The Politics of Ainu Cultural Production within the Japanese Empire, 1886-1937

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

My dissertation examines the history of cultural production within the indigenous Ainu communities of Hokkaido during the first half of the twentieth century. With the rapid expansion of Japanese settler colonialism after the 1890s, several Ainu intellectuals appropriated such mediums as print literature, oral storytelling, and handicrafts that were based on past traditions and modern technologies of technical reproduction to circulate political imaginaries and critiques of colonial society. Their works mobilized local Ainu movements to demand legislative reform on the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act of 1899 – the Japanese government's land grant system that divided the Ainu people into an elite class of mid-sized independent farmers who facilitated the reproduction of the prefecture's capitalist economy, and an underclass of marginal landowners who provided cheap and flexible labor to it. By confronting such a colonial institution, Ainu activists articulated their own programs of rural development based on economic cooperatives, land redistribution, school desegregation, and housing reform.

Through an analysis of Ainu cultural production in relation to the changing social and economic landscape of Hokkaido, my dissertation argues that it constituted a dialogical space in which people with different class, gender, and regional backgrounds debated new visions of autonomy based on a cooperative mode of production. While the political programs of Ainu intellectuals embodied modern desires of self-sufficiency and equality, they struggled to overcome the class contradictions of their communities by neglecting to consider the working conditions of migrant laborers who were displaced by capitalism. The print culture of the elites, then, differed from the handicrafts of marginal landowners. Such an aporia reveals that Japanese colonial rule over the Ainu people cannot be explained by transitional narratives of assimilation and rural

development because it included multiple political trajectories that reflected their class contradictions.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the interrelationship between cultural production and political activism in the indigenous Ainu communities of Hokkaido during the first half of the twentieth century. During 1930s, local Ainu movements in the Tokachi plains engaged with Ainu villages across the prefecture to revise the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act of 1899 – the Japanese government's allotment system that converted the Ainu people into marginal farmers. A new middle class that consisted of Ainu intellectuals and community leaders made use of such literary mediums based on mass reproduction as manuscripts and journals to circulate political imaginaries and critiques of colonial society. This includes the formation of a vision of community development that included the equitable distribution of land, school desegregation, government support for the establishment of autonomous cooperatives, and housing reform. Although scholars have portrayed such a movement as a product of negotiation between Japanese officials and Ainu representatives, this dissertation proposes that decades of grassroots activism and cultural production - including print material, oral storytelling, and handicraft production – provided the material and relations for its articulation.

As the Japanese government's basic policy towards the colonization of Ainu villages, the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (*Hokkaido kyūdojin hogohō*) of 1899 institutionalized the Ainu population as a class of marginal landowners. Under the law, Ainu households were eligible to receive up to five chō of land from the government for agricultural purposes. There were strict property restrictions on the allotments to ensure that they remained in the hands of Ainu landowners: (1) no part of the estate could be transferred to another person except by inheritance;

(2) no rights of pledge, mortgage, superficies, and permeant lease; (3) no easement can be established without the permission of the Governor of Hokkaido; and (4) the estate could not become the object of lien or preferential right. The small size of the Ainu allotments and the regulations governing their usage contrasted with Japanese government's generous land grants to Japanese landlords and corporations. As part of Hokkaido's capitalist reforms, officials entrusted large-sized developers with the expansion of the prefecture's economy by offering them estates with a maximum size of 333 chō.

In examining the politics of the Protection Act, this dissertation argues that the law did not create a uniform pattern of development but instead interacted with local socio-economic conditions to create heterogenous formations that reflected the unevenness of Japanese capitalism in Hokkaido. The prefecture's rapid industrialization facilitated the bifurcation of its economy into an industrial sector dominated by large conglomerates and an agricultural one that was run by state cooperatives. As these same corporations appropriated the countryside to secure a cheap source of raw material and labor, industrialization and modern agricultural development became interrelated processes of the same economic structure. Consequently, the Protection Act's unequal land distribution system intersected with capitalist development when such Japanese companies as Ōji Paper and Mitsui Bussan incorporated the Ainu villages into their economic networks, producing class divisions within the Ainu population between a middle class of commercial farmers who contributed to the reproduction of capitalist relations and an underclass of migrant laborers who provided wage labor to the economy.

Capitalist formation in Hokkaido created new political imaginaries as the Ainu middle class converted their villages into self-sufficient agrarian entities. Viewing the allotments as the pillar of the Ainu village economy, Ainu intellectuals and community leaders from the Obihiro

area appropriated the Japanese government's social policy approach to rural development and its model village (*mohan buraku*) ideology to overcome the structural limits of the Protection Act and synchronize the cyclical rhythms of the Ainu body to the national economy. Their project facilitated the establishment of a network of semi-official social organizations that served as the link between state and society, including mutual aid associations that managed the land, moral suasion groups that indoctrinated people with the interiority of the ideal Japanese rural subject, and such institutions as elementary schools, local museums, handicraft workshops, and Japanese-style cultural houses that created productive, hygienic, and educated households. By collectivizing Ainu residents into these corporate entities, the model village ideology created a template of community development that transformed migrant wage laborers into independent commercial farmers

Ainu community leaders utilized the national project of constructing model villages to organize a political movement that mobilized Ainu people across Hokkaido to not only rebuild their hometowns into autonomous villages, but also petition the Japanese government to abolish the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act and create a more equitable social welfare system. Beginning with the Kasai subprefectural government's establishment of the Kyokumeisha, activists from the Obihiro area led by Yoshida Kikutarō formed alliances with local notables from other Ainu villages to form the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 1930 and represent their constituents at the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference and the Former Natives Protection Facilities Improvement Conference. By serving as colonial intermediaries between the Ainu people and the Hokkaido Governorate, they exported their model of community development to other villages and constructed a national voice that articulated political demands of land reform, school

desegregation, the establishment of autonomous cooperatives, and housing reform in their debates over legislative reform with Japanese officials.

By situating the history of Ainu communities in modern Japanese society, my dissertation argues that Ainu cultural production was not only a preservation of past practices and thought, but also a network of social relations that facilitated political mobilization. Through such rostrums as *Utari Gusu*, *Ezo no Hikari* and *Utari no Tomo*, Ainu activists not only disseminated their visions of local autonomy and community development to the broader Ainu reading public, but also created dialogical spaces where they exchanged ideas and debated one another on a variety of topics relating to daily life in the Ainu villages, including agricultural development, temperance, education, and housing reform. These print networks operated alongside projects to transcribe folktales, industrialize handicrafts, and construct local museums to reconfigure the purpose of traditional customs towards the fulfillment of such national goals as spiritual discipline and cultural reform. By mobilizing cultural production to propagate the model village ideology, the Ainu middle class constructed a distinct interiority that reimagined themselves rather than the colonial state as the driving force of the Ainu people's progress.

By analyzing the history of Ainu communities in the contested and uneven landscapes of Hokkaido, this dissertation argues that their political activism is coeval with global forms of cultural modernism that engulfed the metropolis. As Ainu people entered the labor and commodity networks that integrated them into the Japanese empire, their cultural production reflected an aesthetic that embodied anxieties towards the geographic mobilities and displacement of the broader capitalist structure, from rural-urban migration, land expropriation, to settler colonialism. Consequently, Ainu demands of community development and land reform utilized disparate memories and experiences to envision alternative futures and new ways of belonging. They were

never autonomous from the modern social transformations of Japan but were internal to its construction and critique.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

This dissertation probes an archive concealed by dominant narratives of state development that registered not only personal and collective experiences of colonial displacement, but also demands of local autonomy and the creation of new communities. It includes magazines, pamphlets, petitions, newspaper articles, manuscripts, and oral histories written by Ainu people on such topics as land reform, racial discrimination, uplift discourse, and daily life. While these sources act as the individual conduits of my broader investigation on Ainu cultural production and politics, I also analyze Japanese anthropological, government, and medical documents on Ainu communities to situate them within settler colonialism. Scholars have adopted a discursive approach towards Japanese documents by focusing on their portrayal of the Ainu people as a "vanishing race" (e.g. Hirano 2009, Siddle 2012). In expanding upon such research, I emphasize the intertextuality of Ainu and Japanese sources by arguing that such works acted as the grounds of indigenous politics, bringing writers from both sides into dialogue with one another to shape Ainu villages and livelihood in their own vision.

To illuminate the internal diversity and debates of indigenous politics, my dissertation also analyzes the Ainu people as a network of communities shaped by their own geographic, class, and historical circumstances rather than a unified ethnic one. It utilizes local histories and surveys that were published by municipal authorities, synthesizing commentaries and statistics on employment patterns, property ownership, migration, housing, and local organizations to recreate the social

rhythms of Ainu communities. In stressing that cultural production cannot be analyzed as an unmediated process, I argue that the primary social space in which Ainu people practiced them was such organizations as the young men's associations (*seinendan*), women's associations (*fujinkai*), agricultural cooperatives, and Christian churches. These groups connected communities with one another by circulating Ainu and Japanese print material and by inviting speakers to host lectures and workshops. By situating modern Ainu history within the institutions that regulated daily and local life, my dissertation uncovers disparate experiences and hidden connections to make the case for a decentralized and intertextual Ainu politics.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The first part of my dissertation examines the formation of a modern Ainu subjectivity within the Japanese colonial administration's project of capitalist development within Hokkaido at the turn of the twentieth century. Through the Hokkaido Land Sale Regulation of 1886, prefectural authorities adopted a policy of favoring Japanese companies and landlords over Ainu farmers in granting large tracts of land that they had expropriated from Ainu communities. Despite the Japanese government's efforts to provide the indigenous population with economic assistance through the Former Natives Protection Act of 1899, its unequal distribution of land created a large class of disenfranchised Ainu migrant workers and tenant farmers. By analyzing Ainu women's oral storytelling at Asahikawa during the 1910s within such a setting, I argue that the transcription of their folktales into the written form by Japanese anthropologists and Ainu Christian missionaries constituted the formation and circulation of a distinct palimpsest that juxtaposed utopian visions

of the natural and social environment with Japanese colonial society to provide the possibility of different futures in regard to the land.

The second part probes the formation of decentralized movements to revise the Former Natives Protection Act amongst the Ainu communities of the Tokachi plains during the 1930s through demands of land redistribution, the establishment of independent cooperatives and societies, housing reform, and school desegregation. Although several of these goals coincided with the Japanese government's Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement (*Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei undo*) of 1932, which incorporated farmers and fishermen into cooperatives to create self-sufficient villages, Ainu leaders appropriated the program to secure local autonomy for their communities within colonial society. The most ambitious of these attempts occurred at Makubetsu, whose Ainu community employed networks of print culture to publish a rostrum called the *Ezo no Hikari (The Light of Ezo)* to disseminate discussions and strategies on agricultural community development. Their visions of creating model villages of owner-cultivators that developed their land grants attracted Ainu leaders across Hokkaido and mobilized them to push for the successful passage of reforms in 1937.

The final part will investigate the Ainu household economy during the 1920s and 30s to analyze material culture as an alternative medium in which to understand the experiences of Ainu people. Whereas print culture was regulated by local leaders to enunciate their political demands, the production of wood carvings by men and embroideries by women was a means for low-income families to supplement their income. The relations embedded within these handicrafts were critical for bringing together disenfranchised Ainu residents at Asahikawa to organize movements that demanded not only the abolishment of the Former Natives Protection Act, but also the recovery of Ainu property that the municipal government had transferred to Japanese farmers. I argue that

their politics reveals the limits of those proposed by owner-cultivators who focused on the development of land grants and cooperatives, reflecting different trajectories that were produced by the simultaneous and contradictory processes of Hokkaido's capitalist economy.

THE ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SARU RIVER BASIN

> In the mountains of Hidaka, along the currents of the Saru River, while weaving through a wilderness (*kōya*) of todo fir shrouded in freezing cold mist, there are settlements with two, three, or five strange, thatched huts. The path undulates between flora that is unfamiliar to me, on one occasion entering a forest deep with trees, on another an open field, before finally arriving at mountains covered in blossoming peach flowers. Nestled in this place is a desolate yet enchanting otherworld with several of the strange huts lined up closely against one another. Even in broad daylight, there is no sign of human life… Here, though, dwells the most magnificent of recluses who in the past had lived all throughout Oyashima (Great Country of Eight Islands) and Toyoashihara no Nakatsukuni (Central Land of Reed Plains), having once roamed at will as if they had owned the place. Where the great Ainu people now face their last days, this is their hometown of Biratori.[1]

These are the opening lines of Kinda'ichi Kyosuke's first essay on Ainu culture, in which he recounts his visit to the village of Biratori in the Saru river basin in 1904 while conducting fieldwork for his university thesis on the Ainu language. Published by the *Chuokoron* magazine some four years later, "Ainu Literature" (*Ainu bungaku*) describes his encounter with Ainu oral storytelling and marks the beginning of a long career of gathering and translating such stories. The article, however, reads less a paean to the artistic developments of the Ainu people than a eulogy to a "people of a ruined country" whose vanishment is imminent because of the "struggle for

[1] Kyosuke Kindaichi. "Ainu bungaku," *Chūōkōron* 23:1 (1908).

survival" in modern society. Using the narrative device of the landscape of loss, he emphasizes his own solitude to portray Biratori as a place devoid of human civilization. With folktales serving as the only remnants of a once glorious past, Kinda'ichi laments that the Ainu people there are a fragment of their former selves and concludes that they would not be recognized by their great ancestors who had once ruled all of Japan during a primordial past when the land was known by its various mythological names.

Yet when Kinda'ichi visited Biratori, Ainu residents and Japanese settlers there had already integrated the area into the national economy by creating a modern agricultural economy there. Since the 1890s, livestock farming dominated the village's rural economy as the pastures which Kinda'ichi saw were grazed by hundreds of horses and cattle. Ainu and Japanese households developed the land into farms that grew beans and barley as cash crops, and constructed such facilities as an elementary school, post office, Japanese-style inn, Shinto shrine, a variety of small stores, and a Christian church.[2] The vast mountain forests surrounding Biratori were also as much a product of settler colonialism as the village's built environment as the Hokkaido Governorate protected them from economic development until 1907, when it completed its survey of the region's forests and made them available to private developers. For Kinda'ichi, who remained focused on recovering the primitive remnants of the Ainu past, Biratori's modern landscape remained invisible to him because there was no voice in which he could speak of the Ainu people's modern subjectivity.

The social transformation of Ainu communities during the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries were part and parcel of the Hokkaido government's program of agricultural development. Since the 1870s, Japanese officials sought to organize the settler and indigenous population within

[2] Hokkaidōchō shokuminbu takushokuka, *Hokkaidō shokumin jōkyō hōbun Hidaka kuni*, (Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō shokuminbu takushokuka, 1899), 85-88

its jurisdiction into autonomous communities of landed farmers as a means to ensure their livelihood through the provision of land grants, agricultural tools and seeds, and occupational training. In 1886, the Hokkaido Governorate revised its strategy by shifting its focus from creating an economy based on mid-sized independent farmers and government-owned enterprises to one on large absentee landlords and private-owned enterprises through the New Awakening Business Plan. This initiative recognized the prefecture as a "land of grand opening" (*sōkai no chi*) that could not be governed in the same manner as the self-sufficient prefectures of the Japanese mainland, declaring a need to depend on Japanese mainland capital (*naichi shihon*) to hasten economic expansion. By doing so, Japanese authorities also passed the Hokkaido Land Sale Regulation that same year to grant large tracts of land to Japanese landlords and businesses using the common lands that were expropriated from the indigenous population. It is with this that the prefecture's Ainu communities came to be incorporated into Japan's nascent capitalist economy at the same time as their Japanese settler counterparts.

The Japanese government's most ambitious attempt to transform the Ainu people into landed farmers was the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (*Hokkaido kyūdojin hogohō*), which was passed by the National Diet in 1899. As a comprehensive welfare program, the law focused on improving the three areas which it believed were most important to integrating the Ainu people into Japanese society: agricultural development, education, and medical treatment. Under the provisions, Ainu households were eligible to receive up to five chō (five hectare) of land from the government for agricultural purposes. The parcels were exempt from taxation for thirty years and could revert back to government ownership if they were not cultivated within fifteen years. No part of their estate, including those acquired before the Protection Act, could also be transferred to another person except to an heir, nor could it be leased to another person in any form.

This was to ensure that the land remained within Ainu hands as it was a common practice amongst Japanese farmers and storeowners to acquire their assets through usury. Along with the construction of an elementary school in each Ainu community using funds from the national treasury, the law also required Japanese officials to provide welfare to households with low income in the form of medical reimbursements, farming implements and seeds, incapacity benefits, funeral expenses, and tuition for children's education.

As the Protection Act's actual implementation was delegated to the Hokkaido Governorate, which also legislated its own ordinances to have local officials and policemen at the level of the administrative district to carry it out, much of the law was executed at the local level with minimal bureaucratic oversight. Due to this, its results were uneven across the prefecture depending on the decisions made by local authorities.[3] A comprehensive survey conducted by prefectural government on Ainu living conditions in 1916 reveals that in terms of employment, 2,354 out of 4,007 households (57.5 percent) were engaged in agriculture, with the remainder mostly split between wage labor (29.2 percent) and commercial fishing (12.25 percent).[4] Amongst Ainu farmers, 62 percent were independent, 18 percent were tenants, and 20 percent both owned and rented their land. In contrast, 42 percent of Japanese farmers in Hokkaido were independent, 44 percent were tenants, and 14 percent both owned and rented their land.[5] The higher land ownership rates amongst the Ainu, though, did not necessarily result in higher incomes as the average annual crop yield for them was worth a little over one hundred yen, or one fourth that of the latter with similar-sized estates. To explain this difference, government surveyors asserted that Ainu farmers

[3] Takakura Shinichirō, *Ainu seisakushi* (Tokyo: San-Ichi Shobō, 1972), 550-556.

[4] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no chōsa* (Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō, 1919), 138-143.

[5] Hokkaidōritsu Sōgō Keizai Kenkyūjō, *Hokkaidō nōgyō hattatsu-shi* (Sapporo: Hokkaidōritsu Sōgō Keizai Kenkyūjō, 1963), 49.

did not cultivate their plots as intensively as their Japanese counterparts and overlooked discrepancies between the size of their estates.

The diverse outcomes of the Protection Act across Hokkaido reflected not only the cultural preferences of the local people nor the bureaucratic particularities of their officials, but also the uneven allocation of resources of the prefecture's capitalist economy as both Ainu and Japanese residents navigated it to secure their livelihood. In order to facilitate the extraction and movement of natural and human resources, the economic composition of settler colonialism in Hokkaido produced a multitude of heterogenous formations that shaped the socio-economic landscape of rural villages there. A significant factor that determined these relations was the prefectural government's decision to revise its development strategy in 1886 to favor absentee landlords and private-owned enterprises. By changing the distribution of land, labor, and capital, the entrance of large landowners into the region exerted new pressures on the Ainu people to become wage laborers and marginal farmers. Consequently, Japanese capitalism in Hokkaido did not require the capitalization of rural villages nor the creation of a dispossessed labor force but remained committed to small-scale agricultural production and the recruitment of temporary migrant laborers. Such a combination signifies the general condition of the region's economy, as the Protection Act did not exist in isolation of the modern transformations that were occurring throughout the prefecture.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF AINU COMMUNITIES

In the southern part of central Hokkaido along the Pacific Ocean coast is the Saru river basin. Overlooking the waterway are mountains of woodlands and pastures, making it a lucrative

place for agriculture, ranching, and forestry. With a population of 1,107 Ainu and 335 Japanese people in 1897, the villages there retained some of the highest concentrations of Ainu residents in Hokkaido. Although many of them were integrated into the prefectural economy by the turn of the twentieth century due to state-sponsored agricultural development programs and migration networks that connected them to trading posts and coastal fisheries, it was Japanese landlords who came to dominate the area as the initial patterns of settler colonialism along the Saru River consisted of farmers acquiring large parcels of land from the government and recruiting tenant farmers from their hometowns to till them. Such an economic formation was made possible by the Hokkaido Land Sale Regulation of 1886, which granted a maximum of 333 chō of land at no cost to Japanese applicants who were able to cultivate them within a ten-year period. This is in contrast to the parcels that the Ainu received under the Protection Act, which were less than 5 chō in size. As the area of farmland in the Biratori increased from 267 to 1,484 chō between 1896 and 1908, the prefecture's bifurcated economic system shaped the class relations there by allowing a new class of large Japanese landowners to accumulate vast resources at the expense of the Ainu people.[6]

To transfer the land from Ainu to Japanese hands, the Kaitakushi (Colonization Bureau) expropriated the region's natural resources for itself shortly after the annexation of Hokkaido by the Japanese empire in 1869. One of its first major piece of legislation introduced by Japanese was the Hokkaido Land Regulation of 1872, which declared the colony's entire natural landscape as public property (*kanyūchi*) with the intention of partitioning and selling it for future development. Making specific mention that even the common lands which the Ainu people had used for hunting, fishing, and logging would be confiscated by the state, Japanese officials refused

[6] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai, *Biratori gai hakkasonshi* (Biratorichō: Biratori Gai Hakkason Tochō Yakuba, 1920).

to recognize previous claims over resources that were necessary for the livelihood of Ainu communities. Through the Hokkaido Land Certificate Issuance Regulation of 1877, the Kaitakushi further expanded its domain of public property by including land that was itself owned by Ainu people for both residential and commercial purposes, asserting stewardship over not only Hokkaido's natural resources but also its entire indigenous population. Although such intervention was portrayed as a protective measure that was necessary to exempt the Ainu from land taxes, it ultimately disenfranchised them by denying them the ability to own private property.

To create a commercial rural economy in Hokkaido, Japanese authorities made repeated efforts to transform the Ainu people into farmers after the annexation of the region but were met with mixed results. In 1870, the Kaitakushi dispatched two agricultural instructors to Biratori, the largest village within the Saru river basin, to convince residents there to adopt farming as an alternative to their traditional sustenance practices of hunting and fishing. This is followed by the Sapporo government's introduction of a rural development program there in 1885, which distributed farming implements, seeds, and one chō of land to Ainu households. Relying on local Japanese farmers, school teachers, and agricultural instructors to assist them in cultivating their plots, the typical farm at Biratori grew assorted grains and potatoes for subsistence alongside a variety of beans for the commercial market by 1890.[7] Agriculture, however, still played a small role within the local economy as most Ainu men continued to leave the villages during the year to work as migrant laborers in the fisheries or hunters in the mountains. A few of them found fortune in livestock farming, which the Japanese government introduced to the area during the 1880s.

[7] Watanabe Shigeru, Kono Motomichi, and Biratorichō, *Biratori chōshi* (Biratorichō: Biratorichō, 1973), 301.

Using their knowledge of the local terrain to navigate the pastures, Ainu ranchers in Biratori herded some 360 horses and 10 cattle in 1894.[8]

Many of the first Japanese farmers to settle the Saru river basin began to arrive there by the 1890s because of the Hokkaido government's new policy of entrusting large-sized developers to expand the economy. Under the Hokkaido Land Sale Regulation of 1886, one of the largest land transactions in the Saru river basin involved Hatta Manjiro, a settler from Hyōgo prefecture, who received a grant of 133 chō in the village of Nukibetsu and another 35 chō in Saruba in 1892. It was landlords like him who dominated the rural economy of the area as they brought in tenant farmers from their hometowns to till the estates. By 1898, the Hokkaido government distributed some 4,686 chō of land to 266 Japanese households in the Saru river basin due to its new regulations, in contrast to the 648 chō that 341 Ainu households received under the Protection Act.[9] With much of the land being transferred to Japanese landlords, the remaining plots in Biratori were made available for development in 1902 with the opening of the surrounding Iwachishi, Ushabu, and Chiroro plains. The privatization of these pastures forced the Ainu ranchers who had been using them for grazing to abandon their businesses and sell their herds.

Along with the changing demographic composition, the Japanese central government's move to create a modern commercial rural economy across the nation at the turn of the century also strengthened the position of landlords in the Saru river basin as they supplanted Ainu village leaders to become the community leaders there. In 1899, the National Diet legislated the Agricultural Association Law to support administrative districts across the country to establish an

[8] Biratorimura kaison gojūnen kinen gyōji iinkai, *Biratorimura kaison gojūnenshi* (Biratori: Biratorimura yakuba, 1949), 101-102

[9] Yutaka Ishii. "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū [Provable Studies on the Regional Forestry Structure]," *Research Bulletins of the College Experiment Forests. Hokkaido University* 37:2 (1980).

agricultural association (*nōkai*) that facilitated the state's dissemination of modern farming methods and techniques. Along with cooperatives societies (*sangyō kumiai*) that sold and procured goods on behalf of members, the two groups allowed the government to enact basic regulations on local rural economies. In 1900, several of the largest landlords in Biratori received official approval to form their own agricultural association, receiving thirty-four chō of land to create a communal farm.[10] Using the proceeds from it, they improved agricultural development in the area by organizing several trade fairs, lecture meetings, pest control campaigns, and inspection tours that provided instruction for local Ainu and Japanese farmers.

The Economic Inequalities of Rice Production

Apart from land distribution, the Hokkaido government's rice development program further empowered landlords over small farmers as the former became the largest benefactors of it. Although rice was one of the most profitable staple crops in Japan, its cultivation within Hokkaido was limited to the two southernmost subprefectures of Oshima and Hiyama prior to the twentieth century because of the region's harsh winter. The discovery of early-maturing rice varieties and new direct sowing methods, though, made it possible to grow rice across the prefecture. As large-scale production requires extensive irrigation and drainage systems to distribute water across a beltway of paddy fields, farmers had to find a way to organize themselves to procure the workers and material that were necessary to build them. Consequently, the Hokkaido government passed the Land Reclamation Association Law in 1902 to provide local municipalities with the financial support necessary to establish land reclamation associations (*dokō*

[10] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai, *Biratori gai hakkasonshi*, 37-39.

kumiai) that would oversee the construction of such an infrastructure. While much of the development was concentrated in the Ishikawa plains and Asahikawa basin in north-central Hokkaido, which produced eighty percent of the region's rice output by 1912, its cultivation increased all throughout the prefecture in what would become the largest rice development program in modern Japanese history as the area of paddy fields increased from 16,000 to 90,000 chō between 1903 and 1921.[11]

Despite an increase in agricultural production generated by Hokkaido's rice development program, few Ainu farmers participated in it because the establishments that funded them favored landlords over marginal farmers.[12] Large-scale rice cultivation began at the Saru river basin in 1913, when prefectural authorities awarded nineteen of the wealthiest Japanese farmers there with thirty thousand yen to establish their own land reclamation association. With the main trunk line completed in 1915, followed by branch lines in 1917 and extension lines in 1920, construction converted 1,800 chō of land into paddies at the cost of 258,000 yen.[13] Since rice cultivation is both labor and capital intensive, it required access to not only wage laborers, pack horses, and steam engines, but also generous loans from financial organizations. Public bonds issued by the land reclamation associations were primarily bankrolled by subsidies from the Ministry of Finance and long-term low-interest loans from the Hokkaido Development Bank. Both institutions categorized rice cultivation as a high-risk investment with marginal returns, preferring to fund large-scale projects that developed over one thousand chō of land. Consequently, although the

[11] Hokkaidōritsu Sōgō Keizai Kenkyūjō, *Hokkaidō nōgyō hattatsu-shi*, 262, 393.

[12] By 1933, 264 out of 6,226 chō of rice fields within Hidaka subprefecture were developed on land grants distributed under the Protection Act. Hokkaidōchō Gakumubu Shakaika. *Hokkaidō kyūdojin no gaijō* (Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō, 1936), 30-36.

[13] Hokkaidō Hidaka Shichō. *Hidaka kaihatsushi*. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Hidaka Shichō (1954). 181-183.

Hokkaido government's rice development program was rapidly implemented in the Saru river basin, its exorbitant price meant that only landlords could shoulder them.

The economic inequalities between Ainu and Japanese farmers grew wider with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 when Hokkaido's rural economy witnessed rapid expansion. A decline in European competition caused an increase in global demand for Japanese industrial and agricultural goods. Along with the retail price of rice, the export prices of several varieties of beans doubled or tripled for the next four years as Japan replaced Germany as primary source of bean shipments to Great Britain, where the crop was an important staple product for factory workers and soldiers. It is with this that the two commodities of rice and beans became the main economic driving force of Hokkaido. Between 1910 and 1920, farmers across the prefecture expanded their operations and increased the total area of cultivated land from 538,034 to 839,000 chō.[14] During this same period, the amount of private property within the Saru river basin doubled from 25,000 to 54,000 chō as the last of the available land was leased to Japanese developers.[15] Due to the government's preference of large farmers over small ones, Japanese landlords overwhelmingly benefited from these transfers as the estates of Ainu households did not increase much beyond what they received under the Protection Act. Within Hokkaido, government land grants amounted to 9,656 out of 12,184 chō of the land in the Ainu people's possession in 1916.

As the unequal distribution of resources that represented a general phenomenon across Ainu communities was a product of the prefecture's development strategy, the Hokkaido government's welfare measures were inadequate in overcoming the class contradictions within

[14] Hokkaidōritsu sōgō keizai kenkyūjō, *Hokkaidō nōgyō hattatsu-shi*, 388.

[15] Yutaka Ishii. "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū [Provable Studies on the Regional Forestry Structure]." 324-325.

them. Due to such policies, the rural economy of the Saru river basin was divided into two distinct sectors drawn along ethnic lines by the end of the First World War. On the one hand, there were marginal Ainu farmers that cultivated an average of one chō of land to grow beans and barley, while on the other there were Japanese absentee landlords and tenant farmers who were increasingly converting large landholdings into lucrative rice paddies.[16] Though one class was portrayed as the recipients of "welfare" and the other as the patrons of "development," the two actually navigated a shared economic structure in which they were equally dependent on the government for their resources, with the former receiving small parcels of land and such agricultural implements as plows and shovels, and the latter benefitting from an abundance of funding, land grants, and cheap wage labor offered by Hokkaido's incipient capitalist economy. As a result, the Protection Act did not exist in isolation from such economic policies as the Land Sale Regulation and Land Reclamation Association Law, as the inequalities inherent within them were created in relation to one another.

THE LIMITS OF PROGRESS

In July 1917, the Hokkaido Self-Government Association (*Hokkaidō jichi kyōkai*) organized the Post-war Preparation Lecture Meeting (*Sen-go junbi kōenkai*) in Sapporo to outline a new vision of rural society in anticipation of the end to the First World War. The conference was co-sponsored by the Hotokukai (Society for the Repayment of Virtue), a semi-official entity that sought to harmonize landlord-tenant relations across Japan through lectures and workshops on the moral teachings of nineteenth-century philosopher Ninomiya Sontoku. From the meeting,

[16] Kanzaki Fujio. "Urakawashichō kannai kyūdojin jōkyō." *Takumin Hōkoku* 92 (1916). 9.

the organizing committee published a prospectus that stated that rural reforms in Hokkaido had to improve not only production, but also education and morality to cultivate a sense of "communal solidary" (*kyōdō itchi*) and "public spirit" (*kyōkōshin*) amongst the settler population. Reflecting the objectives of the Meiji government's Rural Revitalization Movement of 1909, the Self-Government Association and Hotokukai's emphasis on spiritual improvement as a means to uplift rural villages reflected a general trend across Japan as local officials developed various community initiatives to indoctrinate workers and peasants with a "love for their hometown" (*aikyōshin*) alongside values of hard work and ethical practice. In coordination with the prefectural government, it is efforts like these that created the language to inculcate the Ainu people with ideologies of progress and self-autonomy to mitigate the anxieties produced by unequal land distribution.

