet-occupied Sakhalin. Bronislaw's Japanese-Ainu grandson Kazuyasu was born in Hokkaido in 1955. He was not well versed in his Polish family's complex heritage and the only language he spoke was Japanese. It was for Kazuyasu, the cousin of the Polish anthropologist, WK, and the only legal heir to the family name Pilsudski, that I was going to search during my first fieldwork among the Ainu in the winter of 1976/77 (Kaminski 1988, Kaminski 2004).

IN THE LAND OF DIVIDED AINU: EMERGING AINU LEADERSHIP AND THE IDEA OF 'AINU MOSIR'

The train and ship journey from Tokyo to Sapporo took over twenty four hours (the islands were not linked by the underwater tunnel yet). It was on board the ship between the islands of Honshu and Hokkaido that I first noticed a little group of Japanese-speaking travelers with distinctly different physical features and clothing from those of the people I had encountered in Tokyo. Their bushy beards and hair were kept long, their handmade ornamented coats were touching their boots, and among their baggage were bows wrapped in plastic bags. The bags carried the name of a well-known department store chain. It was several weeks later that I found out that they were a family of Ainu entrepreneurs performing folkloristic dances and selling Ainu souvenirs to the tourists.

After interviews with the Japanese experts on Ainu culture at the University of Hokkaido I arrived with my Super-8 camera in a forested Ainu settlement in the Nibutani area. My host family kept a bear in a cage. The bear was going to be sacrificed in a community ritual. There were still a few elderly Ainu women wearing the traditional black tattoos around their mouths. The tattooing rituals had been outlawed a long time before, speakers of the Ainu language had been rapidly decreasing, Ainu names had been replaced by Japanese names, and traditional fishing and hunting was only rarely the source of a family's income any more. The financially most successful families were

manufacturing Ainu folk crafts for *Wajin* (as the non-Ainu were called). It was in one of these cottage industries that I spent my days learning how to mass-produce Ainu folk crafts that were later sold to gift shops and folk art galleries on Japan's main island, Honshu. Some of the designs on the wooden objects were of local origin; the others were hand copied from the pages of old museum catalogues.

While the Japanese scholars I had consulted earlier were well versed in Bronislaw Pilsudski's research on Hokkaido in 1903 and subsequent visits to Japan in 1904-1906 (Pilsudski 1907), the Ainu villagers with whom I worked had heard neither about the son Bronislaw had fathered to an Ainu woman in Sakhalin in 1903, nor about their Hokkaido-born grandson Kazuyasu. At that time I did not know that Bronislaw's only son Sukezou passed away in the summer 1971 and grandson Kazuyasu had left Hokkaido for work as a newspaper delivery boy in 1500 km away Yokohama, and it was going to take me more than twenty years to trace Kazuyasu's whereabouts and befriend him. While the teenager Kazuyasu was trying to escape the stigma of his heritage in an anonymous urban environment, another man, a fifty year old Shigeru Kayano (whom I had interviewed at his Nibutani home in January 1977), was angrily denouncing *Wajin* colonization of his *Ainu Mosir* homeland. The boundaries in Kayano's world were not made up of national borders, but rather they followed a basic Ainu/*Wajin* division. Kayano (who was a fluent Ainu speaker) was the first to teach me that the word, Ainu, means a Human Being, while *Wajin* are all those who are non-Ainu. He also warned me that since his childhood, the people he had despised the most were the *Wajin* anthropologists who had robbed his grandmother's house of its family treasures.

These accusations did not make much sense to me at first, since Kayano had told me earlier that his family was very poor, that they hardly had enough food, and that these treasures were sticks carved out of tree branches by his grandfather. It was only later I learned that the "sticks" Kayano was referring to were the sacred objects used for family rituals to please the God of Fire and the other Gods resident in the house. His grandmother believed that if these protective Gods left the house, the family setting could be entered by demons, and, therefore, he wished to track them down. Kayano found some of the objects exhibited at the Japanese Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology.

