

Chapter 4 Racial Theories and Ainu Studies

Racial Theories

Japanese scholars in the Meiji to Showa Periods actively discussed the Ainu origins. Most scholars have been concerned with relationship between the Jōmon and the Ainu, and they supported their theories with archaeological, ethnographic and osteological evidence. Meanwhile, there is another discussion to explain the Ainu origins since the Meiji Period. These are racial theories, which try to demonstrate where Ainu originated, and to what racial group they belong. Racial theories were discussed mainly among physical anthropologists. They once divided humans into racial categories by such criteria as skin colors, facial and postcranial features. Studies of biological and geographic origins of the Ainu were based on somatic criteria such as hirsuteness, blood types and fingerprints and on cultural similarities.

Five racial theories have been proposed to explain the Ainu origin since the Meiji Period: Caucasoid theory; Mongoloid theory; Oceanic races (Equatorial race, Australoids and Polynesians) theory; Archaic-Asian (*Palae-asiatic*) race theory; and isolated race (*“Rasseninsel”*) theory (Kodama 1970). For example, Mikhail Dobrotvorskii, a Polish anthropologist, studied Sakhalin Ainu ethnography and languages in the 1880s and developed a Mongoloid hypothesis, which held that the Ainu were Mongoloid coming from the main Asian Continent. At the same time, the Southern Origin hypothesis claimed the Ainu were racially affiliated with the Australoid racial stock from southern China, Indonesia, and Austroesia (Arutiunov

1999). Milne (1880, 1881, 1882) was one of these supporting the Southern Origin hypothesis based on cultural similarities between the Ainu and the Malay people, inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula in Southeast Asia. Milne (1881:407) claimed that the origin of the Ainu might be Polynesia. The evidence for his argument was based on the similarity in the amount of facial hair, designs on artifacts such as marks on knife sheaths, the embroidery on clothes, and the use of arrows between Papuan people in New Guinea regions and the Ainu (Milne 1881:407). Such associations between these two populations are now proven to be unlikely. However, Southern Origin hypothesis existed until the 1960s, if not later (e.g. Levin 1963). Sakano (2005:200) claims the Ainu in any hypotheses are regarded as a different group of people from 'us' or the Japanese race.

The most famous racial classification of the Ainu is the Caucasoid theory, which claims the Ainu are Caucasian. The Ainu have drawn the attention of European scholars since the mid-seventeenth century (Ikeda and Ōno 1973:20). They have long been seen as a mysterious race, and the idea that the Ainu were a lost White race in Asia emerged based on phenotypic similarities between Caucasian peoples and the Ainu. Heinrich von Siebold (1886) stated that Ainu had Caucasoid physical characteristics rather than Mongoloid and that unlike other Asian races the Ainu were very noble people. Other Europeans described physical traits of the Ainu in a positive tone during the nineteenth century (e.g. St. John 2000:250), probably because of similarities between the Ainu and the Caucasians. Nevertheless, the influence of social

evolutionism became visible among visitors of Hokkaidō after the 1880s. Morse reported in 1917 that:

“They were really intelligent-looking men, with their long, dignified beards, and it was impossible to realize that they were low, unlettered savages without moral courage, lazy, and strongly given to drunkenness, supporting themselves by hunting with bow and arrow and fishing” (Morse 1990 vol II: 1).

Erwin E. Beal (1849-1913) was a German physical anthropologist. In 1883-1885, Beal claimed that the modern Japanese were biologically composed of three racial elements: Ainu, Mongolian and Malay (Beal 1973). There had been two large migrations, one of Mongoloids and the other of Malay another, from East Asia. He claimed the hybridization between these groups created the physical composition of modern Japanese. Moreover, based on his comparative studies of hair between Japanese and Ainu, Beal suggested that the Ainu were not Mongoloid but Caucasian and the descendents of the original population of Japan prior to the arrival of the ancestors of modern Japanese. He supported the racial replacement paradigm while admitting some interbreeding between Ainu and Japanese. Though he mentioned the existence of Ainu component in Japanese morphology he claimed it was very small. Beal claimed that his hypothesis was the only way to accommodate the explanation of historical events described in *Kojiki*. However, he did not explain the origins of the Ainu while his discussing in a great deal of the origin of Japanese people.