Within Hokkaido, the primary institution through which the prefectural government executed its goals of moral instruction amongst the Ainu communities was the education system. Under the Protection Act, Japanese authorities were obligated to construct an elementary school, colloquially known as "Ainu schools" (*Ainu gakko*), in each Ainu village within the prefecture. The Hokkaido Ten Year Plan of 1900 established twenty-one Ainu schools, increasing school attendance rates of Ainu children from 44.6 percent to 92.2 percent between 1901 and 1910.[17] Ainu and Japanese students, however, were taught in separate classes, a move that Japanese officials and educators alike viewed as necessary because of their different cultural and language backgrounds. Believing that Ainu children could not keep up with their Japanese peers, the Hokkaido government established different regulations for their curriculum, instructing teachers to provide three years of education for Japanese students in four years for Ainu students. Although

[17] Nakamura Mutsuo, *Ainu minzoku hōsei to kenpō* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Daigaku Shuppankai, 2018), 40-41.

the regulations were briefly abolished in 1908 when the Japanese government's new national elementary school guidelines were uniformly applied across Hokkaido, increasing the length of compulsory education from four to six years, the reforms were eventually overturned for Ainu students by prefectural authorities in 1916. Officials concluded that the improvements to the instruction of Japanese students were not applicable to their Ainu counterparts, reinforcing the two-tier school system.

The Demand of School Desegregation

As prefectural officials facilitated the dissemination of social and moral education within the Ainu communities, one of the most prominent works to espouse such a goal was Takekuma Tokusaburo's *Story of the Ainu* (*Ainu monogatari*), which was published in 1918 as the first book to be written by an Ainu person. Born in 1896 at the town of Obihiro in Tokachi subprefecture, Takekuma himself was an educator and worked as an instructor at the Ainu elementary school in the village of Mukawa. While his book can be read as an anthropological work that introduces a broad survey of the Ainu people with four out of the five chapters covering their history, customs, religion, and handicrafts, it was received by Japanese commentators during his time as a treatise on how to improve their living conditions through modern education. For such men as the missionary John Batchelor and the historian Kōno Tsunekichi, who wrote introductions to the book, Takekuma represented a new class of Ainu intellectuals that graduated from the prefecture's Ainu school system to guide their people into assimilation and development. In deploying the disciplinary techniques of education and anthropology, his book gained acceptance by them because it revealed a mastery of colonial ideology that reproduced a distinct subjectivity which

defined and regulated the difference between Ainu and Japanese people within a framework of linear and progressive time.

As a proponent of the discourse of progress, Takekuma was critical of the Hokkaido government's decision to decrease the workload of Ainu students within his book because he believed that their full participation in the education system was necessary to succeed within modern society. In 1916, Japanese authorities reformed their education policy towards the Ainu people by shortening the length of their compulsory education from six to four years, increasing the starting age from six to seven years, and reducing the curriculum from eight to five subjects. Although they asserted that the revisions were necessary to alleviate the financial burden of the education system on Ainu families by allowing their children to graduate and enter the workforce earlier, Takekuma believed that such changes would instead worsen their situation. "The greatest cause [of the Ainu people's destitution]" he writes, "is that there are many illiterate and uneducated people amongst them even in the present. Whatever they do their decisiveness is weak so that they remain in the dark about society and believe that it is justifiable to not do things by themselves, becoming dangerously lost and dependent on the Japanese people."[18] Arguing that Ainu children had to be taught practical knowledge and skills that are required in a rapidly developing economy, he offered four proposals to achieve this: (1) the abolishment of the 1916 government revisions; (2) the improvement of the Ainu people's portrayal in school textbooks; (3) the creation of a scholarship fund for gifted Ainu students to enroll in middle schools; and (4) an increase in funding for Ainu schools.[19]

[18] Takekuma Tokusaburo. *Ainu monogatari* (Sapporo: Fukido Shobō, 1918).

[19] Takekuma Tokusaburo. *Ainu monogatari*. 59-61

In expressing his dissatisfaction with the current state of the Hokkaido government's education system, Takekuma also reveals his internalization of several of its assumptions towards the Ainu people when he accuses the latter of impairing their children's growth and development. After introducing several of the beliefs and practices that systematically form the cultural category of "Ainu" within the Japanese popular imagination, such as tattooing and the iyomante bear ceremony, he argues that these "barbaric customs of the past" (*akufūshū*) are the greatest obstacle to the Ainu people's progression within Japanese society because their "deep superstitions" and demand for "absolute faith" inhibit them from engaging in rational thinking.[20] Distressed that older generations continued to pass down such customs to younger generations through home education, Takekuma writes, "Although we can never say that such education is evil, [its practicality] is regrettably restricted to the Ainu realm and does not extend to the wider society." In its place, he asks his Ainu readers to embrace the following set of practices to improve their future prospects: (1) enrolling children in the segregated school system; (2) abstaining from alcohol; (3) establishing youth associations; (4) improving hygiene; and (5) cultivating land distributed under the Protection Act.

By portraying assimilation (*dōka*) as a transitory process from the "ancient" (*kyūrai*) to the "civilized" (*bunmei*) that would eventually transform the Ainu into loyal and productive national subjects, the "story" of Takekuma's book is one of modernization.[21] His plea to replace home education with a public one was part of a much broader agenda of enacting cultural reform within the Ainu communities, following the template of the local self-government movement in demanding the creation of a new subjectivity in which to advance through Japanese society.

[20] Takekuma Tokusaburo. *Ainu monogatari*. 40-41.

[21] Takekuma Tokusaburo. *Ainu monogatari*. 14-15.

Although Takekuma's book presents the Ainu an anachronistic people, it is such a referent that posits their simultaneity in the first place as unequal subjects of the empire because it could not have come into being without new understandings of historical time that are based on a linear and progressive movement towards the modern. Consequently, his categories of "ancient" and "civilized" do not exist apart from one another but consist of coeval and overlapping modes of daily life that are partitioned to occupy different yet relational nodal points within a shared empty seriality. While Takekuma's book includes progressive elements that provide the material for future demands of educational equality, it also reproduces the very condition that he seeks to negate by affirming the temporality that mediates colonial relations within Hokkaido.

At the administrative village and district level, such books as *The Story of the Ainu* would have circulated the Saru river basin through a variety of indoctrination groups (*kyokadan*) that were established by local officials, landlords, and school teachers to enact social and moral instruction within their communities in tandem with the education system. Throughout the Hokkaido countryside, these usually included such government-sponsored organizations as agricultural associations, youth associations (*seinendan*), and local reservist branches (*zaigō gunjinkai*) that were being formed across Japan to allow the state to extend its reach over young men past the elementary school stage of their lives. While the reservist branches facilitated civic-military relations and prepared residents for conscription at the age of twenty, youth associations promoted moral cultivation, supplementary education, physical well-being, and community service so that they could become diligent members of their villages. Japanese officials established a reservist branch at the district level within the Saru river basin in 1907, while each village formed their own young men's association between 1907 and 1914. Such groups organized shrine visits, military roll call inspections, lecture meetings, night classes, and athletic meets in conjunction with

the education system and religious organizations to instruct Ainu residents at different stages of their lives to become proper national citizens.[22]

The Local History Movement in Biratori

In addition to such manuscripts as Takekuma's *The Story of the Ainu* that were published for the mass market, educational material like the *Records of Biratori and the Eight Outside Villages* (*Biratori gai hakkason-shi*) were used within the indoctrination organizations of the Saru river basin to instruct Ainu people on narratives of progress that naturalized the colonial relations between Ainu and Japanese people. During the 1910s, local governments throughout Hokkaido began commissioning committees to publish histories of their districts, beginning with Sapporo, Hakodate, Fukuyama, and Ebetsu in 1911. Reflecting the goals of the local autonomy movements, such works were not intended for the mass commercial market but were instead circulated amongst the various indoctrination organizations and elementary schools of a locale to instill residents with a sense of attachment and belonging to their communities while informing them of the various resources and associations that were available to them. In 1913, the Biratori government assigned its elementary school association to begin such a project. After interviewing local school teachers and principals, elderly people, and long-term residents, the commission produced an extensive survey of the district in 1917 that covered such topics as its natural environment, history, government, economy, and community organizations.

As a product of the district, *Records of Biratori and the Eight Outside Villages* provides insight into how community leaders within the Saru river basin viewed Ainu residents during the

[22] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai. *Biratori gai hakkasonshi*. 79-80.

1910s. In its section on the Ainu people, the book distinguishes between older and younger generations, writing that those above the age of thirty are still influenced by the customs of past and display qualities of "unbridled indolence" (*hōshi taida*). Rather than support their family through gainful employment, such men abandoned the villages to go hunting in the mountains and spent their money on alcohol.[23] On the other hand, the book writes that Ainu youths that have endured the "struggle for existence" (*seizon kyōsō*) and graduated from the education system have reformed their customs and have assimilated into Japanese society. They are portrayed as performing diligently at school and work, socializing with their neighbors at athletic meets and festivals. In creating such a distinction, the writers crafted a local narrative of assimilation that favored Ainu residents who fulfilled their public functions of improving the village's production and solidarity while ostracizing migrant workers.

Through such education material as *Records of Biratori and the Eight Outside Villages* and *The Story of the Ainu*, prefectural authorities produced a historical narrative that displaced any blame on Ainu economic conditions unto the indigenous people themselves. A report published by the Hokkaido Governorate in 1922 states that the Protection Act could not meet its goals of transforming them into independent farmers because many of them avoided the hard work of cultivating their land grants, instead transferring them to Japanese farmers and storeowners in the form of leases or collateral to obtain quick money.[24] Such a disregard for land, it continues, was the result of the Ainu people's history of lacking a concept of private property and being able to

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[23] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai. *Biratori gai hakkasonshi*. 70-72.

[24] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin*. Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō (1922). 59. By 1916, roughly half of all Ainu households incurred debt, which collectively amounted to 116,379 yen. The figure was one third of the entire Ainu population's annual income and was a significant burden for many farming households whose disposable income could be as low as three yen. Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no chōsa*. 153-158, 179.

freely live off the land as they displayed a general disdain towards all forms of assets except for such heirlooms as ceremonial swords and lacquerware. Unable to develop the work ethics necessary to compete in a modern society, the Ainu were said to have preferred a lifestyle of dependence, choosing to work for Japanese employers as wage laborers rather than to endure the pain of starting their own businesses. As a result, the Hokkaido government explained Ainu economic conditions and the shortfall of its land grant system by asserting that Ainu people had yet to develop a modern interest in owning and managing assets.

The depiction of the Ainu people as primitive remnants who were unable to adapt to the demands of modern society reinforced the Hokkaido government's longstanding policy of defining the financial instability of Ainu communities as a cultural problem rather than a socio-economic one. Its budget towards Ainu welfare measures during the first two decades of the twentieth century reveals prefectural authorities' priority of enacting cultural reform over economic assistance as most of it went towards paying children's education tuition with the intention of replacing their past evil practices (*heifū*) of laziness and profligacy with such values as industriousness and financial responsibility.[25] While a small remainder was used to pay for medical fees and incapacity benefits, funding towards the provisioning of farming implements and seeds to Ainu households was marginal in contrast to the sizeable government grants and loans that went to large Japanese landowners through the Land Reclamation Association Law. With over 6,000 Ainu people in its jurisdiction, the Hidaka government distributed 264 agricultural tools to some 100 Ainu farmers between 1911 and 1916.[26] Consequently, many Ainu farmers had no other choice but to transfer their land and accept loans with exorbitant interest rates to purchase

[25] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no gaijō*. Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō (1926). 124-126.
[26] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no chōsa*. 184

such items as farming tools because they lacked support to develop their land grants.[27] By eroding fiscal autonomy, government decisions that were influenced by misrepresentations produced by colonial discourses reinforced the class relations of Hokkaido's rural economy.

In arguing that it was the cultural and historical dispositions of the Ainu people that are the primary obstacles towards the Protection Act, prefectural authorities crafted a narrative similar to Takekuma's story that obfuscated the economic origins of colonial inequalities and entrusted education to resolve them. By representing progress as a movement through a linear notion of historical time, the ideology of assimilation can be defined as not only a set of such concrete practices as education, agriculture, and temperance, but also a technology of power that reproduces the hierarchical relations between Ainu and Japanese people through a reordering of their place within time. In contrast to this empty notion of history, it is decades of unequal property relations introduced by the Hokkaido government's colonial policies that determined its content, dispossessing Ainu communities of their land and laying the foundation of the Protection Act. Consequently, while assimilation promises a future of prosperity and equality through the integration of the Ainu people into Japanese society, conceptualizing their current alienation as an evolutionary transition from the "ancient" to the "modern," their economic inequalities actually point to a condition that is immanent to such a society. This reveals not so much a lack of progress on the part of the Ainu, but the limits of progress itself.

[27] Takakura Shinichirō, *Ainu seisakushi*, 551; Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no chōsa [Survey on the Hokkaido Former Natives]*. 154.

TRANSFORMING THE LAND INTO CAPITAL

Approximately seventy kilometers to the northwest of Biratori lies Lake Shikotsu, a caldera lake formed by the volcanic activity of three surrounding mountains. At the source of its main outlet, the Chitose River, is a waterfall which the local Ainu residents referred to as *nas-so*, or "the first waterfall." From there, the river runs northwest for over one hundred kilometers into the Ishikari Plains and feed water to one of the most productive agricultural regions in Hokkaido. In 1904, Oji Paper Company purchased the rights to the waterfall from Fuji Paper to construct a hydroelectric plant there after an extensive nationwide search for the location of its new mill. Six years later, it commenced logging operations within the Saru river basin to harvest the area's conifers. Due to its industrial and technological prowess, Oji Paper came to symbolize Hokkaido's development mindset (*kaitaku shisō*) and its discourse of progress within the popular imaginary, representing the prefecture at various trade fairs as a modern antithesis to the feudal exploitations of the countryside. Although the company represented the introduction of large-scale capitalist activity to the Biratori area, its logging operations was built on the same economic foundation that deterritorialized Ainu communities as the prefecture's forest management system provided the company with an abundant and cheap supply of land much in the same way that it transferred them to the landlords there. In this way, capitalist and feudal practices co-existed with one another in the Saru river basin, revealing a hybrid form of economic development that reinforced the existing class structure.

As one of the first joint-stock companies in the country, Oji Paper was founded in the outskirts of Tokyo by the industrialist Shibusawa Eiichi in 1873 to create a modern paper manufacturing industry in Japan. Although he helped found over five hundred enterprises during

his tenure as President of the First National Bank, Shibusawa prioritized the establishment of a paper business because he viewed it as necessary for the country's modernization. Having seen the newspaper for the first time in France and Great Britain during a visit to Europe in 1867, he concluded that the Western countries had achieved a higher level of development because of the efficiency in which they could distribute information to the people. If books and newspapers were the raw material of cultural progress, he noted, then the paper and publishing industry were its sources. With the hope of facilitating the development of a mass print culture in Japan, Oji Paper finished construction of what was the largest paper mill in East Asia in 1910 at the small fishing village of Tomakomai in Iburi subprefecture. Importing paper-making machines from the United States, the company deployed some of the most advanced foreign technology to modernize its manufacturing process, shipping 5.5 million pounds of paper each month by 1914 to help Japanese producers surpass Western imports in their country's market share of the commodity for the first time.[28]

The Acquisition of Land by Oji Paper

To make culture technically reproducible at the scale of the nation-state, Oji Paper sought changes in not only the paper production process, but also the methods of acquiring the pulpwood, energy, and labor that were necessary for it. As the company moved into Hokkaido, its desire to mass produce a type of paper that could withstand the stress of the printing press reshaped human interactions with the natural landscape there. The prefecture was seen as highly lucrative by Oji because it encompassed half of the total area of Japan's national forest reserves. To reach the

[28] Totsuyuki Shinomiya. *Kindai Nihon Seishigyō no Kyōsō to Kyōchō*. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha (1997). 35.

forests and rivers of Hokkaido's interior, company employees not only hired Ainu guides to help navigate them but also gathered and transcribed Ainu place names in their reports, assimilating the knowledge that provided the indigenous people with the geographic orientation necessary to hunt, fish, and forage the area for their own purposes.[29] After conducting extensive surveys in 1904, they finally chose Lake Shikotsu as the site of the company's hydroelectric plant because its quality as the northernmost ice-free lake in Japan guaranteed the Chitose River's outflow all throughout the year. Importing generators from the United States, Oji Paper deployed Hokkaido's growing class of construction workers to erect the first buttress dam in the country at the nasso waterfall in 1910 to provide electricity to its paper mill in Tomakomai. As a result, the company laid the foundation of its business at Lake Shikotsu to help Japan realize Shibusawa's dream of achieving self-sufficiency in newsprint production through the employment of an eclectic mixture of Ainu knowledge, Japanese labor, and American machinery,

What attracted Oji Paper to Hokkaido was not only its abundance of natural resources, but also the prefectural government's economic policies that favored large-sized capitalist enterprises to harness them as the company's industrial complex was built on the same economic foundation that dispossessed Ainu communities. Such rivers as the Chitose were made available to Japanese developers because the prefectural government had asserted control over them during its process of expropriating the land. In 1878, the Hokkaido government instituted a comprehensive ban on salmon fishing in all of the tributaries of the prefecture so as to introduce hatcheries in them that would commercialize the resource for the Japanese market. Despite the law, several Ainu people continued to fish in the rivers since they depended on salmon for their subsistence. Blaming "unemployed natives" (*mushoku no dojin*), or Ainu who did not engage in agriculture, for the

[29] Narita Kiyofusa. *Tomakomai kōjō kensetsu no omoide*. Tokyo: Maruzen Shuppan (1949). 191-211; Kiyofusa Narita, *Ōji seishi shashi dai 2-kan*. Tokyo: Ōji Seishi (1957). 190.

continued decline of salmon catches in the Chitose River, Japanese officials dispatched policemen to patrol it in 1880 and later created a program to share a portion of the fish from the hatcheries to the Ainu communities in return for their cooperation.[30] While the offer was meant to placate local grievances and curb poaching, it also solidified the government's ownership of Hokkaido's marine resources and terrain. With the rivers and lakes firmly under its control, Japanese officials could now remake them in their own image to develop the prefecture's economy. It is with this that the *nas-so* waterfall became available as the site that fueled the advancement of capital into Hokkaido.

Much like how the introduction of fishing regulations preceded the construction its hydroelectric dam, Oji Paper also relied on the Hokkaido government's forest management system to secure the pulpwood it needed for its paper mill. Alongside the mountains and valleys, the woodlands within the prefecture were declared public property in 1872, with large tracts of them made available by officials under the Hokkaido Land Sale Regulation of 1886 and the Law for the Sale of National Undeveloped Land of 1897. As the initial focus of these ordinances was agricultural development, much of the forests that were leased and sold during this time were cleared and converted into farms. The Japanese central government's overhaul of its forestry administration in 1897, though, prompted Hokkaido officials to begin surveying the forests within their jurisdiction in 1899 to determine which areas would remain under state protection and which would be sold off for development. Anticipating the disposal of much of this land, the prefectural government issued the Hokkaido National Forest Wilderness Sale Order in 1902 to authorize the governor to lease and sell parcels of woodland to strategic industries at discount rates through limited tender contracts. Since the size of the parcels was calculated based on the amount of horsepower produced by a business's total machinery, Oji Paper received a significant advantage

[30] Shinichi Yamada, "Chitosegawa no sakegyō kisei to Ainu minzoku," *Hokkaido Kaitaku Kinen Kenkyu Kiyo* 32 (2004), 119-142.

when it negotiated its contract with the government in 1907 to harvest the conifers of the Saru and Mukawa river basins.[31]

The Transformation of Ainu People into Wage Laborers

During the 1910s, Oji Paper's logging operations exerted a significant influence on the Saru river basin's economy as it transformed the commodity chain and labor migration patterns there. Having secured the rights to its forests, the company contracted one its employees, Sakamoto Takejiro, to begin work in the national forests around Horosaru village some fifty kilometers upstream of Biratori in 1910. Workers from Miyagi prefecture were brought in to clear the trees, bringing them down the mountains and storing them by the river during the summer and winter. As much as 173,000 koku (13.2 million board feet) of timber were then transported downstream by 15,000 log drivers who were recruited by Sakamoto from all across Japan during the following spring, using the snowmelt to float them for a month after which they were caught by a debris boom at the coastal town of Tomikawa and transported by rail to Tomakomai.[32] Since the logs eroded embankments along the way, local authorities passed an ordinance in 1922 that banned log driving within the more populated area between Biratori and Tomikawa, ordering the timber to be converted into rafts instead.[33] They also granted a permit to Oji Paper in 1920 to create a horsecar route between the two towns in partnership with the Hidaka Development Railway Company, allowing for the large-scale ground transportation of commodities in the area

[31] Ishii. "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū" [Provable Studies on the Regional Forestry Structure]. 352.

[32] Oji Seishi Kabushiki Gaisha. *Oji seishi sanrin jigyōshi*. Tokyo: Oji Seishi (1976). 105-106.

[33] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai. *Biratori gai hakkasonshi*. 50.

for the first time. Through such activities, the company realized the Hokkaido government's vision of entrusting capitalist enterprises to develop the prefecture, not only establishing Japan's largest paper mill but also adopting several such functions as infrastructure construction and market integration that are traditionally attributed to the nation-state.

Despite the Japanese government's policies to mitigate the detrimental effects of Oji Paper's logging operations, they continued to reinforce the ethnic and class composition within the Saru river basin as log driving was still allowed in the northern parts of the river that was mostly populated by Ainu people. One of the communities there is Nibutani, which lies seven kilometers to the north of Biratori and had a population of 54 Ainu households and 7 Japanese households in 1915. Under the supervision of Japanese settlers, the Ainu residents of Nibutani navigated their integration into Hokkaido's commercial economy. As the largest landowner, Matsuzaki Junkichi was assigned by the local government to act as the village's community leader in conjunction with Kuroda Kazuhiko, the local elementary school principal. Both men mentored the Ainu residents to increase the size of their existing fields so that the average household was cultivating two chō of land - with some as much as six or seven chō - by 1897. Having a stable economy in place, the residents contributed their own money to establish the first youth association (*seinendan*) within the Saru river basin in 1907 with Matsuzaki as its chairman. To promote moral and physical cultivation, the association organized lecture meetings on such topics as farming and temperance along with night classes that were taught by Kuroda. Members also participated in community service through the construction of roads, an agricultural cooperative that was five chō in size, and a new elementary school and library in 1911.[34]

[34] Biratori Gai Hakkason Shōgakko Kumiaikai, *Biratori gai hakkasonshi*, 121-123; Nibutani Burakushi Hensan Iinkai and Nibutani Jichikai. *Nibutani.* Biratoricho: Nibutani Jichikai (1983). 268-269, 273-276.

As Oji Paper continued its operations in the Saru river basin, it modified the ecological and labor patterns there alongside the Protection Act and the land reclamation associations to incorporate the Ainu residents into Hokkaido's capitalist economy. Large-scale rice cultivation began in Nibutani when Matsuzaki, Kuroda, and another Japanese farmer joined the Saru River Land Association in 1913 to have some of their farms converted into paddy fields. Under the Hidaka government's five-year rice cultivation plan in 1919, the association expanded its construction by another 140 chō of land and incorporated several Ainu residents into its program. Although construction began in 1922, the development of rice paddies came to a short end that summer when a powerful typhoon struck the prefecture. The storm poured fourteen inches of rain in the Saru river basin alone. More than half of Nibutani's agricultural fields were ruined by the disaster, while construction work done by the land reclamation association was also washed away and destroyed beyond repair. Unable to cover the construction costs without their crops, the community was left in deep debt. As the land lay in ruin, several of the residents left Nibutani in search of work in the mountains as men began logging for Oji Paper and women became kitchen-maids for the labor camps.

With the environs of the Saru river basin converted into rice paddies, fields, pastures, and logging camps, these landscapes not only reflected changing interactions between humans and their natural environment, but also the class relations within Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist economy as they became markers of the prefecture's unequal distribution of assets. Under the direction of landlords and corporations, residents became tenant farmers and wage laborers to extract resources from the soil and transmute them into commodities for the market, turning the body into a critical site in which to produce economic value through wages and rents. Despite their different modes of production, the capitalist and feudal economies of the Saru river basin

complemented one another. Although landlords and Oji Paper varied in their characteristics and competed with one another over finite resources, they still shared the same structural foundation built by Hokkaido's colonial strategy of favoring large landowners to cultivate the region. Simultaneously, the Ainu residents did not live in isolation from the other developmental tendencies in the Saru river basin that operated outside the Protection Act's framework as they frequently migrated across boundaries and worked within each world, providing their labor to farming during the spring and autumn, and to forestry during the summer and winter.

THE POLITICS OF UNEVEN TEMPORALITIES

On March 3, 1914, Kaizawa Tozo, an Ainu farmer from Nibutani, stopped by the Sapporo branch office of the Otaru Shimbun on his way to the northern town of Kitami to work as a land surveyor for the Hokkaido government after working at an experimental farm in nearby Nopporo along with eighteen other people from his village. After asking to meet with one of the journalists, he shared his story:

> "During my ancestor's time, we made our living by hunting the wildlife in the hills and valleys, but as this became increasingly difficult, we began to cultivate the fields and grow various kinds of vegetables… Gradually, the Japanese people not only occupied the best land, but also opened small liquor stores in the villages to take advantage of the native's addiction to alcohol, and quickly became rich. They then applied for more land in the area so that upon receiving the government's approval, the fertile riverbanks which we had until then had believed to be our property since the time of our ancestors were transferred to the

> hands of Japanese people. Yet when the natives applied for land, their requests were not easily approved [by the government]. As a result, the natives could not do anything but retreat to the high ground. Due to the large amounts of volcanic ash there, though, the harvests this year were very bad, just like last year's, and there are now many people who are in trouble because they do not have anything to eat… To escape from such unreasonable oppression, I have come here to ask [the government] that arrangements be made to fairly approve the disposal of land to both natives and Japanese alike." [35]

The journalist writes that Kaizawa then asked him to have his words printed in the newspaper before leaving the building.

For Ainu people like Kaizawa, print culture opened a dialogical space that afforded them the possibility of creating and circulating a political voice that reached an Ainu and Japanese audience across Hokkaido. The technology of the written word and its mass reproduction became a critical medium in which many Ainu people registered their personal and collective experiences of displacement concealed by dominant narratives of state development, whether it be in the form of discrimination in land distribution and education, providing them with the material to craft new subjectivities and visions. In the case of Kaizawa, his concept of history drew from experiences of everyday life in Nibutani, where memories of an idealized pre-colonial past intersected with anxieties over the current economic inequalities that determined the relations between Ainu and Japanese residents. As landlords like Matsuzaki amassed an estate of 120 chō of land by 1921, the average Ainu farmer within the village was cultivating no more than five chō because of the

[35] "Kyūdojin waga Sapporo shisha de naku." *Otaru Shinbun*, March 5, 1914.

prefecture's bifurcated economy that favored large-scale developers.[36] Such an unequal distribution of resources represented a general phenomenon across the prefecture as the Hokkaido government's welfare measures towards Ainu communities were inadequate in overcoming the very structural inequalities created by it.

Consequently, Kaizawa's politics differed from that of Takekuma by emphasizing the internal contradictions of Japanese colonialism between large landowners and small farmers, arguing that the financial hardships of the Ainu people were a direct legacy of government policies that had turned them into marginal cultivators. His account of the relationship between the past, present, and future also reflected a different temporality that resisted incorporation into narratives of progress created by the prefecture's officials and educators that presumed the Ainu to be primitive remnants who were yet to be incorporated into Japanese society. Instead, the people in Kaizawa's story are subjects who were immanent in Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist economy as social dispossession came to define not a transitory phase in the Ainu people's advancement across historical time, but the materialization of the modern condition itself. In organizing Ainu welfare measures alongside a trajectory based on a linear and progressive notion of time, Japanese officials appropriated the ideology of assimilation to legitimize and naturalize the economic conditions of Ainu people by displacing their origins unto the cultura.

Since the dialogical space inhabited by such people as Kaizawa and Takekuma came into existence as a result of capitalist and feudal expansion into Hokkaido, the construction of Ainu voices that allowed for the enunciation of diverse political demands and futures occurred within this historical context. To facilitate the extraction of the prefecture's natural and human resources by private developers, the economic composition of Japanese colonialism across it resulted in

[36] Nibutani Burakushi Hensan Iinkai and Nibutani jichikai. *Nibutani*. 104.

heterogenous formations based on such distinctions as class, environment, and ethnicity. In utilizing the fragmented temporalities produced by these disparities, Kaizawa mobilized his own observations and experiences which did not quite fit narratives of progress to envision an alternative way of belonging that confronted the Hokkaido government's policies of land distribution. Residues of living historical experiences and memories that permeated everyday life prevented the hegemonic dominance of such discourses. Consequently, attempts by people like him to socialize the land were not simply a reaction to severe hardships, but the class contradictions inherent in Hokkaido's rural economy as its promises of creating a society built by independent farmers was betrayed by decades of government policies that concentrated power in the hands of large landowners and companies. It was in this climate which the Ainu found themselves, creating a politics that reflected their own socio-economic conditions as egalitarian land tenure could not co-exist with the inequalities of a colonial-capitalist society.

THE POLITICS OF AINU ORAL STORYTELLING

In 1923, two of the first anthologies of the Hokkaido Ainu people's oral stories were published in Tokyo: Kindaichi's *Ainu Seiten* (*Ainu Scriptures*) and his assistant Yukie's *Ainu Shinyoshu* (*Collection of Ainu Mythologies*). While Ainu storytelling consists of multiple genres, both authors chose to transcribe and translate the kamui yukar—anecdotes of venerated spirits (kamui) who usually take the form of an animal, plant, or natural element but display the cognitive and emotional attributes of humans.[37] Although several of the stories that are categorized as kamui yukar are creation myths, such as the ones above, they also included tales of war and conquest, divine repayment, and the vagaries of everyday life. In terms of poetic structure, it is usually a few hundred phrases in length and always consists of a unique repetitive refrain known as the *sakehe* that seals off a verse and accentuates the rhythms of the story. Such a meter underlines the performative aspect of the genre, which is recited by a shamaness (*tusu menoko*) while under the possession of a kamui who speaks in the first person in an elevated literary language known as *sa-kor itak* (rhythmic language). Consequently, the kamui yukar not only acted as an embodiment of the words of the kamui, but also constituted a distinct upper-class female culture that regulated its own form of practice and speech.