Though his grandmother had had no formal education, and Kayano himself had left elementary school to work as a woodcutter, he had learned the oral history of his Ainu Mosir through the hundreds of songs his grandmother had taught him. After quitting his job as a woodcutter, he made his living as an Ainu entertainer performing, what he referred to as, "a dancing monkey job for tourists". Then he made a U-turn, settled down in his native village, and began to write books based on his grandmother's Ainu songs that preserved the history of Ainu Mosir. He showed me some of his books and told me that Ainu did not need more *Wajin* museums managed by *Wajin* anthropologists. Rather, they needed Ainu-speaking Ainu anthropologists preserving their own culture in their own villages.

His next project was to build an Ainu village school and develop an alternative curriculum by teaching Ainu children and adults in their own language. When I asked him how many Ainu were still in Japan and how many of them can communicate in the

Ainu language, he said that the youngest generation hardly speaks any Ainu at all. And if nothing was done soon, *Ainu Mosir* will die upon the death of his generation. And when the Ainu language is erased from our children's memory, there will not be a single Ainu left to keep Ainu Mosir alive. My Japanese interpreter considered Kayano to be a village dreamer whose educational program for cultural revival was both unrealistic and legally risky. In 1977, both Japanese policy-makers and mainstream scholars promoted Japan as a homogenous society. The demands for giving Ainu the legal status of indigenous people were viewed as socially subversive. According to the young Ainu I interviewed, very little information was devoted to Ainu culture in primary school textbooks, and students of Ainu heritage did not dare to mention their ethnicity. The youngest generation preferred to leave Hokkaido for ethnic anonymity in the large Tokyo-Kawasaki-Yokohama urban area (Maher 2005). Kazuyasu, the grandson of Bronislaw Pilsudski and an Ainu woman, was one of them.

In the early 1990's I finally managed to trace Kazuyasu in the Kawasaki-Yokohama neighborhood that we both shared. We became friends and frequently visited our family homes during the coming years. While I was teaching Kazuyasu the native language of his Polish paternal grandfather in exchange for Japanese interviews about his late father Sukezou's Ainu roots (Kaminski 1994a, 1994b), Shigeru Kayano was establishing himself as a national Ainu spokesman and the first ever Ainu elected to the Japanese Diet (Parliament).

PART II. ETHNICITY AND INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT.

LINKING EURASIAN FIELDWORK WITH ACADEMIC TEACHING IN JAPAN AND THE EU

My extensive Eurasian fieldwork and early encounters with the Ainu activists, who influenced the shift in the Japanese Government's policies towards Ainu community two decades later, were an essential factor in re-structuring my university courses by applying New Media and IT (Kaminski 2007d; Kaminski 2008a, 2008b). While my focus on the growing Ainu ethnic activism and incorporation of my continuing field research among Japanese minorities was an integral process of curriculum development at universities in the EU, the situation in the Japanese universities was more complicated (Goodman 2005, 2006, 2008).

The Japanese and non-Japanese students attending my seminars on ethnicity and intercultural communication ^[2] in Tokyo over the years were categorized by the nationality on the attendance list. Their identities, however, were more complex: a second generation Japanese-Korean, a third generation Chinese-Briton, an Australian of Aboriginal heritage, a Canadian of Indian origin, a first generation Japanese-American, etc. The mapping and the subsequent mobilization of these ethnic differences were instrumental in grouping these students into field research groups based on their personal ethnicity rather than on nationality (Arudo 2004). These field teams were going to interview on camera the inhabitants of the Tokyo Metropolitan Area at the beginning of

the term and then the urban Ainu migrants from Hokkaido at the end of the term. The literature that included Japanese sources on Ainu history and culture was progressively broadened during the course of study. The students were required to translate Ainu stories published by the Tokyo Ainu Center into their native languages and reinterpret them by using the auto-ethnographic works of Shigeru Kayano (2001) and Bronislaw Pilsudski's (1912) comparative field research amongst Sakhalin and Hokkaido Ainu. Only after several months of these carefully structured preparations were the students ready to interview Ainu community leaders on camera. The final part of the course was the presentation of these self-made educational materials to Ainu and non-Ainu Japanese audiences (Kaminski 2007d).

The fact that the elected Japanese lawmakers (including the then Prime Minister Y. Nakasone) still considered Japan to be an ethnically homogenous state at the end of the 20th century was reflected in the history textbooks used by the current generation of students during their primary education. Secondly, the university curriculum development supervised by the Ministry of Education was far slower in adjusting to the rapidly accelerating socio-cultural changes taking place among minority groups than in other developed economies. Thirdly, the lack of up-to-date educational materials that focus on the latest policy changes towards the Ainu community in a broader cross-cultural context required both me and my students jointly developing our own course materials by combining seminars with fieldwork and active use of New Media and IT for documentary filmmaking (Kaminski 2010).

