

**Ainu Teachers' experiences in reclaiming the value of Indigenous culture,
language and identity:
The Call for establishing the new Ainu school in Japanese society**

by

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Ainu Teachers' Experiences in Reclaiming the Value of Indigenous Culture, Language and Identity: The Call for Establishing the New Ainu School in Japanese Society

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A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of

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Of

Master of Education

Tomohiro Saeki @ 2008

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Abstract

This research explores how Indigenous Ainu language instructors define their own bi-cultural identities in Japanese society, and also how they feel their students' identities should be developed in the context of current Japanese society. Qualitative research methods, a case study methodology combined with an interpretive analytic framework, were used in this study to explore the Ainu instructors' perspectives of Ainu-Japanese identity, and the benefits and dilemmas of Ainu language teaching and learning that come from their struggling to achieve positive identity construction and meet the societal needs of the Ainu language in current Japanese society. Data were collected in three sets of interviews and a literature analysis, and were analyzed using the grouping strategy described by Glaser and Strauss (1967) under three categories: "identity construction", "the problems in both Japanese and the Ainu societies" and "the benefits of language teaching." These categories were used to examine the impact on identity development for current and future Ainu people. As linguists, educators, and also as continuing students of the Ainu language, current Ainu language instructors face particular dilemmas in order to teach the Ainu language, especially to children, because the Ainu language has been assimilating into Japanese culture and is losing societal status as a heritage language for the Ainu people. The

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guiding research question for this project was "How do Ainu language instructors perceive their identities, experiences, and pedagogies in a time of attempted revival of linguistic and cultural aspects of Ainu in Japan?" a question which should also shed light on the prospects for the reconstruction of Ainu identity within the Japanese society. The research findings of this project have brought the issues of the Ainu people's identity and the challenges in both the Ainu community and Japanese society into sharp relief. As a result of this research, the recommendations for the needs of teaching Ainu language in Japanese public education systems and establishing the new Ainu school for next Ainu generation, as to change the both Ainu and Japanese themselves for the forthcoming multicultural society in Japan have been offered.

Introduction

When I was in elementary school, the word "Ainu" was used for teasing and taunting people. I did not know the real meaning of the word "Ainu" until I was told about my Ainu heritage from my mother when I was a high school student. When I asked my grandmother about the meaning of the word "Ainu" she just said to me, "do not use that word in front of anybody". From her comments and my earlier experiences, I came to understand that the word "Ainu" was a term used at school that represents the racial bullying of a student or students by another student or students that it represented a part of my heritage--but that this heritage was something that was to remain hidden. From that time on I tried to ignore the word and the heritage it represented, because I did not want to use that word to hurt anyone else and I did not want to feel the hurt and confusion that came from hearing it.

Today, after many years of coming to terms with the understanding of the Ainu people and our struggles, as well as my personal heritage and relationship within and against the Ainu culture, I have found that the meaning of the word 'Ainu' has changed in my mind. I am still trying to change the image of that word for others.

I have studied the Ainu language at Tomakomai Komazawa University as my third language but it is still not easy to transform that former image of the word

“Ainu” as “a word which bullies” to its original meaning as understood in the Ainu language, meaning “human beings”. Why had I been given such a negative connotation for this word? I ask myself, “why am I still hesitating to use this word in front of Japanese people?” Who and/or what compelled my grandmother to say what she did? I am still looking for the answers to these questions.

I begin this thesis by sharing a personal experience that connects to the theme of my research project because it helps lay the groundwork for understanding how my identity was affected by societal prejudices and how my sense of Ainu identity changed over time. It also begins to show how I am both located and implicated in the struggle to reclaim and sustain heritage language for everyday use. Similar to what Dei (2002) stated: “The identity from which I speak is crucial not only in terms of contextualizing what I have to say, but also, for the reader to develop an understanding of how and why I am producing a particular kind/form of knowledge in order to make sense of my world” (Dei, P. 3).

In this study, I assumed the researcher role of advocate (Stake, 1995) in which I note that:

Phenomena need accurate description, but even observational interpretation of those phenomena will be shaped by the mood, the experience, the intention of

the researcher. Some of these wrappings can be shucked, but some cannot.

Research is not helped by making it appear value free. It is better to give the

reader a good look at the researcher. Often, it is better to leave on the

wrappings of advocacy that remind the reader: Beware. Qualitative research

does not dismiss invalidity of description and encourage advocacy. It

recognizes that invalidities and advocacies are ever present and turns away from

the goal as well as the presumption of sanitization. (p. 95)

It is my assumption that knowledge can never be divorced from action and that action

for Indigenous peoples means a call to linguistic and cultural survival. Smith (1999)

supports this notion of advocacy and action when she states "... increasing numbers of

indigenous academics and researchers have begun to address social issues within the

wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice" (p.4).

Thus, I take a decolonizing (Dei, 2002; Smith, 1999) position from both 'insider' and

'outsider' perspectives as an advocate of "Ainu-Japanese", which means Indigenous

people with both Indigenous and Japanese heritages in Japan.

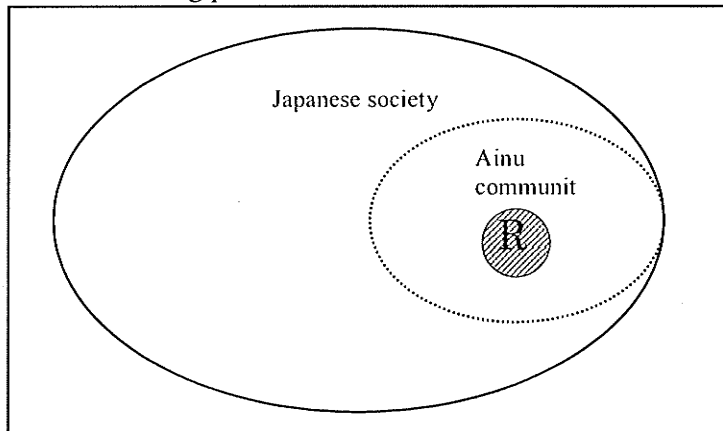
At first glance, my position to utilize both stances of Critical theory and

Decolonizing may appear contradictory. But my situation as an Ainu growing up

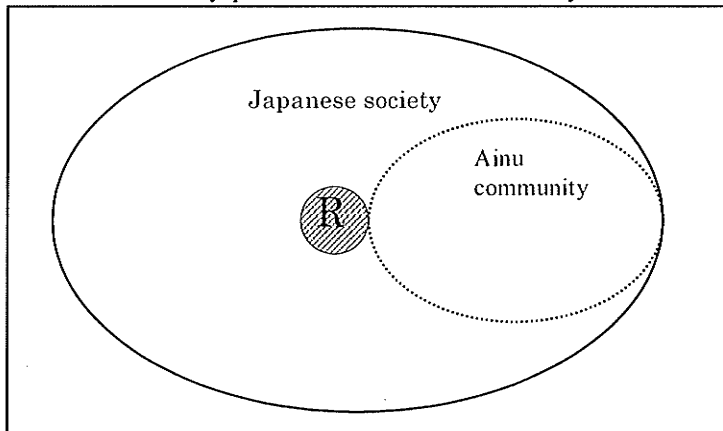
within the Japanese system allows me to stand on the boundaries of each circle and

simultaneously allow me to peer in and out of each setting.

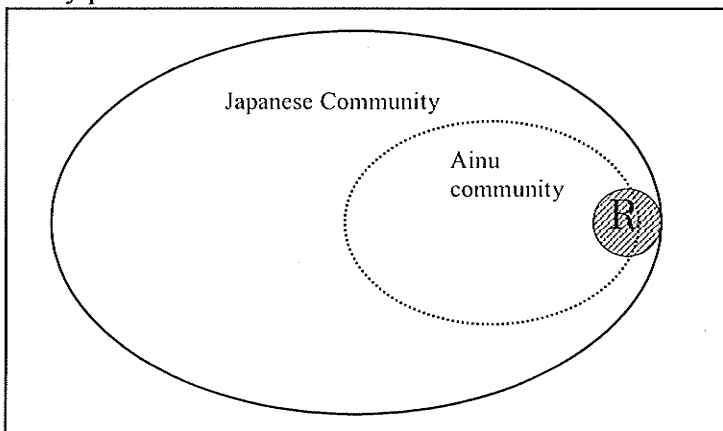
<Decolonizing position>



<Critical Theory position for Ainu community>



<My position in this research>



Background to the study:

Amongst the total Japanese population of, approximately 127,811,000 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2005), there are approximately 23,782 (The Utari Association, 2006.) officially Indigenous Japanese, Ainu people. According to The Utari Association, Ainu people have always lived in Hokkaido, the northern island in Japan, which means they are the Aboriginal people of Hokkaido, but there are no policies to define Ainu people in Japan yet. In the present circumstances, the Ainu association's requirements to join are the provisional standard for the Ainu definition in Japanese society: 1) born in an Ainu family, 2) raised by Ainu, and 3) marry a person of Ainu heritage. But due to the lack of policies and various problems regarding how to define Japanese people whose marriage to Ainu peoples ended in divorce, there is confusion about what it means to be Ainu even among the Ainu themselves. Most of them have been struggling with how to define their identities because of serious language loss in their current situation. As Maher (2001) explains and also my own perspective and personal experience as Ainu-Japanese, it is difficult to identify the number of Ainu speakers in the current Japanese society because of the lack of opportunities to use the Ainu language. Even though there are Ainu language speakers in Hokkaido, the lack of societal necessity

for the Ainu language in daily Japanese life suppresses the usage of the Ainu language in public spaces and makes the Ainu language speakers reluctant to show their cultural heritages.