While Ainu oral stories exhibited a tremendous amount of diversity based on class, gender, and region, Kinda'ichi introduced a coherent cosmogonical narrative within *Ainu Seiten* in order

[37] Kinda'ichi Kyosuke. *Yūkara no kenkyū*. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1931. 137-141.

to standardize the category of Ainu religion in the absence of a singular foundational text. As a freelance scholar, he made his career researching the Ainu language by gathering and transcribing the yukar—long stories of several thousand rhythmic phrases that narrated the heroic adventures of humans. While several Ainu oral stories had been published in journals and magazines during this time, all were translated by such Japanese academics as Kinda'ichi with the exception of Yukie, who became the first Ainu person to complete such a task. Born in Noboribetsu, Iburi subprefecture, she came from a ranching family with close ties to the Church Mission Society of Hokkaido. It was from her maternal grandmother, Monashnouk, a shamaness from the Horobetsu Ainu community, that Yukie learned much of her vast repertoire of Ainu oral stories, including the kamui yukar. Under the close supervision of Kinda'ichi, she would leave for Tokyo in 1922 to prepare them into a manuscript with the anticipation that it would complement his scholarly work.

In this regard, modern Ainu literature was constructed in the translingual practice of transforming Ainu performative orality into the Japanese written text. Within such translated works, the mobility of words between different registers was facilitated by the mediation of the translator, who created an uncanny reproduction of the original work by inserting it into a new intellectual context. Consequently, Kinda'ichi and Yukie both operated within a contested authorial space dominated by a dialectic of production and reproduction in which no one person retained complete control over its meaning. The displacement of the kamui yukar from their circulation within Ainu everyday life to the institutional framework of "Ainu religion" by them altered the reception of such stories, but their translations did not follow a common trajectory as the relations between the orator, translator, and reader within them were organized in a different manner. As the kamui yukar navigated the circuits of empire through the intervention of various

actors, the experiences infused within them allowed for the construction of a multiplicity of subjectivities that illuminated different political possibilities.

THE FORMATION OF AINU STUDIES

In 1917, the archaeologist Odakiri Kenji established the Ainological Society of Japan (*Nihon Ainu gakkai*) to pursue the scientific study of the Ainu people and culture. Based in Tokyo, the society was the first of its kind to specialize in such a subject, publishing its own journal, *Ainu Kenyū* (Ainu Studies). Anticipating that their work would play a role similar to that of Western scholarship on the Greco-Roman and Egyptian civilizations because they both dealt with "dead material" (*shinda zairyō*), Odakiri argues in his introductory article to the first issue that Japanese scholars need to study the Ainu people because the latter had a long history of exchange with their country.[38] Although his journal ceased publication within a year after printing four issues, mostly covering such topics as Ainu oral stories and artifacts, its supporting members included some of the most prominent scholars in Japan, representing a diverse array of disciplines from anthropology, medicine, history, to linguistics. Many of them never conducted any of their own research on the Ainu people, let alone submit an article to the journal, yet their endorsement signified a network of intellectuals and institutions that shaped not only the Ainu's place within Japanese society, but also the contours of Japanese knowledge production itself as it sought to situate itself within a global historical context.

As a student in the Philology Department at Tokyo Imperial University from 1904-07, Kinda'ichi began his research on the Ainu language under Ueda Kazutoshi, a professor who played a critical role in introducing the new discipline of linguistics to Japan. Upon his return from

[38] Odakiri Kenji. "Ainu shuzoku no seishinteki bunka." *Ainu kenyu*, no. 1 (1917): 4-5

Germany, Ueda had devised the concept of *kokugo* (national language) in 1894 to impress upon Japanese scholars and government officials the need to create a vernacular language that transcended class and geographic boundaries. Language reform had been debated in Japan since the 1860s with the *genbun itchi* movement, which sought to overcome the gap between daily spoken Japanese and the country's various writing systems through the creation of a new colloquial written style. Ueda, however, laid out his vision of *kokugo* as a comprehensive project that would not only pursue the scientific study of the Japanese language, but also refine it to create an efficient "standard language" (*hyōjungo*) that could be used all across the country. In 1902, the Japanese government backed his initiative by establishing the National Language Investigative Committee, with Kato Hiroyuki as its chair and Ueda the director. Under their leadership, the Committee began its research within the framework of *kokugogaku* (national language studies), seeking to resolve several of the country's linguistic problems, including script reform, phonology, genbun itchi, and standardization, so as to facilitate the dissemination and institutionalization of hyōjungo within the new nation-state.

It is in this context that Kinda'ichi was inspired by Ueda to specialize in the Ainu language, adopting a comparative framework to illuminate any possible linkages between it and the Japanese language. Leaving for Hokkaido in 1906, he landed in the port city of Muroran and first visited the Ainu communities in the Usu and Abuta regions before trekking through the villages of Horobetsu, Shiraoi, Mukawa, and Biratori. In his essay, "On Ainu Myths" (1918), Kinda'ichi confesses that he had no training in mythology prior to his Hokkaido excursion, coming across the yukar by happenstance.[39] Unable to find written documents with old Ainu words, he asked some of his informants if there were any oral traditions that could have preserved them. It was then that

[39] Kinda'ichi Kyosuke. "Ainu no shinwa ni tsuite." *Meiji seitoku kinen gakkai kiyo* 6 (1918).

Table 1 Supporting Members of *Ainu Kenkyū* (1917)

Fujioka Katsuji	Tokyo Imperial University	Philology
Haneda Tōru	Kyoto Imperial University	History
Ishikawa Chiyomatsu	Tokyo Imperial University	Zoology
Ishida Shūzō		Anthropology
Koganei Yoshikiyo	Tokyo Imperial University	Anatomy
Kanazawa Shosaburō	Tokyo Imperial University	Linguistics
Kinda'ichi Kyosuke	Tokyo Imperial University	Linguistics
Kida Sadakichi	Kyoto Imperial University	History
Mori Ogai		Medicine
Tamaru Takuro	Tokyo Imperial University	Physics
Shiratori Kurakichi	Tokyo Imperial University	History
Shinmura Izuru	Tokyo Imperial University	Linguistics
Torii Ryūzō	Tokyo Imperial University	Anthropology
Ueda Kazutoshi	Tokyo Imperial University	Linguistics
Yanagita Kunio	Secretary to House of Councilors	Law
Jinbō Kotora	Tokyo Imperial University	Geology

Source: *Ainu Kenkyū (1917)*

Kinda'ichi was introduced to the yukar and oina, whose poetic form he analyzed to conclude that their structure was similar to that of Japanese poems found within such classical texts as the *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, and *Man'yoshu*. According to Kinda'ichi, both of them shared the following three characteristics: (1) each of the phrases acted as a tonal cluster with a regulated number of syllables; (2) unlike Chinese and European poems, there were few regulations in terms of rhyme and accent; and (3) the rhetorical device of contrast was in-between phrase couplets to repeat the same meaning in different words.[40] In comparing the two bodies of storytelling, he concluded that the Ainu language could be included within the Japanese and Ural-Altaic language family, hinting at a shared origins between their speakers.

[40] Kinda'ichi Kamei. "Ainu no bungaku." *Chūōkōron* 23, no. 2 (1908): 62-63.

Consequently, Kinda'ichi's work as a linguistics student depended on the assumption that Ainu oral storytelling had been faithfully transmitted across several generations, preserving an archaic form of the Ainu language that could be compared to other languages to determine their genealogy. This assumption is particularly evident in his 1908 *Chuokoron* article, "Ainu Literature," which reflects upon his encounter with the yukar in Hokkaido. By asserting that the cultural category of "literature" (*bungaku*) cannot be limited to written works as there are several "old songs" (*kōyo*) with "solemn lifespans that have been passed down orally across successive generations, long inspiring and comforting the sentiments of a people," Kinda'ichi creates the conceptual foundation for a comparative literary analysis of Ainu oral storytelling. In doing so, he likens the yukar to Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, producing commensurability between the two bodies by classifying their formal type as "epic poetry" (*jojishi*). It is through the use of standardized literary categories, then, that Kinda'ichi was able to insert the former into a historical temporality of global literature that is organized by a linear progression from the primitive (oral stories) to the civilized (written works). By 1917, he would clarify the yukar's place within this seriality by declaring that they embodied a "primitive religious consciousness" (*genshiteki na shūkyo ishiki*) whose mastery could provide the key to understanding the early roots of the Japanese language.[41]

As one of the few specialists on the Ainu language, Kinda'ichi came across various scholars who were interested in such research, the most notable being Yanagita Kunio. The two first met in 1913, when the latter founded his journal, *Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Native Place Studies), to promote a new approach towards rural studies that privileged first-hand observation and analysis of popular customs and beliefs. Some three years earlier, Yanagita had published *Tōno*

[41] Kinda'ichi Kyosuke. "Ainu no shinwa ni tsuite."

Monogatari (*The Tales of Tono*), a collection of short stories, local legends, and folk songs from the mountain village of Tono in Iwate prefecture. The book is recognized as a seminal work that laid the foundation of Japanese folklore studies (*minzokugaku*), but it also reveals a distinct form of historicism when he writes in the first footnote, "The 'tō' of 'Tōno' is the former Ainu word for 'lake.' 'Nai' is also an Ainu word."[42] In using the Ainu language to decipher some of the place names and customs of Tono, Yanagita was using a methodology whose logic he outlined in his 1909 article, "The Lives of Mountain People," when he writes, "Our ancestors entered the places where the current Ainu people's ancestors were residing and came to possess the low and damp areas of valleys that were not greatly relevant to the economic livelihood of the Ainu, opening rice fields and building dwellings in their vicinity."[43] As a result, the comparative framework within his work is made possible by his assumption that the Ainu people are the original inhabitants of the Japanese mainland.

Yanagita's interest in Ainu culture, though, first stemmed from his professional work as a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce from 1900-1908. During his time there, he was frequently tasked to investigate the industrial associations (*sangyō kumiai*) and agricultural cooperatives (*nōgyō kumiai*) that were being established all throughout Japan. Such work required him to embark on multiple inspection and lecture tours to observe the living conditions of rural areas and consult with farmers and craftsmen. As part of his duties, Yanagita encountered various local associations, including the Hotokukai (Society for the Repayment of Virtue), a semi-official entity that sought to harmonize landlord-tenant relations through lectures and workshops that

[42] In Yanagita's *Tono monogatari* (1910), there are three footnotes (1, 9, and 68) that construct a relationship between Tono's place names and the Ainu language, as well as one (14) between the *oshirasama* kami found in the Tohoku region and Ainu culture. Akasaka Norio. *Yama no seishin-shi*. Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1991. 112.

[43] Yanagita Kunio. "Sanmin no seikatsu." *Sangaku* 4, no. 3 (1909).

espoused the communal values found within the moral and ethical teachings of nineteenth-century philosopher Ninomiya Sontoku.[44] It is through his engagement with them that he became interested in the customs and folklore of rural villagers, envisioning cooperatives as a social space in which the government could not only distribute new technical methods and ideas, but also facilitate the development of a spirit of harmony amongst residents. At a time when the moral fabric of villages was seen as threatened by urban migration, such work was seen as critical to him for the preservation of Japan's rural social order.

Consequently, beginning with his trip to Kyushu in 1908, Yanagita devised his concept of *yamabito* (mountain people) to understand the cultural heterogeneities of Japanese villages, conceptualizing marginalized localities as remnants of an indigenous people who were driven into the mountains by invading rice-producing settlers. In 1910, he presented his own evidence for such a theory when he submitted an article, "The Form of Ainu Houses," to the Tokyo Anthropological Society. Yanagita argues within it that contemporary Ainu dwellings at Biratori and Karafuto are the original structures of the Japanese archipelago because he saw several houses in the rural hills of Tohoku, Hokuriku, and Kyushu with similar layouts.[45] He then conjectures that the homes of the ogres (*oni*) in "Kobutori," a story from the thirteenth-century *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, may also be similar to those of the Ainu people because their leader, "Yokoza no Oni," shares the name of one of the domestic seating arrangements in the rural village of Nasu in

[44] The intersection of Yanagita's administrative and historical work can be seen in his debate with historian Kita Sadakichi at one of the Hotokukai's central meetings in 1908 over the burakumin outcaste, where Yanagita argued that their difference from Japanese people was primarily based on race, while Kita argued that they were based on occupation. The theory that the burakumin were a separate ethnicity was proposed by the archaeologist Ono Nobutaro and anthropologist Torii Ryuzo in 1893 during their field work at Shingomura in Saitama prefecture. The two scholars noted that the *muro* houses there were similar to the pit dwellings in the subarctic regions, concluding that they were possibly remnants of the original structures of the Hokuriku area. Yasuda Yasuhiro. "Torii Ryūzo to Yanagita Kunio." *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku* 202 (2017): 188-189.

[45] Yanagita Kunio. "Ainu no ie no katachi." *Tokyo jinrui gakkai zasshi* 26, no. 296 (1910): 68-70.

Miyazaki prefecture, where the houses happen to resemble Ainu ones. In using present-day Ainu culture to analyze Japanese folk stories, Yanagita shared Kinda'ichi's belief that the Ainu were remnants of a prehistoric culture that once spanned across Japan. From the place names of Tono to the houses of Nasu, he looked to Ainu Studies to help him come to terms with the cultural landscapes of modern rural villages.

In equating the Ainu people to the earliest inhabitants of Japan, both Kinda'ichi and Yanagita were influenced by contemporary debates within the discipline of anthropology, whose scholars had been preoccupied with the question over the origins of the Japanese people since the late-nineteenth century. By 1910, Japanese anthropological circles had come to accept Kogenai Yoshikiyo's theory that the indigenous people of Japan were the Ainu over Tsuboi Shogoro's that they were a group of pit-dwellers known as the Koro-pok-guru. Prior to that, much of the debate was limited to archaeological artifacts, comparing the housing, material culture, and engravings of the Ainu and Jomon people. In 1904, though, Kogenai published his findings on the Ainu skeletal remains that he had gathered during an 1888 excavation expedition in Hokkaido, deducing that the people were related to one another. Two years later, the British physician Neil Gordon Munro also arrived at a similar conclusion after recovering five Jomon skeletons from the shell mounds of Mitsuzawa in Kanagawa prefecture. Consequently, it is the introduction of physical anthropology to Japan that convinced scholars there that the Ainu people were the direct descendants of the indigenous people of Japan. Such discoveries coincided with Kinda'ichi's work on the Ainu yukar and Yanagita's on Japanese mountain villages, shaping how they both visualized the relationship between the Ainu people of the present and the Japanese people of the past.

In adopting the historical temporality of anthropology, Japanese scholars from a multitude of disciplines and institutions came to view their country as a palimpsest of Ainu and Japanese

cultures.[46] Such a conceptual shift helps explain the immense support that was received by Odakiri's *Ainu Kenkyū* as several of its members anticipated that such a journal would provide transparency to the country's heterogeneities, whether it be in the form of etymologies or rural communities. Through their translation work, both Kinda'ichi and Yanagita affirmed their subjectivity as national intellectuals dedicated to the government's nation-building efforts of accommodating the multiple tensions within it. Yanagita himself frequently represented his research on rural customs and folklores as a reflection of "present-day facts" that were serviceable to the larger project of harmonizing the class anxieties within Japan, while Kinda'ichi grounded his analysis on the Ainu language within the framework of *kokugogaku* to assimilate the country's dialects. Such inquiries, though, was predicated upon the standpoint that the contemporary culture of the Ainu people were remnants of a prehistorical culture, inserting it within a linear and progressive notion of time that was serviceable to the new nation-state but unable to grasp the meaning of its object beyond the seriality of the primitive.

THE AINU COMMUNITY AT ASAHIKAWA

Like most colonial ideologies, the project of Ainu Studies travelled far from its metropolitan base across the empire's various networks when Kinda'ichi encountered one of his most significant Ainu informants, Chiri Yukie, at the town of Asahikawa in August 1918. Yukie had been living there since 1909, when she and her grandmother moved in with her maternal aunt,

[46] In a roundatable discussion with Orikuchi Shinobu and Ishida Eiichiro in 1950, Yanagita asserts that "ethnology" (*minzokugaku*) must always be contextualized by the "*anthropos*" (Greek word for "the humans"). He adds, "Even when researching the livelihood of the folk within the narrow limits of the native place (*kyōdo*), we must conceptually broaden the *ethnos* from the standpoint of the *anthropos*." I argue that Yanagita's *Tono Monogatari* can be situated in the discipline of anthropology and its larger project of producing a historical/national Japanese subjectivity. Orikuchi Shinobu, Yanagita Kunio, and Ishida Eiichiro. "Minzokugaku kara minzokugaku he." *Minzokugaku kenkyu* 14, no. 13 (1950).

Kannari Matsu, a missionary of the Church Mission Society of Hokkaido. That same year, the Society opened a church at the Ainu community in Chikabumi, a village in the suburbs of Asahikawa with a population of approximately two hundred Ainu people, and had appointed Kannari to run the new facility there. By the time Kinda'ichi visited them in 1918, though, the wartime boom's inflation and rice shortages had strained the household's livelihood. Impressed by Yukie's bilingual skills, he asked her to consider assisting him with his research in Tokyo after she graduated from high school, adding, "It is a misunderstanding to view the Ainu as barbarians and so forth. They have these splendid poems and have continued [to practice] their devout religious lifestyle for two, three thousand years."[47] Although Kinda'ichi would leave the next day to continue his project of gathering Ainu oral stories, the two continued to correspond by mail and eventually met again at Tokyo in 1922.

Unlike the Ainu communities in the Saru river basin, the one in Chikabumi was created through the relocation policies of Japanese officials as they made the area available to Japanese settlement. In 1890, the Hokkaido government established the village of Asahikawa at the confluence of the Ishikari, Chubetsu, and Biei rivers to serve as a hub for large-scale development in Kawakami subprefecture, partitioning the surrounding Chikabumi plains during the following year to prepare for its distribution to Japanese settlers. With the arrival of more migrants, prefectural authorities initially planned to delegate the "protection" of the Ainu people in the area to Japanese landlords by moving the former unto large-sized homesteads owned by the latter, but eventually decided to establish a reservation (*hogochi*) for them by setting aside approximately 500 chō as "provisional allotments" (*kyūyo yoteichi*) in 1894. The Hokkaido Governorate, though, retained bureaucratic control over this land through the Hokkaido Land Certificate Issuance

[47] Murakami Kyūkichi. *Ainu jinbutsuden*. Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1942. 66.

Regulation of 1877, only informally distributing (*wari watasu*) 160 chō of it to some thirty-six Ainu households in the Chubetsu and upper Ishikari rivers.[48] Despite government expectations that they would eventually move unto the new parcels and engage in agriculture there, twenty-three households chose to remain in their villages as much of the reservation remained unsettled and uncultivated for the next decade.

The "provisional allotments" system that was introduced to the Chikabumi plains was in part the result of the Hokkaido government's decision to entrust capitalist enterprises and large landlords with their plan of economic development. To facilitate this policy turn, Japanese officials prepared to transfer the prefecture's vast interior to private developers by initiating the Hokkaido Colonialization Survey Report in 1891, ordering the triangulation of the region's plains and the delineation of areas that were suitable for distribution and settlement. Unlike the coastal Ainu communities, which were concentrated in relatively large villages, the inland Ainu communities were more scattered and smaller in size. Concluding that agricultural development was not possible within the latter, the Hokkaido government decided to collectivize them into reservations formed by land that were categorized as "provisional allotments," first applying this system in 1894 to the Ainu people of the Chitose plains, followed by those in Chikabumi, Yubari, Chirotto, and Bihoro.

With the passage of the Hokkaido Former Native Protection Act in 1899, the Ainu people were entitled to receive some ownership rights to their parcels in Chikabumi but were denied this by prefectural authorities. During that same year, the Japanese central government declared its intention to transfer the Seventh Division from Sapporo to Asahikawa by constructing a military base that was adjacent north of the Ainu reservation. This announcement coincided the completion

[48] Asahikawashi-shi henshū kaigi. *Shin Asahikawashi-shi*. Asahikawa: Asahikawashi, 1993. 908.

of a railway between the eastern village of Takikawa to Asahikawa, which established a train station at Chikabumi that serviced a branch line to the base. Due to these developments, land prices in the area rose and soon became the target of real estate speculation by Okura Kihachiro, an entrepreneur who had been contracted to construct the new army barracks. In 1900, the Hokkaido government approved his request for a lease to the "provisional allotments" and ordered the relocation of the Ainu reservation to Teshio, a coastal village that was over one hundred kilometers to the north of Asahikawa. The decision faced immediate backlash from the Ainu community, marking the beginning of First Chikabumi Former Native Reservation Incident. With the support of local Japanese politicians and tenant farmers, Ainu residents organized themselves into an association to halt the transfer of the "provisional allotments" to Okura and sent a delegation to Tokyo to lobby the Home Ministry to veto the Governorate's decision. As the movement caught the attention of several major newspaper outlets and even the Kenseitō political party, the Home Minister decided to override the prefectural authorities' land transfer and relocation order.

Despite the setback with Okura, the Hokkaido government still refused to recognize the Ainu people's rights to the "provisional allotments" due to the profitability and strategic location of the land, sparking the Second Chikabumi Former Native Reservation Incident in 1903. As Ainu activists petitioned greater rights to their parcels, though, municipal authorities took a hardline stance against them and began assigning policemen to monitor their activities. In 1906, the mayor of Asahikawa, Okuda Chiharu, offered to assume responsibility over the local Ainu population from the Hokkaido government and requested the "provisional allotments" to be transferred to the city. To the disappointment of Ainu residents, governorate authorities approved the appeal that same year, signing off a thirty-year lease for an annual rent of three hundred yen.

Table 2 ***Income Source of the Chikabumi Ainu Community in 1925***

Agriculture	Hunting	Forestry	Handicraft	Wage Labor	Total (Yen)
15,200	12,690	1,000	1,200	4,000	34,090

Source: *Asahikawa Ainu no kenkyū* (1936), pp 82-83

The Asahikawa government subsequently passed the Chikabumi Former Native Provisional Allotment Disposal Bill, which recognized the Ainu people's rights to some parts of the land by promising each of the forty-three households a formal lease of half a chō. The ordinance, however, leased the remainder to Japanese tenant farmers, using the rent collected from them to fund future Ainu welfare measures. After intense negotiations between Okuda and Ainu community leaders, the two sides finally settled to increase the acreage to one chō. It was a bitter end that left several Ainu residents disillusioned with their movement as they saw most of their land handed over to their Japanese neighbors. By 1907, municipal authorities ordered the last of the Ainu households to move into their new plots, forming the Chikabumi Ainu community.

It is within this political climate of land disputes and forced relocations that the Church Mission Society opened its facility at Asahikawa in 1909. After surveying the Ainu community there, municipal authorities published a report in 1907 which noted that most households did notspecialize in agriculture despite the leases, instead delegating the women to cultivate the fields and grow such crops as beans, corn, and potatoes that did not require extensive fertilization.[49] The majority of Ainu men in Chikabumi still worked as day laborers, migrating across Hokkaido to find jobs in the fishery, construction, transportation, and survey businesses. Many of them earned their most money from hunting in the northern mountain forests of the Teshio and Kitami regions during the winter season as animal pelts, particularly bears, squirrels, and otters, were highly

[49] Asahikawashi-shi henshū kaigi. *Shin Asahikawashi-shi*. 850-851

lucrative commodities. There were also several people who engaged in forest work, gathering firewood, bark, and wild plants. With their plots limited to one chō and only five households owning a horse, most Ainu residents looked beyond agriculture for their livelihood despite official efforts to promote such an enterprise.

To improve the economic conditions of the Ainu community, the Asahikawa government formulated its own social measures by introducing the Asahikawa Regulations on the Welfare of Former Natives in 1909. Much of the ordinance reflected the stipulations of the Hokkaido Former Native Protection Act, focusing on promoting the agricultural development, education, hygiene, and welfare of local Ainu residents. To implement it, municipal authorities organized various programs to assist the Ainu people in cultivating their land grants, including the establishment of a model farm at the center of Chikabumi in 1910.[50] The farm itself consisted of four chō of land, with three chō being leased to Japanese farmers as a means to fund it. Within the remaining one chō, each Ainu household was allocated two *se* (two hundred square meters) of land and several seeds, which they cultivated under the practical training of agricultural instructors. Japanese officials later expanded the facility to promote side jobs for the Ainu by creating a women's sericulture plantation in 1915, followed by a small pig farm in 1919. They also began organizing annual agricultural produce fairs at the local Ainu school in 1918, displaying the products of Ainu farmers and offering awards to those with the best ones.[51] It is through such measures that the Asahikawa government facilitated agricultural development within the Ainu community while continuing to retain harsh restrictions towards their land ownership rights.

[50] Asahikawashi. *Asahikawashi-shi kō*. Asahikawa: Asahikawashi, 1931. 434

[51] "Dai-ikkai Asahikawa kyūdojin nōsan hinpyōkai." *Takumin Hōkoku* 83 (1915). 11

As Asahikawa's population rose from 5,865 to 16,441 between 1898 and 1902 to become the fifth largest municipality in Hokkaido, its rapid urbanization had a profound effect on the Ainu community by providing them with new commercial opportunities. Several Japanese-owned small stores opened in the vicinity of Chikabumi after the arrival of the Seventh Division in 1900, creating an avenue through which Japanese staple products entered the daily lives of Ainu households. During this time, it became common for the latter to trade their cash crops and pelts for such staple goods as rice, miso, and sake.[52] These exchanges, though, not only changed the diets of Ainu residents, but also resulted in a bourgeoning handicraft economy for them as their decorative objects became popular souvenir gifts amongst Japanese soldiers and base workers. A strict gendered division of labor existed within Ainu household production with skills being passed down across generations through patrilineal and matrilineal lines as men were trained in creating woodcarvings and women in embroideries. These practices found new outlets within the modern market when wooden trays, eating utensils, towel stands, canes, and coat racks produced by Ainu men, along with table cloths, cushion covers, and clothing bags produced by Ainu women were bought by various stores.

The successful development of an Ainu household economy in Chikabumi was further stimulated by the rise of a woodworking industry in Asahikawa during the wartime boom. Between 1908 and 1913, the acreage of rice fields in the Kawakami basin expanded from 9,000 cho to 20,000 cho as part of the governorate's rice development program, fueling the establishment of rice polishing and sake brewing businesses in the town. The Hokkaido famine of 1913, though, shuttered several stores and prompted municipal authorities to diversify the economy by promoting woodcraft manufacturing as an alternative to food processing. In pursuing its policy to "increase

[52] Asahikawashi-shi henshū kaigi. *Shin Asahikawashi-shi*. 854-855

production in industrial enterprise" (*shokusan kōgyō*), prefectural officials provided financial assistance to the town of Asahikawa in opening a woodwork training facility there in 1915, hiring instructors to offer courses and workshops on new methods and technologies related to the assembly of furniture, door fittings, and lacquerware. During that same year, municipal authorities also approved the establishment of the Asahikawa Woodworking Sales and Procurement Cooperative to pair the town's craftsmen to dealers and suppliers across the country through products fairs. Along with the organization of inspection tours and the creation of a program to send students to technical schools in the mainland, such measures successfully revivified the town's economy as the value of woodcrafts that were produced there rose from 50,000 to 1,920,000 yen between 1914 and 1920.[53]

Realizing the economic potential of Ainu handicrafts, the Asahikawa government made arrangements in 1916 to directly purchase and consign them from the Chikabumi Ainu community, using rent collected from the "provisional allotments" to provide carvers with supplies and delivery subsidies.[54] Such woodwork had become a trendy souvenir item amongst Japanese tourists during the wartime boom as more of them visited Hokkaido. By 1921, there were at least three stores in Sapporo that specialized in dealing with Ainu handcrafts.[55] The most prominent vendor at Asahikawa was Kanzaki Shiro, a successful furniture business owner whose store became a popular attraction amongst Japanese tourists for having an Ainu married couple sit outside of it and produce souvenir items before them. Due to the integration of Ainu household production within the Asahikawa government's initiative to create a woodworking industry, the value of

[53] Kimura Mitsuo. *Asahikawa mokuzai sangyō kōgei hattatsu-shi*. Asahikawa: Asahikawa kagu kōgyō kyōdō kumiai, 1999. 100.

[54] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin ni kansuru chōsa*. Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō, 1922. 164-165.

[55] Nihon bussan shōrei-kai. *Zenkoku tokusanhin seizōka benran.* Tokyo: Koho Tsushinsha, 1921. 144.

handicrafts that were crafted in Chikabumi grew from 443 yen to 1,000 yen between 1917 and 1924, rising in tandem with the town's economy.[56]

Consequently, in the aftermath of the land disputes and forced relocations, the Ainu people at Chikabumi created their community not only through agriculture, but also through such commercial opportunities as hunting and handcraft production. Much of their experience was shaped by Asahikawa's urban environment, which integrated them into the national economy through networks mediated by the municipal government and Japanese storeowners. Such a pattern of modern development differed from that in the Saru river basin, which was dominated by a landlord-tenant system and capitalist lumber industry. Ainu communities in both areas, though, were an outgrowth of Hokkaido's economic strategy of large-scale and rapid development, which expropriated Ainu communal lands and placed their residences under bureaucratic control. Within such a structure, the Ainu people were transformed into marginal farmers with limited land rights who could not rely solely on farming for a living, creating a large class of seasonal workers who travelled both inside and outside their locale. Consequently, their absorption into Hokkaido's modern economy reveal a multifaceted process to capitalist formation that was based on the flexible mobility of labor.

REDEFINING THE AINU DOMESTIC SPACE

Apart from economic measures, the Asahikawa government's efforts to reform the everyday lives of the Ainu community extended into the domestic sphere when it provided each Ainu household with Japanese-style wooden homes in 1907 as part of the relocation process.

[56] Kimura Mitsuo. *Asahikawa mokuzai sangyō kōgei hattatsu-shi*. 120.

Housing had been amongst the first targets of the Hokkaido government towards the Ainu people with the 1871 ban on the custom of burning dwellings after the death of a family member. By the twentieth century, Japanese officials became increasingly concerned with Ainu-style homes, the *chise*, categorizing them as a sanitary problem that contributed to the outbreak of medical epidemics. A 1911 report by the Hokkaido government writes, "In the past, the Ainu lacked protection from the cold and damp climate by living in thatched cottages, using grass to construct four walls and a floor. They slept without futons, wore clothing that were insufficient, and moreover had a custom of not washing their clothing and tableware, in addition to not bathing their bodies… In this way, their homes and clothing were not fit in terms of hygiene, and they encountered a variety of misfortunes when they came into contact with different kinds of people."[57] Consequently, it was not only the materiality of the homes but also the practices within them that determined their hazardous nature in the eyes of authorities as they called for a comprehensive reform of Ainu domesticity.