Ainu-Caucasoid theory gained popularity among both Japanese and European scholars. For example, George Montandon, who was an influential anthropologist in France, supported Caucasoid theory based on somatic similarities between Ainu and

Europeans in 1919 (Kodama 1973), referring to Caucasians of the Ainu “as clear as the light of day” (Arutiunov 1999:30). In Europe, Caucasoid theory was also supported on the basis of phonological analyses. Linguists compared the phonology of Ainu languages (actually just word by word) with that of European languages and concluded that the Ainu language was in the Indo-European family (Refsing et al. 1999), which actually has nothing to do with race. In Japan, in the 1925 article “*Ainu Kenkyū no Mondai oyobi Houhou*” (Issues and discussion of Ainu Studies), Kindaichi Kyōsuke, the leading scholar of Ainu languages, claimed Ainu language was different from Japanese language and concluded that Ainu were Caucasoid. Meanwhile he saw the Ainu as indigenous people of Japan (Sakano 2005:190). Suda Akiyoshi claimed that based on fingerprints, the Ainu would be classified as Caucasoid people because the fingerprints of the Ainu were different from Japanese (Suda 1935 as cited in Ikeda and Ōno 1973:18).

The leading scholar supporting the Ainu-Caucasoid theory in Japan was Kodama Sakuzaemon (1895-1970). Kodama was a student of Hasebe at Tohoku University (Terada 1981:262) and an anatomist at Hokkaidō Imperial University after 1929 and carried out research of the Ainu human remains after WWII. He opposed Hybridization theory and Ainu theory, agreeing with Hasebe and Suzuki’s Transformation theory. Kodama claims that Ainu lived only in Hokkaidō (Ikeda and Ōno 1973:21); therefore, he claimed that Ainu did not play a key role in the formation of the modern Japanese. He was also an excavator of many Ainu graves to collect skeletal samples.

At this time, interestingly, there also existed an idea that Japanese people were actually Caucasoids, which is now called *Nihon-Minzoku Hakujin-Setsu*. This ideological theory was generated as a result of disdain for the Chinese. Its argument was based on social evolutionism and the Japanese elites' ambition to be politically equal to the West. Japanese were superior because they were Caucasoid (Oguma 1995:176). Japanese elites might have wanted to differentiate themselves from other Asian populations that had been colonized and exploited by the West. Japanese-Caucasoid theory was the academic ideology produced for this political reason. This may be a good example of how knowledge produced by the intellectuals could be used for Japan's imperial colonialism. The view of Japanese as Caucasoid seems to have faded out as Japan recognized the West as its direct enemy and the war against the West came real.

“Scientific” Methods in the Discussion of Ainu Biological Origins

In the nineteenth century, craniometric studies measured indigenous skulls: it was thought that if they were smaller and lighter than those of Europeans, then primitiveness of indigenous people mentality would be scientifically proven (Gould 1996). Ainu studies exemplify this even in the twentieth century. Racial theories were developed and supported by pseudo-scientific disciplines in the 1920s and 1930s (Siddle 1996).

For example, Ainu blood types, hairiness, and earwax were studied. Kodama's supporting evidence for his Ainu-Caucasoid theory was based on phenotypic similarities of those categories between Ainu and Europeans. He pointed out that both

Ainu and Caucasian people were hirsute, especially body hair and beard. Kodama also claimed that some Ainu people had blue eyes and that both groups of people had a cranial trait that featured distinct eye sockets and nose (Umehara and Hanihara 1993). Scholars researched the distinctive body odor, mostly mentioned unfavorably, of the Ainu (e.g. Kodama 1970:82). They tried to link the Ainu with the western people, who ‘as a race possess a strong body odor’ (Siddle 1996:86). It was scientifically investigated and concluded that Ainu body odor was attributed to racial characteristics, as Kodama (1970:82) argues, “the fact that the body odor of the Ainu is strongest after bathing proves that it is least caused by their uncleanliness.” One of the methods scientists used to measure body odor was placing half-naked Ainu individual into an overheated room, and placing their nose close to him (Kanazeki 1934 cited in Siddle 1996:86).

One of the most important physical anthropologists studying the Ainu and racial theories is Adachi Buntarō (1865-1945), who was known for his anti-Westernism. In 1943, Adachi denied the idea that Europeans were advanced people (Terada 1981:227). Adachi devoted all of his anthropological studies to refute the Caucasian superiority and to repel the sense of inferiority among Japanese toward the West (Sakano 2005:60). Collecting data on ten thousands individuals, Adachi claimed that Mongoloid had dried earwax yet no body odor. Body odor and wet cerumen among Japanese people were ascribed to hybridizing with the Ainu (Adachi 1973).

In his earwax and body odor studies, Adachi showed differences between Japanese and Ainu. He statistically shows percentages of people who have axillary

odor by races. The result of his research was; Black –100%; Ainu (full blood) – 100%; Ainu (mixed blood with Japanese) – 83-50%; European – 70%; Micronesia – 53%; Native Taiwanese – 50%; Ryukyuan – 30%; Japanese – 10%; Korean – 6%; Chinese – 3% (Adachi 1973:204). Although this was a conclusion scientifically drawn, it can be said now that Adachi's own racial perspectives greatly influenced the result. In addition, he did not mention how he collected his data and his methodology to measure body odor. Adachi did not discuss the impact of environment on producing body odor, although aware of it (Adachi 1973:207).