As one of the significant factors contributing to Ainu language loss, the Japanese government in the past defined and reinforced the belief that the Ainu people and their cultures were inferior when compared with those of the Japanese people and the Japanese culture (Maher, 2001). The Japanese government legislated "the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act" in 1899 (Tahara, 2006) because it believed in the educational necessity of assimilating the Ainu People into Japanese culture. The Ainu schools were constructed for both educating and assimilating Ainu children into the dominant society (Tahara, 2006). At the Ainu schools, teachers taught Ainu children to relinquish the traditional life-styles of the Ainu people. Depicting them as savages, the teachers forced students to use only the Japanese language. This brief history actually reveals the government's educational ideology and the policies used towards the Ainu people, policies which supported the banning of their (our) traditional economic lifestyles and the use of their (our) language (Tahara, 2006). As a consequence, Japanese educational policy has created discrimination towards Ainu people, their heritage and culture, resulting in serious

language loss (Morris-Suzuki, 1996). This policy created much confusion in the cultural identity of Ainu. Ovando (1997) noted that

“Language is a powerful and transformative part of culture. As with culture, language is learned, it is shared, and it evolves and changes over time. It is much more than a set of words and grammar rules. It is a forceful instrument for giving individuals, groups, institutions, and cultures their identity. Through language we communicate our values, attitudes, skills, and aspirations as bearers of culture and as makers of future culture” (p.272-273).

Therefore, to not have had the opportunity to work with the Ainu language in the past few generations is a cultural and linguistic tragedy that needs to be addressed.

The Japanese Government ratified the ‘Convention on the Rights of the Child’ in 1994 and enacted “Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture” in 1997 (Maher, 2001). These are adopted recommendations that resulted from global perspectives stemming from linguists’ continuous advocating and works of appeal to the Japanese government. These Japanese government actions were the responses to the statements made by linguists attending the International Linguistics Congress in

Quebec in 1992 and for the "Endangered Languages Project" of UNESCO in 1993.

Considering the response of the Japanese government towards endangered languages in Japanese society, the government has to and has begun to take responsibility for promoting the knowledge of minority cultures and their languages. In June of 2008, the Japanese government recognized the Ainu as an Indigenous people. This may be the first step necessary to achieving this objective. Maher (2001) has worked with Fishman's 8-stage language loss/maintenance continuum, to describe the condition of the Ainu language and culture. He describes that "the Ainu language revitalization is now receiving government support legislatively and institutionally without any conception that it will or can be used in public education or the media." (p.342). In particular, the Japanese government must now offer support to the Ainu culture and their language in public education systems, because the Ainu do not have a secure place or sufficient realistic opportunity to preserve them and pass them on to future generations. However, the present state of the Ainu language is that of a 'nearly extinct' language because "most of the people speak only Japanese and are assimilated into the Japanese culture" (Raymond G., G. Jr., <http://www.ethnologue.com/>).

In fact, under the present provisions for language priorities in Japan, there are

actually many more English speakers than there are Ainu language speakers because of the public education system. In addition, in the textbooks approved within the current Japanese national public education curriculum, there are only few paragraphs on average about the Ainu culture and history in the social studies' textbooks (personal observation). There are no official Ainu language classes in the Japanese public education system. Even though fourteen private Ainu language schools are financially subsidized by the government, each school receives only 1,401,000 yen (About 14,000 Canadian dollars) per year and this is apparently not enough to pay for even one language instructor (personal communication, telephone, spring, 2005). In addition, from personal experience as Ainu-Japanese (my grand-mother was raised by an Ainu family and I fall under Category 1 mentioned earlier.) I note that because there are no opportunities to use Ainu language daily in Japanese society (that is, from a linguistic point of view, there are no communities in which to practice Ainu--no Ainu coffee houses or libraries, no Ainu public debates or governmental speeches), the Ainu language instructors are also struggling with their Ainu language proficiency/fluency. Even though there is no secure place to use and to preserve the Ainu language, I contend that we must continue to struggle with our identity reconstructions by reclaiming our cultural and linguistic heritages. Dei (2002) refers

to the notion of “ ‘Indigenous knowledges’ and their roles in the academy” and the struggle to create space to dialogue about Indigenous knowledges as being complicated because he argues that there is no secure place to use them in the academy. In much the same way I argue that Ainu languages suffer the same issue, but that the struggle to advocate for their presence, maintenance and development is important. Dei contends that society must recognize “the legitimacy of the different forms of knowledges” (p.3). Even though Dei is speaking to the issue of knowledges, I argue that the same arguments he articulates about recognizing and maintaining knowledges is similar to the need to do the same for languages.

The Japanese public education system has the characteristic of centralization, meaning that there is a national curriculum and nationally approved textbooks. That centralizing characteristic produces one of the highest literacy rates in the world, but that system is in a serious transitional period now. Fujita (2005) insists that the current crisis in the Japanese education system is caused by educational transition towards individualism and a ‘distorted’ laissez-faire principle. In addition, the powers of different assessment systems tighten surveillance on, and control of, the National education systems meaning that the new liberalism becomes one of the reasons for preventing equal education for all people. As a result of these factors,

the reliance on public education and teachers in these systems are gradually decreasing. Individualism, laissez-faire attitudes, and liberalism are necessary when individuals insist on maintaining their own beliefs, but the government then needs to keep the balance of 'equal' education for everyone, with flexibility, because once that balance is disrupted, disparities in social strata will increase. This is already happening in the Japanese education system and society.

After examining these perspectives, the Japanese public education system should remain equal (or at least similar) for everyone but it should also be more flexible in supporting each region's claim to autonomy (Fujita, 2005). The Japanese education system has been perceived to have a certain degree of power to change minority knowledge to societal knowledge as long as it maintains the characteristic of centralization (Fujita; Nomoto, 2005). When educators consider students' need to develop well-balanced personal identities, then classroom instruction should display both characteristics of centralization and individualism. In short, I believe that 'national identity' should be included in 'personal identity'. While there is tension between the idea of national identity and personal identity for minority peoples, minority heritage language teaching in public education systems will provide an opportunity for developing well-balanced 'personal identity' in minority culture

individuals.

Of course, questions about what constitutes a 'multicultural society' (Banks, 1997) are fore-fronted when I think about this situation. Banks argues that multicultural education is important in western society because of the reality of the diversity in race, class, gender, ethnicity... and that educators need "... to acquire an understanding of the meaning of cultural and ethnic diversity in complex western societies, to examine and clarify their racial and ethnic attitudes, and to develop the pedagogical knowledge and skills needed to work effectively with students from diverse cultural and ethnic groups" (p. vi). While the world and the Japanese view the country of Japan as being homogeneous, it is not: Ainu people add to the diversity so multicultural thinking is important to support the development of diverse language policies, classes etc. The reforming of public education through the inclusion of "other" (such as Ainu) cultural perspectives within the dominant society is necessary for a 'real' multicultural society to exist, as long as Indigenous people live in that country.

As one example, the 'Iwor (meaning the traditional life space of Ainu people)' project is an Ainu initiative, started ten years ago, that promises a system for preserving the Ainu language and cultures by creating a reserve for the Ainu people

and their culture in Hokkaido. By comparison with Canada, I believe that it is based on the premise that one of the best possible ways to preserve Indigenous cultures in a multicultural country is by the creation of reserves for that Indigenous community. In Canada, although Indigenous reserves can support their cultures by giving priority to the minority language inside a reserve, that language cannot be maintained as a priority outside the reserve area; even though Aboriginal people are considered to be Canadian, their languages do not have official language status in Canada. The point here is that perhaps a reserve system can protect and preserve Indigenous languages and cultures, but it cannot protect and preserve that language or culture outside of the reserve itself.

In light of such initiatives in the current and future Japanese society, in this study, I endeavored to explore the Ainu language instructors' experiences and understandings of their experiences with regards to the reconstructing of their identities, and while sharing their heritage language (though it is important to note that Ainu language is not their "mother tongue") through instruction. I believe that learning from the voices of Ainu language instructors will bring new realizations concerning the benefits and dilemmas of heritage language instruction. It also provided a much needed rationale and impetus to demand Ainu language instruction in

Japanese public schools, a condition which is necessary for all societies that endeavor to construct and deliver a multicultural education within a multi-cultural society (Banks, 1994). In particular, I would like to explore particular examples of the relationships between positive identity construction and Ainu language proficiency, in the belief that these findings will give us clues and possibly better methods needed for improved teaching practices in heritage language instruction, practices which are considered key in the development of a future multi-cultural society. With this in mind, the guiding research question for this study was: "How do Ainu language instructors perceive their identities, experiences, and pedagogies in a time of attempted linguistic and cultural revival in Japan?" A secondary purpose was to examine Ainu language instructors' views of how Japanese educational policy has an impact on Ainu identity.

Literature Review

If we all just spoke our languages to our young people, we would have no need for indigenous language curricula or for conferences...to save our languages. If we just spoke our languages, all of our languages would be healthier, but I know that is not what is happening. We do not speak our languages and our languages are dying. We are also confronted with a voracious language, English, that gobbles up everything in its way. (Littlebear, 1999, p. 1)

As language scholars assert (Cummins, 2005; Ovando, 1997), promotion of heritage language proficiency provides benefits in terms of the healthy development of individual minority students' identities and their acquisition of other languages, thereby demonstrating that there are no excuses for the exclusion and ignorance of the Ainu language in Japanese society. Yet, little, if anything, has been written on identity development in the Ainu people in the face of their assimilation to Japanese culture. While there has been some work documenting the Ainu attempt to preserve their mother tongue, or perhaps "revive" their nearly extinct language (e.g., Maher, 2001) by linguists and anthropologists, I could find no literature within the field of Education which examines Ainu teachers' experiences, identity development and/or pedagogical practices in "the post-colonial" moment, meaning now, a period of time

when Ainu culture has been granted official recognition in Japan. In particular, there is very limited work about the Ainu culture written in English.