Rather than improve the livelihoods of their Ainu residents, though, the Japanese-style homes provided by the Asahikawa government were inconvenient to many of them because of their poor construction and insulation. As one resident, Sunazawa Kura, writes, "In regard to the layout of the house, there was a tatami-matted room with eight tatamis, and [another] room with a wooden floor and hearth. The room with the wooden floor had an entranceway and back door, and the doors only had shoji paper pasted unto them. The hearth was awfully deep and difficult to use, and because the chimney above it was always left open, wind and snow would come into the house from the doorways and ceiling during the winter."[58] Due to these inadequacies, her family

[57] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin*. Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō, 1922. 46-47.

[58] Asahikawashi-shi henshū kaigi. *Shin Asahikawashi-shi*. 851-853

needed more firewood to keep themselves warm and had to make long treks to the mountains to gather them because the new community was located amongst reed beds. Other households also erected their own *chise* as it was not uncommon to see both Ainu and Japanese styles of dwellings adjacent to one another in Chikabumi.

Despite these physical transformations, Ainu families were still able to redefine their domestic environment and carve out social spaces of their own. This was the case at the Church Mission Society's facility in Chikabumi, which played an important role in the community even though it claimed a small congregation. As one resident, Arai Genjirō, recalls, "From Ainu songs and dances, along with the yukar, they taught us to treat things that were passed down from our ancestors with importance. At that time, Mattsu's place was the only one that subscribed to newspapers, so there were people who went to the church to read or listen to them, and those who learned [Japanese] written characters."[59] Apart from her evangelical work, Kannari had assumed leadership of the women's association (*fujinkai*) at Chikabumi, which was organized in 1917 to promote vocational training, customs reform, and secondary education amongst the Ainu women there.[60] She frequently invited members to her church to share and listen oral stories around the facility's hearth, which traditionally assumes a central role in the Ainu domestic space because it is the spirit of the fire (*ape kamui*) that attends to all *kamui* visiting the *chise*. Bringing charcoal and firewood from their homes, the women produced a social space where they could continue the practice of sharing oral stories.

Apart from Ainu oral traditions, Japanese printed materials were another source of literature that was accessible to Yukie at the church as it also acted as a community center where

[59] Fujimoto Hideo. *Gin no shizuku furu furu mawari ni*. Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1991. 83-84.

[60] Hokkaidōchō. *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin ni kansuru chōsa*. Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō, 1919. 105.

Ainu people came to learn the letters. One of them was a magazine called *Utari Gusu* (A: *Utar ne kus*), which translates to "Since We are Compatriots" in the Ainu language. Issued by the Ainu Missionary Group (*Ainu dendōdan*), an organization that was established by John Bachelor at Sapporo in 1919 to promote evangelism, education, and welfare within Ainu communities, the journal acted as a rostrum for the Ainu Christian community since it began publication in 1920. In a letter sent to Kinda'ichi that is dated June 17, 1921, Yukie writes that she had sent a copy of *Utari Gusu* to him, noting that it was distributed to elementary school teachers, bureaucrats, and Buddhist monks across Hokkaido. Within Chikabumi village, though, there were only four or five Ainu residents who were reading it as most of the fifteen copies that were sent to her aunt were not sold because people in the area were hostile to Christianity.[61] Despite the magazine's limited circulation, such networks of print culture were as much intended to maintain cohesion amongst the scattered members of the Ainu Christian community than they were to convert new people.

While the articles within *Utari Gusu* are diverse in their topics, inviting readers to submit essays relating to religion, education, economy, culture, to local government, they all shared the Ainu Missionary Group's goal of promoting community service to the Ainu people through education, proselytization, and self-improvement.[62] The church's activities in Asahikawa can be seen in an article published on December 10, 1921 by Kannari Mattsu, who writes about an incident involving a group of young Ainu women in Chikabumi that were arrested for shoplifting on July 24.[63] The event attracted extensive media coverage as several newspaper outlets across Hokkaido printed sensational stories about it, claiming that the women had stolen hundreds of

[61] Fujimoto Hideo. *Gin no shizuku furu furu mawari ni*. 199-200.

[62] The entire run of *Utari Gusu* remains unknown as most of the issues have been lost. Those that have been recovered include volume 1, no. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (1921), and volume 5, no. 4 (1925).

[63] Kannari Matsu. "Chikabumi tayori." *Utari Gusu* 1, no. 8 (1921).

items worth as much as two thousand yen from multiple stores during a three year period.[64] After accusing journalists of exaggerating the facts, Kannari reports, "The people of this village have come to deeply know this thing called shame. Accordingly, they have begun work on making the village even more pure as a result of witnessing the youth who have reflected upon themselves." In particular, she writes that members of the Salvation Army of Asahikawa had arrived at Chikabumi in August to uplift their spirits by holding weekly gatherings there, organizing the people into choruses and preaching temperance to them. Citing the pericope about Christ and the woman taken in for adultery, Kannari concludes her article by asking the reader to pray for the women, declaring that they have repented to God before adding a reproduction of one of their letters of apology.

In covering the Asahikawa shoplifting incident, several newspaper headlines across Hokkaido characterized the Ainu women as "delinquent girls" (*furyō shōjo*), a subjectivity whose popularization paralleled Japanese people's growing apprehension towards the cultural and social transformations of the early-Meiji period. As a nationwide phenomenon, the Delinquent Girl differed from her more respectable counterpart, the New Woman (*shin-fujin*), in that she was childish, uneducated, and a product of the urban underclass, flouting her disregard towards society by resorting to such petty crimes as underage drinking and shoplifting. She was typically a runaway girl, many having fled the countryside, moving from one place to another and changing her identity to swindle people. Described as having gone through multiple partners despite her young age, it was the Delinquent Girl's sexuality that concerned Japanese scholars the most as it was a common trope that they committed criminal activities out of desperation to impress their

[64] Kanakura Gikei. *Asahikawa Ainu minzoku no kingendai-shi*. Tokyo: Koubunken, 2006. 213-218.

lovers.[65] While such representations may not have reflected reality, the anxieties that were projected unto the Delinquent Girl's body were illustrative of the geographic and social mobilities of the wartime boom when rural outmigration, economic inflation, and changing gender norms were seen as threatening the moral fabric of the nation.

Consequently, the media understood the Asahikawa women's crime as an affliction of modern society in applying the subjectivity of Delinquent Girl to them. Even their depiction as "*muchi no menoko*" (ignorant Ainu women) by some newspapers was not necessarily rooted in notions of Ainu primitivism as their lawyer clarified to the court that the offense was one of "ignorance born from civilization" (*bunmei no umeru muchi*). In describing the suspects' motives, the *Hokkai Times* reports, "[Although] the young *menoko* of the Asahikawa former natives pretended to be noble ladies by yearning for vanity, adorning powder, and wearing light garbs, the Asahikawa police suspected them of living beyond their means and had been monitoring their conduct."[66] Here, the new *menoko* differed from her more traditional elders, the vanishing Ainu, in that she not only embraced conspicuous consumption, but was also willing to break the rules to maintain such a lifestyle. The troubled Ainu women in Kannari's article, though, reveals that the Delinquent Girl was more of a cultural construct that reflected changing representations of the Ainu people at the turn of the twentieth century. Within Chikabumi, the youth implicated in the crime were the first generation to undergo the Japanese education system and participate in the country's consumer culture, embodying the Ainu community's integration into Japan's bourgeoning market economy.

[65] Nihongaku dōkai. *Akudō kenkyū*. Tokyo: Nanbokusha, 1916. 110-132.

[66] "Shamo o odokaseru Asahikawa menoko no manbiki" Hokkai Taimusu, July 26, 1921.

The Asahikawa shoplifting incident reveals the challenges and possibilities that existed within everyday life at the Chikabumi Ainu community as its members navigated their new social environment. Such disputes were not new to the Church Missionary Society's faculty there since Yukie's father and uncle had also been imprisoned at Noboribetsu in 1919 after being accused by Japanese farmers of attempting to steal two horses from a local communal ranch.[67] The Chikabumi episode, though, reveals the formation of a distinct subjectivity within the Ainu Christian community, whose leadership sought to uplift the Ainu people through self-improvement and spiritual rejuvenation. Apart from inspiring readers to dedicate themselves to Christian principles, Kannari's article in the *Utari Gusu* can be seen as a literary confession that affirmed her own interiority as a Christian intellectual who worked towards the redemption of her community. The sharing of oral stories within her house, then, should be seen in this context as Kannari created a gendered Ainu social space to heal the bonds that were strained by experiences of land appropriation, forced relocations, and market entanglements. Such activities were not simply a reproduction of past practices and thought but acted as an everyday sphere of praxis that facilitated modern community formation within the new domestic sphere.

THE POLITICS OF TRANSLATION

Chiri Yukie arrived at Kinda'ichi Kyosuke's house in Tokyo on May 13, 1922, where she completed her manuscript on an anthology of the kamui yukar immediately prior to her death on September 18. The final work, *Ainu Shinyoshu*, was published a year later by Yanagita Kunio and contains thirteen stories that follows Kinda'ichi's methodological approach towards Ainu oral

[67] Fujimoto Hideo. *Chiri Yukie jyunana-sai no uepekere*. Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 2002. 144.

stories of including both the original narrative in the Ainu language and a translated version in Japanese, along with footnotes that contextualize various words, objects, and customs. Within the preface, Yukie begins the book by situating the kamui yukar in a utopian pre-colonial space as she writes, "In the past, this spacious Hokkaido was our ancestors' world of freedom. Like innocent children, they lived a carefree and enjoyable life within the embrace of a beautiful and vast nature."[68] This "realm of peace," where her ancestors once shared these stories, did not refer to a general nowhere, but a negation of the topos of modern society. Several of the tales within her book, such as one on Pon Okikurumi's struggle with the evil spirit's child, celebrate acts of resistance against environmental destruction. However, the first story, "The Yukar Sung by the Owl Kamui," tells the adventure of a fish owl that protects an Ainu boy and his family from their cruel neighbors by repaying them with treasures for properly venerating it. The boy then declares his forgiveness to the other villagers who mistreated him, sharing his bounty with them as they danced together under the gaze of the delighted kamui. It is within the world of spirits, then, that Yukie finds a voice in which to enunciate a vision where Ainu and Japanese people not only respected Hokkaido's natural environment, but also co-existed within a harmonious community.

As an anthology, the narrator within *Ainu Shinyoshu* remains elusive as it is embedded within a complex network of relations. Although the stories in it are written in the first-person perspective of the kamui, Yukie is explicit in her preface that they were spoken by her ancestors. The book was published by Yanagita as part of the second run of his Hearthside Series (*Robata sōsho*), which recruited authors to gather folktales from every corner of Japan to inform the country's new reading public on how communal bonds were being formed within the rural villages. Consistent with this theme, Yukie establishes her position as a transcriber by partitioning herself

[68] Chiri Yukie. *Ainu Shinyōshu*. Tokyo: Kyōdo kenkyūsha, 1923.

from the storyteller through the preface, which acts as an extradiegetic space that is outside of the manuscript's narrative world. As both anthologist and translator, though, she still exerts considerable authority over the text as she synthesizes the various kamui yukar into her utopian framework. Consequently, Yukie remains the locus of the book's meaning as she shrouds the identity of its narrator, encroaching the autodiegetic space through the possibility that she is also the speaker of the tales themselves. Her position simultaneously inside and outside of the oral storyteller's sphere blurs the boundaries of the work and is emblematic of the general relationship between the Ainu literati and their communities.

Despite her efforts to create a coherent subjectivity, Yukie's voice in *Ainu Shinyoshu* is further fractured by the specter of the Ainu people's disappearance. She writes, "This land has undergone rapid change as development goes on, progressively turning the hills and fields into villages, and the villages into towns. In a twinkling the natural landscape as it had been since the ancient past has vanished; what has become of the folk who joyfully made their living in its fields and mountains?" Such anxiety reflects the Ainu people's incorporation into the temporality of Social Darwinism as Yukie fears their "unsightly defeat in the arena of fierce competition," producing a double consciousness in which she has to confront herself as a "vanishing people" (*horobiyuku mono*). This experience of self-estrangement, though, was not simply a byproduct of colonial ideology but an embodiment of a routine denial of recognition by Japanese officials and scholars that several Ainu people encountered when they demanded for equal rights to the land or access to education. As a result, the Ainu colonial subject lacked a stable interiority as they were torn by an internal conflict between a consciousness for itself and for another. It is this subjectivity, which could not escape the confines of a discourse that Japanese officials used to naturalize their

policies of land appropriation and disenfranchisement, that points to the central predicament of modern Ainu literature.

By the time Yukie had completed *Ainu Shinyoshu*, interest in Ainu Studies had declined within Japanese academic circles. Yanagita himself, who published the book, was already looking towards the Ryukyu archipelago for his research on the ethnogenesis of the Japanese people and culture. During this time, physical anthropologists in Japan began to challenge Koganei and Munro's theory that the Ainu people were the original inhabitants of the Japanese mainland after they succeeded in recovering more paleolithic skeletal specimens and standardized their measurements. In 1917, the anatomist Hasebe Kotondo published two influential articles on skeletons from eastern Japan, arguing that although the skeletal structures of contemporary Japanese people were not uniform and could be divided into two branches, their genealogies could both be traced back to the Jomon period.[69] That year, Yanagita also shared his opinion at a conference held by the Japan Historical Geography Association that the yamabito had been long extinct.[70] With the link between contemporary Japanese people and the original inhabitants of their country established by scholars, he began to look past Ainu Studies to understand the history and culture of rural villages.

To accommodate this academic shift, Kinda'ichi also reframed the conceptual framework of his work during the 1920s.[71] In his article, "On the Study of the Ainu Language and Ainu Legends" (1920), he outlines three possible contributions of Ainu Studies: (1) to help understand Japanese history, customs, and language; (2) to resolve the global question on whether the Ainu

[69] Hasebe Kotondo. "Sōtei no shinchō yori mitaru nihonjin no bunpu." *Tōhoku Igaku Zasshi* 2, no. 1 (1917) and "Nihonjin zugai no chihōteki saii." *Jinruigaku Zasshi* 32, no. 10 (1917).

[70] Yanagita Kunio. *Yama no jinsei*. Tokyo: Kyōdo kenkyūsha, 1926.

[71] Kinda'ichi Kyosuke. "Ainu-go oyobi Ainu densetsu no kenkyū ni tsuite." *Toa no hikari* 15, no. 11 (1920). 22-23.

people are a Caucasoid race; and (3) to provide material for the study of primitive societies. Amongst them, Kin'daichi recognizes that the first one is increasingly untenable because its fundamental assumption, that the Ainu are the indigenous people of Japan, is no longer certain. Instead, he asserts that it is the third one that has the greatest potential because the Ainu people had "special value in providing material on understanding the far-reaching process of humanity's development." As "living specimens" (*ikita hyōhon*) and "remnants" (*zanzon*) who existed somewhere between the modern Japanese people and the Aboriginal Australians, their contemporary culture could help scholars shed light on the intermediary stage of world civilization. Consequently, Kinda'ichi followed his colleagues in abandoning the theory that the Ainu and Japanese people were related to one another but still managed to preserve the temporal structure of his earlier studies.

Although Kinda'ichi submitted *Ainu Shinyoshu* to Yanagita with the hope that it would contribute to the project of Ainu Studies, the work had the unintended consequence of revealing the field's limitation because its production process was not completely assimilable to such an ideological framework. In his afterword to the book, "*Chiri Yukie-san no koto*" ("About Chiri Yukie"), Kinda'ichi writes that Yukie had been raised in a progressive family with a father who strove to "reform the old customs and earnestly absorb the new culture," and a mother who had attended a Western missionary school.[72] Such a domestic environment, Kinda'ichi asserts, allowed Yukie to nurture a spirit that could overcome the "unfortunate fate" of the Ainu people, "purifying" (*junka*) and "deepening" (*shinka*) the sentiments that had been passed down to them by their ancestors through oral stories. In his eyes, it is through Yukie's practice of translation that she acted as an intermediary between the "world of civilization" and the "vanishing Ainu" as the

[72] Chiri Yukie. *Ainu Shinyōshu*.

latter were rapidly assimilating and losing their ability to retain such a body of knowledge. It is within the *Ainu Shinyoshu* that Kinda'ichi was able to speak of a modern Ainu subjectivity that he was not able to articulate within his conceptualization of Ainu Studies.

Consequently, Yukie's production of a modern Ainu subjectivity within the networks of print culture was a collaborative effort that crossed multiple boundaries, involving numerous people from both inside and outside the Ainu community at Chikabumi. As an outgrowth of Kinda'ichi's linguistic research on the yukar, her project was similar to his through their construction of a transhistorical Ainu subject, at times reinforcing one another and operating within a shared epistemological framework. The omniscient narrator within *Ainu Shinyoshu*, though, embodied a vast reservoir of historical experiences that could not be readily subsumed by Ainu Studies, representing the subjectivity of a new Ainu intellectual class that was informed by the visions of Christian missionaries, women's association members, and land rights activists at Chikabumi to integrate the Ainu people into Japanese society. In this sense, translation was not simply an individual act, but a social one whose ability to deterritorialize and reterritorialize words, meanings, and discourses provided such people as Yukie with the means to mediate different spheres. Through her practice of it, she was able to create the grounds for possible political action by resituating the Ainu from the temporality of the vanishing ethnos to a new and uncharted one where their dreams became legible and fulfillable.

THE NEW AINU VILLAGE

Some fifteen kilometers to the east of the Obihiro along the Tokachi River lies the Ainu community of Chirotto in Makubetsu village. In 1931, Tanabe Asa'ichi describes his hometown as an ideal community of independent farmers working together to develop their allotments and construct new homes. He writes, "Everyday, the sound of hammers pounding chisels and saws cutting into planks reverberates the spring blue sky as [people] spend their day in complete tranquility. At noon, there are no people wandering around as everybody is diligent and partakes in friendly conversation while farming."[73] By next year, all twenty-three households were living in modern Japanese-style "cultural houses" (*bunka jūtaku*) with tin roof shingles, white plaster walls, and wooden bathtubs. With its romantic rural landscape of cultivated fields protected by windbreaks, Makubetsu embodied the model village of productive, hygienic, and educated households who fulfilled their national duties of producing a taxable surplus for the government. In singing praise for his village, Tanabe hopes that Chirotto's strong sense of "solidarity" (*icchi kyōryoku*) will provide a template of community development for Ainu villages across the prefecture to achieve progress and development.

The transformation of the Ainu village at Makubetsu into a community of commercial farmers occurred during the economic recession of the 1920s when the collapse of the agricultural market in Hokkaido brought crisis to prefecture's countryside. Government statistics reveal a significant shift in Ainu working patterns between 1916 and 1925 as the proportion of independent farmers declined from 62 percent to 40 percent, while that of tenant farmers rose from 18 percent

[73] Tanabe Asaichi, "Watakushi nado no buraku," *Ezo no Hikari* 3 (1931).

to 50 percent.[74] This increase in tenant households was a nationwide phenomenon after the First World War when Japan's economy suffered major retrenchment due to a decline in American and European demand for Japanese agricultural and manufactured goods. Having experienced rapid agricultural expansion during the war, Hokkaido was particularly vulnerable to such fluctuation as its area of cultivated farmland decreased from 839,000 chō to 786,000 chō between 1920 and 1925. With small-sized farmers shouldering the brunt of these losses, the recession ushered in a series of rural strikes after tenant farmers across the prefecture organized themselves into unions to demand greater rights to the land and rent reductions from the entrenched landlord class that dominated the countryside.

As the postwar recession impacted every aspect of society, Japanese officials devised a new method of social management that approached the everyday lives of its people as an object of state intervention. The historian Dell Upton provides one definition of everyday life as "the nexus of spaces and times that repeatedly trigger bodily habits and cultural memories – the *habitus*," synthesizing Henri Lefebvre's spatial emphasis on the material "sources of banality" of a society – sustenance, clothing, furnishing, homes, neighborhoods, and environment – with Michel de Certeau's temporal emphasis on the "multifarious and silent 'reserve' of procedures" that compose a person's bodily repetitions.[75] In contrast to particular events and ideologies, Upon argues that a focus on everyday life highlights how the daily repetitions that form the component selves of a society – "a heterogeneous mélange of ideas, sensations, emotions, and physical actions, half-conscious and half-rote" – governs and shapes a person's interiority. Consequently, the transformation of the everyday into a category of control indicates the possibility of constructing

[74] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin no gaikyō*, Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō (1926), 100.

[75] Dell Upton, "Architecture in Everyday Life," *New Literary History* 33, no.4 (2002), 720.

new subjectivities through not only "organized discourses" that regulate the meaning of space and time, but also structured dispositions and feelings that discipline a person's tactile relationship with the environment.

As the Hokkaido Governorate revamped its Ainu policy, it adopted a new social policy approach towards the Ainu communities that integrated them into the national economy within the framework of the model village (*mohan buraku*). The project differed from previous state-led agricultural programs that focused on improving the Ainu people's farming techniques and skills because it sought to govern the values and dispositions that formed the component selves of their everyday life. Viewing the allotments as the pillar of the Ainu household economy, prefectural authorities established a network of semi-official social organizations within the Ainu villages to oversee their cultivation, including cooperatives known as mutual aid associations (*gojō kumiai*) that managed the land of Ainu members, as well as moral suasion groups (*kyoka dantai*) that indoctrinated them with the interiority of the ideal Japanese rural subject.[76] By collectivizing Ainu households and their assets into these village-level corporate entities, officials created a template of community development that synchronized the cyclical rhythms of the Ainu body to those of the imagined model village.

While Japanese officials reached out to the Ainu middle class to implement its initiatives at the grassroots level, a new class of Ainu colonial intermediaries in the Obihiro area that consisted of community leaders and intellectuals appropriated the model village ideology to enunciate demands of greater political rights and equality. By defining the landed farmer as the driving force of rural progress, state-led programs of agricultural development and cultural reform offered new concepts and terms to Ainu activists to reimagine the Ainu people as historical agents

[76] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, Obihiro: Kyokumeisha (1927), 16-17.

who could restore vitality to their communities. Such work culminated in the establishment of a national entity known as the Hokkaido Ainu Association (*Hokkaidō Ainu kyōkai*) in 1930, which rallied the Ainu people to not only rebuild their hometowns into modern agrarian villages, but also organize themselves into petition movements that demanded the Protection Act's abolishment and land reform. In this sense, Japanese rural mass mobilization intersected with the Ainu construction of a new national culture as Ainu activists outlined a trajectory to become productive citizens through ownership of the means of production.

THE GOVERNMENTALITY OF AINU VILLAGES

As the postwar recession devastated Ainu villages, the Hokkaido Governorate began to organize them into cooperatives known as mutual aid associations (*gojō kumiai*) in 1924. These institutions were run by a new cadre of volunteer social workers – the former native relief commissioners (*kyūdojin hodō-iin*) – that consisted of Japanese technocrats and local notables who served as colonial intermediaries between the Ainu communities and their local administrative district. Whereas such village organizations as the agricultural associations and industrial cooperatives provided Ainu farmers with agricultural training and implements, the mutual aid associations assumed control over the Ainu allotments to enhance community surveillance and discipline over their owners. Consequently, prefectural authorities anticipated that the new entities would revamp the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act at a time when a growing number of Ainu people were abandoning their land grants to work as migrant laborers in capitalist enterprises across the prefecture. By expanding the state's reach into the Ainu villages at the household level,

officials envisioned they would become the linkages that integrated and assimilated the Ainu people into the national economy.

The mutual aid association system was an extension of the Japanese government's new welfare system that consisted of a network of state-sponsored social facilities and organizations dedicated to poverty alleviation. Due to the country's rapid industrialization and urbanization during the First World War, authorities faced a sudden need to provide large-scale public support to a non-farming population when rice prices experienced an explosive rise in 1918. The food crisis and successive post-war recession impacted every aspect of society – from employment, housing, education, medical care, and childcare – as workers lost their jobs and overwhelmed private charities. To tackle this problem, the Hokkaido Governorate created the Social Division (*Shakai-ka*) in 1921, which began to institutionalize relief through the establishment of such social facilities (*shakaiteki setsubi*) as public marketplaces that sold foodstuff at affordable prices, government employment agencies that introduced applicants to job seekers, and housing associations that provided urban households with low-interest loans to construct new homes.[77] The new office also expanded financial support to existing welfare programs and such private charities as nurseries, sheltered workshops, and reformatories.

As the Hokkaido Governorate assumed a larger responsibility over the welfare of its people, it established the district welfare committees system (*hōmen-iin seidō*) in 1922 to supervise anti-poverty relief measures in the municipalities of Sapporo, Otaru, Hakodate, Asahikawa, Muroran, and Kushiro.[78] Prefectural and municipal officials staffed the committees with volunteer case

[77] Sapporoshi kyōiku iinkai, *Sapporoshi-shi dai 3 maki tsūshi 3*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō shinbunsha (1986), 520-570.

[78] The establishment of district welfare committees was a nationwide movement that began in Osaka prefecture in 1918. According to Sheldon Garon, the recruitment of these case workers constituted a "Japanese-style" of welfare that relied on the volunteer work of local notables to oversee poor relief at little cost to the state. The number of commissioners reached 10,545 by 1925 and had become a mainstay in almost every administrative district across the

workers known as relief commissioners (*hodō-iin*), which consisted of such middleclass community leaders as priests, schoolteachers, bureaucrats, and postmasters who were trusted and respected by local residents.[79] With their intimate knowledge of the urban geography, the commissioners served as intermediaries between the public and the government's new welfare apparatus by canvasing neighborhoods and determining the needs and trends of people, distributing states services and payments to welfare recipients, and supervising local campaigns of daily life reform, housing reform, and job training programs. They also managed and introduced individuals to such public facilities as marketplaces, bathhouses, cafeterias, dormitories, nursing homes, and pawnshops that offered people in need with support.

The district welfare committees represented the Japanese empire's new social policy approach towards welfare. As economic recession and food insecurity disrupted living conditions after the First World War, the Home Ministry introduced the concept of "social work" (*shakai jigyō*) to tackle the myriad of problems affecting the nation's households. At a training course hosted by the Hokkaido Governorate in 1922, one of the architects of the new program, Namae Takayuki of the Home Ministry's Social Bureau, defined "social work" as the active participation of the state in the prevention and treatment of poverty.[80] Such a notion required authorities to recognize society as a unit for both the production and elimination of economic hardship as several of the country's problems were related to broader processes beyond the individual. Consequently, social work differed from previous models of welfare based on private charity and neighborhood support by cultivating a notion of collectivize responsibility – or "social solidarity" (*shakai rentai*)

country by 1942. Garon examines the history of the district commissioners in his book, *Molding Japanese Minds* (1997), 52-59.

[79] Hokkaidō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō shakai jigyō yōran*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō gakumubu shakaika (1933), 5.

[80] Namae Takayuki, "Shakai jigyō no gairon," in *Shakai jigyō kōshūkai kōenshū: naimushō shusai*, ed. Hokkaidō shakai jigyō kyōkai, Sapporo: Hokkaidō shakai jigyō kyōkai (1922), 22.

– to mobilize the different segments of society to cooperate with one another in providing support to the people.[81]

The Home Ministry's concept of social work constituted a new form of community development that expanded the state's surveillance and control over everyday life.[82] By urging officials to mobilize each element of society to treat and prevent poverty, Namae's approach to welfare targeted the repetitions that formed the component selves of daily life rather than a specific event to shape the lives of people. Consequently, his framework offered a notion of social totality which envisioned society as an assemblage of constituent parts that could be governed through their institutionalization by state-sponsored social facilities. The new entities would discipline the public at the grassroots level through community leaders and specialists who were given monopolized access to state resources and knowledge. Due to the ambitious scope of this endeavor, Namae concludes that the nation-state is the most appropriate entity to oversee it. With the proper legal framework, officials can manage the country's vast network of social organizations and enhance their coordination between other another so that the entire system worked in unison to regulate the fabric of a community.

While the Hokkaido Governorate adopted a social policy approach towards urban welfare, it applied similar reforms to the Ainu people in a rural context through the Natives Relief Regulations (*Dojin kyūgo kitei*) of 1923. The legislation's hallmark was the introduction of a new cadre of officers known as "natives relief commissioners" (*dojin hodō-iin*) who canvassed their assigned Ainu villages and organized relief projects in coordination with the relevant officials and social institutions. Similar to their urban counterparts, the natives relief commissioners expanded

[81] Namae Takayuki, "Shakai jigyō no gairon," 35.

[82] Namae Takayuki, "Shakai jigyō no gairon," 36.

the scope of the state's control and surveillance over the Ainu people by pursuing the following responsibilities: (1) management and cultivation of land grants; (2) poverty relief; (3) improvement of household finances and tax collection; (4) cultural reform; (5) housing reform and hygiene education; (6) care for destitute nursing mothers and children; and (7) correction of household registers.[83] Prefectural authorities ensured that each Ainu village with more than ten households received their own relief commissioner and delegated the subprefectural governors and municipal mayors to recruit them from the Japanese middleclass, including village mayors, townhall bureaucrats, schoolmasters, police officers, medical professionals, midwives, religious leaders, and social workers.

By entrusting the natives relief commissioners to mediate relations between the Ainu people and their local administrative district, the new welfare system expanded the Hokkaido Governorate's ability to implement the Protection Act at the grassroots level. Under the law, the Japanese government provided destitute Ainu households with farming implements and seeds, medical treatment subsidies, burial subsidies, and rice rations to guarantee their livelihood. The program continued to define the prefecture's basic approach to Ainu public welfare during the postwar recession as officials increased its funding from a budget of 22,651 to 45,033 yen in 1921.[84] With 101 relief commissioners supervising 3,135 Ainu households across the prefecture by 1925, officials relied on a corps of volunteers to execute their welfare programs at minimal cost to the state. Such volunteers not only investigated their communities and determined which households were eligible for government support, but also assisted people in obtaining financial

[83] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogo enkaku-shi*, Sapporo: Hokkaidōcho (1934), 232.

[84] Hokkaidōchō, Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō, Sapporo: Hokkaidōchō (1926), 124-125.

self-reliance by acting as guidance counselors who coached them on matters relating to daily life reform and hygiene.[85]

Viewing the cultivation of the Ainu allotments as the pillar of the Ainu household economy, the Hokkaido Governorate applied its social approach to modern rural development with the creation of the mutual aid association (*gojo kumiai*) system in 1924. By collectivizing Ainu households into state-sponsored cooperatives, officials assumed direct management over their land grants and provided former native relief commissioners with the institutional capacity to carry out their duties. As social intermediaries, the volunteers not only facilitated the government's distribution of farming tools and seeds to members, but also worked with state technicians from the agricultural associations and experimental farms to organize agricultural workshops. When the mutual aid association determined that a particular household was incapable of developing its estate, the organization assumed responsibility over the bidding and short-term leasing of the allotment to Japanese farmers. With the rent, officials then purchased daily essentials for the family and used the remainder to finance agricultural and cultural reform programs that prepared them to farm their land in the future.