Academic Colonialism

During the 1930s and WWII, anthropologists in Japan expanded their research sites to all areas of East Asia. However, how the research during the war was done is still not well known (Sakano 2005:403). The subjects of physical measurement and investigation were actually not only Ainu but also Japanese (Sakano 2005:55). However, the object might have been different. The physical measurement of Japanese was done for recruiting the soldiers, while that of Ainu might have been done to support Japanese racial superiority.

Smith (2004) claims that the term 'research' is profoundly connected with imperialism and nationalism for indigenous peoples. While western concepts influenced Japanese anthropologists under nationalism, it is important to note that Japanese scholars learned from their Western teachers not only theoretical paradigms such as Social Evolutionism but also how scholars collected data. They collected 'scientific data' in the paradigm of racism and ethnocentrism, which led to academic

colonialism. If they collected the data under these paradigms, then it was not actual science because politics dressed up it as science. Having been influenced by social evolutionism and imperial nationalism, Japanese scholars classified the Ainu as the inferior savages, and regarded them as the primary ‘raw material’ for scientific research. This ‘research’ included skeletal analyses.

For example, Ainu graves were excavated without Ainu permission (Sakano 2005:217; Siddle 1996). In order to collect data of Ainu crania, Koganei (1935) secretly excavated Ainu graves at night in Hokkaidō. Koganei also lied to Ainu telling them that he was a medical doctor from Tokyo, and had come to find cures for the Ainu for their infectious diseases that were introduced by Japanese. By the same token, how Kiyono collected human remains is unknown.

Kodama also unearthed Ainu graves justifying it as research necessity before the Ainu went to extinct (Ueki 2005). Kodama regarded Ainu burials as archaeological ‘burial sites’ (Ueki 2005:14), and he excavated Ainu human remains despite knowing that disinterment was taboo in Ainu culture (Kodama 1970:246). While Koganei and Kiyono secretly excavated Ainu burials, Kodama conducted officially sanctioned excavations (Ueki 2005). Local authorities and police guarded his excavation, and he successfully brought the collection of 1,004 Ainu individuals to Hokkaidō University (Siddle 1997), forming “Kodama collection,” the largest collection of Ainu skeletal materials.

For indigenous peoples, “collecting” artifacts might be just an act of “stealing” human remains and cultural items (Smith 2004:61). Even though Ainu people request

repatriation of the Ainu human remains and burial goods that Kodama collected, most of the collections have yet been returned. The current locations of burial goods that Kodama brought back with human remains are still unknown (Bobdanowicz 2003). The Kodama collection is still stored in a small storage structure in Hokkaidō University and it may have been utilized in the study of the Jōmon and Ainu, which ultimately lead to the discussion of Japaneseness.

Issues such as the conduct of research in Ainu studies appear to have received little political and academic attention. Rather, for example, Howell (1966) thanks Kodama for his permission to use to his valuable data from the Ainu crania. He (1986:87) also mentions Kodama as the scholar who was “well acquainted with Ainu crania, reported *receiving* a Jōmon skull from Washibetsu having Ainu characteristics” (emphasis added). Collecting archaeological records by Kodama is appreciated as well.

In a catalog for a museum event, the following passage appears in the preface:

“In the history of suffering in modern time, however, the Ainu lost many of their cultural features and Ainu culture was on the verge of extinction. Under such circumstances, Baba Osamu and Kodama Sakuzaemon devoted their lives to research on and collection of the Ainu domestic articles in order to preserve the culture for future generation” (The Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture 2000: 1)

It seemed that only cultural materials were displayed in the event. Kodama’s collection of Ainu human remains and his collecting procedure are not mentioned at all. Kodama’s unethical excavations are occasionally mentioned in English literature (e.g. Siddle 1996), non-academic publications (e.g. Gendai kikaku-shitsu 1988), and several websites and public exhibitions managed by Ainu activists. However, it is

unfortunate that except for very few scholars (e.g. Bogdanowicz 2003; Ueki 2005), Kodama's methods have not been discussed or even mentioned in the Japanese literature.