Therefore, in this section, I try to explore the relationships between 'positive identity construction' and 'the significance of heritage language proficiency' through the reclaiming of culture, as related to areas of concern in the field of language education. I try to draw some parallels and comparisons to, and contrasts with, Japanese society.

Identity and self-determination

I have traveled abroad more than twenty times for cultural exchanges with many aboriginal people of the world. I always insist that I am Ainu but I was really disappointed when I received my first passport because I could find only "Japanese national" printed on it. (Kayano, 1997, p. 12. my translation.)

There are many definitions for "identity" and these definitions can be divided in two large groups. One aspect of identity is derived from the association with 'personal', 'autonomy', and 'individuality', while the other is derived from a feeling of identification with large group. Morris-Suzuki (1994) asserts that 'personal identity' is deeply connected with 'group-oriented identity' because it is impossible to cut off the connection of the identity from 'family', 'society', 'culture', and 'ethnicity' when

we define our own identity. In addition, considering the "personal identity" as a member of a particular ethnicity in modern multi-cultural society, the liberalists' beliefs that the identity of each person in each group belongs to the particular group (Kymlicka, 1995) deny that diversity of the concepts about identity, society, and ethnicities is continuously transforming (Morris-Suzuki, 1994). From these perspectives, defining the identity construction in the current multi-cultural society demands serious self-determination from each person.

Considering Ainu identity in Japanese society, we must redefine the word 'Japanese' because it has two meanings as Japanese nation from global viewpoint and 'Wajin'. The word 'Wajin' has been created and used to distinguish Japanese people from the Ainu people since the colonial period (Morris-Suzuki, 1994). That word has negative connotations as the Japanese people who are assimilating other cultures into Japanese culture. On the other hand, 'Japanese' should originally have the meaning 'Japanese nation from the global viewpoint' but in fact, in many cases, that word includes both meanings. This situation causes serious confusion in the Ainu people when they define their identity because admitting the Japanese identity means renouncing their Ainu heritages.

Ishikawa (1996) asserts that apparent inequality creates huge problems of

identity construction and minority people being defined as 'having inferior culture' by a majority group with the tendency to force minority members to hide their inferior cultural heritages for the purpose of belonging to the majority group, or to direct the prejudices from majority group towards the other minority groups to get rid of them. Furthermore, when a minority group being labeled by the majority group as an inferior culture permeates through the society for long periods, people in that minority group try to redefine their own identity positively. This case expresses the problems that Ainu people are facing as they define their identity in the current Japanese society.

Morris-Suzuki (1994) insists that the ethnic identity in modern country is created and is transformed in the interactions of the identity caused from a variety of primary factors. In that situation, the "national identity from the redefinition of the characteristics of a nation in the global systems" is the most important for self-determination. This is exactly what happens to the beliefs about the identity of the Ainu people in Japan. The Ainu people need to accept that they are Japanese (even 'Japanese' has negative meaning) and need to consider and redefine what kinds of Japanese they should be in the global systems.

Culture, identity, and language

Culture is defined by Kohls (1996) as

...an integrated system of learned behavior patterns that are characteristic of the members of any given society. Culture refers to the total way of life of particular groups of people. It includes everything that a group of people thinks, says, does and makes -- its systems of attitudes and feelings. Culture is learned and transmitted from generation to generation. (p. 23)

Culture is separated into two parts, 'visible' and 'invisible'. When people encounter a different culture, the visible differences such as architecture, clothing, food, and language differences are most noticeable. Then, people gradually realize the invisible parts of a different culture, such as gender roles, religious beliefs, and daily activities (Stori, et al, 1997) and how they work. For understanding those aspects of the 'invisible' culture the language element is important because language expresses these 'invisible' parts of culture.

Crystal (2000) states five important reasons why people should preserve any language: 1) The diversity of languages which exist on earth is important from an ecological perspective; 2) languages can express identity because they transmit culture; 3) languages are repositories of history because they transmit the past; 4) when we consider the second and third reason, languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge in a community; and 5) from a linguistic perspective, languages are

interesting in and of themselves because they are repositories of one of the significant elements of human knowledge. In particular, I note that the second, third, and fourth reasons are strongly related to identity construction.

In language, particular patterns of speech are key elements when we think about culture and identity (Kirkness, 2002). For instance, from my personal understanding of a 'standard accent' (Gasser, 2003), when I contemplate what would be considered 'the standard English accent,' I find that it is impossible to define in the current world. Consider this scenario: If the Canadian government decided upon the use of only one standard English accent and strictly banned using other accents in public schools, it would become inevitable that any accent other than the preferred one would offend the majority of English speakers, including native English speakers who spoke a dialect that differed from the standard English accent. This might sound silly but Cummins (1997) asserts that this happened in England amongst the people who had a Wales accent and it also happened to many Indigenous people in their native lands.

Languages are the intellectual capital (also known as "cultural capital" by Bourdieu (1991) and researchers associated with him) for all groups, and it is difficult to estimate the roles that languages play inside or outside of their community.

However, this significant factor which recognizes language as intellectual capital for people is often ignored, particularly in current situations of language promotion and instruction for minority groups. Currently, global economic factors dictate that English is a global language (Crystal, 1998); therefore, it is deemed more important to teach and to learn this language instead of other languages. This is certainly the case in Japan, where the newest curriculum policy announced by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Technology (MEXT) promotes the learning of English from the very beginnings of primary school, while still recognizing the importance of the Japanese language as a heritage language. The "real" endangered minority languages, those threatened by extinction, are not considered at all (see, for example, <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/news/2002/07/020901.htm>; see also <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/> for complete coverage of implementation of the action plan). Therefore, drawing from the literature in the field and from my experiences, I contend that the Japanese government must respect the value of all languages and take steps to ensure their survival in the country, in order to protect the individual identities of minority peoples. As well, on a global level, society must be sensitive towards the preservation of Indigenous languages because they do not hold secure places outside of their own regions, and sometimes not in their own regions.

Identity and English education in Canada: Lessons Japan can learn

It is difficult to define what the 'national and personal identity' is for all students in multicultural classrooms. There are many students holding diverse views derived from their own cultural heritages, as well as those holding beliefs from the dominant society in Canada (Cummins, 1997). Looking at the Canadian language education context, we can conclude that "being Canadian" seems to enforce the loss of heritage languages by assimilating students into the "English" culture, partly because of the lack of places to use and learn the subordinated groups' heritage languages within Canadian federal and provincial school systems. For instance, the Canadian government has accepted many refugees but the only way to live in Canada for these people is by "becoming Canadian" which means that they have to speak English and/or French in order to be "Canadian". Speaking English or French is understandably a priority for survival in Canadian society, but at the same time, the value of the immigrant's cultural heritage and language is being ignored (see, for example, Kouritzin, 1999; 2006).

Teaching English in ESL curricula may contain appreciation for caring about students' identities and their heritage language development, but because these languages do not have places to be expressed (communities of/for practice) in

Canadian schools and society at large, it is difficult to motivate these minority students to understand the importance of retaining their heritage languages. In this way, refugees and immigrants may somewhat inevitably lose their cultural heritages and are thus automatically forced into assimilating into the English speaking society. Therefore, the Canadian government has reneged on the responsibility for providing bi-linguistic status for these people even though it insists that the promotion of multiculturalism and anti-racism in society is important.

Instead, the existing policies force immigrants to become "English speaking Canadians". This is especially hurtful to the people who were deprived of their cultural heritages in countries lived in prior to immigration. These actions create prejudices of "culture disparity" even though people know that there are no "superiorities" between different cultures. The impact on identity pressed between nourishing the heritage culture and "being Canadian" is further repressed by these invisible suppressions (e.g., Canagarajah, 1999; Norton, 2000).

Although the purpose of the ESL classroom is teaching English, there are many beneficial findings attributed to heritage language retention and instruction, relating to their pedagogies being reinforced year after year in federal and provincial schools (Cummins, 1994). ESL classrooms have various approaches for teaching

English skills with certain attention given to the development of a students' heritage language proficiency and their cultural identity development. For example, the proficiency students achieve in their native languages influences positively their subsequent language acquisition, and that condition is also necessary to construct their identities and positive self-images etc. The Japanese government should consider these facts of the Canadian education systems while pondering their own education systems for minority groups in Japanese society.

The significance of Indigenous language teaching in Canadian public schools

Even though many ESL classrooms encourage students' heritage language development (Cummins, 1994), many "Canadian" students cannot learn their heritage languages in Canadian public schools as the main part of their school curriculum, and they do not have enough places to use their heritage language in their society. International and immigrant students have these places in their countries, but refugees and Aboriginal students do not have them. Considering this point, I would assume that current Canadian school systems might be enthusiastic to demonstrate how English speaking is beneficial in its society. French is also retained as public instruction even in English speaking areas because it is the second official language of Canada. Nevertheless, whether or not the language's speaker groups are large

enough or whether or not that language is viable, the languages of all "Canadians" must have the right to obtain a kind of "social status" in their society.

From these perspectives, I suggest that the government has a responsibility to ensure that minority language speakers' workplaces and educational values are respected in society because these groups have already accepted that they must live in Canada and they have accepted their need to adjust to many aspects of the dominant culture already. Teaching heritage languages in the federal and provincial schools can provide respect for minority educational and workplace values. Therefore, educational reformation is the most significant and the most basic way to confer "social status" to the languages of minorities.

Cummins (1997) argues that the relationship between national identity and the importance of diversity is tenuous. He criticizes the once-dominant idea of "Bilingualism as shutting doors. It nourishes self-ghettoization, and ghettoization nourishes racial antagonism. Using some language other than English dooms people to second-class citizenship in American society. Monolingual education opens doors to the larger world" (Schlesinger Jr., 1991, p. 108-109). That concept should be criticized but it does explain one aspect of "truth" in modern society; the dominant group has the power to define "privileges" for themselves in their society. It is

difficult for the people who belong to the dominant group to notice that “privilege” exists because privileges are normally invisible to those that hold them. Those who belong to the dominant culture and dominant language group believe that these “privileges” are just normal for them and these beliefs have worked towards creating coercive power relations in modern society (Battiste, 2000).