Japanese officials portrayed the new welfare system as a further refinement of the Protection Act within the linear and progressive spectrum of modern rural development. In their description of the mutual aid associations, the Hokkaido Governorate anticipated that the institutions would act as the driving force of the Ainu people's evolution from primitive hunter-gatherers to modern commercial farmers. Blaming the moral ineptitude of the Ainu people for the uneven results of the Protection Act, officials cited their lack of fiscal discipline and reckless

[85] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogo enkaku-shi*, 233.

pursuit of personal pleasures as the root cause of high levels of household debt in Ainu villages.[86] By having the mutual aid associations govern their allotments, though, they anticipated that such national agents as the relief commissioners would use their technical expertise to teach the Ainu people to cultivate their land and ensure that they developed a productive household economy. The state-sponsored institutions would also better manage their finances by investing it towards such social programs as agricultural education, savings improvement, daily life reform, and housing reform.

As Japanese officials implemented the mutual aid association system, they encountered chaotic land arrangements caused by the entrenched dominance of the countryside's system of landlord-based local control. In April 1924, the Hokkaido Governorate dispatched representatives from the Social Division to each of the subprefectures to survey the Ainu allotments. The teams discovered that Japanese people controlled a third of the estates even though Ainu households were prohibited from selling or leasing any part of them under the Protection Act. Over the years, such powerbrokers as landlords and merchants eroded the autonomy of Ainu communities by subjecting destitute Ainu families to usury and compelling them to transfer their land through long-term leases. Due to lack of government oversight, many Ainu households were also unfamiliar of their rights to the land, with several of them leasing their estates for profit, not filing the proper inheritance paperwork to acquire it, or even remaining oblivious of their title to it.[87] Officials discovered family registers (*koseki*) that kept adult children and distant relatives in their records due to a misconception that they determined the beneficiaries of inheritance, obfuscating who occupied the allotments.

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[86] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 39.

[87] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 132-133.

Table 1 ***Land Patterns of Hokkaido's Mutual Aid Associations by Subprefecture in 1925***

Subprefecture	Members	Allotments (chō)	Self-cultivated (chō)	Leased (chō)
Ishikari	83	341	89	37
Oshima	25	24	10	13
Iburi	142	286	116	65
Urakawa	942	3226	469	1033
Kasai	334	1056	373	489
Kushiro	173	588	176	55
Abashiri	107	473	114	110
Total	1806	6006	1359	1813

Source: Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō (1926)

Although the Hokkaido Governorate envisioned the mutual aid association system would protect the Ainu allotments from Japanese landlords, it instead reinforced colonial class inequalities by recognizing existing Japanese leasehold rights over them. As the subprefectural governments organized 1,806 Ainu households into 28 mutual aid associations, officials instructed the organizations to recover any land that was sold or leased to another person. When prefectural authorities surveyed the Ainu villages in 1924, they and representatives from the subprefectural office and administrative district organized individual meetings with Japanese farmers who held some right to Ainu property. Officials minimized their losses by renegotiating leases rather than abrogating them, limiting their demands to the abandonment of vested rights and the reduction of contract terms and debt.[88] As the mutual aid associations also continued renting out estates owned by Ainu households deemed incapable of developing them, the cooperatives oversaw the transfer of most Ainu allotments to Japanese people, leasing 1,813 chō of 3,172 chō of Ainu allotments for 30,000 yen by 1925.[89]

[88] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 135.

[89] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 132, 136-137.

With Japanese farmers controlling most of the Ainu allotments, the results of the mutual aid associations were uneven across Hokkaido as officials struggled to negotiate the uneasy coexistence between Ainu villages and the Japanese landlord system. Although prefectural authorities pledged to overcome the class contradictions of the countryside by providing Ainu people with agricultural training and cultural reform, their recognition of Japanese leasehold rights over the land exacerbated relations of colonial dependency on the part of the lower classes who lacked the means of production. In integrating the Ainu villages into the rural economy, the mutual aid association reinforced the bifurcation of the Ainu population into a successful group of commercial farmers who cultivated their allotments and a large underclass of wage laborers who relinquished them to Japanese farmers and shopkeepers. Consequently, income inequalities amongst the Ainu people were not the result of their lack of historical progression within Japanese rural society, but their deep integration in it as dispossession constituted one of its defining characteristics.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE AINU VILLAGES IN THE TOKACHI PLAINS

As the Hokkaido Governorate instructed each subprefectural government to organize its Ainu communities into mutual aid associations, the Kasai subprefectural office appropriated its new state powers over the Ainu allotments to formulate a model of colonial governance that could finally realize its goal of transforming the Ainu villages of the Tokachi plains into "ideal native-places" (*risō no kyōdo*). The hallmark of this ambitious project was the establishment of the Kyokumeisha (Rising Sun Society) in 1927, an umbrella organization that oversaw the mutual aid associations of the six Ainu villages in the Obihiro area, which included Fushiko (Obihiro),

Makubetsu, Ikeda, Otofuke, Memuro, and Honbetsu. Led by Japanese technocrats, the entity provided central guidance and coordination to the management of the Ainu allotments, arranging agricultural training courses, cultural reform workshops, and the distribution of farming equipment and seeds to turn their owners into commercial farmers. By applying scientific state management to its Ainu policy, the Kasai subprefectural office anticipated that their social work would produce a new blueprint of agricultural modernization and national integration for Ainu communities across the prefecture.

The Kasai subprefectural government's reorganization of the Ainu communities in the Tokachi plains coincided with the region's rapid economic development as an agricultural hub for the empire. During the 1920s, the town of Obihiro witnessed the emergence of a modern sugar industry in its suburbs, with the Teikoku Sugar Manufacturing Company (*Teikoku seitō kabushikigaisha*) constructing sugar mills in the villages of Kasai in 1919 and Shimizu in 1920, in addition to a private network of railways that unified the area in 1923.[90] With the postwar economic recession devastating rural villages across Hokkaido, authorities looked to the Tokachi region as an outlet for farming households from the overpopulated Ishikari plains and Oshima peninsula. During the First World War, the Obihiro area became a major center of bean cultivation, growing soybeans, adzuki beans, kidney beans, and green peas for the European and American markets as its population grew from 50,000 to 103,000 between 1897 and in 1916.[91] While such development created the conditions of a new influx of settlers into the region, it also attracted the

[90] Sugar beet production in Hokkaido was concentrated in the Tokashi and Abashiri regions as the prefecture's total acreage of the crop increased from 2,283 chō (1920), 4,020 chō (1921), 8,081 chō (1923) to 10,013 (1927). Hokkaidō, *Shin Hokkaidō-shi dai 5 maki tsūsetsu 4*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō, 298.

[91] Obihiro-chō, *Obihiro an'nai: fu Tokachi kokusei ichiran*, Obihiro: Obichiro-chō (1918), 12.

attention of large companies from the Japanese mainland who would soon turned it into a regional hub for the empire's production of sugar.

The historian Takakura Shin'ichiro argues that the 1920s marked an important turning point in Hokkaido's agricultural history because of the increased coordination between state policy and capitalist development to expand commercial agriculture in the eastern half of the prefecture. As Japanese migrants applied for land grants in the Kasai subprefecture to grow crops for the prefecture's food-processing factories, the Hokkaido Governorate invested 22,600,000 yen over the next two decades to facilitate the establishment of a sugar industry there.[92] Officials used generous state subsidies to not only attract large sugar corporations to Hokkaido and begin construction on new infrastructure projects, but also provide agricultural associations and sugar beet cooperatives with seeds, equipment, pesticide, and fertilizer to train their members to cultivate the largely unprofitable crop of sugar beet. Consequently, the prefecture's capitalist expansion differed from its previous model of state-led development that relied on large-sized landlords to oversee rice production because Japanese companies provided small and mid-sized farmers with access to new lucrative markets.

Prior to the rise of a capitalist agricultural economy in the Obihiro area, Ainu communities struggled to develop their allotments because of the entrenched dominance of Japanese landlords. When the Hokkaido Governorate issued 300 chō of "provisional allotments" (*kaikon yoteichi*) from the Chirotto plains to the Ainu people of the Tokachi region in 1896, Japanese landlords and shopkeepers secured long-term leases over much of the land from their owners through usury and fraudulent contracts.[93] Although Ainu residents filed a lawsuit against the government to recover

[92] Hokkaidō, *Shin Hokkaidō-shi dai 5 maki tsūsetsu 4*, 300.

their property in 1903, the Obihiro district court recognized the legality of the leases and ensured that the estates remained in Japanese hands.[94] To prevent such exploitation, the Kasai subprefectural office instructed the administrative districts to collectivize their Ainu residents into agricultural cooperatives that managed the allotments for them in 1905. Makubetsu established the first of these institutions when it formed the Chirotto Native Reclamation Association in 1905 and the Makubetsu Natives Reclamation Association in 1910, while the Obihiro township created the Fushiko Former Natives Agricultural Reclamation Association in 1906.[95]

The economic recession of the 1920s unraveled the Tokachi region's incipient network of agricultural cooperatives after Ainu members lost more of their property to Japanese landlords and left their villages to work as wage laborers across the prefecture. Social unrest reached a breaking point in the Ainu community at Obihiro when members of the Fushiko Former Natives Agricultural Reclamation Association overthrew their Japanese advisor and reclaimed their land in 1918 before the subprefectural government intervened and reinstated the cooperative.[96] The Makubetsu Natives Reclamation Association also fell into disrepair in 1920 when it accrued more than ten thousand yen in debt after organizing a relief effort that provided members with low-interest loans to recover their estates.[97] Disillusioned with the state-led cooperative movement, Ainu farmers abandoned their allotments and became day laborers at farms, construction sites,

[93] The provisional allotments in the Tokachi plains formed the basis of the Ainu villages there as smaller bands from the interior moved into their reservations in 1896. Makubetsu chōshi henshū iinkai, *Makubetsu chōshi,* Makubetsu: Makubetsucho yakuba (1967), 44-47.

[94] Makubetsu chōshi henshū iinkai, *Makubetsu chōshi*, 48-50.

[95] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi,* 45

[96] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi,* 46-47.

[97] Members of the Makubetsu Natives Reclamation Association not only had to donate 2,573 yen of their own money to repay the cooperative's debt, but also leased another 147 chō of land to Japanese farmers through three-year contracts. Makubetsu chōshi henshū iinkai, *Makubetsu chōshi,* 51.

lumber camps, and fisheries, while destitute families sold their children to serve annual apprenticeships (*hōkō*) at Japanese farms and ranches as soon as they graduated from elementary school.[98]

As the postwar recession devastated Ainu villages in the Obihiro area, Ainu accounts from the period portrayed their hardships in a narrative of community disintegration and spiritual breakdown that emphasized the collapse of the moral economy. Furukawa Chūshirō of Fushiko writes that his hometown had fallen into a "crazed and drunken state" (*kyōsui jyōtai*) during the 1920s as people abandoned their families and wandered from place to place in search of work.[99] Tanabe Asa'ichi of Makubetsu also describes his village in terms of community ruin by portraying the recession as a time when household patriarchs (*shujin*) remained idle and spent their time drinking sake in their homes. Such men neglected their traditional duties by abusing their wives, brawling with other drunkards, and selling their allotments to Japanese farmers, only leaving their homes at dusk to poach fish in the river before returning in the morning to sell their catch for more sake.[100] To make matters worse, the Ainu chief of Makubetsu, Yoshida Kikutarō, went into self-exile after accidently burning down his house during a drunken fit in 1927, finding work as a construction laborer in Atsunai.

The Hokkaido Governorate's mutual aid association system expanded the Kasai subprefectural government's oversight of the Ainu villages in a bid to reverse the degenerative effects of the postwar recession and facilitate their transformation into self-sufficient agrarian entities. As Obihiro experienced rapid industrial and agricultural expansion, officials anticipated

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[98] Kita Shōmei, *Ezo minzoku shadan Kyokumeisha gojūnen-shi*, Obihiro: Tokachi Kyokumeisha (1967), 19.

[99] Furukawa Chūshirō, Warera utari no onteki sake wo hōmure," *Ezo no hikari* 2, 26-27.

[100] Tanabe Asaichi. "Watakushi nado no buraku,"

that the integrative capabilities of the cooperatives would turn commercial farming into a viable occupation for Ainu households. Large-scale infrastructure projects not only connected the Tokachi plains to the country's agricultural markets via the port city of Kushiro, but the emergence of a capitalist sugar industry in the suburbs also stimulated local demand for sugar beet production. Consequently, the head of the Hokkaido Governorate's Social Division visited the Ainu villages of Kasai subprefecture in July 1923 to ensure that each of them had organized their residents into mutual aid associations. The Kasai subprefectural government also appointed Kita Masa'aki to its social office in 1925 to supervise the project, incorporating almost of the Ainu allotments into these institutions by the end of the year.[101]

As the Kasai subprefectural government implemented the mutual aid association system, Kita Masa'aki established the Kyokumeisha in 1927 to supervise state management of the Ainu allotments in the six Ainu villages of the Obihiro area. During the early years of his tenure, Kita became frustrated with the unreliability of the former natives relief commissioners as many of them did not submit their monthly reports to the administrative districts nor even set foot in their assigned Ainu villages.[102] By creating the Kyokumeisha, he envisioned that the new entity would act as an umbrella organization that provided the mutual aid associations with central guidance and coordination to execute their responsibilities. With Kita as its director, the organization's founders consisted of such Japanese technocrats as village mayors, the heads of each of the mutual aid associations, a university professor, and even a representative from the Hokkaido Sugar Manufacturing Company (*Hokkaidō seitō gaisha*).[103] By enlisting the support of an elite class of

[101] Hokkaidōchō, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 136-137.

[102] Kita Shōmei. *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 38.

[103] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 129.

technically-skilled men to run the association, he envisioned that a top-down approach based on state-led scientific management would guide the Ainu people's incorporation into the region's new capitalist economy.

Although the Kyokumeisha's main objective was to transform the Ainu people of the Obihiro area into independent farmers, it instead reinforced landlord-based local control by recognizing Japanese leaseholds over their allotments. Between 1927 and 1929, the organization made rounds around the Ainu villages to recover Ainu property that were in the hands of Japanese farmers. Like other mutual aid associations, though, officials lacked the authority to abrogate existing leases and could only limit their demands to the nullification of vested rights and the reduction of contract terms and debt. In case where an Ainu household was unable to cultivate its estate, they also leased it to Japanese farmers through one-year contracts.[104] Consequently, the mutual aid associations continued to lease most of the Ainu allotments under its management to Japanese people even after the Kyokumeisha's establishment. Kita justified such a move by asserting that the cooperatives spent the rent more wisely than their Ainu owners in the long term by investing it in farming workshops, tools, and seeds that prepared them to improve their land as soon as the leases reached their expiration.

While the Kyokumeisha recognized landlord dominance over the Ainu allotments, its integration of Ainu villages into Obihiro's capitalist economy pointed to the possibility of an alternative political trajectory for the Ainu people. In his writings, Kita asserts that the Ainu people can achieve progress under the mutual aid association system through their "cooperation and harmony" (*icchi yūgō*) with the Japanese people. He writes, "By carrying out the imperial command and hastening the self-awareness of the Ainu race, the Kyokumeisha looks forwards to

[104] Kita Shōmei, *Ezo minzoku shadan Kyokumeisha gojūnen-shi*, 12-13.

Table 2 ***Land Patterns of Kasai Subprefecture's Mutual Aid Associations in 1925***

Village	Members	Allotment (chō)	Self-cultivated (chō)	Leased (chō)
Fushiko	71	154	49	104
Makubetsu	69	247	81	118
Kawai (Ikeda)	47	240	32	65
Otofuke	38	110	49	61
Memuro	56	166	106	60
Honbetsu	53	139	56	81
Total	334	1056	373	489

Source: *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō* (1926)

the time when [the Ainu people] are loyal and good imperial subjects, bear the responsibilities of society as its wholesome members (*kanzen naru shakaijin*), and are fulfilling their divine mission of racial co-existence."[105] By speaking of the Ainu people as potential "wholesome members" of Japanese society rather than a foreign colonial population, his concept of integration posited an end to racial discrimination and equal access to resources. Consequently, social work offered a new vocabulary in which the objects of its reform could enunciate political demands beyond the recovery of allotments from Japanese farmers.

The Formation of Colonial Intermediaries

As the Kyokumeisha conducted land reform in the Ainu villages, it set out to discipline its members with the values and dispositions of the ideal modern farmer to synchronize their work rhythms with those of the model village. In its mission statement, the association defines itself as a "moral suasion group" (*kyoka dantai*) that is dedicated to the refinement of the Ainu people's national spirit and daily life reform.[106] With meeting halls in Obihiro and Otofuke, it organized at

[105] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 121.
[106] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 9.

least three cultural reform workshops during the year that brought together residents from the different villages to listen to the lectures of Japanese officials and Ainu community leaders. Such conferences emphasized the Kyokumeisha's ten official tenets: (1) self-reliance; (2) the aspiration to cultivate one's land; (3) debt and gratitude to the Hokkaido Governorate; (4) temperance; (5) repayment of financial debt; (6) filial piety; (7) self-diligence; (8) the accumulation of savings; (9) hygiene; and (10) altruism.[107] In this sense, the association differed from previous state welfare programs that focused on agricultural training because it sought to govern the Ainu people's interiority by disciplining the daily habits that formed their everyday life as rural subjects of Obihiro's capitalist economy.

The Kyokumeisha nurtured the Ainu middle class of the Obihiro area into a new class of colonial intermediaries to implement its initiatives at the grassroots level. Kita approached them not only because of the unreliability of Japanese former natives relief commissioners, but also because he believed that agricultural development required the Ainu people's "self-awareness" (*jikaku*) or internalization of the need to reform every aspect of their daily life to achieve such a goal. Consequently, he conceptualized the transformation of the Ainu people into commercial farmers to be a collaborative project based on a historical model of racial "harmony" (*yūwa*) between the Ainu and Japanese people. Within this temporality, the Ainu people were able to achieve progress through the dialectic synthesis – or "co-existence and co-prosperity" (*kyōzon kyōei*) – of Ainu community leadership and Japanese technocratic knowledge.[108] Defining the endpoint of this work to be the Ainu people's achievement of autonomous subjecthood as

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[107] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 16-17.

[108] Kita Shōmei, *Tokachi Ainu no ashiato to kono ato ni michi*, 126-127.

"wholesome members of society," Kita expected that members of the Kyokumeisha would one day free themselves from their dependence on Japanese technicians and govern the mutual aid associations themselves.[109]

As the Kyokumeisha implemented cultural reform in the Ainu villages, it was Ainu community leaders who indoctrinated residents with the dominant ideology of modern agricultural development. Viewing Ainu intermediaries as more effective than Japanese technicians in reaching out to the Ainu people, Kita had them lead the association's moral suasion workshops to reconfigure the work rhythms of the Ainu body to those of his imagined model village. Within their lectures on such topics as self-reliance, hard work, savings, hygiene, and temperance, Ainu speakers drew on collective memories and personal anecdotes of hardship during the postwar recession to frame the Kyokumeisha's program as a progressive movement from destitute Ainu villages of migrant laborers to modern ones of self-sufficient farmers. The workshops were followed by such social gatherings as tea parties and commemorative group photographs to foster amity amongst attendees.[110] In this sense, Ainu intermediaries inspired residents to participate in community development and restore vitality to their villages through their personal relations and traditional authority over them.

The Kyokumeisha produced its proof of concept in the form of a "model village" (*mohan buraku*) at the Chirotto Ainu community in the village of Makubetsu. If such notions as agricultural development and assimilation were nebulous in their definition, the model village represented their reified form by claiming to have achieved the unification of substance and rhetoric. With almost every Ainu household developing their allotments, Makubetsu soon became

[109] Kita Shōmei, "Saikin ni okeru zendō dojin no gaikyō," *Ezo no Hikari* 2 (1931), 11.

[110] Makubetsuchō Ezo bunka kōkokan monjo shiryō chōsa iinkai, *Yoshida Kikutarō shiryō mokuroku II monjo shiryō-hen*, Makubetsu: Makubetsuchō kyōiku iinkai (1998), 142.

the face of the Kyokumeisha as an embodiment of the successful accomplishment of its mission of transforming Ainu villages into self-sufficient entities of commercial farmers.[111] In awe of its modern rural landscape of cultivated fields protected by windbreaks, community centers, and Japanese-style houses, Kita anticipated that the village would be a blueprint of community development for Ainu communities across Hokkaido. In this sense, the model village acted as powerful tool to legitimatize colonial ideology by offering the object of its reform the possibility of attaining its promised state of condition. Through acceptance of Japanese state management over their allotments, Ainu people across the prefecture could also arrive at the historical endpoint of the government's Ainu policy and escape their marginal class position as migrant laborers within Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist society.

Under the Kyokumeisha, the Ainu community at Makubetsu achieved the rare distinction of cultivating almost all its allotments as its cultivated fields symbolized the people's fulfillment of their national duties of being productive citizens of the empire.[112] The village's economic revitalization was led by its traditional chief, Yoshida Kikutarō, who implemented the government's initiatives there. Upon his return from self-exile in 1929, he prioritized mobilizing the community to develop its allotments by collectivizing residents into a sugar beet cooperative, tax payment association, and a communal farm that was two chō in size. After officials appointed Yoshida as his village's former native relief commissioner in 1930, he also organized agricultural training courses with Makubetsu's agricultural association and experimental farm. One such activity included visits to the village's annual produce management fair (*nogyō keiei hinpyō-kai*),

[111] A survey conducted by the Tokachi subprefectural government in 1930 reports that amongst the 284 Ainu people living in Makubetsu, 50 men and 94 women were farmers, 17 men and 20 women were day laborers, and 1 man and 2 women were unemployed. Makubetsuchō, *Makubetsuchō hyakunenshi*, Makubetsu: Makubetsuchō (1996), 72.

[112] 51 Ainu households in Makubetsu received 224 chō of land from the local government under the Protection Act and cultivated 217 chō of it in 1935. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 34-36.

where Japanese technicians scrutinized every aspect of an individual's farm – from the number of people in the household, the size of its allotment, to its livestock – and provided detailed advice on how to improve it through crop rotation.[113]

Yoshida also led the community's daily life reform through the formation of the Chirotto Kotan Moral Reform Association (*Chirotto kotan kyōfūkai*) in 1929. Located on the grounds of the Chirotto Shinto shrine, his moral suasion group acted as the village's branch of the Kyokumeisha to indoctrinate members with the dominant ideology of modern agricultural development. The organization's monthly meeting followed the template of a cultural reform workshop by inviting community leaders to preach self-help and temperance to residents.[114] It also organized group activities to reinforce the village's social cohesion, including the management of a communal farm and the construction of Japanese-style wooden homes for all twenty-free households by 1931. Working with the mutual aid association, Yoshida secured the funds and equipment to convert the village's traditional Ainu dwellings – the chise – into "cultural houses" (*bunka jūtaku*) that came complete with white plaster walls, partitioned rooms, shingle-roof coverings, multiple windows, kamidana Shinto shrines, and bathtubs to economize the domestic space.

At Makubetsu, the Kyokumeisha created a concrete template of community development for Ainu villages across the prefecture within the framework of the government's mutual aid association system. By mobilizing the combined resources of the Japanese state and the Ainu middle class, the association extolled its conversion of the Ainu community there into a modern agrarian village of cultivated fields, Japanese-style cultural houses, and civic centers that paid its

[113] Yoshida Kikutarō, "Ritsumōhin-kai wo teishō shite, jisaku no reikō wo gosu," *Ezo no hikari* 2 (1931), 18-19.

[114] Yoshida Kikutarō, *Ainu bunka-shi*, Makubetsu: Hokkaidō Ainu bunka hozon-kai (1958), 22.

taxes to the Hokkaido Governorate and provided raw material to the capitalist conglomerates of the Tokachi region. Such intervention culminated in the Ainu residents' withdrawal from their mutual aid association and the establishment of their own cooperative, the Chirroto Native Landowner Cooperative (*Chirotto dojin jinushi*), in 1931. No longer dependent on Japanese technicians and bureaucrats for the management of its allotments, the new Ainu village at Makubetsu embodied the Japanese government's longstanding goal of transforming the Ainu people into self-sufficient commercial farmers and represented the historical endpoint of its colonial policy.

THE PAN-AINU IMAGINARY

As the Hokkaido Governorate reorganized the rural economy of Ainu villages under the mutual aid association system, Kita Masa'aki reached out to them to form a mass movement that implemented the Kyokumeisha's template of community development across the prefecture with the creation of a national organization known as the Hokkaido Ainu Association (*Hokkaidō Ainu kyōkai*) in 1930. The new entity claimed to represent the entirety of the Ainu population, not only mediating relations between the Japanese government and the Ainu villages, but also acting as a central moral suasion group that facilitated their agricultural development and cultural reform.[115] By forming subbranches in each Ainu community and publishing an official bulletin known as the *Ezo no Hikari* (The Light of Ezo), Kita anticipated that the Hokkaido Ainu Association would complete his vision of constructing a new national culture for the Ainu people on the basis of the model village ideology. Consequently, his organization was an extension of the Japanese

[115] Makubetsuchō Ezo bunka kōkokan monjo shiryō chōsa iinkai, *Yoshida Kikutarō shiryō mokuroku II monjo shiryō-hen*, Makubetsu: Makubetsuchō kyōiku iinkai (1998), 142.

government's Ainu policy by indoctrinating the Ainu people to internalize the colonial subjectivity of the self-sufficient farmer.

Kita's plan to establish the Hokkaido Ainu Association coincided with the Kyokumeisha's movement to revise the Protection Act. In what is now known as the "Protection Act Abolition Debate" (*hogohō teppai-ron*), Ainu community leaders in the Obihiro area reached a consensus to initiate a petition campaign against the Hokkaido Governorate to expand their private property rights under the law during a meeting at the Tokachi Town Hall in Obihiro on March 10, 1930.[116] One of the attendees, Fushine Kōzō, the traditional chief of the Ainu village in Fushine, had long been a vocal critic of the Protection Act as he believed that its segregated land and school system prevented the Ainu people from achieving equal treatment in Japanese society.[117] Yoshida also viewed the law as an obstacle to the Ainu people's historical progress by describing it as a "transitory institution" (*kato no shisetsu*) for hunter-gatherers that had had become obsolete over the years as many of them were now successful farmers.[118] Viewing the property restrictions and small size of the Ainu allotments as significant impediments to the productive capabilities of their villages, these men sought to empower Ainu farmers with ownership of their means of production through legislative reform.

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[116] Kita Shōmei, *Ezo minzoku shadan Kyokumeisha gojūnen-shi*, 23.

[117] Fushine Kōzō writes in an essay published by the *Nihon kōron* journal in 1926 that the abolishment of the Protection Act is necessary for the Ainu people's achievement of equal rights and treatment in Japanese society. While recognizing that the Ainu people had lived primitive lives in the past, Fushine declares that they had made much progress since the Meiji government's annexation of Hokkaido in 1869 as they completed compulsory education and became commercial farmers and fishermen. Now that large numbers of Ainu people were assimilated in Japanese society, he concludes that the Japanese government must recognize the racial equality of the Ainu people by terminating the Protection Act's segregated land and school system. Hotene Chanraro [Fushine Kōzō], "Ainujin no hogohō wo haishi seyo," *Nihon kōrōn* 14, no. 12 (1926), 19.

[118] Yoshida Kikutarō, "Shakai jigyō toshite no Ezo minzoku," *Ezo no Hikari* 3 (1931).

While the Kyokumeisha advocated the abolishment of the Protection Act, it recognized the continued necessity of state welfare measures and limited its demands to the law's amendment rather than a complete repeal. Due to the Ainu people's precarious economic situation, the association envisioned using legislative reform to facilitate the reification of its model village ideology in Ainu communities across Hokkaido. Consequently, the Kyokumeisha sought greater resources to agricultural development, cultural reform, and housing reform in the new Protection Act, submitting a petition with the following demands to the Hokkaido Governorate after its meeting in March 1930:

> (1) expand the scope of the Protection Act by providing financial assistance to commercial and fishing businesses; (2) relax the property restrictions on the Ainu allotments and allow households to transfer ownership rights over them with the approval of the Governor of Hokkaido; (3) establish a scholarship fund for gifted children from poor households; (4) use funds from the National Treasury to subsidize eighty percent of the costs of constructing new houses for poor households; (5) abolish the Ainu elementary school system; (6) use public funds to finance the establishment of new protection facilities (*hogo setsubi*); and (7) use the funds from Ainu elementary school system to support the initiatives of the revised law.[119]

In response to the Kyokumeisha's demand to revise the Protection Act, Kita proposed incorporating the Ainu population into a single national organization called the Hokkaido Ainu Association to mobilize them to support such legislative reform. After the Hokkaido Governorate

[119] Kita Shōmei, *Ezo minzoku shadan Kyokumeisha gojūnen-shi*, 25-26.

transferred him to its Social Division on April 10, 1930, prefectural authorities examined amending the Protection Act and produced a draft legislation in July, which included the relaxation of property restrictions on the Ainu allotments and the expansion of their maximum size from five to ten chō.[120] Before submitting the law to the Home Ministry, the Social Division requested Kita to organize a regional conference in Sapporo to discuss its proposals with Ainu representatives from across the prefecture. Although Kita's first attempt to form such a meeting ended in failure in August, he still introduced the idea of a pan-Ainu entity to the Kyokumeisha on September 7, when he submitted a motion to rename the body as the "Hokkai Ainu Association" (*Hokkai Ainu kyōkai*) and construct a new office and lecture hall in Sapporo.[121] The Kyokumeisha's committee voted against the move with the understanding that the association would remain a local branch of the national institution.

To propagate his new pan-Ainu organization to Ainu villages across Hokkaido, Kita founded the *Ezo no Hikari* journal in 1930 as the official bulletin of the Hokkaido Ainu Association. He and Yoshida served as the journal's editors, arranging each issue in the following format: (1) introductory articles by Japanese officials from the Hokkaido Governorate's Social Division on their initiatives towards the Ainu people; (2) articles by Ainu writers on their visions of community development and racial uplift; (3) historical material and legends on the Ainu past to promote local education; and (4) short biographies of notable Ainu community leaders. By publishing editorials that educated readers on the purpose and current situation of such government initiatives as the mutual aid association system, cultural reform, and housing reform, the *Ezo no Hikari* acted as a colonial medium to facilitate state agricultural development in the Ainu villages. Ainu residents

[120] Tokyō Nichi nichi Shimbun, "Ainu taikai," July 5, 1930.

[121] Makubetsuchō Ezo bunka kōkokan monjo shiryō chōsa iinkai, *Yoshida Kikutarō shiryō mokuroku II monjo shiryō-hen*, 142.

of the Obihiro area, including Yoshida Kikutarō, Furukawa Chūshirō, Fushine Shinko, and Tanabe Asa'ichi, reinforced these programs by writing opinion pieces that urged people to embrace commercial agriculture and temperance in addition to descriptive surveys of their hometowns as successful models of national integration.