However, not all scholars studied or interacted with the Ainu in this fashion. While scholars in Hokkaidō keenly studied Ainu, they also reported Tokyo about impoverishing Ainu. As a result, the 1899 Former Aboriginals Protection Act was enacted in 1898 (Takakura 1933). Although having no respect for Ainu culture, Tsuboi was very active on advocating the Ainu, believing that assimilation was the best way to help Ainu out of their difficult living circumstances (Oguma 1995:80; Sakano 2005:47). Although Tsuboi criticized racial discrimination, especially in the West, his ideas were probably based on unconscious sense of superiority toward the Ainu. Under the influence of social Darwinism and imperial nationalism he claimed that superior Japanese must help them from their uncivilized life to civilized modern life (Tsuboi 1906 as cited in Sakano 2005:186-187). The view of Ainu as an inferior primitive race might have existed as *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977) in mainstream Japanese society. For Tsuboi, assimilation policy was a solution of racial discrimination as it has been in the United States.

However, it is worth noting that Yoshida Iwao (1916), educator cum scholar in Hokkaidō, doubted the effectiveness of the 1899 Former Aboriginals Protection Act. He points out the failure of protection policies with the Act, because it did not pay enough attention to improve Ainu economy, or materially. He claims that education

would become almost meaningless if Ainu had trouble in making a living from the first place. Yoshida devoted his life to help Ainu (Takakura 1933).

John Batchelor, a leading authority of study on Ainu language and folklore, criticized Japanese prejudice and treatment of the Ainu (Batchelor 1901 as cited in Siddle 1996:84). Munro gave the Ainu as much medical treatment as he could provide while he lived in an Ainu village in the 1930s. He earned the respect of the Ainu and was able to collect a great deal of ethnographic data (Tezuka 2002). The compilation of the first Ainu conversation dictionary by Jinbo Kitora and Kanaza Shousaburo in 1898 is much appreciated today because linguists studying the Ainu languages now have been working hard to preserve and revitalize a variety of Ainu dialects (Fujimura 1999). Nevertheless, most research orientations were not objective but subjective, even if researchers thought their research was purely for academic purposes. Scientific data were unethically and arrogantly collected and used in the social context in which imperial nationalism was dominant.

Not all anthropologists actively contributed to the colonization of East Asia by the Imperial Japan. During WWII, Koganei and Adachi decided to stay away from nationalistic institutes (Terada 1981:268). Moreover, it is pointed out that Torii opposed the policies of the Imperial Japan in China (An 2000). Nevertheless, the influence of imperial nationalist ideology on Adachi's study is already mentioned in this thesis. Torii's Proper Japanese theory and his support on *Nissen-douso-ron* also facilitated and justified annexation of Korea. Moreover, ultimately, the 'data' collected

by physical anthropologists in all East Asia during the war are still used for research today (Sakano 2005:486).

Finally, Ainu people responded to the discussion of Ainu and Japanese origins. The idea of assimilation through hybridization seems to have been accepted in Ainu people (Sakano 2005:215). An example can be drawn from a 1931 article by Yoshida Kikutarō. Yoshida claimed that assimilation would not lead the Ainu to extinction; rather it would lead them to the advanced, though the developmental stage of the Ainu at that time (Yoshida 1994 as cited in Sakano 2005:215-216). Meanwhile, criticism toward anthropologists already existed, for example, by Konobe Shotaro, who was an Ainu village chief in Kushiro, Hokkaidō (Konobe 1994 as cited in Sakano 2005:216). Ainu people have subsequently increased their criticism of anthropologists who have regarded them as research subjects since the 1970s. However, self-critique of the history of Ainu studies by Japanese academics has not been done much yet (Sakano 2005:217-218).

Influence of Ainu Studies on Japanese Society

Historical and anthropological interpretations were used to justify colonization of Hokkaidō in the late nineteenth century. Both official and public images of Hokkaidō history describe peaceful development led “by the heroic sacrifices of Japanese pioneers” (Siddle 1996:1). Even today most of them do not indicate that the development of Hokkaidō was colonialism.

After the late Meiji Period, the concept of race and the discussion on Ainu origins became more accessible to the public with increased literacy. The image of the

Ainu promoted from the 1890s was “of ignorant, primitive savage; an image that dressed the Tokugawa barbarian in scientific clothing” (Siddle 1996:82). The public normalized the idea that the Ainu were an inferior race. Ainu inferiority was explained by the academic discourse of race and racial categorization of the Ainu in a variety of media, such as newspapers, popular journals and textbooks. Education was one of the most useful tools for the Imperial Japanese regime to standardize in their society the knowledge that they wanted to permeate (see Oguma 1995 for more discussion on textbooks under imperial nationalism). Siddle (1997:17) argues, “at the level of commonsense understanding a master narrative of seamless national homogeneity denies the existence of the Ainu as an ethnic minority group: the Ainu are regarded as either totally assimilated or biologically extinct.”