In other words, there is “cognitive imperialism” in modern Canadian society (Battiste, 2000). She defines that “cognitive imperialism as a form of cognitive manipulation used to disclaim other knowledge bases and values” and argues that:

Validation of one preferred knowledge base and empowerment of that knowledge base through public education has been the means by which whole groups of people have been denied existence and have had their wealth confiscated. (p. 198)

As a result of that, Indigenous languages are deprived of space in which they may be used in Canadian society. According to Battiste (2000) Cognitive imperialism is constructed from the privileges seen in different social strata for the dominant group and simultaneously, defines subordinated groups as inferior and marginalizes them in that society. Because the school systems in Canada have been based on western perspectives, and by ignoring “original” Canadian cultures, the Canadian educational

systems have promoted an ethnocentric society based on western culture. There is also a certain "cognitive imperialism" based on western culture in current Japanese society. Because of their aim to revive their cultural heritages, Ainu language instructors have struggled with living in a privileged dominant society and have been struggling to defeat it.

Battiste (2000) insists that Indigenous awareness of the need for revival of their cultural heritages, based on increasing proficiency of their heritage languages, can help to counter "cognitive imperialism" in Canadian society. These social beliefs are required as are urgent reforms needed by provincial and federal institutions, to ensure that both the dominant and subordinated groups do not view Indigenous cultures as being inferior in any way to the dominant languages and cultures in mainstream society.

Because the same, or at least a similar, struggle for retention of heritage language exists in Japanese society, similar actions will be needed for the Ainu people. In this regard, the current notion of "multicultural society" needs to be changed, especially for the benefit of all Indigenous peoples who live in a westernized mainstream society. (United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples, 2007; <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/drip.html>) Ensuring Indigenous status

by reviving their own heritages using heritage language revitalization practices as a medium is required to change such societal beliefs about cultural values. Indigenous languages must exist at work places in mainstream society to promote their status in mainstream society.

Societal power relations between dominant and subordinated groups have influenced classroom instruction, school curriculum, and educational outcomes. For instance, it is easy to recognize for minority group students that their cultural heritages, especially their heritage languages, are powerless in the dominant society if these languages are not used in their classrooms (Cummins, 1997). Student awareness accelerates the creation of coercive power relationships in their schools and interactively induces that relationship in their society. As a result, the school systems are reproducing, even promoting, coercive power relations in modern society even though they are extolling the virtues of "multicultural" and "anti-racism" education. Therefore, the realization of a multicultural society with multicultural status for all peoples requires urgent reformation of education systems as a first step. This idea is supported by many scholars in the field (Battiste, 2000; Dei, 2002; Banks, 1984, etc.).

Iwor Project

The Iwor Project, a concept similar to the Native American reservation plan

utilized in the United States, was created for the purpose of revising and preserving Ainu language, culture, and their traditional life space in Hokkaido. According to the annual report of undertaking enforcement in 2006, the main undertakings of this project were traditional tree planting and establishing base institution museum for Ainu people (Shiraoi town office, 2007).

Planting trees will bring many benefits for any who wish to research Ainu traditional dietary culture (actually, it would be much easier if the Japanese government would open national forests that originally belonged to the Ainu people for that purpose.) but I doubt the government will approve expenses of approximately five hundred million yen---which is about five million Canadian dollars--- for this and the construction of a new museum (the expenditure for tearing down the old building is 705,000 Canadian dollars and for building cost is 4370,000 Canadian dollars in their estimate). Considering the current situation that some museums already exist for introducing Ainu cultures in Hokkaido and these museums cannot help to revive the Ainu heritages, it is obvious that these kinds of institutions cannot solve problems that Ainu people have in current Japanese society.

The power of public education for creating Indigenous recognition

According to Dixon (1997), one of the key elements for a language's survival

is giving status to that language as the "priority language: in that nation; the official language in a country has 'priority'. When I consider the priority given the 'priority language' from an educator's perspective, I see that compulsory education makes a significant contribution toward defining what is considered a 'priority' because the teaching of the priority language is compulsory in all public schools. What this means is that in Japan, standard Japanese is given priority, while in Canada, either English or French has priority. There appears to be neither an officially mandated nor a socially accepted role in either nation for indigenous languages.

I take seriously the notion that "The education we provide for our children reflects the kind of society in which we want to live" (Web & Sherman, 1989, p. 9); therefore, I believe that the languages which should be taught in compulsory education are those 'priority languages' which represent the diverse cultures in our society. As stated earlier, in Canadian compulsory education, English and French are taught as the official languages in Canada and, as such, these two languages have a certain priority in Canadian society. Currently in one territory in the Canadian North, Nunavut is constructing an education curriculum which includes their third official language, Inuktitut, in their homeland (Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, 2001). In other reserve schools, First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples are actively

including their languages in their compulsory educational curricula.

Looking at the current situation of Japanese public education, students are taught Japanese and English, and these languages hold a certain social status as the 'priority languages.' Japanese is a heritage language for Japanese people and English is recognized as a global language in Japanese society. Even though Japanese people do not use English in their daily lives, they have awareness of the English language as a priority in Japan. This also indicates how public education has the power to create language status in their society.

A multicultural philosophy which supports diverse cultural groups within the dominant society, calls for awareness and respect to be demonstrated for every culture by both dominant and minority groups (Kirkness, 2002; Dei, 2002; Banks, 1984). I believe that Indigenous reserve systems will be able to protect Ainu cultural heritages while developing the basis for a 'cultural co-existence society' in Japanese society. The Indigenous reserve system is, however, just one of the ways that I consider necessary for achieving a multicultural society. In addition I believe that the reforming of public education systems is necessary for the recognition and acquisition of minority cultural status by both dominant and minority groups. With the current the Ainu initiatives already in place for preserving the Indigenous cultures, Ainu

language instruction in Japanese public schools has begun to promote the awareness of the importance of diversity for both dominant and minority groups. I am hopeful that it will also provide a secure place for preserving the Ainu language and culture for future Japanese society.

With all of this in mind, I propose to examine the development and reconstruction of Ainu identity of Ainu language instructors and their students in light of the June, 2008, Japanese government recognition of Ainu right to language and culture as well as their standing as an Indigenous people, and the localization which is accompanying globalization. I hope to understand how an identity formed in resistance can become revitalized.

Methodology

Research Method: Comparative Case Study of three instructors

I engaged in two major forms of data collection. This qualitative research project, used a comparative case study method, initially consisting of three unique cases (Stake, 1995), followed by comparison and contrast of the three unique cases. These three unique cases were constructed by examining three current Ainu language instructors' beliefs regarding the benefits and dilemmas of the heritage language instruction and learning in the current and future society. The research question was "How do Ainu language instructors perceive their identities, experiences and pedagogies in a time of linguistic and cultural revival?" A secondary purpose was to uncover and examine these Ainu language instructor's views of how Japanese educational policy has an impact on an emerging Ainu identity for the new millennium. In particular, this guiding research question led me to examine:

- (1) How do Ainu language instructors perceive their identities?
- (2) How do Ainu language instructors perceive that their identities have shifted over time?
- (3) How do Ainu language instructors perceive their students' identities?
- (4) How do Ainu language instructors perceive their students' emerging

identities?

(5) How do Ainu language instructors' perceptions of identity influence their

pedagogy?

Because the Ainu instructors have a strong desire to reclaim the Ainu language within the current Japanese society, exploring their beliefs regarding identity construction should reveal important information not only for Ainu people, but also for all people who are struggling to maintain their heritage languages in the face of globalization, and in situations rapidly approaching “nearly extinct languages” (e.g., Crystal, 2000). Through close examination and reflection on answers provided by the instructors, I accrued suggestions and possible answers about identity construction that are relevant to present and future both Ainu and Japanese people. I focused on their experiences as Ainu language instructors, as an Ainu, and also as Japanese in Japanese society, in this case study.

Theoretical framework and researcher role

As I stated in introduction, I assumed the researcher role of advocate (Stake, 1995) in this study. I also acknowledge my role in this research as one coming from both an insider and outsider perspective. On the one hand, I am Ainu. On the other hand, because of my lack of Ainu heritage in my own mind, I have always desired to

reclaim my Ainu heritage. Therefore, even though I have access to both perspectives, I have access to neither because I am "tainted" by the forms of research which are employed in the colonizing countries (e.g., Smith, 1999)--and I am not in the middle. I am the one who really wants to reclaim the Ainu heritage(s) in current society for preserving and passing that heritage for future generations. I was implicated in this desire, as were the Ainu language instructors.

Consequently, in this research, I took a decolonizing and critical stance, one in which I assist Ainu language teachers to claim and give testimony (e.g., Smith, 1999) about their experiences in trying to reclaim the Ainu language and preserve the Ainu culture. I approached all of my qualitative data collection strategies in this study utilizing post-colonial, postmodern, and critical theory perspectives, constructed from the examination of related literatures and also through my own life experiences because these theories give light to the negative influences on both the individual as an individual and on the individual as a member of one or more societies.

Because I am positioned in this study as both an insider and outsider, I could be influenced by both perspectives. When I am thinking about 'identity construction', I believe that it is influenced by gender, community, religious beliefs, and other aspects of personal and social context. Defining identity really depends

how I set my own standpoints, and so this research must include a postmodern perspective (Lather, 1991), by which I mean that identity is not a fixed characteristic; rather, identity is determined by the context. Identity, particularly for the Ainu, is also a site of struggle against the intellectual colonizer (Japan) and a site of the struggle to reinvent and reclaim indigenous community membership.