Although the *Ezo no Hikari* provided Japanese officials with a platform to promote their policies, it also acted as a forum where Ainu activists outlined alternative subjectivities under Japanese colonialism. As Yoshida oversaw the bulletin's publication, he appropriated it to create a pan-Ainu dialogical space that envisioned the Ainu middle class rather than the colonial state as the driving force of the Ainu people's progress. In addition to disseminating his politics of local autonomy to the broader Ainu reading public, Yoshida used the print networks of the *Ezo no Hikari* to initiate conversation with prominent Ainu intellectuals across Hokkaido by accepting articles from Mukai Yamao of Date, Kaizawa Hisanosuke and Kaizawa Tadashi of Nibutani, Onobu Shōtarō of Kushiro, and Ogawa Sasuke of Urakawa. A common theme of their writings is the promotion of self-help, which espoused the ideology that individual cultivation through education and social mobility would result in the end of Japanese racial discrimination and the Ainu people's acceptance as equal members of society. While such activism reinforced traditional forms of vanguard politics, the journal's inclusion of Ainu writers outside the Obihiro area reinforced its claim to represent the voice of the Ainu people.

To convert the written text into praxis, Yoshida utilized the *Ezo no Hikari* to outline his manifesto on the Protection Act's abolishment. Within his introductory article to the journal's third edition, "Awaken to the Self" (*Jiko ni mezameyo*), Yoshida incorporates legislative reform into the temporality of the model village by claiming that such change was an integral part of the Ainu people's historical transition from the primitive natural village (*kotan*) to the modern

administrative village. By reinforcing the Ainu people's dependence on government welfare, he blames the Protection Act for hindering their progress and preserving the communal lifestyle of the "chieftain system" (*shūchō seidō*). Under this archaic institution, the Ainu people lacked a concept of self as they shared their food, land, and work with one another and relied on village leaders to govern every aspect of their lives. Chiefs acted as not only political rulers, but also family patriarchs who managed the household economy by assigning men to the fisheries and demarcating their hunting grounds.[122] Finding it regrettable that the primitive remnants of the chieftain system continued to exist in the form of the Ainu people's subservience to the Protection Act, Yoshida writes that they must cast away their old custom of depending on outside help and open their eyes to the lifestyle of modern agriculture to survive society's "battleground of life."[123]

Although Yoshida's politics of community development operated in a colonial temporality that naturalized the Ainu people's subjectivity as "former natives" who had yet to progress through the stages of historical development, he inverted official representations by arguing that it was Japanese rule itself, rather than a lack of it, that caused such stagnation. Within this article, Yoshida argues that the Ainu people's primitive state prior to the Meiji Restoration was the result of the feudal abuses of the Matsumae clan, whose "anti-assimilation policy" (*hi-dōka seisaku*) enforced their underdevelopment by forbidding them to learn the Japanese language and culture.[124] It was only after the Russian advance into Siberia threatened Ezo that the Tokugawa government assumed direct control over the region in 1804 and introduced cultural reforms to the Ainu people, building Buddhist temples in their villages and teaching them the Japanese language. Although

[122] Yoshida Kikutaro, "Jiko ni mezameyo," *Ezo no Hikari* 3 (1931), 1.

[123] Yoshida Kikutarō, "Jiko ni mezameyo," 1.

[124] Yoshida Kikutarō, "Shakai jigyō toshite no Ezo minzoku,"

Japanese integration inaugurated a golden age that facilitated the Ainu people's historical progress and enlightenment, such cultural exchanges were brief as the shogunate reinstated regressive Matsumae clan rule in 1821.

Having subsumed the historical trajectory of the Ainu people into the Kyokumeisha's model village ideology, Yoshida encourages readers of the *Ezo no Hikari* to implement his program of community development and cultural reform in their hometowns to achieve racial uplift. As Ainu community leaders like him petitioned the Hokkaido Governorate to abolish the Protection Act, Yoshida anticipates that the new Ainu village will usher a golden age similar to one during Tokugawa direct rule by exclaiming, "It is the time of Shōwa, society sings praises of constitutional government."[125] Through social integration and legislative reform, Ainu farmers will be able to lift the restrictions on their property rights and expand their landholdings so that they can free themselves from their dependence on state welfare and cultivate the allotments by themselves. With the spirit of the Kyokumeisha sweeping Hokkaido, Yoshida concludes that the Ainu people will once again become the driving force of their own historical progress and urges them to prepare themselves for this new moment as they collectively awakened to the "free activity" (*jiyū no katsudō*) of modern agriculture.

Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference

On August 2, 1931, Fushine Kōzō of the Kyokumeisha and John Batchelor of the Hokkaido Governorate's Social Division inaugurated the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference (*Zendō Ainu seinen taikai*) at the Gyōyū Kindergarten in Sapporo to discuss the future of the Protection Act.

[125] Yoshida Kikutarō, "Jiko ni mezameyo," 1.

The three-day mass gathering attracted approximately seventy Ainu men and women from across Hokkaido, including Hidaka, Iburi, Kitami, Kushiro, and Tokachi subprefectures and the Asahikawa municipality. Half of the speakers were associated with the Kyokumeisha, including Yoshida Kikutarō, Fushine Kōzō, Furukawa Chūshirō, and Nukishio Kizō, who were joined by such Ainu notables as Mukai Yamao of Date, Moritake Takeuchi of Shiraoi, and Ogawa Sasuke of Urakawa. With the pan-Ainu vision in mind, Ainu activists anticipated that the meeting would rally the youth to dedicate themselves to the "progress and development" (*shinpo kōjō*) of the Ainu people. As the Social Division was also in the final stages of preparing a draft of the revised Protection Act, Kita Masa'aki also envisioned the conference to be an opportunity to influence them to support his agenda of legislative reform.

The historian Yamada Shin'ichi argues that the Ainu vision of a prefectural-wide mass movement to mobilize the Ainu people into community development and political action during the 1930s was built upon the Kyokumeisha's project of exporting its model village template to Ainu communities across Hokkaido.[126] As Ainu youths gathered at the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference to foster bonds of cooperation and emity, the Ainu middle class from the Obihiro area and Japanese bureaucrats from the Social Division appropriated the extravaganza to not only indoctrinate them with their program of agricultural development and cultural reform, but also create a unified political voice to revise the Protection Act. Consequently, the *Ezo no Hikari* publicized the conference as the "materialization" (*gutaika*) of the discursive relations within the journal and an extension of its dialogical space.[127] With such a goal in mind, the Kyokumeisha

[126] Yamada Shin'ichi. "Hokkaidō Ainu kyōkai to Zendō Ainu seinen taikai [On the Hokkaido Ainu Kyokai (Hokkaido Ainu Association) and the Zen Ainu Seinen Taikai (Hokkaido Ainu Convention in Aug. 1931)]," *Hokkaidōritsu Ainu minzoku bunka kenkyū sentā kenkyū kiyō* 6 (2000), 19-47.
[127] "Kakuchi jinjō," *Ezo no hikari* 3.

proposed inducting the convention's participants into the Hokkaido Ainu Association by introducing a plan to form eighteen subbranches across the prefecture and recruit talented people to lead them.[128]

As a forum of political mobilization, the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference followed the format of a moral suasion workshop to arouse the political consciousness of the Ainu youth and inspire them to improve their hometowns in the image of the model village ideology. While Ainu community leaders lectured the audience on agricultural development and cultural reform, journalists from the Otaru Shimbun described the animated atmosphere of their talks in the following terms: "[Speakers] held the kind of heated debates that stimulated racial uplift (*dōzoku kōjō*) by emphasizing the abolishment of the native schools, the establishment of mixed-race elementary schools, and the cultivation of true strength. While Ogawa Sasuke spoke of the injustice of the [allotment's] five chō limit, Mukai Yamao offered his reflections on the Protection Act. Fushine Kōzo gave a passionate discussion on temperance and urged strong caution towards the idea of combining the communal funds."[129] Although the conference's topics covered extensive ground, they reflected the Ainu middle class's acceptance of the model village ideology as the foundation of the new Ainu national culture.

The conference arrived at its climax on the last day when Ainu representatives reached a consensus on the terms of their petition to the Governor of Hokkaido to revise the Protection Act. The document reflected the Kyokumeisha's clout over the participants as they employed legislative reform to seek the financial and institutional resources to convert their communities into self-sufficient rural entities. With the petition in hand, Ogawa Sasuke and Fushine Kōzō

[128] "Wakaki Ainu ha sekabu, zendo jūhakke jyo ni shibu wo mōke hogohō wo kaisei undo," Tokyō Asahi Shimbun Hokkai Karafuto-ban, August 4, 1931.

[129] Yamada Shin'ichi. "Hokkaidō Ainu kyōkai to Zendō Ainu seinen taikai," 38.

presented the following demands to the Hokkaido Governorate: (1) expand the size of the Ainu allotments from five to ten chō; (2) include all types of land in addition to uncultivated land as the source of Ainu allotments; (3) abolish primogeniture to allow family members other than the oldest son to inherit property; (4) abolish the Ainu school system and transfer its budget to agricultural training and support; (5) create a scholarship fund from Ainu communal assets to assist gifted Ainu students to advance to the middle and high school level; (6) expand the law's welfare measures to include support for fishing businesses; and (7) use public funds to provide a salary for the former native relief commissioners.[130]

By gathering Ainu people from every corner of the prefecture, the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference marked a momentous moment for the Kyokumeisha as the Ainu middle class produced a unified Ainu voice that enunciated demands of greater political rights and equality through the model village ideology. Although their grand vision of constructing the Hokkaido Ainu Association was disrupted by the Showa Depression, with the *Ezo no Hikari* suspending publication in 1932, the organization laid the foundation of new relationship between the Ainu people and the Japanese state.[131] After the conference, prefectural authorities completed a draft of the revised Protection Act and submitted it to the Home Ministry on September 6, 1931. The new law reflected the basic contours of the model Ainu village by providing the Ainu people with the resources to construct modern rural communities with expanded landholdings, co-educated elementary schools, community centers, and Japanese-style "cultural houses."[132] As Hokkaido

[130] "Kyūdojin no hogo wo sakebi, dochō he chinjutsu ni deru, seinen taikai shusseki no daihyōsha," Otaru Shimbun, August 5, 1931.

[131] Kita Shōmei, *Ekashi wa kataru*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō Ainu Kyōkai (1933), 95.
[132] "Kyūdojin hogo-hō kaisei-an naru chikaku naimushō ni teishutsu," Hokkai Times, September 6, 1931.

spiraled into economic depression, though, the class contradictions of colonial-capitalist society soon challenged the Kyokumeisha's claim to universal historical representation.

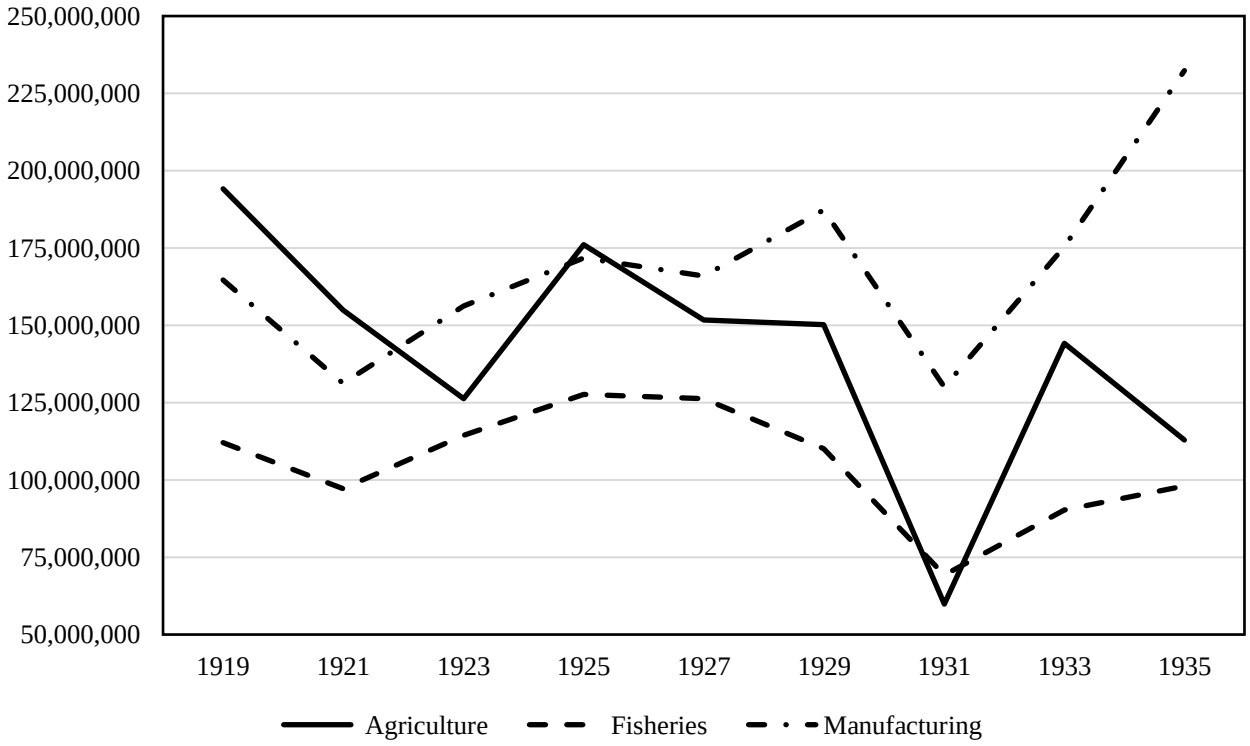
THE NEW AINU POLICY

During the 1930s, the Japanese empire experienced an unprecedented economic crisis now known as the Showa Depression (*Shōwa kyōkō*). After an influx of rice imports from the Korean peninsula and the evaporation of global demand for silk products caused commodity prices to collapse across the country, consecutive years of cold weather damage, famines, and river floods in Hokkaido battered its rural economy even further. The value of the prefecture's agricultural production decreased from 150 million to 60 million yen between 1929 and 1931.[133] While such calamities affected almost every segment of Hokkaido's population, it had a disproportionate effect on marginal farmers and fishermen who did not own the means of their production. As the number of tenant movements in the prefecture more than tripled after landlords began evicting farmers to reclaim their land, herring pound-trappers in western Hokkaido also lost their fishing businesses when a government-sponsored initiative to restructure the industry shuttered hundreds of fisheries in 1930. Consequently, the enclosure of the prefecture's farmlands and fisheries displaced a significant portion of the rural population and threatened to bring the entire economy to a standstill.

Throughout the Showa Depression, Japanese officials considered the "agrarian problem" to be the country's paramount source of social instability as disenfranchised farmers and fishermen left their hometowns to find employment in the cities. Such mass rural-urban migration threatened

[133] Seki Hideshi, Kuwabara Masato, Ōba Yukio, and Takahashi Akio, *Hokkaido no rekishi*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō shinbunsha (2006), 221.

Table 1 *Economic Productivity of Hokkaido in Yen (1919-1935)*



the collapse of the household economy within the countryside and bring disorder to the urban centers by creating crowded slums with high rates of crime, diseases, and vagrancy. The Ainu people were particularly vulnerable to this form of economic displacement due to the Hokkaido Governorate's unequal distribution of land and resources, which forced several of them to join the prefecture's growing population of migrant laborers and work in fisheries, construction sites, and lumber camps across the prefecture.[134] Government statistics reveal that the combined figure of tenant farmers and hired workers was almost equal to that of independent farmers in 1935. Officials also categorized approximately a third of Ainu households as "absentee landlords" for

[134] There were 3,422 independent farmers, 383 independent fishermen, 1,374 tenant farmers, 740 fishery workers, and 1,616 day laborers amongst 8,310 Ainu men and women of working age in 1935. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, Sapporo: Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika (1936), 20-22.

having sold or leased a part of their estate to work outside of their villages.[135] With the Showa Depression intensifying the class divisions of the Ainu people, Japanese officials became alarmed that its effects were unravelling the colonial order built under the Former Natives Protection Act.

As the Hokkaido Governorate set out to rebuild the rural economy, it implemented a nationwide administrative program known as the Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement (*Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei undo*). The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry inaugurated the campaign in 1932 as the government's basic policy towards the economic recovery and social reform of the countryside.[136] Adopting the slogan of "self-revitalization" (*jiriki kōsei*), central government bureaucrats instructed administrative districts across the country to transform their rural villages into self-sufficient entities through a combination of public works projects and government planning. This included the creation of local task forces known as "revitalization committees" that consisted of village and town officials, schoolmasters, and community leaders to draft "revitalization plans" which outlined recommendations for long-term improvements towards economic development, credit, land distribution, and daily life reform. By carrying out extensive surveys of their domains, these local notables used the information that they had gathered to assist the administrative districts in envisioning and implementing projects that restored economic productivity to their hometowns.

A central strategy of the Economic Revitalization Movement was the adoption of a social policy approach that entrusted state-sanctioned cooperatives and institutions to govern every aspect of community development within the villages. Under the campaign, prefectural

[135] The Hokkaido Governorate classified 838 of 2,714 Ainu households that received land under the Protection Act as absentee landlords. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 43-45.

[136] For the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry's complete outline of the Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement, which it circulated to administrative districts across the country, see Nōrinshō, *Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei keikaku jyuritsu hōshin*, Tokyo: Nōrinshō (1932).

governments tasked their administrative districts to establish the following village-level organizations: (1) the agricultural associations to increase rural production; (2) the industrial cooperatives to improve the sales and procurement of agricultural goods; and (3) elementary schools to strengthen community relations.[137] By enrolling residents these institutions, officials expected them to allocate resources and manage economic affairs on terms that were more equitable than those provided by the large landowners, private merchants, and storeowners who ruled the earlier system of landlord-based local control. In this sense, the new economic system represented an alternative vision of the rural economy that promised to overcome the class contradictions of the empire through the replacement of exploitative feudal powerbrokers with rational corporate societies.

With the specter of social disintegration haunting their communities, Ainu representatives appropriated the Economic Revitalization Movement to create a political voice in which to abolish the Protection Act. Finding common ground with the campaign's focus on transforming tenant farmers into owner-cultivators, they supported the prefecture's efforts to reform its Ainu policy based on a new administrative system which promised impartial treatment within the economic sphere. Consequently, Ainu community leaders enunciated demands for greater access to government resources in terms that were legible to Japanese officials through the language of the cooperative movement, constructing a platform that called for the following rights: (1) the establishment of autonomous cooperatives and social organizations; (2) the desegregation of the education system; (3) land reform and equal property rights; and (4) state assistance for daily life reform. These goals embodied their vision of a self-sufficient village that could preserve the collective fabric of the Ainu people.

[137] Nōrinshō, *Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei keikaku jyuritsu hōshin*, 28-30.

THE REORGANIZATION OF AINU COMMUNITIES

On July 10, 1935, the Social Division of the Hokkaido Governorate convened the Former Natives Protection Facilities Improvement Conference (*Kyūdojin hogo shisetsu kaizen kyōgikai*) at the Sapporo Grand Hotel.[138] Presided by Nagahashi Shigeo, Head of the School Affairs Department, and Mizuno Shōichi, Section Chief of the Social Division, the symposium brought together thirty-six Ainu and Japanese participants to discuss the prefectural government's proposed revisions to the Protection Act in anticipation that the Imperial Diet soon begin debate on the bill. The cornerstone of the new legislation was the economic development and daily life reform of Ainu communities under the framework of the Economic Revitalization Movement. By shifting the emphasis of Ainu policy from agricultural production to market exchange, Japanese officials sought to hasten the Ainu people's economic recovery and achieve the longstanding goal of transforming them into self-sufficient farmers. They also hoped that the reforms would lay the foundation of a new colonial relationship which reinforced the legitimacy of the government's stewardship over them.

Fearing that the Showa Depression would result in the "vanishment" of the Ainu village without intensive state intervention, the Hokkaido Governorate envisioned a new colonial policy that was comprehensive in its scope. Aiming to extend social control to every facet of the Ainu people's everyday life, the conference's agenda included the following topics: (1) government welfare; (2) occupational assistance; (3) the Protection Act; (4) housing reform; (5) customs reform; (6) health care and hygiene; (7) daily life reform; (8) advisory officers; (9) social institutions; (10) education; and (11) assimilation. To achieve the "unity of government and people"

[138] The full transcript of the conference is printed in "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," *Hokkaido shakai jigyō* 42 (1935), 282-347.

(*kanmin icchi*), prefectural authorities also ensured that the attendees represented each of the constituent parts of Japanese society, including eleven Ainu representatives, nine prefectural officials, eight district mayors and clerks, three schoolmasters, four university professors, and one hospital director. Through dialogue and debate, officials hoped that the conference would serve as an opportunity to educate them on the new law and gain their consent because its implementation relied on their support.

The Hokkaido Governorate's initiative to reform its Ainu policy was part of a broader empire-wide movement on the part of Japanese officials to create a more effective system of social control within the countryside at a time when class tensions between landlords and tenant farmers reached a breaking point. In their analysis on the Rural Revitalization Movement in Korea, the historians Gi-Wook Shin and Do-Hyun Han argue that Japanese agrarian reforms constituted a social policy approach known as colonial corporatism that sought to accommodate the discontent of the rural lower class by replacing landlord-based authority with direct state intervention in the rural economy. The new method organized people into hierarchical, semi-official societies that were given monopoly rights by the government to oversee each stage of the production process. Such institutions not only improved the productivity and market conditions of their members, but also acted as disciplinary tools that depoliticized rural civil society through increased state surveillance and control.[139] Consequently, Japanese colonialism not only resorted to coercion and ideological control to govern its subjects, but also established a series of intermediary associations

[139] Shin and Han cite Philippe Schmitter's definition: "Corporatism… is a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not create) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supporters." Gi-Wook Shin and Do-Hyun Han, "Colonial Corporatism: The Rural Revitalization Campaign, 1932-1940," in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, eds. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center,1999), 75.

which bypassed traditional local elites to contain the class contradictions of the countryside and preserve political power.

With the specter of proletarianization overshadowing the symposium, Ainu and Japanese representatives proposed a colonial corporatist approach to resolve their socio-economic problems. In crafting the conference's raison d'etre, prefectural authorities believed that the nation-state could overcome the class divisions of Ainu communities by providing residents with the universal economic benefits of their social institutions. In this sense, the Economic Revitalization Movement reproduced the dominant ideology of "assimilation and improvement" (*dōka kōjō*), which posited that social integration constituted a force of historical progress within the linear spectrum of modern rural development. By operating within this temporality, officials acknowledged that the Protection Act no longer reflected the current realities of the times because Japanese settlers had transformed Hokkaido from a realm of primordial forests into a complex agricultural hub with vast fields and rice paddies. They also created a new colonial discourse that naturalized the incorporation of the Ainu people into the new national economy as a movement towards a higher stage of development.[140]

Rural Cooperative Movement

As the recovery of the Ainu people took on renewed urgency, Ainu and Japanese representatives prioritized their enrollment into the state-sponsored cooperatives and social organizations of the Economic Revitalization Movement. During the conference, Takakura Shin'ichirō, Professor of Agricultural Economics at Hokkaido Imperial University, introduced the

[140] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 282, 285-286.

Hokkaido Governorate's plan of transforming Ainu communities into self-sufficient villages through the creation a new corps of advisory officers. Such advisors would direct the economic development of each Ainu village in coordination with their various cooperatives and would be chosen from technical experts who could provide residents with hands-on job training, community guidance, and daily life reform.[141] They would also have access to government resources by occupying a seat at their local district welfare committee (*hōmen-iin*), which consisted of volunteer case workers who supervised anti-poverty relief measures on behalf of the administrative districts. By synchronizing their activities with the other village-level associations, the advisors would integrate the Ainu communities within their local networks of state support and help design and execute their revitalization plans.[142]

With the cooperatives becoming the mainstay of the rural economy, Ainu representatives viewed access to them as critical for their villages. During the 1930s, such cooperative federations as Zenkōren (National Procurement Cooperative Alliance), Zenbairen (National Wholesale Cooperative Alliance), and their regional branch, Hokuren (Hokkaido Credit, Procurement, and Wholesale Cooperative Alliance), amalgamated the country's regional agricultural markets into a unified national one in order to stabilize prices, standardize the grading and marketing of goods, and expand distribution. Within this system, the industrial cooperatives managed agricultural products at the administrative district level by mediating transactions between the federations and individual farmers. Through sub-branch groups known as the agricultural activities cooperatives

[141] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 334.

[142] Under the Poor Relief Law of 1932, the purview of the district welfare committees (*homen-iin*) included the distribution of funds for occupational, livelihood, burial, childbirth, and medical assistance. To determine the recipients of such welfare, the government appointed an honorary relief commissioner, usually a local notable, to head the committee and be responsible for surveying their districts. Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, *Civil Affairs Handbook: Japan: Section 16: Public Welfare*, U.S. Army Service Forces (1944), 18-19.

(*nōji jikkō kumiai*), members could sell and purchase goods at more favorable rates than those offered by local merchants and shopkeepers.[143] They were also able to use any public facilities maintained by the cooperatives, including warehouses, credit unions, milling establishments, farm machinery, and workshops.

Under the Economic Revitalization Movement, the industrial cooperatives consolidated their control over Hokkaido's agricultural economy and strengthened the purchasing and selling powers of members. With the passage of the Hokkaido Industrial Cooperatives Five Year Expansion Plan in 1933, prefectural officials mandated each administrative district to establish their own association with the objective of incorporating all 190,200 farming households into them. Within five years, the number of agricultural activities cooperatives increased from 4,037 to 6,549, while membership within them more than doubled to encompass seventy percent of the farming population.[144] As the wholesale price of Hokkaido's two staple products, rice and soybeans, increased within these organizations, they soon became the primary intermediary between rural households and the national market.[145] By 1937, the industrial cooperatives handled approximately sixty percent of the prefecture's agricultural sales and another sixty-eight percent of its purchases.[146]

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[143] The agricultural activities cooperatives were established in 1926 as a sub-branch group of the agricultural associations. The Imperial Diet revised the Industrial Cooperatives Law (*Sangyō kumiai-hō*) in 1932 to incorporate them into the industrial cooperatives with the purpose of unifying agricultural production and management at the local level. For a general history of the agricultural activities cooperatives in Hokkaido, see Sakamoto Akihito, "Nōson saihen seisaku to nōji jikkō kumiai," *Hokkaidō daigaku nōkei ronsō* 38 (1982): 175-202.

[144] Ono Masayuki, "Hokkaidō ni okeru nōson keizai kōsei undo no tenkai," in *Hokkaidō no kenkyū dai roku kan*, ed. Takakura Shin'ichiro and Nomura Takashi (Osaka: Seibundo, 1983). 117.

[145] The wholesale price of rice and soybeans increased by 94 percent and 29 percent respectively within Hokkaido's industrial cooperatives between 1933 and 1938. Hokkaidō, *Shin Hokkaidōshi dai go kan tsūsetsu yon*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō (1975), 1081-1082.

[146] Between 1932 and 1937, the annual sales of Hokkaido's industrial cooperative rose from 8.8 million to 65 million yen to comprise 60 percent of such transactions within the prefecture, while purchases also grew from 9.8

As the cooperatives promised universal improvements to market conditions, Ainu representatives supported the prefectural government's strategy of incorporating their communities into them. Those from the fishing villages, including Mukai Yamao of Date and Moritake Takeuchi of Shiraoi, were vocal proponents of such a move as they demanded Japanese officials to invest more resources into the associations. During the 1930s, their communities had undergone capitalist transformation as larger enterprises drove small-scale fishermen out of business and turned them into their own wage laborers.[147] Due to years of overfishing along the coast, Ainu fishermen had to move further out into the ocean to find their catch and were pressed between increasing operation costs and declining fish prices.[148] Without support from the local fishery associations (*gyogyō kumiai*), many of them faced bankruptcy and were forced to sell their labor elsewhere at fisheries in western Hokkaido and the Kamchatka peninsula. By organizing these fishermen into cooperatives, Ainu intermediaries hoped to restore their livelihood and reverse such proletarianization.

Although Ainu representatives voiced their unanimous support of the Economic Revitalization Movement, preexisting colonial inequalities prevented them from reaching a consensus on its implementation as the conference highlighted that the Hokkaido Governorate's program of national integration struggled to contain the class contradictions of the empire. At a time when households in Hokkaido required at least ten chō of land to earn a basic income from

million to 33.4 million yen to comprise 68 percent of such transactions. Ono Masayuki, "Hokkaidō ni okeru nōson keizai kōsei undo no tenkai," 124.

[147] Government documents report that there were 350 independent fishermen, 558 hired workers, and 312 outbound migrant workers in Shiraoi's fishing industry in 1932. The number of inbound hired workers also rose from 189 to 300 between 1924 and 1935. Shiraoichō chōshi hensan iinkai, *Shin Shiraoi chōshi*, Shiraoichō: Shiraoichō (1992), 1191, 1219.

[148] 193 of 356 fishing households in Shiraoi owed an average of 97 yen of debt in 1935. Shiraoichō chōshi hensan iinkai, *Shin Shiraoi chōshi*, 1213-1214.

agriculture, they blamed the Protection Act for stunting the economic development of their villages by limiting the maximum size of the land grants to five chō. Such unequal allocation of land divided the Ainu population into a privileged class of commercial farmers who successfully cultivated their land grants and a large underclass of migrant laborers who abandoned them to work in capitalist enterprises across Hokkaido. Fearing that the Economic Revitalization Movement would further exacerbate these disparities if it excluded Ainu people from the management of cooperatives, their intermediaries sought additional protections for their most vulnerable residents.

Seizing the Economic Revitalization Movement as an opportunity to realize their longstanding dreams of constructing a modern "model village," Ainu representatives appropriated its discourse of self-sufficiency and self-governance to promote their own ideas on community development. A central component of their visions was the emancipation of Ainu residents from the exploitative Japanese agents who had dominated village institutions under the system of landlord-based control. Mistrustful of the previous leadership, Ainu intermediaries hoped to replace Japanese community leaders with Ainu ones by requesting Mizuno to have the Ainu communities themselves recruit the advisors on the basis that such a position required intimate knowledge of Ainu customs and household registries. They also asked him to create a government program that provided low-interest loans to Ainu residents to establish their own cooperatives. Frustrated that the Japanese technicians at his fishery association treated Ainu members like their "ancestors before the Meiji Restoration" and purchased fish from them at prices that were lower than the market rate, Mori Kyūkichi of Shiraoi argued that autonomous organizations were necessary to protect his residents from racial discrimination.[149]

[149] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 294.

In addition to confronting the colonial inequalities between the Ainu and Japanese people, Ainu intermediaries also had to grapple with the class divisions between their own communities to construct a definition of national integration that best protected the interests of their constituents. Representing a community of mid-sized farmers, Yoshida Kikutaro of Makubetsu opposed creating separate cooperatives for the Ainu people because he believed that desegregation was necessary for them to obtain the latest agricultural methods and techniques.[150] Japanese officials in his village had established an integrated system that organized Ainu and Japanese residents into 46 agricultural activities cooperatives in 1934.[151] The move raised the income of Ainu farmers by restoring bean prices to their pre-depression level the next year. It also opened them to new markets created by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, including factories that produced military clothing, animal feed, and ethanol from flax, wild oats, and potatoes respectively from the Tokachi plains.