Ideology and Society During and After the War

Oguma (1995) demonstrates the idea of Japan as a homogeneous nation developed after the defeat of World War II. Before and during the War, the main ideology was that the generous Japanese assimilated other ethnic groups into the superior, ethnically hybridized Japanese culture and society. With this idea, the existence of the indigenous people in Japan might have been willingly recognized in a sense because the existence of inferior races and its assimilation into Japanese could demonstrate Social Darwinian paradigm and colonialism. Such a possibility, however, ended when the war ended with the defeat of Japan.

After the War, Japanese began to promote an ethnically and culturally homogeneous Japan, denying Ainu indigenesness. Two concepts form the myth of

Japanese homogeneity. One is the claim that Japan is as a homogenous nation. That is, only Japanese people live in Japan, only Japanese language spoken, and only Japanese culture exists. The second is the narrative of the ethnic history of Japanese as a homogenous population. Japanese people have lived in Japan since the ancient time, without hybridizing with other groups (Oguma 1995:7). To demonstrate the homogeneity and antiquity of Japanese occupation of Japanese Archipelago, some scholars even criticized the old chronicles, which were still sacred texts to explain the origin of Japan. They claimed that old chronicles were made to explain Japan as a nation but not the origin of Japanese people (Oguma 1995).

Rewriting History

In postwar Japan, the theoretical orientations of Japanese archaeology changed. This was clearly because of their release from explicit political pressure. The largest mission of postwar Japanese archaeology was “to rewrite the history of Japan unsullied by the myths of prewar nationalist ideology” (Fawcett 1995:233). Archaeology became a critical factor in constructing a new version of Japanese history. Such a task was based on excavations, descriptions, and analyses of material cultures using scientific methods, rather than based on the study of ideological documents (Fawcett 1995). Lithic tools and pottery were replaced myth in reconstructions of the Japanese history. Studies of the Initial Jōmon Period progressed rapidly after the war, and the amount of data on prehistoric Japanese populations increased with excavations of human remains. With these trends, archaeology drew much interest from the Japanese public (Ikeda and Ōno 1973:47-48). For these reasons, archaeological data

are still utilized for social and political issues, in order to reestablish the history of Japan and the identity of Japanese population.

Review of Ainu Origins Studies

Freed from various sociopolitical pressures and actual physical threats from imperial nationalism, Ainu origins theories were reevaluated. The racial replacement paradigm lost support because archaeologists identified chronological continuity in pottery designs (Imamura 1996:151). The Southern Origin theory was refuted by Yamaguchi's osteological study (1967). He compared osteological data of the Australian Aborigines, Jōmon, Ainu and Japanese, and he concluded that there is almost no relationship between the Ainu and Australian Aborigines. The Ainu-Caucasoid theory, once "scientifically" established, was attacked as it was based primarily on skeletal and body structure, and other phenotypic characteristics (Hanihara 1986:82). Ainu-Caucasoid theory was not based on genetic studies, which were unavailable until the later half of the twentieth century. Hanihara (1986:83) refuted the Ainu-Caucasoid theory, stating that the genetic markers peculiar to the Caucasoids are not present among the Ainu. He claims that dental and genetic data show that the Ainu do not belong to the Caucasoid but to the Mongoloid group (Umehara and Hanihara 1993:129; Hanihara 1979, 1986:83).

Hanihara claims that Ainu hair genetically and phenotypically differs from that of Caucasian people; Ainu people are generally hairy on their back while Caucasian are on front. The Ainu have thin layers of subcutaneous fat, indicating that they lack the adaptation to an extreme cold climate that characterizes other East Asian

Mongoloid population (Hanihara 1986:83). Hanihara discusses racial relationships between the Japanese and Ainu claiming two kinds of Mongoloids: Archaic Mongoloids and Neo Mongoloids.

The Dual Structure Model

Hanihara (1986) examines the biological relationships between the Ainu and peoples of Paleolithic Japan with the human evolution of Mongoloid racial groups in East Asia. The archaeological Paleolithic Period falls within the Ice Age, or the geological Pleistocene. Mongoloids adapted to extremely cold climates during the peak of the Würm glacial (the last glacial) Period (Hanihara 1986:78). The severity of the Ice Age peaked 18,000 years ago. Glaciers began to melt approximately 16,000 years ago, and the Ice Age ended 10,000 years ago (Barnes 1999:17).