There are certain teaching dilemmas that come from the instructors' negative experiences in Japanese society, such as societal restrictions regarding the use of the Ainu language and the lack of language proficiency they experience as instructors. There is "cognitive imperialism" (Battiste, 2000) based on both western and Japanese cultures in Japan. How do these instructors try to defeat these societal issues in order to preserve Ainu heritages? I am confident that each of them has his or her own beliefs concerning the construction of their individual and collective identities during their life struggles, because I also have had my own past experiences as an Ainu-Japanese person and also my current experiences as I learned the Ainu language in a Japanese university and in Ainu language schools. To explore the Ainu instructor's beliefs for constructing Ainu identity gave me many opportunities to reflect on multicultural education and society.

To examine the perspectives of Ainu language instructors' identities, the

interviews in this study focused on teachers' experiences within the categories of: 1) their perceptions and experiences as Ainu language instructors; 2) their beliefs concerning the promotion of a positive identity that Ainu people should have in the current and future society; and, 3) their beliefs about the potential of Ainu language education in the public school instruction as a means to reclaim Ainu heritage(s).

Setting

This setting for this research is restricted by the numbers of Ainu language instructors, and their location in the northern island of Hokkaido in Japan. Three locations, one local university, and two private Ainu language schools located in Hokkaido, were contacted to recruit teachers. These locations were also used for the interviews, because, basically, each Ainu language school has only one instructor. Two Ainu language schools are a kind of open plan school for local residents. The students learning Ainu language at these schools are mostly adults with Ainu heritage, except the students learning at local university.

Data Collection

The data was collected and analyzed using two types of qualitative techniques (see below for interview details). In-depth interviews, as well as artifact and document analysis were used to examine the identity experiences, the teaching

and learning benefits, and the dilemmas of each of the Ainu language instructor.

I collected such artifacts and documents as (1) policy statements, protocols, and curriculum relating to Ainu language and culture revitalization, (2) newspaper or popular media reports (in written, audio, or video form) relating to Ainu language or culture, (3) collections of classroom materials, papers, and lesson planning activities, (4) prior research and related documents in English, Japanese, or Ainu which may be seen to have an impact on the current state of Ainu language and culture, and (5) searches of relevant internet websites. I examined these documents to state how they define the Ainu language and how they consider prospects that should be in the Japanese society. I posed the questions below in the document analysis to lead my definitions. (1) What is the Ainu language for? (2) Who will speak it? (3) Is the goal of Ainu language instruction to revive the language, or to save certain parts of it? (4) Is the goal to have the Ainu language become a community language? (5) How are Ainu people described in the documents? (6) What is the role of Ainu culture in Ainu language instruction?

The documents that I collected were analyzed through the lens of critical theory (Nakata, 2006; McLaren, 1994). While analyzing the various documents, I was asking myself how Ainu identity is constructed by policy, practice, procedure, and

pedagogy in terms of race, class, and gender. I hope to be able to understand how the Ainu are constructed by documents, and how they, in turn, construct their own identity.

In order to gather the best reflective data possible, interviews were conducted in standard Japanese, the mother tongue of all of the participants in this research. All of the in-depth interviews in this study were recorded by a voice recorder which was used to create Japanese written transcripts. Field-notes also were recorded during the interviews in order to examine deeply the meanings (through intonation, gesture, etc.), as related word by word, that Ainu language instructors spoke during the interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim in Japanese, and specific excerpts were translated for the purposes of writing my thesis. The field-notes that I recorded during the interviews were translated into English immediately after I wrote Japanese notes. Data collection began once I received the Ethics approval from the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board at University of Manitoba.

Research Procedure: three in-depth interviews

In order to create the three unique cases, I conducted the three in-depth interviews with each of three Ainu language instructors in order to explore their experiences related to their identity construction. Guided by the overarching

research question “How do Ainu language instructors perceive their identities, experiences, and pedagogies in a time of attempted linguistic and cultural revival in Japan?” questions was asked which address three category groups. These category groups are: 1) Identity construction of the Ainu language instructors, 2) The problems, in both, Japanese society and the Ainu communities, 3) The benefits of Ainu language education. The following questions in appendix are those I anticipated asking in each of these three category groups. (See the Appendix no.1).

Each interview took approximately one hour, certainly no more than two hours, depending on the participants' answers. Before conducting the next interview with each participant, I transcribed and analyzed the previous interview. Additional questions and issues, as well as items for clarification were identified in previous interviews and brought into the next interview.

Because the interviews were conducted to learn about ‘identities’ from participants’ experiences, and also because ‘identity’ and ‘experience’ are not concrete ideas for everyone, the research questions in the interviews were used as guidelines, and they were flexible.

Participants in this study:

Three individuals, representing three types of Ainu language instructors gave

initial consent to participate in this study: (1) an Ainu language instructor for students and adult learners at local university who had both Ainu and Japanese heritage, and (2) two Ainu language instructors with (a) only Ainu and (b) both Ainu and Japanese heritage for adult learners in Hokkaido. I met all of these participants when I attended their language classes from April to August in 2005 and asked about their school situations briefly.

One of them is teacher teaching the Ainu language at the Ainu language school and the other two teachers are teaching the Ainu language at the Ainu language school and local university in Hokkaido. They are in their 50's, 60's, or in 70's. I did not ask their accurate ages as it would have been inappropriate.

The recruitment process illustrated here is indicative of the lack of numbers of Ainu language instructors with Ainu heritage in Japanese society, and also represents difficulties in recruiting them into academic research. As in many other Indigenous contexts, Ainu people are often reluctant to participate in research, which they see as part of the colonizing process (e.g. Smith, 1999). In addition to the interviews, I obtained their teaching demographics and information such as classroom size, number of students that they are teaching, hours of classroom instruction per week, their teaching methods, and the teaching materials that they are using in the

classroom, as well as the documents and artifacts mentioned above.

Data Analyses

I summarized emerging categories, questions, and themes throughout the process of this study using qualitative methods for the data analysis suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984 & 1994), Goetz and LeCompte (1984), and Patton (1980). Development and reductions of the codes relating to Ainu language instructors' experiences with identity construction and heritage language teaching beliefs derived from their experiences were conducted on a daily basis during this study.

The concept of constant comparison method of analysis suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1967) was used to identify and to report on comparisons between the three unique cases with regard to the three determined categories: 1) the participants' beliefs of their identities as an Ainu and also Japanese which came from their experiences as Ainu language instructors; 2) their beliefs of Ainu and Japanese as society regarding the development of a positive identity that Ainu people should have in the current and future society; and 3) their beliefs of the Ainu language education in [public] school instructions to reclaim Ainu heritages.

Data triangulation methods comparing the three participants' data were used for establishing credibility and resonance. At the final step of this study, a final report of

each participant' data was checked for accuracy by each of them for reliability and validity (member checks). The final reports from each participant were written in both languages, Japanese and English, in order to allow the participants access. I also conducted peer debriefing with my colleagues in Japanese. At this point, all of the unique cases were compared, and emergent categories and themes were drawn. I selected to avoid any direct quotes because of the problems of translating from one language to the other so I relied on the summed statements and analysis of them.

Findings in the interviews: Identity construction of the Ainu language instructors

In this research, I divided the eight categories derived from my analyses into three groups. In my analyses, some deriving concepts have a profound effect on other concepts' and categories' deriving. This is because these concepts about identity drawn from many factors existing not only in Japanese society, but also in the inner part of the Ainu language instructors' minds. It also indicates that there are many difficulties for everyone to consider and to define what the concept of identity is because of that uncertainty. Therefore, I attempted to make that belief clear by considering two factors; 1) The exterior factors in society which affect their thoughts of identity. 2) The interior factors in the Ainu language instructors' mind, which were used when they defined their own identity.

In this chapter, first, I mention societal factors (exterior factors) having effects on the Ainu language instructors' identity construction. Second, I state the Ainu language instructors' beliefs about identity (interior factors), and their efforts to keep their own identity as an Ainu positive for themselves and future Ainu generations. Finally, considering these factors that I mentioned above, I examine that the essential values and possibilities of Ainu language teaching in the future Japanese society.

The problems in our society and the identity construction of the Ainu language instructors

Examining the experiences of Ainu language instructors about 'the problems in Japanese society and the Ainu community' shows the processes by which the Ainu language instructors' identities are constructed in current Japanese society. In their experiences, there are many points in common, which make the problems in both Japanese society and Ainu community clear. These points strongly affect their identity construction.

1. The problems in Japanese society

The experiences of discrimination in three Ainu language instructors' life stories bring the Japanese people's thinking and treatment towards Ainu people into sharp relief. All instructors have such experiences, especially at school and in companies that gave them a sense of alienation from Japanese society because of their connection to the Ainu heritages. From these experiences, they had tried to avoid Ainu culture and to hide their own Ainu heritages in order to make their life normal in Japanese society as mono-cultural Japanese identity. These stories describe Ishikawa's explanation the process of minority identity construction (1996, see Literature Review, identity and self-determination, paragraph 4.). The Ainu language

instructors noticed that many Ainu people have similar kinds of experience and feeling towards Ainu heritages.

From the Ainu language instructors' perspective, they mentioned the necessity of the communication place to use and to revive Ainu language because it is the excessive decreasing of Ainu language speakers who can communicate with others using their heritage language in Japanese society is obvious. The societal needs of Ainu heritage and cultures have been declining in the current Japanese society because the Japanese government labeled the Ainu traditional cultures as useless when the "the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act" legislation was passed in 1899 (Tahara, 2006). The instructors also indicate three points of evidence that the Japanese society despises the societal value of Ainu heritages that are; 1) there is no Ainu language spaces in mainstream Japanese media, 2) there are no Ainu language classes in Japanese public education systems and no interests of the Japanese educators for the Ainu heritages, and 3) it is not attractive to learn the Ainu heritage language and to be language instructor because of the deficient wages for the Ainu language instructors to make their living. They also indicate that these reasons have caused contemptuous feelings among Japanese people towards the Ainu heritage cultures in current society.