Recognizing the cooperatives as both economic and cultural institutions, Yoshida's counterproposal reinforced the government's ideological claims that the Economic Revitalization Movement could overcome existing socio-economic inequalities through its role in instructing farmers of all class background on modern agricultural practices and ideas. Demanding equal access to educational resources, Ainu community leaders had long shared the campaign's assumption that cultural assimilation and the desegregation of educational institutions would facilitate the Ainu people's progress. For decades, they petitioned the government to abolish the Protection Act's segregated school so that their youths could receive the same modern knowledge

[150] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 303.

[151] Makubetsu chōshi henshū iinkai, *Makubetsu chōshi,* Makubetsu-chō: Makubetsu-chō yakuba (1967), 215-219, 475-478.

as their Japanese counterparts.[152] Due to their efforts, the number of Ainu schools declined from twenty-one to eight since their inauguration in 1910. By strengthening the authority of the cooperatives and elementary schools within the administrative districts, the Economic Revitalization Movement attracted such Ainu activists who believed that assimilation would provide universal benefits to their communities.

As Ainu intermediaries promoted their own ideas on community development at the conference, their visions of the future village also included land reform as they requested the Hokkaido Governorate to expand the size of their land grants and relax the property restrictions on them. Under the Economic Revitalization Movement, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry recognized that land reform was necessary to contain the class tensions of the countryside and recommended the administrative districts to empower marginal farmers with ownership over their means of production by increasing their estates through land reclamation and redistribution.[153] As noted earlier, Ainu intermediaries believed that such equity was critical for their communities because the Protection Act had created a large underclass of small-sized landowners. Government records reveal that authorities had distributed 7,605 chō of land to 2,714 Ainu households by 1935.[154] Without substantial change, community leaders were alarmed that a significant number

[152] Under the Protection Act, the Hokkaido Governorate constructed separate schools and curriculum for Ainu children. While some local governments preferred to retain the system because they were funded by the National Treasury, most of them chose to close their Ainu schools as the number of them declined from twenty-one to eight between 1910 and 1935. Amongst the remaining eight Ainu schools, six were located in Hidaka subprefecture and two in Iburi subprefecture. Those in Anecha and Shin-biraga still enforced the segregation policy amongst their student body while the remaining six were coeducational. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 54-55.

[153] Nōrinshō, *Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei keikaku jyuritsu hōshin*, 14-15.

[154] Much of the land grants were also unsuitable for agriculture as 1,513 chō were left uncultivated by their owners and another 288 chō were ruined by recent floods. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 30.

of Ainu farmers would continue to depend on tenant farming and seasonal wage labor to supplement their income.

After the Hokkaido Governorate conceded that it could not expand the size of their parcels due to a shortage of available land in the prefecture, Ainu representatives proposed an alternative solution based on free market reform. Confronted with increasing operation costs, Ainu community leaders from the fishing villages requested officials to abolish the property restrictions on their estates and recognize their private ownership over them so that they could sell their unused portions and raise capital. Under the Protection Act, Ainu landowners were prohibited from selling or leasing any part of their land grants to prevent them from transferring it to Japanese people. Several administrative districts were also reluctant to accept applications from Ainu residents for additional land because they had received free parcels from the government at a time when Japanese farmers were struggling with the same scarcity problem.[155] By having the government allow the Ainu people to purchase and sell land at will without state intrusion, Ainu intermediaries sought to create a system that would allow for a more efficient allocation of land based on individual occupation and qualifications.

In response to this proposition to abolish the Protection Act's property restrictions, Ainu representatives from villages with high numbers of tenant farmers opposed such a move because they feared that it would disenfranchise their constituents. During times of economic hardship, Japanese landlords and merchants were known to force destitute Ainu households to sell or lease portions of their land grants as collateral or debt payment. Although government officials could overrule such transactions under the Protection Act because they remained state property, Ogawa

[155] Mukai projected that his community of sixty-five households required some 6,000 to 15,000 yen to purchase new motorboats, fuel oil, and trap-nets. Mori Kyūkichi thought that such an estimate was conservative because Date's fishing grounds were located in Volcano Bay as opposed to the Pacific Ocean. "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 291-292.

Sasuke of Urakawa feared that the Ainu people would lose their estates within ten years if they lifted the protections.[156] Takakura Shin'ichiro also noted that the law's regulations on property were designed to safeguard Ainu landowners from losing their parcels and agreed that its premature abolition would threaten their livelihood. To prove their point, Mayor Yoshida Kan'ichi of Shizunai had earlier requested Mizuno to simplify the prefecture's process of foreclosing Ainu land grants because there were residents in his town who were delinquent in paying their fees to the local land reclamation association.[157]

Although Ainu representatives supported the eventual abolishment of the Protection Act, the conference's discussions on national integration exposed the extensive class divisions between them as they were unable to agree on the exact terms of land reform. While community leaders from areas with vulnerable farming populations proposed an outline of a new village that retained the existing property restrictions alongside the establishment of autonomous cooperatives, mid-sized farmers like Yoshida sided with representatives from the fishing villages in supporting the creation a property regime based on free-market exchange.[158] As a result, their different strategies on economic revitalization revealed that such institutions as the cooperatives and private property could act as distinct class markers rather than a universal social safety net. While the Economic Revitalization Movement portrayed the nation-state as an equitable alternative to the landlords who dominated the previous social system, preexisting colonial inequalities remained stubborn in limiting its coherence.

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[156] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 344-345.

[157] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 340.

[158] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 342.

Daily Life Reform

While Ainu representatives disagreed with one another over the establishment of cooperatives and land reform, they were united in supporting the Hokkaido Governorate's Daily Life Improvement Movement (*Seikatsu kaizen undō*) to improve the living conditions of their communities. Prefectural authorities inaugurated the campaign in 1935 to act as the indoctrination arm of the Economic Revitalization Movement and outlined its purpose with the following objectives: (1) the development of the household economy; (2) the promotion of spiritual and cultural cohesion; and (3) the establishment of social and welfare institutions.[159] During the Showa Depression, the rural household economy came under immense pressure by high levels of poverty, diseases, and malnutrition as farmers lost their property to landlords and merchants, left their hometowns to become migrant workers, and sold their children into indentured servitude. Confronted with its possible collapse, Japanese officials mobilized the administrative districts to commit extensive resources towards the rehabilitation of rural families by transforming their everyday life into an object of state intervention.

With the goal of maintaining the social cohesion of the countryside, the Daily Life Improvement Movement introduced a variety of social education programs to transform the rural population into productive, educated, and healthy households. As Japanese officials sought to refine the material culture and livelihood of residents, they focused on reforming their habits towards the three most important categories of daily life – clothing, diet, and housing (*ishokujū*). Similar to their strategy on economic recovery, the government adopted a social policy approach to achieve its goals by incorporating households into a network of semi-official educational

[159] Toyota Ishikura, "Seikatsu kaizen yogi (ni)," *Hokkaidō shakai jigyō* 63 (1937), 36-39.

Table 2 *Government Survey on the Condition of Ainu Homes in 1935*

Subprefecture	Chise	Minor Repairs	Renovated	Japanese style	Total
Ishikari	33	39	17	13	102
Oshima	17	21	20	9	67
Hiyama	19	6	2	1	28
Shiribeshi	43	13	2	2	60
Sorachi	7	3	16	9	35
Kamikawa	8	10	5	17	40
Rumoi	4	7	1	0	12
Soya	19	8	10	6	43
Abashiri	35	20	15	60	130
Iburi	188	153	205	199	745
Hidaka	573	267	226	450	1,516
Tokachi	100	66	57	74	297
Kushiro	40	40	48	118	246
Nemuro	71	11	6	14	102
Total	1157	664	630	972	3,423

Source: *Hokkaidō kyū-dojin gaikyō* (1936)

associations that consisted of such groups as the youth associations (*seinendan*), women's clubs (*fujinkai*), elementary schools, and various religious, household, and hygiene groups. Through roundtables, guest lectures, and workshops, these organizations circulated information on state initiatives and promoted such self-help values as fiscal discipline, community support, and proper hygiene.[160]

Within its application of the Daily Life Improvement Movement to Ainu communities, the Hokkaido Governorate prioritized housing reform because their high rates of diseases were transforming much of the Ainu population into a bedridden and unproductive workforce. While prefectural authorities introduced similar programs to renovate the dwellings of Japanese farmers,

[160] Nōrinshō, *Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei keikaku jyuritsu hōshin*, 64-65.

they were determined to carry out this task to its completion within the Ainu villages by introducing a government subsidy program that offered money to Ainu households to construct new Japanese-style wooden structures. During the conference, Inouye Zenjurō, Professor of Hygienics at Hokkaido University, presented his research on Ainu housing conditions and concluded that the dark and damp environments of their traditional homes – the chise – facilitated the rapid spread of communicable diseases amongst family members.[161] As such illnesses wreaked havoc on the Ainu people's household economy, Inouye advised prefectural authorities to reform their houses on the basis of a model interior that not only increased the number of windows and rooms to improve ventilation and lighting, but also rationalized their spatial layout to include separate places for water drainage and waste.

Despite previous state initiatives to replace the chise with Japanese-style wooden structures, Ainu residents across Hokkaido continued to experiment with old and new practices to construct their own working-class housing culture. This innovation resulted in a hybrid architecture that did conform to the linear and progressive trajectory of assimilation. In his observations on Ainu houses in the Saru river basin, Inouye writes that people there had renovated their chise with such modern features as glass windows, elevated floors, ceilings, and plank roofs.[162] They also introduced new technologies to reinvent their domestic environment, including stoves and kerosene lamps that replaced the traditional hearth as the main sources of heating and lighting. While making these improvements, the same people also preserved the basic layout of the chise by constructing entrances that faced upstream the river to pay respect to the river deity, as well as

[161] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 306-307.

[162] Inouye Zenjurō, "Hokkaidō kyūdojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū (koya ni kansuru chōsa)," *Hokkaidō igaku zasshi* 14, no. 5 (1936), 836-837. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 20-22.

eastern-facing windows known as the kamuy-puyar which welcome kamuy visiting the household.[163]

During the conference, Ainu representatives supported the full integration of their communities into the Daily Life Improvement Movement and remained adamant in having prefectural authorities apply the same housing standards as Japanese people to their new homes. Concerned at the poor medical conditions of Ainu villages, they reached an agreement with the Hokkaido Governorate that the dominant ideology of assimilation would act as the guiding principle of state-sponsored cultural reform projects. When introducing the prefectural government's housing reform program to attendees, Mizuno suggested standardizing the construction of Ainu homes based on a model floor plan that considered their preexisting cultural and religious particularities. Mukai, however, responded by denying the existence of any "customs problem" (*shūkan mondai*) between the Ainu and Japanese people and convinced officials to replace the chise en masse with modern Japanese-style wooden dwellings to facilitate the development of Ainu children.[164] In this sense, the medical considerations of housing reform intersected with the colonial discourse of assimilation by portraying such cultural forms as the chise as primitive remnants that hindered the Ainu people's historical progress.

By operating within the temporality of modern rural development, Ainu representatives shared the Hokkaido Governorate's belief that the nation-state could overcome the structural inequalities of the prefecture through the Economic Revitalization Movement. Japanese officials recognized that the Protection Act's singular focus on expanding agricultural production based on the land grant system was insufficient in addressing the needs of the Ainu people. Through

[163] Inouye Zenjurō, "Hokkaidō kyūdojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū (koya ni kansuru chōsa)," 829, 831.

[164] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 318-319.

amalgamation into a new nationwide administrative program that replaced local landlord-based control with semi-official institutions, they pledged to create a more comprehensive and inclusive approach towards the development of Ainu communities within a historical seriality that posited their transition from the primitive "native village" to the modern "model village." Finding common ground with the government's objective of converting Ainu marginal landowners into owner-cultivators, their intermediaries supported the basic contours of these reforms with this future in mind.

As the Former Natives Protection Facilities Improvement Conference acted as a forum to debate definitions of economic recovery, Ainu representatives also appropriated the Economic Revitalization Movement to create a political voice that enunciated their own ideas of the self-sufficient village. By mobilizing such concepts as self-revitalization and self-governance, they demanded the abolishment of Protection Act and greater access to government resources in terms that were legible to the Hokkaido Governorate. With each attendee speaking for their own village, the class divisions between them produced multiple conceptualizations of the model village that embodied an alternative reification of the Economic Revitalization Movement and existed in tension with the prefectural government's vision of colonial corporatist order. Consequently, the conference highlighted that the new Ainu policy would struggle to contain the class contradictions and colonial inequalities of the Ainu communities despite the universal promises of national integration and assimilation.

THE AINU PUBLIC SPHERE

While the Hokkaido Governorate mobilized the Ainu people for incorporation into the national economy, a new class of educated Ainu elites took it upon themselves to lead this effort at the grassroots level. Claiming to have an intimate understanding of Ainu customs and traditions, these intermediaries viewed themselves as more competent than local Japanese officials in coordinating economic relief and community development. This is because the Economic Revitalization Movement required changes to not only the material conditions of the Ainu people, but also their interiority so as to transform them into a new historical agent – the self-sufficient farmer who was capable of restoring vitality to the village through collective action and will. By indoctrinating the broader masses with modern practices and ideas, Ainu intellectuals anticipated that assimilation and cultural reform would be the most practical strategy towards the improve of their livelihood within the dominant framework of rural development. They also dreamt that such intervention would facilitate the fulfillment of their longstanding goal to overcome colonial relations and reach the historical endpoint of modern subjecthood through the abolishment of the Protection Act.

As Ainu community leaders believed that the Japanese government would afford the Ainu people with greater rights once they reached the modern stage of development, assimilation acted as not only a top-down state program but also a dialogical space where Ainu intermediaries debated both its actual meaning and reification. During the Former Natives Improvement Conference, Ainu representatives defined the central problem of Japanese colonialism as one over racial discrimination regarding the distribution of resources. By transforming the Ainu people from "savages who lived off the land" into an educated, hygienic, and industrious citizenry, they

believed that assimilation would redeem them in the eyes of the Japanese people and result in the "natural disappearance" of colonial inequalities. In this regard, cultural reform was entangled with the politics as recognition as it acted as a critical language with its own set of meanings and concepts to synchronize cultural production, government policy, and political activism towards the construction of a modern subjectivity.

Ainu intermediaries dedicated themselves to the project of disciplining the Ainu people into self-sufficient farmers because of the perceived ineffectiveness of the Hokkaido Governorate's daily life reform program. As part of the Economic Revitalization Movement, local officials invited government speakers to visit their villages and lecture residents on topics relating to social education. According to the Ainu reformer Katahira Tomijirō, these talks failed to resonate with their audience because they involved pulling residents from their busy schedule to listen to scripted messages from paid speakers. [165] He writes that at one event on the promotion of savings, people could not look past the speaker's hypocrisy for wearing an expensive business suit and watch while lecturing the Ainu people to improve their finances by replacing miso and soy sauce with salt. Another activist, Yamauchi Seiji, also writes that the lectures were inadequate because several of the Ainu people's vices were intended to provide comfort to troubled souls and required a level of spiritual attention that the impersonal nature of the government could not offer them.[166]

Critical of the bureaucratic nature of Japanese-led assimilation projects, Ainu intermediaries laid claim to the responsibility of directing cultural reform within the Ainu communities to facilitate their incorporation into the Economic Revitalization Movement. One of

[165] Kitahara Tomijirō, "Sendensha to shidōsha," *Utari no tomo* 3 (1933), 182-183.

[166] Yamauchi Seiji, "Kinshu mondai to shinkō," *Utari no tomo* 4 (1933), 194.

the more notable products of this effort was the publication of the *Utari no tomo* magazine in 1933 by Ainu missionaries and reformers affiliated with the Anglican mission in Hokkaido. With Katahira Tomijirō acting as its editor, the monthly periodical invited articles on almost every facet of everyday life, including religion, education, economy, the arts, literature, and local affairs. By gathering information on such topics, Ainu missionaries anticipated that the magazine would function as a discursive space where they could craft new strategies on community development. They also used it as a platform to display their mastery of the language of modern rural development to enhance the legitimacy of their assertions in being able to translate ideas on the Ainu people's self-revitalization into practice based on their long history of serving the villages with social work and indoctrination.

By uniting evangelical work with rural development, Ainu missionaries portrayed the *Utari no tomo* was the incorporation of Ainu communities into the institutional networks of the Economic Revitalization Movement. Within the introductory article to the journal, Katahira argues that the Ainu people needed to undergo extensive cultural reform to achieve economic revitalization. This is because such a goal required the creation of a historical subject who was self-conscious (*jikaku*) of their existence as a member of society with specific responsibilities and obligations.[167] Similar to the Christian confession, people needed to first recognize themselves as an individual with a distinct interiority through which they could form relations with one another. This includes the subjectivity of the rural farmer who acted in accordance with the value of "co-existence and co-prosperity" (*kyōzon kyōei*) to develop the rural economy in conjunction with other residents of their community. By stressing social cooperation, such a strategy reproduced the logic

[167] Katahira Tomijirō, "Jiriki kōsei wo sakebu aki," *Utari to tomo* 1 (1933), 169.

of the Economic Revitalization Movement and its mission of organizing residents into cooperatives and associations.

For Kitahara, the integration of the Ainu people into Japanese society acted as the basis of a larger movement to mobilize them towards social emancipation and self-governance at the national level. Advocating their wider participation in the political arena, the goal of his cultural reform program was to indoctrinate each person with a national interiority. Kitahara believed that the Ainu people could achieve political praxis once they internalized a sense of national consciousness (*kokuminteki jikaku*) and became aware of their membership within the Japanese national polity, which was defined by a constitutional monarchy united under the unbroken imperial line (*bansei ikkei*). This is because patriotism was necessary to accomplish the country's reconstruction at a time when corruption, self-interest, and left-right divisions within the party system was creating political gridlock. Through such a notion of selfhood, Kitahara anticipated that the Ainu people would engage in national politics and act upon the unjust nature of the Protection Act.

In disciplining the Ainu people into becoming imperial subjects, Ainu intermediaries sought to eradicate colonial relations and facilitate their acceptance within the nation's political sphere. Ainu notions of assimilation existed alongside other such liberal concepts as "citizenship" and "nationhood" as their community leaders conceptualized political representation, cultural reform, and economic improvement to be an interrelated set of practices and ideas. By making claims based on their official classification as Japanese citizens, Ainu missionaries appropriated the language of imperial rule to define the legitimacy of their race's political participation based on the Constitution's "three main obligations of the citizen" (*kokumin no sandai gimu*) – education, taxation, and conscription. They believed that if the Ainu people could fulfill these duties through

assimilation and social integration, the Japanese government would have no other choice but to recognize their demands to end racial discrimination and provide them with the same rights as the Japanese people through the abolishment of the Protection Act.

With these goals in mind, Ainu intermediaries prioritized improving the employment situation of the Ainu people to create a modern urban bourgeoisie that could lead their villages towards future progress. During the 1930s, Ainu community leaders aspired to not only enroll their residents into cooperatives, but also train the youths in a variety of white-collar jobs. They encouraged the younger generation to exit agriculture and fishing to pursue such middle-class professions as lawyers, academics, and doctors, as well as such commercial ones as barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, storeowners, and midwives.[168] Although the desire to lessen the dependence of Ainu communities on traditional rural occupations was in part a reaction to the grim realities of the depression, it was also a strategy to advance the project of assimilation.[169] By promoting the presence of the Ainu people in each segment of Japanese society and increasing their everyday interactions with the Japanese people, intermediaries hoped to showcase their racial progress to them.

Ainu programs on social and economic uplift also focused on the cultural reform of the youths as community leaders strove to cultivate them into an educated citizenry. Such visions are reflected in the works of Uenishi Tomokazu, a radio operator and labor activist. In his article, "Youth Society and Elderly Society" (1933), Uenishi encourages the younger generation to abandon the countryside for the metropolis to learn the values of the "new times" (*shin-jidai*).[170]

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[168] ""Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 337.

[169] Chiri Takanaka, "Utari no shokugyō nit suite," *Utari no tomo* 12 (1933), 228-230.

[170] Uenishi defines the "youth" as Ainu people aged 20 to 45, and the "elderly" as those aged 45 and above. Such a bracket defines the generational rift between the two groups in terms of people who graduated from the Japanese

Describing the rural village as a bastion of conservative thought dominated by elders who are preoccupied with the preservation of old customs, he evokes the historical temporality of the French Revolution to encourage Ainu youth to follow in the footsteps of the young revolutionaries who defended Paris from the forces of monarchy in the name of universal freedom and justice. Through their introduction to new cultural norms, Uenishi hopes that the younger generation will employ the bourgeois spirit of idealism and inventiveness to oversee the transformation of their hometowns into modern villages.

By transforming Ainu people into model citizens, Ainu intellectuals participated in a distinct political sphere that harnessed the democratic possibilities of the Japanese empire to envision alternative political trajectories within it. The past decade had witnessed the rise of a new class of political elites who capitalized on the passage of universal male suffrage in 1925 to demand expanded parliamentary rule and political rights. In what the historian Andrew Gordon refers to as "imperial democracy," these activists looked to the Imperial Diet to enact legislative reform and new social programs.[171] By resolving disputes, organizing unions, and improving workplace conditions, though, the new liberal activists not only sought to use their position to create a more inclusive political process, but also shared the same goals as the old guard to preserve the political establishment and stabilize the social order at a time when more radical elements threatened to change them. Consequently, Gordon argues that the democratic tendencies of the period should be conceptualized as an internal contradiction of the imperial system rather than a rupture from it

government's system of compulsory education under the Protection Act of 1899. Uenishi Tomokazu, "Seinen shakai to rōjin shakai," *Utari no tomo 12* (1933), 232.

[171] Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press (1992), 5-10

because they also accepted the authority of such traditional institutions as the bureaucracy, oligarchy, and military.

Ainu activists writing on assimilation envisioned themselves as imperial subjects of this same public sphere to create a voice that demanded full equality and recognition. During the 1930s, colonial relations within the Japanese empire reached a breaking point after the Showa Depression exacerbated racial disparities over political rights and the distribution of economic resources. While Ainu activists approached the various institutions of imperial democracy – political parties, Diet representatives, bureaucrats, and mass media – to advance their agenda, the new national climate also galvanized colonial subjects across the realm to take political action to protest the status quo. Ainu writers identified themselves with these movements as Uenishi Tomokazu expressed shock at the absence of voting rights in Korea despite its impressive advancements in industry, education, and transportation.[172] He cites Park Ch'un-gŭm as a pioneer for campaigning for Korean suffrage after winning a seat at the Imperial Diet in 1932. The missionary Batchelor Yaeko also drew parallels between the Sakhalin Ainu citizenship movement and the Hokkaido Ainu's own struggle for land reform.[173]

By the 1930s, Ainu intermediaries had created the contours of this new public sphere as a growing number of them held leadership positions within their administrative districts. Yoshida Kikutaro was elected to the village assembly in Makubetsu and received appointments to his local district welfare committee and education board.[174] Mukai Yamao of Date also won a seat at his town assembly and was present on committees relating to district welfare, taxation, school affairs,

[172] Uenishi Tomokazu, "Ware ware no shimei," *Utari no tomo* 7, 218-219.

[173] Batchelor Yaeko, "Kami no kokuseki no tame ni mo doryoku shimashō," *Utari no tomo* 2, 178-179.

[174] Murakami Kyūkichi, *Ainu jinbutsuden*, Tokyo: Heibonsha (1942), 75-76.

and the fishery cooperative.[175] While it was men like them who played a critical role in integrating their communities within the local institutional networks of the Economic Revitalization Movement, they also represented the Ainu people at the Former Natives Protection Facilities Conference. Using their position as colonial intermediaries, they cultivated personal relationships with bureaucrats from the prefectural government's Social Division, including John Batchelor and Kita Masaaki, to influence government policy on the Ainu people with their own vision of the future.

By resolving the internal contradictions of assimilation through the concept of citizenship, Ainu intermediaries created the discursive foundation to facilitate the integration of their villages into the nation-state and petition the abolishment of the Former Natives Protection Act. The new elites envisioned the model village as not only an administrative or economic unit in which to improve the material wellbeing of the Ainu people, but also a public sphere that facilitated their broader political mobilization. Through such a site, missionaries pledged to cultivate an educated Ainu bourgeois citizenry who mastered the rules of Japanese society and occupied seats in the various institutions of imperial democracy with the goal of uplifting their communities. Consequently, their vision extended beyond the revision of colonial policy as intermediaries espoused dreams of seeing Ainu representatives in the Hokkaido Prefectural Assembly and the Imperial Diet.[176] By participating in the political process, they hoped to have a say in "national reconstruction" at a time when socio-economic crisis provoked discontented subjects across the empire to dream and demand radical change.

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[175] Murakami Kyūkichi, *Ainu jinbutsuden,* 124-125.

[176] Chiri Takanaka, "Kansō henpen," *Utari no tomo* 7 (1933), 217.

THE MULTIPLE TRAJECTORIES OF HOKKAIDO

On January 10, 1937, the Ainu community at Monbetsu held its first iyomante bear spirit-sending ceremony in thirty-seven years after receiving a two-year old cub from Asahikawa.[177] Ainu residents from the various communities in the area were joined by local Japanese notables as well as representatives from the Hokkaido Governorate and Hidaka subprefectural government. With the ceremony commencing at half past midnight, the various rituals performed by Ainu residents culminated in a night of festivities after village elders oversaw the cub's sacrifice and the return of its spirit to the kamuy world. Speaking to journalists from the Otaru Shimbun, the Ainu chieftain Shikato Saitō reminisces that he was a child when his community last held the iyomante and speculates that this will be the final one because of the passing of the older generation. Although he lamented the ceremony's disappearance as a natural phenomenon within the course of time, its representation as a vanishing phenomenon from the past also constituted a colonial discourse shaped by decades of cultural reform. As the ritual experienced increased popularity across Hokkaido during the 1930s, it became the target of renewed eradication efforts by Japanese officials and Ainu intermediaries.

While the Japanese government reorganized the national economy under the Economic Revitalization Movement, rural communities across the country continued to be haunted by the primitive remnants of the past due to the uneven development of capitalism. As the historian Harry Harootunian writes, "The perpetuation of the old and habitual in the new present signifies the general condition of subsumption found everywhere capitalism has established its program of production, and… this bringing together and combing of incommensurables not only makes the

[177] "Hanaya ni kuma ha shōten, Hidaka Monbetsu no kuma matsuri," Otaru Shinbun. January 13, 1937.

present into a fractured heterogeneity but also differentiates the modern social from all those theorizations that still seek to distance the capitalist now from its other to literally homogenize it as genuinely modern."[178] Critiquing Japanese intellectuals who portrayed the continued existence of feudal customs as a sign of their country's incomplete capitalist state, he writes that there is no "pure example of capitalism" that acts as a benchmark of a society's progress.[179] All across the world, capitalism created local inflections of itself by appropriating preexisting practices towards the extraction of surplus value. Harootunian argues that in the case of Japan, the capitalist economy subordinated the feudal agrarian village to such an end by having it provide partial subsistence to the country's growing industrial workforce.[180] As peasants continued small-scale agriculture within their hometowns while working as wage laborers in capitalist enterprises, they operated within a structure that reproduced aspects of feudal society yet assigned them with new capitalist functions.

While the Japanese government mobilized the Ainu communities for economic recovery, the persistence of such traditions and customs as the iyomante ceremony within them caused anxiety on the part of Ainu intermediaries that the relics of the primitive past were hindering their progress. Japanese officials had long defined its abolishment as a prerequisite for modernization since they passed an ordinance in 1872 that prohibited its practice alongside other such "old customs" (*kyū-kan*) as the adornment of tattoos and earrings.[181] Having defined racial uplift as a

[178] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* New York: Columbia University Press (2017), 193.

[179] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* 178.

[180] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* 191-192.

[181] The historian Ogawa Masahito argues that the enforcement of these laws varied across the prefecture as there were instances where authorities continued to promote their proscribed practices. Ogawa Masahito. "Iyomante no kindaishi." In *Ainu bunka no genzai*, edited by Sapporo gakuin daigaku jinbun gakubi (Ebetsu: Sapporo gakuin daigaku seikatsu kyōdō kumiai, 1997), 262-263.

linear and progressive movement from the primitive "native village" to the modern "model village," Ainu intermediaries also perceived the coexistence of these rituals with the capitalist present as an embodiment of incomplete transition. Haunted by the phantom of the primitive past would lead the people astray, they appealed the Hokkaido Governorate to adopt a more aggressive stance towards reforming the customs of their villages by enforcing the Meiji-period ban on the iyomante and using commercial laws to regulate businesses that reenacted it for Japanese tourists.[182]

In debating cultural reform, Ainu and Japanese representatives struggled to locate the exact boundaries of Ainu primitive culture as there was no clear definition of such a category. During the conference, Mayor Yoshida Kan'ichi of Shizunai expressed concern that the Ainu people's custom of free marriage (*jiyū kekkon*) was causing domestic disputes within his town.[183] Asserting that their tendency to choose their own spouses was resulting in lax attitudes towards marriages, Yoshida proposed institutionalizing the relationship between Ainu couples through religious weddings and parental consent. The Ainu representatives, however, questioned whether free marriage constituted an Ainu custom rather than a modern one because marriages between Ainu people had required the consent of village elders in the past. Noting that the phenomenon was also common amongst Japanese people, they theorized that such social change was more of a class problem than a racial one because it was widespread amongst day laborers whose jobs required men and women to work daily together.

The debate on free marriage revealed a slippage in colonial discourse that the targets of assimilation were not the remnants of a primitive society but modern Ainu working-class subjects. Despite the efforts of Ainu intermediaries to define cultural reform, Ainu residents across

[182] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 314-315.

[183] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 317

Hokkaido formed vernacular cultures based on an admixture of Ainu, Japanese, and Western practices. Even within the mountain villages of the Saru river basin, which Japanese officials described as having not changed since "ancient times," the people had adopted the material culture of the urban proletariat, including housing quarters, diet, and clothing.[184] During a medical expedition in 1932, Inouye Zenjurō observed that most of them lived in renovated thatched dwellings and ate the same diet of rice and vegetables. They also wore the "simple clothing of wajin laborers," including hanten, sweaters, pants, and rubber boots, while the older women continued to wear their traditional Ainu cotton headbands, which middle-aged women replaced with Japanese-style handkerchiefs.

While Ainu community leaders sought to reform the daily lives of the broader masses to advance their incorporation into Japanese society, rural communities like the ones in the Saru river basin had already constructed their own networks of cultural production and exchange as their residents became migrant labors and formed capitalist relations with businesses throughout the prefecture. The Showa Depression facilitated the bifurcation of the prefecture's economy into a rising industrial sector controlled by large multinational conglomerates and an agricultural one that was run by state cooperatives and mid-sized farmers who reproduced this system. As these same corporations appropriated the agrarian villages to provide them with a cheap source of foodstuff and labor, industrialization and modern agricultural development became interrelated processes of the same economic structure. In this sense, the Hokkaido Governorate relied on large capitalist enterprises to absorb the rural surplus labor and contain their class tensions while it introduced the Economic Revitalization Movement to empower the most vulnerable farmers and fishermen within the rural economy.