Hanihara divides Mongoloids into two groups: Archaic and Neo Mongoloids. While Mongoloids generally adapted to extreme cold climates, Archaic groups have adapted to cold environments less than Neo Mongoloid groups. The warmer climate generated increase in Neo Mongoloid populations and its diffusion in East Asia (Hanihara 1986:79). During the population increase and diffusion in post-glacial period, the Neo-Mongoloids possibly hybridized with local aboriginal populations. This resulted in creating the diversification of present Neo Mongoloid groups (Hanihara 1986:79). Although it is not clear what Hanihara means by 'the aboriginal population,' he may mean Archaic Mongoloid peoples who did not adapt to the extreme cold environment of the Late Pleistocene and inhabited in the area. Jōmon people are believed to be Archaic Mongoloids. Human migrations into Japan, the

routes of which are still debated, occurred over a long period of time and from multiple directions because physical traits of modern Japanese show elements both of southern and northern Mongoloids (Hanihara 1986:77).

Hanihara proposes Dual Structure Model for the formation of the modern Japanese population with microevolution in Neolithic Japanese population (figure 1). Hanihara (1986) argues that the Ainu as a distinct group was formed as an outcome of microevolution in Jōmon population, which belongs to Archaic Mongoloids. Microevolution is gradual, independent change within a population as if diverges from its parent population (Hanihara 1986:77). Hanihara concludes that Jōmon people were the ancestors of both Ainu and Japanese, and that differences between these two groups are due to their experiencing different microevolutions in different directions. Hanihara's Dual Structure Model is a combination of Ainu theory and Hasebe and Suzuki's theory of continuity.

From studies of cranial and dental features, Hanihara identifies the Jōmon populations as Archaic Mongoloids, which did not adapt to the cold environment as much as Neo Mongoloids. The Ainu, Hanihara states, are also Archaic Mongoloids, coming to Japan from the south rather than from Siberia area, probably much earlier than previously thought (Umehara and Hanihara 1993). Jōmon populations experienced a series of microevolutions in various areas. As a result, the Jōmon who had lived northward became Ainu, and ones in far south became Ryukyuan (people in Okinawa). The Jōmon on the main islands become the Japanese with influences of microevolutions and immigrations of Neolithic populations, coordinating with new

cultures, such as agriculture and iron technologies. Therefore, Hanihara claimed that the Jōmon evolved into both the Ainu and Japanese, and even though lacking the concept of microevolution, Koganei's Jōmon-Ainu theory may not be incorrect (Umehara and Hanihara 1993).

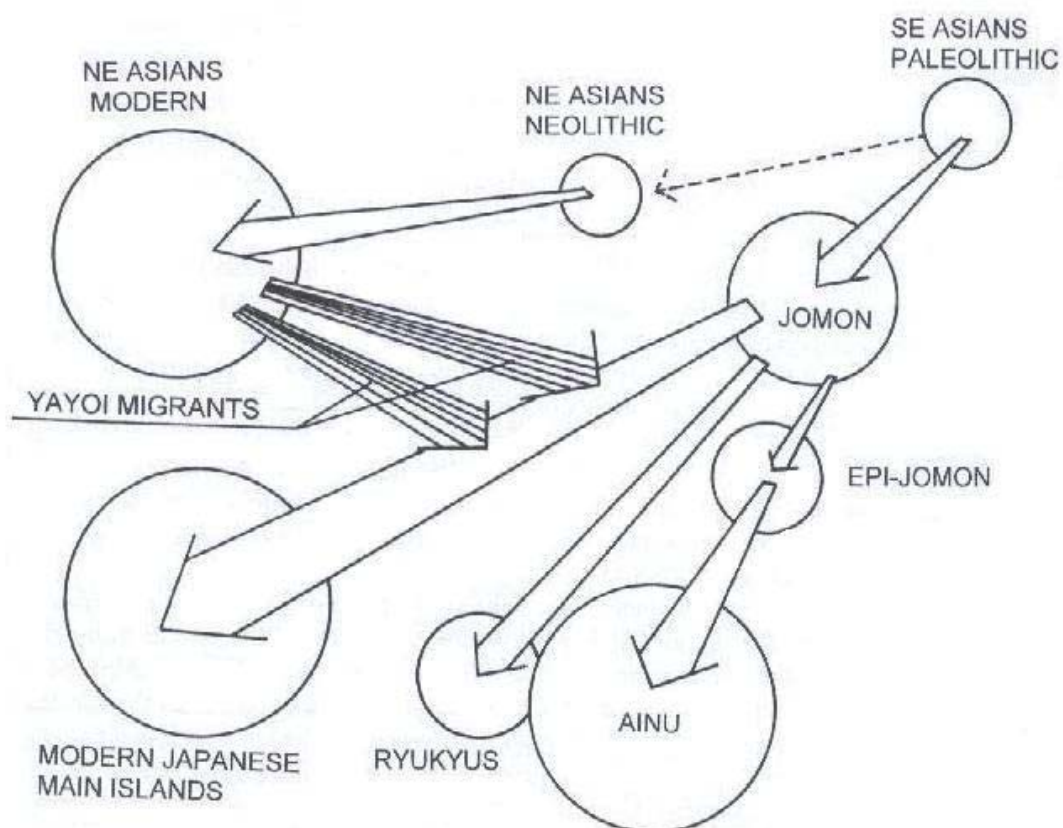


Figure 1: Dual Structure Model explaining biological origins of the Japanese and Ainu (Habu 2004: 59 figure 2.9)