How these obstacles were overcome in academic practice and how some of the students used their newly acquired knowledge to become active agents of social change will be reviewed in the context of the graduate and undergraduate courses that I have been teaching in two Japanese private universities in Tokyo. Though each university (I will call them TIU and TPU) differed in the ethnic composition of its faculty and students, my courses focused on the same issues in each university: inter-cultural communication, Japanese history and applied anthropology.

TIU was founded during the U.S occupation of Japan and is an internationally affiliated university with an ethnically balanced faculty made up of foreign and Japanese teachers. As many of the courses were taught in English, the TIU equally attracted foreign and Japanese students. A substantial part of the Japanese students were so-called "returnees from overseas" or the children of Japanese corporate employees who had lived for a long time outside Japan. The second category among the Japanese students I taught were bi-cultural children born from ethnically mixed marriages. And finally, there were ethnic Japanese students with certified high level English skills who either were educated in Japanese international high schools or who preferred to earn an international academic diploma. The foreign students consisted of exchange and guest students from several dozen nations, as well as children of diplomats and members of international companies operating in Japan. Many of the TIU foreign faculty members and many of the six categories of students were living on campus making inter-cultural communication inside and outside the classroom an integral part of daily life.

Among the TIU European teachers were an expert on Ainu linguistics, and another one on the comparative anthropology of Ainu repatriates from the Russian occupied Northern Territories. There was also an internationally noted American female teacher of

multiethnic heritage (Cherokee and European ancestors) specializing in alliance building among indigenous groups, including Ainu. She was one of the leading organizers of the People Summit during the G8 Summit in Hokkaido (Howell-Wasilewski 2010). The students benefited not only from their teachers' differing ethnic and academic backgrounds by building up their knowledge about Ainu culture through the complementary courses offered by TIU, but they were also welcome to participate in ancient Ainu rituals conducted on the TIU campus by Ainu activists. These early morning outdoor rituals celebrating the Ainu gods living in nature were a part of the official opening of an International Symposium organized by TIU. (This Symposium was part of a Center of Excellence Project funded by the Japanese Ministry of Education and catalyzed further gatherings involving, not only grassroots leaders from indigenous communities in Eurasia, Australasia, the Americas, and other regions, but also other civil society members from throughout the North East Asian region.)

These interactive symposia were also open to scholars and students belonging to mainstream Japanese universities that were following the traditionally supervised curriculum model. My experience confirms that among the major obstacles to the implementation of curriculum changes was not the lack of will among the scholars and students, but rather the multi-level administrative controls. It seemed that the speed of change differed greatly depending on if the universities in questions were national or municipal or privately funded institutions, as well as on the ratio of teachers to students. The smaller the classes and the more culturally mixed the student body the more effective the courses can be (compared to lectures delivered to several hundred mono-cultural students by an equally mono-culturally oriented teacher). Since faculty members in Japanese national and municipal universities are considered to be civil servants following administrative rules, their options to generate structural and methodological changes within the universities in which they teach are far more limited than they are in private universities.

INTERCULTURAL CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND ETHNICITY

Let me review how studies of policy shift from Ainu assimilation to cultural integration and acceptance of them as indigenous people of Japan were incorporated into my courses on Japanese cultural history and inter-cultural communication at a traditionally run private Japanese university (TPU).

Though both TPU and TIU are private universities their educational policies, faculty, and student body differ in almost all respects. While TIU is lead by an elected Japanese president (and a fluent English speaker) who is controlled by an International Board of Governors, TPU is led by a USA-educated Japanese President who is also a CEO and *de jure* an owner. The two TPU campuses are predominantly Japanese (who used to make up over 95% of the students), and the ratio of tenured foreign faculty to Japanese faculty was almost symbolic in the 1990's. Due to the number of structural changes that the TPU President has implemented the ethnic composition of the teachers and students has been undergoing a gradual shift. The establishment of the Japanese and Asian Studies Program, JASP (within the Center of International Exchange) have annually brought a

dozen foreign grantees from such differing countries as the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Turkey, Peru, Sudan, China, Korea and Myanmar. The students (on both the undergraduate and graduate levels) majored in such differing subjects as Japanese Language and Culture, International Relations, Law, Business Administration and Sociology. Though their proficiency in the Japanese language varied from basic to advanced, what they seem to have had in common was that hardly any of them had heard about the indigenous people of Japan, the Ainu.