2. The problems in the Ainu community

There are no visible Ainu communities in current Japanese society. As I mentioned (see background to the study, paragraph 1), belonging the Utari association (Ainu association) is the only way to receive societal recognition as an Ainu in current Japan. Thus, the problems in the Ainu community in this section mainly express the problems of the Ainu people belonging to the Utari association have.

According to three Ainu language instructors, the Ainu people---past and present---have experienced discrimination by Wajin (see identity and self-determination, paragraph 2) and have certainly had repellent feeling towards Wajin. In addition, these Ainu people tend to cherish derisive feelings towards their own heritage cultures, language, and even Ainu people who are trying to revive and to preserve their heritage cultures in their minds. In particular, there are unique obstacles blocking acceptance for those who try to learn the Ainu culture in the Ainu community. This situation represents the problems caused by the repellent feeling towards Wajin among Ainu people who have experienced discrimination in the past. Moreover, some of these Ainu people tend to disparage fellow Ainu peoples trying to revive and to preserve Ainu heritage cultures. Two Ainu language instructors that I interviewed in this research originally have Japanese heritage. They have become

Ainu from marriage with Ainu person and belonging to Utari association. Both of them have been given the feeling of alienation in the Ainu community from some Ainu people's cruel comments in the public discussion because they originally have Japanese heritage.

The Ainu language instructors also speak to the problem of Ainu language construction. It is difficult to create a standardized pedagogy and textbook for Ainu language teaching because the Ainu language has many regional dialects. The discussion of how Ainu people should revive and preserve Ainu language still does not reach any conclusion. Because of the immaturity of the Ainu language and the lack of the numbers of Ainu language speakers and learners, the Ainu language instructors expect that the Ainu language should be evolved into integrated language remaining distinctive characteristics of each dialect for that reviving, preserving, and education.

The way of thinking of the Ainu language instructors about identity

Identity construction refers to the Ainu language instructors' interpretations of identity in this research. Each identity has been constructed by their lifetime experiences. Examining their life stories, the problems in Japanese society and the Ainu community (external factors) that I mentioned in the previous section seem to be

deeply connected to their identity construction. Identity is not a clear idea not only for the Ainu language instructors but also for everyone. Re-asking what is the self-determination for the Ainu language instructors and current Ainu people could give them the clues to define identity. Thus, I consider their self-images as Ainu and as Japanese when they answered interview questions. In this chapter, I try to find out the ideal identity of Ainu language instructors in current and future society by examining how two kinds of images of their identity were constructed in their mind.

1. What is the Ainu identity?

Three Ainu language instructors mentioned that their identity has been constructed mainly by their family environment, school, and work places. For example, when their parents explained their Ainu heritages to their children, the children naturally accepted their indigenous Ainu heritages. In addition, even though Ainu parents did not explain their Ainu heritages to their children directly, the children could recognize that they have different religion and language from Japanese cultures because of seeing their parents' traditional events with their own eyes and of listening to Ainu language from their parents (Even though the parents cannot speak Ainu language to communicate with someone, some words had be used in their traditional events in many cases). At that point, two kinds of thoughts seem to occur: that they

voluntarily learn their heritage cultures and that they try to hide the differences from Japanese cultures and to deny their Ainu heritages could be constructed in the Ainu language instructors' minds. The Ainu language instructors have been struggling with their mental conflict between both positive and negative thoughts towards Ainu heritages.

From their own experiences, the Ainu language instructors insist that when there are positive thoughts towards Ainu heritage cultures in the Ainu people's mind, these people tend to try to preserve these heritages for the next generations. They also mentioned that seeing respectable and highly regarded Ainu people who participate actively in Japanese society was a great opportunity for developing positive feeling towards Ainu heritages. As a result of that, these people can accept their Ainu heritages positively. In short, the existence of respectable and openly proud Ainu people, including parents and relatives, in Japanese society promotes the awareness towards the Ainu heritage cultures to preserve them.

On the other hand, the negative thoughts towards the Ainu heritages were caused by the experiences that they suffered from the discriminating speeches and behaviors in their social life (especially, school bullying when they were students). These negative thoughts were caused not only when they had such experiences, but

also when their relatives or close friends suffered from someone's cruel behaviors for protecting them. Moreover, even though indigenous Ainu people do not have particular discriminatory experiences, somehow they could feel a sense of alienation when they were in the traditional Ainu events because of the awareness of differences between Japanese and Ainu cultures. When these negative thoughts intensify in their minds, disparaging behaviors towards everything about the Ainu heritage cultures tend to be produced.

There are few Ainu people who put forward their Ainu heritages in their social life. In addition, it seldom happens that these Ainu people, regardless of their occupation, are highlighted in Japanese society. These situations around the Ainu people make many Ainu people think that it is much easier to try to forget their Ainu heritage cultures in their life than to learn Ainu heritage cultures for preserving them. In other words, it is believed that having Ainu identity in Japanese society works negatively to make their life complicated in many situations.

2. What is the Japanese identity?

It is inevitable for all Ainu people to make their life as Japanese in Japanese society even though some of them have used and tried to preserve their own heritage language and culture in their home. All Ainu language instructors also must use

Japanese language in the most of their life situations dominated by Japanese cultures. They feel that they are Japanese instead of Ainu when they consider their life situations. It is not surprising that they feel that they are Japanese rather than Ainu in many situations because they live as Japanese citizens with Japanese language and culture.

In addition, three instructors mentioned that they feel that they are Japanese when they experienced culture shock outside Japan. For instance, they feel that they are Japanese when they met different languages and cultures from Japanese culture in foreign countries: people assumed they were Japanese because they were from Japan. Additionally, they tend to resign themselves to the idea that 'I am Japanese rather than Ainu' from their experiences they were treated as Japanese and then they received discriminatory comments from Ainu people. This is common experience of the Ainu language instructors who joined the Utari association from having a spouse with the Ainu heritage. They have particular experiences when they expressed different opinions in the official discussion for preserving Ainu heritage cultures. They always received the discriminating comments at the end of discussion such as, "That opinion is not persuasiveness because you are not originally Ainu". Because they were denied their Ainu identity from Ainu people, they tended to think that they are

Japanese.

It is not easy for Japanese people to define that they are Ainu by themselves from the marriage with a person who has the Ainu heritage and belonging to the Utari association even the Utari association defines that they are Ainu. One of the causes of this problem is that the meaning of the word 'Japanese' includes the both 'the Japanese nations' and 'Wajin (this word was used to distinguish the Japanese people with Japanese heritages from the Ainu people during the colonial period and it is still used in Japanese society and has a negative image for Ainu people.)' and many Ainu people believe that being 'Japanese' means abandoning the Ainu heritages (Morris-Suzuki, 2000). Not only the Ainu language instructors also all Ainu people feel obliged to have both Japanese and Ainu identities in their mind in the Japanese society. Thus, their interpretations and definitions of their own identity are unique and fluid, therefore potentially problematic.

3. Identity Construction: The Ainu instructors' beliefs

The Ainu language instructors have been looking for the way to have their unique identity positively constructed in both Ainu and Japanese heritages in their daily life. Negative thoughts towards Ainu heritage cultures tend to dominate their thinking when they are conscious of their identity as Ainu. In addition, the

awareness that they are Japanese causes the feeling of uselessness towards Ainu heritage cultures in real life situations. At the same time of having these negative thoughts, they believe in a firm sense of mission for preserving the Ainu culture and language. The language instructors believe if they do not think about Ainu language and cultures and do something to preserve them; the Ainu heritages will become extinct like other indigenous languages. That belief encourages a positive identity to be an Ainu and to have Ainu identity in Japanese society.

Considering the Ainu language instructors' beliefs, it seems important for Ainu language proficiency to have a positive Ainu identity. They started to learn their Ainu language because they thought that they needed it as one Ainu. Due to the result of Ainu language learning for many years, they are currently teaching it. They believe that the Ainu language learning can provide them with the knowledge as to what the Ainu heritage is. In fact, some of students have studied the Ainu language in the instructors' classroom because they believe that they need to learn their own heritage language as one Ainu person. These beliefs indicate that the importance of Ainu language proficiency to construct Ainu identity in the people's mind. The language proficiency could provide deeper understanding about Ainu traditional cultures and that understanding could construct self-esteem as one Ainu person.

Then, a positive self-esteem as Ainu could be the foundation to accept their Ainu heritages and their Ainu identity positively.

The relationships between Ainu language teaching and identity construction

The benefits of Ainu language teaching is asserted by the Ainu language instructors because they believe that education is the most effective means to provide the opportunities to consider Ainu identity positively and then to solve the problems in Japanese society and the Ainu community. This is because the Ainu language instructors need particular identity as one Ainu person when they teach Ainu language and because they notice/are noticed that they are also Japanese in their classroom. In this sense they are bridging both worlds in a positive way rather than hiding one in favour of the other.

In addition, the Ainu language instructors believe that affirming and emphasizing the societal value of the Ainu language in Japanese society using the public education can help the positive construction of Ainu identity for Ainu people. In other words, they believe that teaching Ainu language actively in the public education could change negative images being Ainu in current Japanese society. As a result of that, the images towards Ainu language and cultures could be improved in Japanese society.

1. The close relationship between culture and language

Learning the Ainu language was important for the Ainu language instructors at the beginning of their learning Ainu culture. Moreover, when instructors tried to understand the deeper aspects of Ainu culture, the Ainu language proficiency was needed. In other words, there is language not only on the surface also in deeper place of that culture. Figuratively speaking, the language entirely covers that culture and they are intertwined with each other to keep that distance and relationship in any depth.