However, he does not think that Ainu are an indigenous people of Japan. He implies that the indigenous people were not Ainu but Jōmon (Umehara and Hanihara 1993:133). His argument indicates that a racial group could be diversified into a number of ethnic groups as a result of microevolutions. Hanihara claims that the Ainu

should be recognized as an ethnic group because they have a distinct Ainu culture. The Ainu and Japanese are ethnically different yet racially the same Mongoloids (Umehara and Hanihara 1993:129).

Even though his model is now well known and popular among scholars, it is not necessarily supported unanimously. For example, the genetic study of Omoto and Saitō (1997) indicates that both the modern Japanese and Ainu genetically belong to a Northeast cluster group, which negates Hanihara's argument that the origin of the upper Neolithic population in Japan was Southeast Asian.

Alternative Theories of Ainu Origins

While Hanihara's Dual Structure Model is popular, not all early theories have disappeared despite physical anthropologists claiming based on genetics that the Ainu are Mongoloids. The influence of Caucasoid theory is present in western societies, and it is still discussed by western intellectuals as well (Umehara and Hanihara 1993).

Jōmon-Ainu theory still remains as well. Yamaguchi (1967) claims that his osteological studies show close relationships between the Ainu and Jōmon compared with relationships with Australian Aborigines and Japanese. Howell (1986) supports Ainu theory based on his studies of physical compositions of Jōmon, Yayoi, modern Japanese and Ainu. Cranial analyses indicate that the Jōmon populations did not contribute much to the formation of the modern Japanese. Even though the Ainu are Mongoloid and genetically not greatly separated from the Japanese, some genetic or serological traits are unique to the Ainu (Howell 1986:86). The Jōmon and Ainu "belonged to an older and more varied stratum of the entire Mongoloid complex"

(Howell 1986:87). There was a large population replacement during the Yayoi Period, and the Yayoi immigrants made a significant contribution to the formation of the Japanese. Thus, he concludes that the Jōmon and Ainu are close and that Jōmon people were “entirely unlikely modern Japanese,” and that “Ainu and Japanese are distinct” (Howell 1986:97). Finally, serologists also supported the biological distinction between the Japanese and Ainu. Kobata Tanemoto (1962 as cited in Ikeda and Ōno 1973:18) states that Ainu peoples are serologically different from the Japanese. Their arguments supporting Ainu-Jōmon theory may indicate that Ainu is an indigenous people of Japan. Arguing that Ainu and Japanese are different may indicate heterogeneity in Japan as a nation.

Public Images of Ainu

Released from explicit imperial nationalist pressure, it seems that the Ainu are no longer seen as an inferior race. Many previous theories of Ainu origins have been reviewed. However, not all discussions and reviews rewriting the prehistory of the Japanese and Ainu have reached to the public. Because of this, the conceptions and knowledge of the Ainu among the public remain relatively unchanged for a long time, especially in non-Japanese societies (Hudson 1999:74). Information in encyclopedias is a great example. A definition of the Ainu found in a well-known encyclopedia is:

Ainu [iynōō] the Caucasoid aboriginals of Japan, now intermarried with other Japanese and culturally assimilated; their own language and religion have largely disappeared. Traditionally hunters and fishers, today many are factory workers and labours. Population c-15,000 (the Cambridge Encyclopedia; fourth edition, edited by Crystal 2000).

Education is still the institutionalized mechanism promoting the reproduction of the power relations between the indigenous peoples and the dominant community by maintaining stereotypes of indigenous peoples. Education, especially history textbooks, plays a main role in explaining to the public the history of the formation of their own cultures and nations. Education is used to establish and permeate the official view of history. In Japan, all history textbooks used in nine years of Japan's compulsory education need to be authorized by the *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education). Because of that, textbooks, which are originally based on knowledge developed by historians and archaeologists, are political (Fawcett and Habu 1990:226).

Archaeology was used to promote and justify imperial nationalism in Japan until 1945. However, after 1945 archaeology still plays an important part for understanding Japanese history and prehistory, and it helps promote the new nationalism "with the trend toward a more conservative atmosphere in the late 1950s, tighter control was placed on the use of archaeological materials in the historical texts" (Pearson 1992:122).