The second common characteristic was that many of the overseas students attending my courses had additional identities to the citizenship identity stated on their Japanese Foreign Resident ID (that every non-tourist visitor to Japan has always to carry with them). The students' double-identities were an important element that I used to structure my TPU courses and used to revise the educational materials during the past five years. I will mention a few among the multi-cultural offspring that have attended my seminars: a Canadian with North American Indian roots, an Australian with partly Aboriginal partly East European ancestry, a Belgian citizen who referred to herself as French due to her Walloon ancestry and due to French being her native language, a blue-eyed British grandson of a Chinese woman, a Japan born US citizen speaking Japanese at home, a first generation Thai-American with Chinese ancestry, a South Korean citizen with relatives holding both North Korean and Japanese passports.

Some of these complex identity patterns were naturally disclosed during the first seminar that focused on application of auto-ethnography (Arhem 1994; Bruner 1993; Ellis and Berger 2002) and the use of researcher's own experiences in interviews (Corlin 1994; Kaminski 2009a, Kaminski 2009b). The structural mechanism that I created to help students to discuss their multi-cultural ancestry was the way I had structured my own self-introduction, as a Polish-born refugee on a Swedish Stateless Passport marries a Japanese citizen of Korean-Japanese ancestry, then after naturalization, passes his Swedish citizenship to his two offspring born in Sweden and Tokyo respectively (Kaminski 1983). I used an anthropological kinship diagram to draw a simplified model of my Eurasian children's heritage and related our family inter-cultural history to the historical changes that had taken place in Eurasia (Kaminski 2009a). Then it was up to the students how much they wanted to volunteer about their family backgrounds and apply the concept of auto-ethnography in their cross-cultural interviews.

The students from countries with a firmly established multi-cultural population and anti-discriminatory legislation had no problems referring to their ethnic backgrounds during the following seminars. They not only proudly claimed to have roots in the First Nations (American Indians) or indigenous people (Australian Aborigines or New Zealand Maori), but they had also critically reviewed their own governments' historical responsibilities for past assimilation policies. Thus, before we had focused in on mapping Ainu cultural experiences as a part of Japanese cultural history, the course participants had established three important points:

1. The historical transitions in the state policies towards ethnic and social minorities are frequently reflected in our family histories, inter-marriages across-cultural and state boundaries, and shifting identity patterns (Willis and Murphy-Shigematsu 2008).

2. The classroom's collective cultural resources and varied ethnicity could be used to relate the experiences of Japan's indigenous people to the broader problems of assimilation and ethnic reconciliation common among indigenous people in other parts of the world (Fitzhugh and Dubreuil 1999; Howell-Wasilewski 2010).
3. The cultural history of minority groups as presented by official state sources may not necessarily correspond to the historical perception transmitted across generations of minority families, like Australian Aborigines, North American Indians, or Ainu living in the Russo-Japanese border zone (Kaminski 1988; Kayano 1994; Pilsudski 1904).

The follow-up seminars focused on the comparative analysis of historical texts and on field research conducted by both Japanese and foreign scholars among the Ainu community divided between Russia and Japan. Here again the students were offered three categories of educational materials. The first category consisted of scholarly publications and audiovisual sources compiled by academics with no family links to the Ainu people they had analyzed (Kaminski 2004; Maher 2005). The second category offered a selection of elective works by scholars with close family links to the Ainu community (Shigeru Kayano 1994; Bronislaw Pilsudski 1904). The third category was made up of works published by the Ainu Foundation established and financed by the Japanese Government and Hokkaido Prefecture, and the documentary films and multilingual translations stored at the Ainu Culture Center's Library Collection in Tokyo (Kaminski 2007c). Finally, the students were offered either to undergo an examination to test their newly gained knowledge of historical facts auto-ethnography or successively to process their knowledge by participating in two group projects. Over the past five years my TPU students have always preferred the time consuming cross-cultural projects rather than the standard two hour long final examination.