The Ainu language instructors insist that the cultures without that language are just historical materials. The language expresses the spiritual aspects of that culture and can transmit them to the next generation. The culture without spiritual aspects – for example, religious and gender beliefs in that culture – is not complete culture. All instructors I interviewed in this research insist the language importance and criticize the situation that the Ainu language is slighted in the current official plan for reviving and preserving Ainu heritage cultures. Considering these situations around the Ainu heritage cultures, it is not too much to say that the Ainu language instructors have the strongest desire to revive and to preserve the Ainu heritage cultures, and they are actually taking actions for achieving these purposes.

2. Tasks of the Ainu language

The Ainu language are in danger of disappearing without any efforts to put the brakes on its declining use because there are no daily situations to use Ainu language to communicate with someone in Japanese society. The Ainu language instructors assert the necessity of transmitting what the positive identity of the word 'Ainu' means to the next generations. They also insist that the Ainu people should remove the guilt they may feel coming from the lack of language proficiency and ignorance of their own heritage language. For achieving these purposes, the Ainu language instructors have tried to actualize the Ainu language education in public schools because that education could provide the situations to use their heritage language in public places. Comparing English education in Japan, it is, however, truth that the necessity of Ainu language is quite low for most of people living in Japanese society. In addition, a language labeled with a low value in the society can be characterized as the unnecessary language in public education. Therefore, it has been difficult to actualize the Ainu language education in Japanese public education systems.

The Ainu language has many dialects and the issue that it should be integrated into one common language is being debated. There are no particular

pedagogies to teach Ainu language in any classrooms. The Ainu language instructors insist that the Ainu people need to improve Ainu language usage and value it to use it in real communication. For achieving them, improving people's awareness towards Ainu culture is needed by educating Ainu language in public education systems or by creating brand-new educational places to teach Ainu language.

3. The educational reconstruction of the Ainu language revival and relating benefits

Considering the problems around Ainu culture and language, Ainu language should be revived for use in real life communication. Ainu people living in current Japanese society, however, are passive to learn their own heritage language and culture. As I mentioned above, there are many reasons discouraging Ainu people in current Japanese society but creating particular places to use Ainu language and reconstructing public education systems could transform current situations with the Ainu people to defeat these problems. In addition, Ainu people need to increase the number of their own heritage language speakers. From these viewpoints, the Ainu language instructors are not satisfied in the current situation around Ainu language. In fact, they strongly criticized the project of Ainu language teaching in Iwor Project because there are no definite ideas to resolve the present Ainu language crisis.

The Ainu identity is defined when Japanese people define that the Ainu culture differs from their own culture. In other words, dominant society can define minority identity, especially negative identity when many people in the dominant society discriminate against minority cultures. The Ainu language instructors believe that raising recognition of the societal value of the Ainu language in Japanese society through the Ainu language teaching in the public schools will strongly encourage identity construction for everyone in order to change the negative images towards Ainu heritages. This is important not only to encourage Ainu people to learn their heritage language enthusiastically but also to improve the awareness of Japanese people towards the Ainu culture. They assert that it could be impossible to actualize to construct the multi-cultural society that there are mutual understandings and respects from both Japanese society and minority communities without educational reconstructions. Therefore, they insist the benefits of Ainu language teaching and reconstruction of Japanese education systems in the current and the future Japanese society.

Discussion of the implications in the three groups

The interviews of the Ainu language instructors' experiences show various problems in both Japanese and the Ainu societies in which they are living and how they are attempting to revive the Ainu language. Such experiences have an important role in regards to the construction of their unique identities. The defining characteristic of their identity construction is an unsettled condition between Japanese and the Ainu heritage. That characteristic is also a common problem to all Ainu people in current Japanese society. They have been trying to teach the Ainu culture and language, not only to Ainu people but also to many Japanese, for the purpose of finding the clues necessary to solve the problems of their identity construction by using their educational beliefs.

The identity construction of the Ainu language instructors

I interviewed Ainu language instructor with Ainu heritage and two other instructors who have originally Japanese heritage but they can define themselves as being Ainu because they have Ainu spouses and belong into the Ainu Association. The instructor with the Ainu heritage hated the Ainu heritage in the past but recently has started to place a high esteem on the Ainu culture and language because of the recognition that they were not inferior in comparison with Japanese culture. The

instructor's own definition of identity has been constructed by personal history defined in the past by the Japanese identity construction such as trying to live in Japanese society as one Japanese person to avoid the discrimination directed at the Ainu people. Therefore, there is the self-knowledge of being Japanese and having Japanese identity. In this instructor's history, meeting respectable Ainu people yielded awareness to desire to be with people from Ainu heritages. From that time on, this instructor tried to transform any negative thinking directed toward the Ainu culture and language into positive identity. With this new found knowledge and desire, this instructor set personal goal of the disseminating the Ainu culture and language in Japanese society with deeper understanding about them.

On the other hand, the other two instructors of Japanese heritage tend to define their identity by stating that they are not Ainu even they have belonged to the Ainu association, thereby being allowed to define themselves as an Ainu. Considering that they have been passing on the Ainu culture and language with deep understanding to their children, their actions can be defined that they are doing the Ainu oral tradition for transmitting their heritages because these actions originally have been the responsibility of the Ainu people. Hence, they should define that they are Ainu. However, there is particular reason, the experiences of opposite

discrimination from Ainu people, a lack of acceptance by the Ainu to embrace them as Ainu, which makes them believe that they are not Ainu. When we think how we should preserve our culture and language, and pass them on to the next generations, these experiences indicate that the Ainu community must not be exclusive for the people with different cultural heritages even though the Ainu people have had a negative history with them in order to respect each self-determination. I argue that considering these experiences and what they indicate it also give us hope and hints for the positive identity construction that the Ainu people should have in the current and future Japanese society.

Since the word 'Japanese' included the meaning of 'Wajin (renouncing the Ainu heritage culture and language)', it is difficult for the Ainu people to define Japanese identity positively and to banish these negative images. Therefore, it is a huge problem how the Ainu language instructors with originally Japanese heritage define themselves as Ainu even they have the spouse with Ainu heritage. I argue that we, Ainu, should have the willingness and capacity to accept both the Ainu and Japanese identity and should create the unique identity construction for positive identity in our minds. This is a multicultural acceptance and bridging concept that bears well in a multicultural society supported by the ideas of Banks (1984) in a

multicultural society where peoples' cultures, languages and worldviews should be valued and celebrated.

Although the Ainu language instructors have problematic identities in the current social situation in Japan, and it is difficult to define and create positive identity in their mind, I suggest that the approaches of both positively absorbing the knowledge about Ainu culture and language and raising open-mindedness for the different cultures in Japanese society owing to improvement of the societal value of the Ainu culture and language from the experiences and purposes of Ainu language instructors, and having positive images for Japanese identity (= Having Japanese identity is not equal abandoning the Ainu heritages) will provide us the opportunities to positive identities as Ainu and for our self-determination of our languages and cultures.

Pursuing the problems in Japanese society and the Ainu community: Why and How should we solve them?

In the current Japanese society, the Ainu community is invisible because it is impossible to distinguish the Ainu people and other Japanese people by their appearance. The findings from these interviews appear that the Japanese government forfeited the societal necessity of the Ainu heritage because the Japanese policy and

education existed by forcing the Ainu people to speak Japanese language and to behave as Japanese (including the meaning of 'Wajin') people in the past (Tahara, 2006). These things have created the current problematic situation surrounding the Ainu culture and language in Japan.

Many Ainu people have experienced discrimination in many situations of their life. On the other hand, the Ainu people living in their community, and having such experiences tend to have the exclusive feeling for the Japanese people and mixed ancestry of Japanese-Ainu people. Although it is unfair to criticize the Ainu community and Japanese society in the same way because of its history, I argue that the low permissible range for the different cultures in both societies prevents solving discrimination in each society when I consider only the current problems in both societies. Considering the necessity of secure spaces/places to revive and to preserve the Ainu culture and language, it is necessary to solve these problems caused by the exclusive feelings by both groups to achieve these purposes.

The Japanese government has acknowledged its places in the history that it ruined the spaces to cultivate the Ainu culture and language and to transmit them to the next generation in order to exclude them from Japanese society (Suzuki, 1998). Although it was intended as a form of reparation, the money to assist their ways of life

seems to press the Ainu community into the lower social stratum (possibly deliberately). We, Ainu do not insist upon the necessity of "financial aid" from our heart just because it is expedient to solve the problems of our low income and low school attendance (The Urati Association website, <http://www.ainu-assn.or.jp/>).

Under the circumstances, the policy, called the Iwor project, have been adopted for creating traditional life spaces of Ainu people to revive and to preserve the Ainu culture and language by both the Japanese government and the Ainu community. (Annual report of the enforcement result for the Iwor project, 2007). This Iwor space will make the Ainu community more 'visible' than its current situation but there are no actions to create new education systems and facilities for "spreading the knowledge of the Ainu language to encourage deeper understanding for the Ainu culture" (Iwor project). The present main action of this project is the "material cultures' restoration" such as the afforestation and the restoration of traditional living spaces for the Ainu people. In addition, it is obviously impossible to force all Ainu people to live in Iwor space with only their heritage language use. Additionally, although creating the Iwor space make the Ainu community visible, the Ainu language will exists for only that space unless we encourage Japanese people also desire to live in that space and/or to use the Ainu language. Therefore, the current Iwor project and

the financial aid systems for the Ainu people will not fulfill the societal necessity of the Ainu culture and language to Japanese people to improve the status of Ainu culture and language in Japanese society. Thus, it is difficult to solve the problems caused by the low social status of the Ainu culture and language in Japanese society such as discrimination from both societies, tendency of hiding the Ainu heritage because of depreciating our own culture, low wages of the Ainu instructors, and no communication space for the Ainu language.