***Nihonjinron* and Neo-Nationalism**

In the sixties, there was a reemergence of national pride in Japan in the same period of the economic boost from international recognition from the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the 1970 Osaka Exposition (Reischauer and Craig 1978:301). After the 1960s a new nationalism has emerged in Japan. It is no longer imperialist but its central focus is the Japaneseness (Fawcett 1995:245). The Japaneseness has been

explored in *Nihonjinron*, or discussion of the Japanese, which became popular in the 1940s and 1950s (Siddle 1997). *Nihonjinron* peaked in the 1970s as Japanese people again defined themselves and established their identity (Oguma 1995).

The purpose of *Nihonjinron* is to define Japanese culture as unique and homogeneous and to provide a way of distinguishing it from Western cultures. However, Fawcett argues that the essence of *Nihonjinron* and its relevant study such as *Nihonbunkaron* (discussion of Japanese culture) contradicted with the reality:

“When studying Japanese prehistory and history, it soon becomes obvious that many aspects of Japanese culture were introduced to the archipelago from outside and that a model of cultural, racial, and linguistic uniqueness and homogeneity can easily be challenged. Nevertheless, the premise upon which many discussions of the Japanese rest is that of discovering the true origins of the essence of the Japanese people and culture; that is, the origins of Japanese ethnicity and nationality” (Fawcett 1995:241-242).

Nevertheless, the master-narrative that the Japanese are homogenous has been politically used. *Nihonjinron* could be a strong foundation of the ideology of homogenous Japan. Pearson (1992:123) states that the Japanese use archaeology to make “an alternative and acceptable interpretation to maintain national pride and a feeling of uniqueness.”

The Ainu play a significant role in the development of Japanese anthropology as raw research material and as a distinct *Other*. The Ainu again draw much attention from scholars in *Nihonjinron* because Ainu people and culture can be used to demonstrate distinctiveness of the Japanese people and culture. The Ainu have been studied and used by academics to create Japanese ethnic and Japanese national identities since the Meiji Period. Explicit, militaristic imperialism and nationalism is

not seen now. However, for indigenous peoples like Ainu, “imperialism still hurts, still destroys and is reforming constantly” (Smith 2004:19).

Ainu Studies Today

Although there is still a lack of critical anthropological perspectives (Hudson 2005:137), the discussion of Ainu origins seems to have moved beyond descriptive, culture-historical archaeology. In the 1970s, American “New archaeology” school of scientific archaeology began to influence archaeology in Japan. Jōmon studies now expand its research topic to settlement patterns, social structure, and ranges of group activities (Jyūbishi 1977:152-153). That has influenced Ainu studies as well. Watanabe (1972a, 1972b, 1974, 1986), for example, extensively discusses the cultural ecology of Ainu society using system theory. Segawa (2003; personal communication in 2005) investigates the interrelations of trading, intensive salmon fishing, religion and settlement patterns of Satsumon/Ainu society. Meanwhile, Ohnuki-Tierney (1976, 1981) has done extensive ethnographic research on southern Sakhalin Ainu. Riddle’s works (1995, 1996) on the history of the Ainu as a subjugated minority in Japanese society has been referenced by many other scholars. Some Japanese scholars (Kinase 1997; Sakano 2005) have done critical analyses of previous Ainu studies.

Physical anthropology shows the biological continuity of populations in Hokkaidō from Neolithic Jōmon to modern Ainu. Nevertheless, that still does not seem evidence strong enough to claim and officially recognize that Ainu are an indigenous people of Japan. That is probably because physical anthropology also supports the idea that Jōmon was ancestors of both Japanese and Ainu, though the

modern Japanese have more Yayoi physical characteristics. Moreover, the biological similarities between prehistoric and modern Ainu do not necessarily prove the indigenesness of the Ainu. One may claim that racially different populations might have experienced transformation in parallel. Other may say that different populations could have the similar cultural tradition if both lived in the same ecological area. Ultimately, all the theories of Ainu origins could be wrong. However, what is to be noted is that demonstrating Ainu origins might lead to identifying the Ainu as indigenous of Japan, which would threaten the scientific and ideological “truth” about Japanese origins and the Age of Gods.

In the meantime, archaeologists generally discuss and agree that “Ainu culture” was formed at the period when Satsumon culture faded away. The formation of Ainu culture was dated not so old, between twelfth to sixteenth centuries. The definition of Ainu culture made by archaeologists could be a crucial factor for Ainu people to being recognized indigenous people, if “Ainu culture” and “Ainu people” are considered inseparable in order to demonstrate the indigenesness of the Ainu.