METHODOLOGY AND MOBILIZATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL RESOURCES FOR JAPANESE TV PROGRAMING

I will summarize the methodology behind the group work involving the ethnically mixed student teams:

A) The first part of the seminar project was to translate an Ainu myth published in an illustrated book and addressed to Japanese school children. The book was a winner of an annual national competition organized by the Ainu Foundation in Tokyo. Each student had to translate the book into his/her native language and then used the course literature, as well as the Internet, to analyze the text. Subsequently, during several years we have translated three Ainu books into a number of different languages including: Korean, Chinese, Arabic, Turkish, English, French and Polish. The students' interpretations of the myths reflected their own cultural experiences and ethnic heritages (Kaminski 2007c).

B) The second part of the TPU project required students using their classroom knowledge to prepare questions for the video interviews the students had to conduct with both the Ainu and non-Ainu Japanese. I utilized my earlier contacts with the Hokkaido

Ainu activists that I had made during my teaching at TIU as well as my contacts with the urban Ainu who had participated in the International Symposia organized by the SIETAR (1998) and NEAD Project from 2005-2008^[3]. The video interviews with the non-Ainu Japanese were conducted by different student teams on and off campus and then jointly analyzed during the follow up seminar sessions as well as presented during the Linguapax Symposia (2007-2009).

C) The third part that required students conducting on camera interviews at the Ainu Culture Center in Tokyo evolved over four years. During the two years prior to the 2008 G-8 Summit, my TPU students and I had focused on the young Ainu activists' preparations to share their culture with the foreign visitors by participating in the grassroots movement^[4] and in the mainstream media debate (see the following section). However after the Ainu community leaders were prevented from holding their welcoming rituals for the G-8 leaders (or Wajin) visiting their ancestral land of Ainu Mosir and the mainstream media had largely ignored the Ainu attempts, I refocused the video interview sessions. In 2009, Mina Sakai who participated as an Ainu representative at the People Summit (that was held simultaneously with the G-8 Summit and gathered indigenous people from around the world), pointed out to the student interviewers that the Ainu were kept at bay by Japanese Prime Minister because they lacked popular support among the Japanese public. I incorporated the unedited footage of the 2009 Sakai interview for my TPU courses in 2010 as well as Shigeru Kayano's transcription of an ancient Ainu myth. The myth that was published as an Ainu folk fable "*The Ainu and the Fox*" (by an international publisher in both Japanese and English) was transformed into a musical drama and broadcasted by the Japanese public TV channel NHK. The students were assigned to translate NHK material into their native languages (Chinese, Korean) and add a cross-cultural appendix. Pilsudski's research among Sakhalin and Hokkaido Ainu provided a broader perspective on the role of myth in the divided Ainu Mosir. Then I arranged a screening and an on camera interview with the NHK director Akira Kaneko at the Ainu Center.

D) Finally, the TPU students were required to transform the knowledge of Ainu they had gained on and off campus into practical educational tools that could be utilized by their host country, Japan. The first step was to apply their newly gained insights into multi-cultural Japanese society at the university level. The second step was to promote multi-cultural Japan overseas.

1. The three foreign students were assigned to use the NHK Ainu video and their translations of Kayano's book to make three separate presentations about Ainu for the Japanese students attending English courses. These filmed presentations revealed that though the native Japanese students lacked elementary knowledge about Ainu, they were not openly prejudiced against the Japanese of Ainu heritage. I reversed the educational environment the following week by inviting the representatives of Japanese students to participate in our Japanese and Asian Studies Program (JASP). The joint JASP seminar was intended to break artificial boundaries between Japanese and foreign students and generate curriculum changes that would accelerate multi-cultural education on campus. The four year long Ainu project provided the Dean and the President office with the cross-culturally tested educational materials that could advance multi-cultural education further.