According to findings, I, as an Ainu, argue that we must satisfy the necessary conditions such as placing high importance on the value of the Ainu heritages and having positive identity when we define ourselves and creating multicultural awareness in both Japanese society and the Ainu community for mutual acceptance of respect of our differences. For the purpose of satisfying them, we must accept the situation that no common language in the Ainu language exists, and reviving our culture and languages is an important human right. We also need well-acquainted people with the Ainu culture and language. Simultaneously, we must improve the societal necessity of our culture and language in Japanese society as Western countries' (especially English speaking countries') cultures and languages currently have. In addition, it is necessary to strive towards creating a multicultural society

(Banks, 1984) based on mutual respect in Japan. Considering the findings, the necessity of language proficiency for deeper understanding of culture and for constructing our positive identity and the possibility that the public education could improve the societal necessity of the Ainu culture and language, we must create new education systems in both Japanese society and the Ainu community for solving problems I mentioned in this section.

The significance of the existence of Ainu language instructors and the benefits of the Ainu language teaching

The purpose of the Ainu language instructors is to revive and preserve the Ainu culture and language because they are disappearing in Ainu society. However, instructors should provide various forms of education that both consider the positive identity that the Ainu people should have and take actions to encourage both societies towards the multicultural society (Banks, 1984) with mutually respectful needs and aspirations.

It is difficult to be welcomed in one's own community without any understanding and respect towards target culture and language and language has close relationship with culture indicate that the language proficiency is necessary to understanding target culture. However, even people who have the proficiency of the

target language and culture, but who have no blood relations tend not to be welcomed in that community. The Ainu language instructors interviewed in this research determinedly have learned the Ainu language to the point of proficiency where they could teach it. Their teaching about the Ainu language to the students is the one step to change the situation that it is difficult for the people without any knowledge about Ainu culture to be welcomed in their community and means that they are trying to transmit, to preserve, and to develop the Ainu language to the next Ainu generations because the Ainu language should be the foundation of the Ainu culture in their beliefs. For that purpose, they should define the positive identity that the students could accept in a harmonious way.

Considering the identity of Ainu language instructors, they need the Japanese identity to live in Japanese society and they also need the Ainu identity when they teach the Ainu language to their students. In addition, they must have Ainu language proficiency when they emphasize the Ainu identity. From these perspectives, the identity of Ainu language instructors is fluid but that fluidity needs to be welcomed by the people around them. Therefore, the education that the Ainu language instructors provide helps to define and create positive identities for the students both, the Ainu and Japanese societies.

The first step of the improvement of the societal necessity of the Ainu culture and language is welcoming them in Japanese society. It is true that we all can speak Japanese language and can understand Japanese culture. This is the result of the Japanese public education system in its colonizing period (Tahara, 2006) but we might not criticize our ability to speak Japanese and understand Japanese culture. This result appears that the education is really efficient to spread the awareness and the knowledge about the target culture and language. In addition, even though there are many dialects in Japan and it is difficult to understand for all Japanese people in many occasions, these dialects coexist in many kinds of media in Japanese society and people tend to respect each difference. The reforming of the education system and using media are efficient to improve the awareness and the understanding about the Ainu culture and language. Therefore, based on the literature and drawing from the experiences of the instructors and mine, efforts to use the public education systems and media efficiently to achieve these improvements are important for a mutually beneficial society of diverse cultures and languages.

Considering the needlessness of the Ainu language teaching in current Japanese society and the ignorance of Japanese educators towards the Ainu culture and language, I suggest that educational leaders must actively appeal to the Japanese

government for an increasing of the Ainu language speakers and educating positive Ainu language learners who value their own heritages in the reformation of Japanese education systems.

Conclusion:

In conclusion, the current Ainu people are struggling with certain dilemmas between Japanese and the Ainu identity. I, as an Ainu, argue that educating the next Ainu generations to survive and participate actively in Japanese and international society with our traditional cultures is an international human right and obligation. Of course planting traditional trees and reproducing traditional life space of the Ainu culture is important for preserving our traditional cultures with the purpose to educate Ainu youth but it is impossible to force all Ainu people to live in there. That is not and the real purpose of the Iwor project. I suggest what our generation can do for next Ainu generation is to educate them to be able to better argue in the future society for wider acceptance with both well-balanced perspectives from Japanese and the Ainu. We must revive spiritual heritages in each Ainu individual to the utmost and need to revive material cultures for the secondary purpose, and so, the language is essential to actualize these purposes because it could express invisible (spiritual) parts of culture. Therefore, we must consider how we teach the Ainu language as the most

important topic for reviving and preserving it in current and future Japanese society.

We need to support educating the Ainu students who can positively participate in many fields of studies in both Japanese and the Ainu societies as our primary purpose because it has many possibilities to solve many problems caused by our problematic identity, status gaps, and the differences of the way to preserve our culture. Even though there are the problems such as the lack of the Ainu language speakers, instructors, and researchers and the absence of the Ainu language curricula and teaching guidelines, that purpose will be achieved when the public education systems incorporate the Ainu language teaching because it has the characteristic of centralization (Fujita, 2005), the certain power for providing societal value to the Ainu traditional language in current Japanese society, or when the local Ainu education affects to the centralization of Japanese education systems.

Future Studies: Suggestion for the Ainu education

Considering these situations, I suggest establishing the local Ainu school with new purpose that Ainu people can positively participate in their own education.

Based on the findings of this thesis, it is likely that establishing a bilingual school where students of Ainu heritage and students of non-Ainu heritage will learn together is a shortcut to creating a new form of education to achieve these purposes; which

encourages the students to create positive identities as both an Ainu and a member of the Japanese nation and to acquire useful knowledge to play an active part in many fields. Of course, Ainu heritage and non-Ainu heritage teachers will teach all subjects together in that school. In these meanings, that school must provide particular curricula to obtain the credits to learn, not only the Ainu culture and language, also all subjects, for promoting students' various talents in the Japanese public education systems. There are three reasons for that belief: 1) the awareness of the Ainu heritages among the people will seriously improve because of increasing the number of Ainu people who positively participate in many fields, 2) We will be able to create the small model of the particular space, in which exists both Japanese and the Ainu culture, in that school, and 3) From an economic aspect, it will encourage the students to learn the Ainu heritages because we will be able to secure working places for the Ainu people.

As the first step of actualizing that Ainu school with new purposes, future studies will focus on creating the Ainu language curricula to appeal to a wider audience so that they can be utilized even in the Japanese public education systems. We, Ainu, are going to have to take actions such as creating new curricula and teaching guidelines towards establishing that school with the purpose that we must

esteem our own heritages and must educate ourselves and our children to participate positively in both Japanese society and the Ainu community. Finally, working alongside allies from the mainstream Japanese society will help with bridging our two worlds and with gaining respect for our hopes and desires.

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Appendix no.1**Questions prepared for the interviews**

How do Ainu language instructors perceive their experiences?

1. Tell me your story as an Ainu language instructor.
2. Tell me about your dilemmas of learning and teaching Ainu language in current classroom situations.
3. What made you choose to become an Ainu instructor?
4. Was there a particular event that influenced your decision to teach the Ainu language?
5. What do you think about teaching the Ainu language to Ainu and/or Japanese people?
6. How did you learn the Ainu language?
7. Why is the preservation of this language important to you?
8. What are the greatest challenges you face as an instructor of the Ainu language?
9. How much influences have parents or the community had on the preservation of the Ainu language?

How do Ainu language instructors perceive their own identities and identities that their students should have?

1. Tell me your beliefs concerning the development of your own identity.
2. Specifically, how has your Ainu heritage influenced your sense of identity?
3. Does your mixed heritage present problems for you in the homogeneous society of Japan?
4. Tell about your thinking for the words, Ainu, Japanese, and Ainu-Japanese.
5. Tell me about your belief regarding the benefit of learning and teaching the Ainu language in current/future Japanese society.
6. Do you think that the acquisition of the Ainu language will help you and your students to construct identity as Ainu or as Japanese citizens in current Japanese society? Why? Why not?

How do Ainu language instructors' identities influence their pedagogy?

1. Does your belief about identity affect your teaching methods? Why? How?
2. Do you think that Ainu people need particular places to use the Ainu language in order to reclaim their language?
3. Tell me about your prospects concerning teaching the Ainu language in the public school instructions.
4. Tell me about your beliefs about multi-cultural education and society.
5. Is it possible to be bi-cultural and still have a strong sense of national identity?

Appendix no. 2

< Result Chart >

Identity Construction

1. What is the Ainu identity?

- Thinking as "I am Ainu"
- The esteem for having Ainu heritages from affirmative thinking towards the Ainu culture and language
- The situation having the Ainu language learners positively affects people around there.

2. What is the Japanese identity?

- Thinking as "I am Japanese"
- Identity affects pedagogy.

3. Identity Construction

- Learning language prompts identity construction.
- Majority group defines identity of minority groups.

The problems in both Japanese and the Ainu societies

1. The problems of Japanese society

- The difficulties of living in Japanese society as Ainu
- Economical value of Ainu culture and language in Japanese society
- The circumstance of the Ainu language as unaccepted language in Japanese society

2. The problems of the Ainu community

- It is difficult for Japanese people to blend in the Ainu community.
- The examples that Japanese people can't be accepted into the Ainu community
- Ainu people in the Ainu community disparage particular types of Ainu people.
- There are many dialects in Ainu communities.

The benefits of the Ainu language teaching

1. The close relationship between culture and language

- Language learning yields deeper understanding of the target culture.
- The reason why learning the Ainu language (= Understanding what is Ainu)

2. Tasks of the Ainu language

- The reason why being the Ainu language instructor (= for preserving Ainu language)
- There are many difficulties to teach Ainu language to all Ainu children in the current Japanese society.

3. The educational reconstruction of the Ainu language revival and that benefit

- The necessities of the Ainu language teaching in the public education system in Japan
- The necessities of the particular place and system to revive Ainu language
- The actions that Ainu people must do for preserving their culture
- Japanese society has to be "multicultural society with mutual respect" for all minority groups.