2. The JASP students (Spring Term 2010) had also provided NHK director A. Kaneko with six proposals for promoting multi-cultural Japan overseas. Five of these proposals focused on Ainu culture. The Korean student suggested that the Ainu experiences of having their ancestral lands of Ainu Mosir divided between Russia and Japan are similar to the current situation of his fellow Koreans divided across political boundaries. The British student of mixed Scottish/ English heritage suggested structural links between Bronislaw Pilsudski's exile from his divided native Poland (between Russia, Prussia, Austria) and his Ainu wife's divided Ainu Mosir. To what extent the JASP's students examination essays turned scenario proposals will inspire the NHK director Kaneko remains to be seen. At the ending seminars of the JASP course, the JASP students were shown the early NHK program focusing on the Eurasian family reunion of my neighbor and Bronislaw Pilsudski's grandson Kazuyasu with the Polish offspring of his great uncle Marshal Jozef Pilsudski (NHK Special 1999). The copy of the program was a gift for the students by the NHK director, A. Kaneko who had received their Korean and Chinese translations of the Kayano book he had transformed into an ethnic music drama.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of transnational field anthropologists and their use of auto-ethnography have affected both the gathering and interpretation of earlier collected field data on the Ainu community divided between Russia and Japan. The steady growth of NGOs and NPOs ran by Ainu activists in Japan has resulted in closer ties between Ainu and Indigenous People around the world. The use of IT by Ainu activists and scholars for both domestic and international lobbying generated recognition and acknowledgement of Ainu as Indigenous People of Hokkaido a few months before the G-8 summit and subsequently international media coverage of Ainu activists participating in the People Summit during the G-8 Summit in Hokkaido. The close collaboration among scholars associated with Linguapax and Ainu community leaders lead to curriculum changes in both the EU and Japanese universities. And finally the number of people identifying themselves as Ainu is steadily increasing alongside the international body of scholarship focusing on the Ainu people.

NOTES

[1] I greatly appreciate comments on Japanese minorities and educational policies by my colleagues Jacqueline Howell-Wasilewski, Professor Emeritus of International Christian University ICU, Tokyo, and Professor Roger Goodman, Head of the Social Sciences Division at the University of Oxford. Thanks also to Linacre College, Oxford University for granting me a Visiting Senior Fellowship (2007-2010) during my Eurasian research and fieldwork.

[2] The terms '*cross-cultural*', '*inter-cultural*', '*multi-cultural*' are being used by different academic disciplines in a different way. For the purposes of this paper, I follow Jacqueline Howell-Wasilewski's use of these terms: **Cross-cultural** = comparing and contrasting one cultural system with another. **Inter-cultural** = the analysis of cultural systems and of people belonging to different systems in interaction with each other. Multi-cultural = a focus on people and environments that carry diverse ethno-linguistic, as well as national, heritages. (Howell-Wasilewski 2010)

[3] In 1998 the SIETAR International and SIETAR Japan sponsored SIETAR's first conference in Asia at Reitaku University (Kaminski 2004). The conference was attended by an Ainu activist-artist Mr. Koji Yuki who had introduced his Ainu Arts Project to the Japanese and overseas scholars. According to

Howell-Wasilewski, (who was elected as a President of SIETAR International) and Holly Kawakami (an American married to a Japanese who was in charge of the cultural programming for the conference) the active presence of representatives of not only Ainu, but also Okinawans had challenged the Japanese politicians statements about the country's homogeneity and provided the participants in the conference an opportunity to interact with the members of Japanese ethnic minorities in a multi-cultural public space. This space was gradually expanded to encompass the other multi-cultural projects like the North East Asian Dialogue (NEAD) Project that subsequently lead to participation of more Ainu activists and finally to a proposal of establishment of an alternative People Summit during the G-8 Summit in Hokkaido 2008 (Kaminski 2007a). The NEAD website incorporates An extensive video report on Pilsudski Family's Eurasian links based on the interviews with the two cousins: a Polish-born WK and a Hokkaido-born Kazuyasu (Kaminski 2004).

^[4]As Howell-Wasilewski pointed out (2010), though the grassroots activists and scholars that participated in the activities were also involved in organizing the International Peoples Summit 2008, the impetus for organizing the Alternative Summit came from within the Ainu community, and not from outside. Mr. Koji Yuki, for instance, had already for years been working on introducing Ainu culture to mainstream Japanese students through his Ainu Arts Project (see the earlier note) before conducting an Ainu ritual at the opening of the International Peoples Summit 2008. The Ainu activists benefited from Howell-Wasilewski and her ICU students' participation in the Summit activities (as interpreters) but this was the Ainu initiative, and not the overseas scholars.

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