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[184] Inouye Zenjurō, "Hokkaidō kyūdojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū (koya ni kansuru chōsa)," *Hokkaidō igaku zasshi* 14, no. 5 (1936), 836-837.

The dominance of manufacturing conglomerates within Hokkaido reflected nationwide tendencies as the Japanese central government promoted large-scale industrialization and international trade. During the Showa Depression, the Ministry of Finance under the leadership of Takahashi Korekiyo pursued a combination of expansionary monetary and fiscal policies to expedite economy recovery. This included the abandonment of the gold standard in 1931 to devalue the yen and increase the competitiveness of Japanese products abroad, followed by the introduction of low interest rates and extensive deficit spending in 1932 to stimulate the domestic economy. Due to such intervention, Japanese industrial production increased by 71 percent between 1929 and 1937, while foreign exports also rose by 83 percent during the same period.[185] Such growth was felt in Hokkaido, where the number of factories more than doubled from 1,767 to 3,895 between 1931 and 1936.[186] With manufactured goods replacing agricultural and marine products as the prefecture's main export commodity, the largest benefactors of industrial growth were the chemical, food processing, and lumber industries that produced paper, canned food, and plywood respectively for the global market.

As Japanese officials consolidated Hokkaido's economy into large manufacturing conglomerates, rapid industrialization was also made possible by the transformation of marginal farmers and fishermen into a cheap and flexible workforce of wage laborers. The process of proletarianization began in the countryside when large and mid-sized landowners replaced tenant farmers with seasonal agricultural laborers to develop their estates.[187] At a time when 88,368 of 199,256 farming households in the prefecture managed plots that were less than three chō in 1933,

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[185] G.C. Allen, *Japan's Economic Recovery*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1958), 4.

[186] Hokkaido, *Shin Hokkaidōshi dai go kan tsūsetsu yon*, 1021-1023, 128.

[187] The number of agricultural laborers increased from 55,097 to 59,509 households between 1933 and 1934, while that of landlords who employed them rose even further from 58,886 to 79,768 households. Hokkaidōchō nōsanka, *Nogyō rōdō ni kansuru chōsa*, Sapporo: Hokkaidōcho nōsanka (1938), 19-25.

unequal land distribution ensured that wealthier landlords had access to an abundance of dispossessed labor.[188] Such exploitation resulted in an increase in the prefecture's quantity of agricultural production during the Showa Depression even though there was a sharp decline in its value as farmers began cultivating unused parcels to overcome the collapse of commodity prices. Between 1929 and 1934, Hokkaido's total area of agricultural land increased from 818,700 to 942,000 chō.[189] The rural economy, however, soon reached its capacity to absorb the region's surplus labor when farm wages collapsed during the 1930, forcing residents to sell their labor elsewhere outside of their hometowns.[190]

While Ainu intellectuals promoted the integration of Ainu communities into the national economy, the experiences of the Ainu lower classes reveal that they were already essential part of it as intermediaries misidentified the uneven results of agricultural development and cultural reform as a state of incompletion rather than an embodiment of the class divisions of capitalism. Within Hokkaido's dual economy, rapid industrialization and modern agricultural development both served as institutions of social control over a shared population of marginal landowners by providing them with new economic opportunities. Without extensive land reform, though, the Economic Revitalization Movement still maintained the inequalities of colonial society over the means of production. While mid-sized farmers reaped the benefits of the cooperatives and came to dominate the countryside, marginal landowners had to divide their work between subsistence farming and seasonal wage labor. Consequently, capitalist subsumption did not facilitate movement across a unidirectional path towards self-sufficiency but created multiple cultural

[188] Hokkadōritsu sōgō keizai kenkyūjyō, *Hokkaidō nōgyō hattatsushi (jyō kan)*, 853.

[189] Hokkadōritsu sōgō keizai kenkyūjō, *Hokkaidō nōgyō hattatsushi (jō kan)*, Tokyo: Chūō kōrōn jigyō shuppan (1963), 851.

[190] The annual income of agricultural laborers declined from 202 to 129 yen between 1928 to 1932. Hokkaidōchō nōsanka, *Nogyō rōdō ni kansuru chōsa*, 62.

formations based on displacement that existed in dialectical tension with elite discourses of rural development.

As the Ainu residents of Biratori constituted a modern working-class community of migrant laborers, their everyday life constituted an embodiment of the Economic Revitalization Movement's contradictions rather than its absence. While hybrid houses dotted the landscape of the Saru river basin, its villagers hosted extravagant iyomante ceremonies and experimented with new clothing and household products at the intersection of rural-urban labor networks. After the Saru River floods devastated farming output during the 1930s, many of the region's young adults left their hometowns in groups to work in the fisheries during the spring, lumbering and charcoal-making businesses during the summer, and transportation services during the winter.[191] Local officials also focused on public works programs rather than agricultural development to expedite their economic recovery, mobilizing entire villages to reinforce the main gravel road that allowed trucks to transport the goods of landlords and lumber businesses from Biratori to Monbetsu.[192] By directing Ainu labor towards capitalist work, they appropriated different sectors of the economy to stimulate production and contain class tensions.

During the Economic Revitalization Movement, the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry instructed the administrative districts to promote forestry as a sideline industry within places like the Saru river basin. Alarmed at the high rates of hired labor within mountain villages, officials recognized them to be some of the most difficult areas to direct economic recovery. They sought

[191] Inoue Zenjūrō, Abe Sanshi, et al., "Hokkaido kyū-dojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū," 828.

[192] The Imperial Diet passed the Emergency Relief Measures in 1932 to earmark 120 million yen for the establishment of a nationwide public works program that offered generous subsidies to local districts for the construction and maintenance of roads, embankments, and port facilities. Okada Tomohiro, "The Great Depression and Rural Development in Japan," *Kyoto University Economic Review* 61:2 (1991), 36. For a history of Nibutani's public works projects during the Showa Depression, see Nibutani burakushi hensan iinkai and Nibutani jichikai, *Nibutani*, Biratorichō: Nibutani burakushi hensan iinkai (1983),156, 333-334.

to improve their self-sufficiency through the establishment of forest associations (*shinrin kumiai*) and charcoal activities associations (*seitan jikkō kumiai*) that adopted the functions of producer and market societies to support small-scale lumber and charcoal businesses. By combining the unused land of marginal landowners, they formed form communal plots where members could clear and sell the trees together and reinvest their profits to construct a variety of public facilities, including warehouses, seed farms, and workshops to help residents process, store, and transport wood material. Through such work, the forest cooperatives sought to replace villagers' dependence on wage labor with community work.[193]

Any attempt to create a local wood industry at the Saru river basin, however, faced immense challenges because capitalist enterprises had already established a formidable presence there due to the Hokkaido Governorate's export-oriented economic policy.[194] While Oji Paper remained the largest forestry concern in the region, prefectural authorities also sold generous tracts of the national forest in Biratori to businesses and landlords during the mid-1920s as part of its program to encourage the processing of oak and katsura wood for the European market.[195] By 1935, the trading company Mitsui Bussan was the largest private landowner in the district after accumulating over 6,000 chō of woodlands.[196] This is in contrast to the 648 chō that 253 Ainu households received under the Protection Act.[197] Consequently, as wood production in Biratori

[193] Nōrinshō, *Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei keikaku jyuritsu hōshin*, 33-34.

[194] Watanabe Shigeru, Kono Motomichi, and Biratorichō, *Biratori chōshi*, Biratorichō: Biratorichō (1973), 632-633.

[195] Nibutani burakushi hensan iinkai and Nibutani jichikai, *Nibutani*, 245.

[196] Wood production in Biratori rose from 335,701 yen to 680,294 yen between 1932 and 1934. Yutaka Ishii, "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū [Provable Studies on the Regional Forestry Structure]," *Hokkaidō daigaku nōgakubu enshūrin kenkyū hōkoku [Research Bulletins of the College Experiment Forests. Hokkaido University*] 37:2 (1980), 347-350.

[197] Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 34-36.

reached new heights during the Showa Depression due to an increase in overseas demand for plywood in India and railroad ties in Manchukuo, it was such entities as Mitsui who were the largest benefactors of this boom.

Although the Ainu working-class of Biratori created their own distinct everyday life within this capitalist ecosystem, prefectural authorities remained confident that the social policy approach of the Economic Revitalization Movement could transform them into national self-sufficient farmers. In response to the demands of Ainu representatives to abolish the iyomante through compulsory measures, Mizuno justified the campaign's approach towards cultural reform by stating that assimilation could not occur through top-down measures because there would always be a problem with its enforcement.[198] Likening the eradication of old customs to the promotion of increased savings and fertilizer usage, he asserted that the Ainu people had to create their own cultural reform associations to transform behavior because such change required an interiority that was "self-aware" *(jikaku*) of its necessity.[199] Consequently, prefectural authorities were willing to provide guidelines for the prohibition of certain customs but delegated its execution to community leaders and local educational institutions.

As Ainu intermediaries organized these programs of cultural reform, they were faced with the disquieting fact that the Ainu working-class had created their own modern culture. While everyday life within Ainu communities were immanent in the Economic Revitalization Movement, it also exhibited degrees of autonomy from it by hinting at trajectories that did not conform to the linear and progressive seriality of modern rural development. Harootunian emphasizes that the capitalist subsumption of past practices and forms is never absolute, opening the possibility of

[198] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 315.

[199] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 319.

unexpected "collisions" with capitalism itself when people mobilize these fragments to confront it.[200] In a similar sense, the persistence of the iyomante ceremony and the chise did not constitute a pure repetition of the past within the present but the creation of a discordant temporality whose meaning was mediated by experiences of capitalist integration. Embodying the class contradictions of the national economy, they formed part of distinct constellation that could generate its own politics.

[200] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* 195

THE POLITICS OF AINU HANDICRAFTS

On September 24, 1935, the Hokkaido Governorate inaugurated the Ainu Handicraft Exhibition at the Marui Department Store in Sapporo. Declaring Ainu handicrafts to be the "folk art" (*kyōdo geijutsu*) of Hokkaido, the six-day extravaganza attracted over ten thousand visitors with some five hundred objects made by Ainu craftspeople across the prefecture, including wood-carved bears, Ainu dolls, attush embroideries, and such everyday household items as smoking tables, handbags, tobacco pipes, and cushions.[201] As the Showa Depression devastated Ainu villages, Japanese officials promoted such subsidiary industries as handicraft production to facilitate their economic recovery. With the aim of transforming the Ainu people into self-reliant farmers, the Hokkaido Governorate's Social Division opened the trade fair to not only promote the products of Ainu artisans to the urban public, but also improve their craft skills and techniques through a roundtable discussion with government technicians and professional artists. By hosting elaborate opening and closing ceremonies, as well as an award competition, the pageantry of the exhibition displayed the colonial relationship between Japanese officials and the Ainu people as stewards of their welfare.

The commercialization of Ainu handicrafts as the "folk art" of Hokkaido was an integral part of the Hokkaido Governorate's propagation of a new mass culture that celebrated the Japanese colonization of the region. With the Showa Depression threatening to unravel the social bonds of rural and urban communities across Hokkaido, officials reinforced the people's attachment to the prefecture through a national discourse that portrayed it as a unique cultural realm with its own set

[201] "Ainu shukōgei-hin tenrankai," *Hokkaidō shakai jigyō* 42 (1935), 71-85.

of values and dispositions based on the moral fortitude of the Japanese settlers from the Meiji period. By conjuring romantic images of primitive wholesomeness, the marketing of Ainu embroideries and woodwork as one of the last remnants of this preindustrial past paralleled the nationwide *getemono* handicraft craze that aestheticized the country's cultural nostalgia for an imagined primordial community. Although the intellectuals who extolled these objects professed the virtues of rural harmony over the corrupting decadence of urban society, the government's decision to sell Ainu handicrafts at the largest department store in Sapporo attests to the deep integration of folk art in modern mass culture.[202] Embedded in the circulations of capital, the objects on display at the Ainu Handicraft Exhibition were part and parcel of the networks of pleasure that constituted the city's capitalist modernity.

While the urban middleclass consumed Ainu handicrafts, it was the agrarian campaigns of the Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement (*Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei undo*) that constituted the mass culture of the Ainu villages that produced them. In tandem with the capitalist circulations of Sapporo, Ainu farmers and fishermen composed the modern rhythms of the countryside as they rebuilt their communities during the Showa Depression. Throughout the 1930s, the Hokkaido Governorate mobilized rural villages and towns across the prefecture to collectivize residents into such state-sponsored cooperatives as the agricultural associations, fishery cooperatives, and industrial cooperatives to rationalize economic production and increase rural income. As part of this program, it also encouraged the establishment of community workshops that converted household handicraft production into modern subsidiary businesses. By introducing these institutions into the Ainu villages, Japanese officials and Ainu community leaders sought to realize the empire's longstanding vision of incorporating the Ainu people into the national

[202] Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty*, Durham: Duke University Press (2007), 114-123.

economy as self-reliant farmers who cultivated their allotments and produced a taxable surplus for the state.

With Ainu woodwork and embroideries circulating the interrelated urban and rural ecologies of Hokkaido, their reconstitution as the "folk art" of a Japanese-indigenized Hokkaido created a multitude of individual and collective experiences that resisted any singular definition. Writing on the political possibilities of mass culture, Walter Benjamin argues that the tactile appropriation of art can create new subjectivities and forms of action by producing the collective basis of envisioning alternative modes of perception in modern society.[203] Whereas a cultural order can territorialize the social meaning of an object within specific material spaces in the form of reification, artists can appropriate technologies of mass reproduction to immerse them in the myriad of phenomenon that constitutes the everyday. Such motion creates encounters between incommensurables – juxtaposing one spatial and temporal context with another – and can lead to unorthodox dispositions and perspectives that denaturalize dominant conceptual frameworks. In this sense, popular participation in production and consumption of art facilitates both the reproduction and disruption of power, as mass culture is a practice in which no one authority dominates its meaning.

By promoting the mass consumption of Ainu handicrafts, the Hokkaido Governorate subjected these artworks to similar repetitions of decode and recode that involved a diverse array of actors whose lived experiences complicated the efforts of prefectural authorities to enforce their exchange value as "folk art." As Ainu villages established handicraft circles, these organizations were part and parcel of broader movements of local community development that collectivized residents into a variety of state-sponsored cooperatives to achieve increased productivity and

[203] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 240-241.

economic self-sufficiency. Apart from such national goals, though, community leaders appropriated the social relations embedded in handicraft production to create sites of political mobilization and resistance that confronted relations of colonial dependency. By enunciating demands of local autonomy and land reform that critiqued the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act of 1899, Ainu movements of economic revitalization acted in ways that did not conform to the teleology of state agricultural development which privileged the empire as the main driving force of historical progress. Instead, they created political spaces that embodied not only the contradictions of Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist society but also the possibilities of social change within it.

THE FORMER NATIVE

During the 1930s, Japanese officials and scholars propagated the new ideology of "Northern Culture" (*hoppō bunka*) to reinforce the spiritual ties of the people of Hokkaido to the Japanese empire at a time when economic depression and social unrest threatened to unravel them. The discourse aestheticized Japanese rule as a force of progress not only by celebrating the colonial experiences of the early Japanese settlers, but also by expanding the scope of the government's civilizing mission into the ancient past. With the discovery of Jōmon earthenware in Hokkaido in 1929, archaeologists concluded that the descendants of the modern Japanese people had been exporting their culture to the region through settlement and trade since the Stone Age and proposed the theory that the northern part of the empire – Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands, Karafuto, and Tohoku – constituted a unified prehistorical cultural sphere.[204] By reconfiguring Hokkaido's past

[204] Saisenkai, ed., *Hokkaidō genshi bunka yōran: Hokkaidō genshi bunka tenrankai shuppin mokuroku* (Tokyo: Minzoku kōgei kenkyū-kai, 1933), 5.

into such a narrative of ethnogenesis, Northern Culture not only introduced a new form of ethnic nationalism that indigenized the Japanese presence in the prefecture, but also reinforced the Ainu people's colonial subjectivity as "former natives" (*kyū-dojin*) who relied on Japanese stewardship for their development.

As the Hokkaido Governorate transformed Ainu handicrafts into ideological instruments of Northern Culture, its project constituted a new culture industry that unified state ideology and capitalism. In their study on mass culture, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer attribute the rise of highly commodified artforms to the industrialization of cultural production within capitalist societies.[205] Like the new manufacturing conglomerates that dominated the economy, the culture industry constituted a corporate monopoly that appropriated the latest technologies of technical reproduction to dominate each phase of the artwork's creation. This includes not only the centralization of artistic creation within a few production centers, but also the regulation of its meaning through control over advertisement and distribution processes. Writing that such consolidation allowed cultural and political elites to appropriate mass culture for themselves and manipulate the public into accepting the political status quo, Adorno and Horkheimer argue that the rise of the culture industry resulted in the loss of art's autonomy to envision new social formations by reducing the imagination of the artist to the mechanical repetitions of fulfilling consumer desires.

Japanese authorities subjected Ainu handicrafts to a similar standardization process to govern their meaning on the basis of a discourse that legitimated the hierarchical relations between the Hokkaido Governorate and the Ainu people. Analogous to preexisting colonial discourses that depicted the Ainu people as "former natives" in need of official protection, the Second Ainu

[205] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott, Stanford: Stanford University (2002), 95.

Handicraft Exhibition of 1936 defined the "essence" (*iki*) of their woodwork and embroideries as the last remaining traces of a vanishing culture that required state intervention to rescue them from extinction.[206] Such historicism conceptualized Ainu artworks as objects from an ancient past whose fate was threatened by the storm of history when fierce competition from Japanese settlers forced the Ainu people to abandon their traditions and become modern farmers. Lamenting the disappearance of this primeval lifestyle, the government vowed to oversee the conservation of its cultural remnants by promoting their mass manufacturing and sale within the marketplace. Consequently, their vision of Ainu handicrafts did not entail a direct restoration of the past within the present, but the creation of a reproduced form whose meaning was mediated by Japanese stewardship of the Ainu people.

The Hokkaido Governorate's narrative of Ainu handicrafts operated in the historical temporality of Northern Culture Studies (*hoppō bunka-ron*), which indigenized the Japanese presence in Hokkaido and naturalized its colonization as a force of progress. As the main academic association on the prefecture's ancient past, the Saisenkai was instrumental in creating the new discipline during the 1930s. After a team of archaeologists from Tohoku Imperial University excavated Jōmon-patterned earthenware at the town of Sumiyoshi in 1929, the Saisenkai's founders – Kōno Hiromichi, Takakura Shin'ichiro, and Gotō Jūichi – proposed the theory that the northern part of the Japanese empire comprised a unified prehistorical cultural sphere.[207] By tracing the genealogical origins of these artifacts to the Kamegaoka culture of the Tohoku region, they outlined the trajectory of Northern Culture from the Kanto plains to southwestern Hokkaido. Consequently, the Saisenkai created the ideological foundation of Hokkaido's incorporation into

[206] "Dai-nikai Ainu shukōgei-hin tenrankai." *Hokkaidō shakai jigyō* 51 (1936), 86-87.

[207] Saisenkai, ed., *Hokkaidō genshi bunka yōran*, Tokyo: Minzoku kōgei kenkyū-kai (1933), 1-6.

national history by not only categorizing the prefecture as a geographic unit of Japanese ancient history, but also by reconceptualizing its past as a linear and progressive unfolding of Japanese cultural expansion.

As scholars synchronized the Japanese colonization of Hokkaido to this new temporality, they also reconceptualized the Ainu people's imperial relationship to the Japanese state as a primordial one. Such members of the Saisenkai as Takakura Shin'ichiro, Professor of Agricultural Economics at Hokkaido University, emphasized the cultural affinity between the Ainu and Japanese people in their works. Writing for the organization in 1933, Takakura proclaims that the discovery of Jōmon earthenware in Hokkaido reveals that the Ainu people had always been a "constituent element" (*kōsei yōso*) of Japanese civilization.[208] He notes that whereas earlier research on the history between the two people focused on Japanese political rule during the last two centuries, Northern Culture Studies expanded this into the distant past by examining such themes as cultural diffusion and trade. By producing a historicism that asserted that the Ainu people had been receiving advanced forms of culture from mainland Japan since the dawn of history, Takakura went so far as to assert that research on contemporary Ainu customs and traditions would contribute to academic understanding of Jōmon culture itself because of the homologous relationship between the two.[209]

By projecting Japanese colonial relations and its categories into the ancient past, the discipline of Northern Culture Studies not only portrayed the Ainu people as members of a proto-Japanese civilization, but also naturalized their modern depiction as historical subjects who

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[208] Takakura Shin'ichiro, "Ezo no fūzokuga ni tsuite," in *Hokkaidō genshi bunka shūei,* edited by Saisenkai (Tokyo: Minzoku kōgei kenkyū-kai, 1933), 52.

[209] Northern Culture Studies gained national prominence on the basis of such a logic in 1935 when the archaeologist Kōno Hiromichi used the Ainu people's iyomante ceremony to formulate his theory that the prehistoric shell-mounds of the Japanese mainland were spirit-spending ritual grounds. Kōno Hiromichi, "Kaizuka jinkotsu no nazo to Ainu no iyomante," *Jinruigaku zasshi* 50, no. 4 (1935), 151-160.

depended on Japanese intervention to progress through the stages of development. Kōno Hiromichi, Professor of Agriculture at Hokkaido University, argues in 1935 that although the Ainu people had a long history of trade with the Asian continent, it was cultural exchanges with the Japanese mainland that spearheaded their evolution because the origins of the prefecture's most advanced artifacts came from there.[210] By comparing Jōmon earthenware and pit-house remains in Tohoku and Hokkaido, he also concluded that the Japanese exportation of civilization to the latter was not a single event but an unbroken process that continued for centuries as proto-Japanese artifacts there reflected multiple stages of the transition from the Stone Age to the Copper Age. The archaeologist Gotō Shu'ichi expanded this scope even further by proposing that the arrival of Japanese swords in Hokkaido during the Nara and Heian periods marked the dawn of the Ainu people's Bronze and Iron Ages.[211]

By naturalizing the Ainu people's imperial subjectivity as "former natives," the Hokkaido Governorate's transformation of Ainu handicrafts into a culture industry represented a broader trend across the empire to aestheticize Japanese colonialism. Throughout the 1930s, Japanese anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians appropriated the different pasts of the colonies to not only project the empire's civilizing mission into deep history, but also assimilate them into a temporality that portrayed it as the driving force of East Asia's historical progression itself. Their work paralleled the government's patronage of the discipline of National History (*kokushi*), which explained the unfolding of the Japanese nation in terms of the imperial system's assimilation and refinement of Indian, Chinese, and Korean culture since its mythical foundation some 2,600 years ago. Consequently, Japanese historical research and archaeological excavations in Hokkaido were

[210] Kōno Hiromichi, "Hokkaidō sekkijidai gaiyō." *Dorumen* 4, no. 6 (1935), 524-525.

[211] Baba Osamu *et al*., "Hokkaidō Chishima Karafuto no kodai bunka wo kentō suru," *Minerva* 1, no. 8 (1936), 31.

coeval to those on the Asian continent that legitimated contemporary colonizer-colonized relations as part of an ongoing process of historical development.[212] By applying such dialectics to Ainu handicrafts, officials defined their "essence" as an embodiment of the unbroken linear and progressive spirit of the Japanese nation.

The Industrialization of Ainu Culture

The Hokkaido Governorate's propagation of Northern Culture through Ainu woodwork and embroideries constituted a new culture industry that unified its production, advertisement, and distribution. Prior to the 1930s, much of Ainu handicraft production was centered on the household economy with families foraging their own raw material and using everyday tools to create items that were necessary for their self-subsistence. With the establishment of the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association (*Asahikawa Ainu shukōgeihin kumiai*) in 1935, Japanese officials industrialized the trade through a social policy approach that collectivized craftspeople into state-sponsored cooperatives that had access to the prefecture's commercial networks. The new workshop offered Ainu members with such goods and services as raw material and specialized tools from the prefecture's cooperative markets, training courses held by government technicians and professional artists, as well as the ability to sell products to establishments across the empire. By expanding the state's reach into production, the Japanese government's reorganization of the Ainu household economy also signified a shift in governmentality that aimed to rationalize every facet of their economic rhythms.

[212] Takaoka Kumao, "Hoppō bunka no hatten ni tsuite," in *Hokkaidō bunka-shi kō*, ed. by Nihon Hōsō kyōkai Sapporo chūō hōsō-kyoku (Tokyo: Nihon hōsō shuppan-kyōkai, 1942), 1-7.

The Hokkaido Governorate's industrialization of Ainu handicrafts was similar to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry's state corporatist strategy of developing rural handicraft industries in the Tohoku region and Hokkaido during the Showa Depression. Such an approach applied direct government oversight to a particular trade through the establishment of a central facility that institutionalized and rationalized each stage of production in addition to coordinating the activities between them. By applying this framework to local artisan societies in northern Japan, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry established the Industrial Arts Research Institute (*Kōgei shidōjo*) in Sendai in 1928.[213] Under its guidance, a staff of government technicians conducted detailed surveys of a targeted region and identified potential "specialty products" (*tokusanhin*) within it before developing model versions of the objects with minimalist and functionalist designs to simplify their mass production. Specialists also appraised raw material from the area to determine which ones were most suitable for the handicrafts. They then organized regional conferences and short courses to train artisans to reproduce the prototypes for the commercial market.

Prefectural authorities in Hokkaido implemented a similar social policy approach towards the mass production of Ainu souvenir goods through the establishment of the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association.[214] Asahikawa was an ideal site to showcase their vision of a state-led culture industry because of its extensive tourism and woodworking infrastructure. With a 4,500-yen loan from the Social Division, the Ainu community leader Kawamura Kaneto opened the Ainu Handicraft Association in December 1935 at the village's former Ainu elementary school. The

[213] Shoji Akiko, "Shōkōshō no Sendai honsho jidai no Tōhoku kōgei sangyō shinkō-saku*," Dezaingaku kenkyū (Bulletin of Japan Society for the Science of Design)* 2, no. 1 (1994), 6-9. Shikida Hiroko, "Senji taisei no shōkōshō kōgei shidōjyo ni okeru kinō-shugi to 'shoshitsu-bi,'" *Dezaingaku Kenkyū (Bulletin of Japan Society for Science of Design* 60, no. 6 (2014), 1-10. Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty*, 128-135.

[214] Asahikawa Ainu shukōgeihin kumiai no jisseki." *Hokkaidō shakai jigyō* 49 (1936), 78-79.

facility assumed functions akin to those of the state-sponsored cooperatives and oversaw each step of handicraft production. It not only procured raw material and specialized tools on behalf of members, but also provided a social space where craftspeople could manufacture objects together and participate in short courses organized by government technicians and professional artisans. The association then arranged purchase orders with the Hokkaido Governorate and Asahikawa municipal government to consign the finished products to commercial establishments across the nation.[215]

The transformation of Ainu handicrafts into the "folk art" of Hokkaido involved state intervention in not only the manufacturing process, but also the production of knowledge. During the 1930s, Japanese officials formed partnerships with anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians to indoctrinate the public that Ainu material culture were the embodiments of Hokkaido's preindustrial past. As part of this project, they organized exhibitions on the prefecture's ancient history at such cultural institutions as museums, universities, libraries, and department stores. This includes the Hokkaido Prehistorical Remains Exhibition of 1931 at the Hokkaido Imperial University General Museum, the Hokkaido Primitive Culture Exhibition of 1933 at the Marui Department Stores in Sapporo, Asahikawa, Otaru, and Hakodate, and the Northern Culture Exhibition of 1936 at the Shirokiya Department Store in Tokyo. As officials looked to educational facilities to propagate the prefecture's primordial ties to the Japanese mainland , the latter became critical sites in the formation of mass culture that regulated the meaning of Ainu woodwork and embroideries in the narrative of ancient history.

As the most ambitious museum exhibition on the prefecture's ancient history, the Hokkaido Primitive Culture Exhibition of 1933 adopted a distinct curatorial approach that displayed

[215] During its first year, the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association sold 2,631 yen worth of items. Asahikawa shi-shi henshū kaigi, ed., *Shin Asahikawa shi-shi dai yon maki* (Asahikawa: Asahikawa-shi, 1993), 670-673.

contemporary Ainu handicrafts alongside ancient Jōmon artifacts to indoctrinate visitors with the ideology of Northern Culture. Co-organized by the Hokkaido Governorate's School Affairs Department and the Saisenkai, the two-month travelling exhibit included 786 Ainu folk objects and 575 ancient Jōmon artifacts from museum and private collections across Hokkaido, Karafuto, the Tohoku region, and Tokyo.[216] It also contained an art gallery that narrated the dawn of humanity in Hokkaido, culminating in a romantic landscape portrait of the archetypical Jōmon settlement of pit-dwellings and shell mounds with the prefecture's Koma-ga-take mountain in the background. To underscore the relationship between Ainu material culture and proto-Japanese civilization, the opening ceremony held a lecture meeting on topics relating to Ainu and Jōmon culture, a film screening on Ainu daily life, and an Ainu folk dance performance by an Ainu troupe. The gift store even consisted of such items as hand towels, seat cushions, and yukata with Ainu and Jōmon patterns.

Having unified economic and knowledge production, the Hokkaido Governorate and Asahikawa municipal government then managed the distribution of Ainu handicrafts within the empire's commercial networks of mass consumption. Through purchase orders during the winter season, officials consigned souvenir goods from the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association to department stores, commerce and industry promotional halls (*shōkō shōrei-kan*), tourist businesses, and trade fairs across Hokkaido and within the major cities of Tokyo and Osaka. Such cultural institutions as the Marui Department Store were receptive to the government's initiative as store managers lamented the absence of a pre-defined "folk art" in Hokkaido and sought to use Ainu handicrafts to capture the market share of these cultural commodities from the kokeshi dolls of

[216] The complete outline of the Exhibition of the Primitive Culture of Hokkaido can be found in Saisenkai, ed., *Hokkaidō genshi bunka yōran* (Tokyo: Minzoku kōgei kenkyū-kai, 1933).

Nagano.[217] With its a dominating presence in Sapporo's networks of pleasure that included bookstores, movie theaters, restaurants, and coffeeshops, the city's department stores worked with prefectural authorities to serve as critical links between state and society in the formation of national mass culture.

As the Japanese government promoted the Ainu people's mass production of handicrafts, the new culture industry projected its vision of the ideal colony and disseminated the ideology of Northern Culture to Japanese consumers. By mobilizing wide segments of society, state-sponsored workshops like the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association not only improved the productivity and market conditions of members, but also acted as disciplinary tools that shaped the meaning of their products and depoliticized rural civil society within a narrative of national progress. In this sense, the Japanese government's industrialization of Ainu woodwork and embroideries signified a deeper shift in governmentality as the ideology of Northern Culture acted as the mass culture of a new colonial structure that conjured primordial ethno-nationalist ties to facilitate the state's colonization of economic production and daily life in Hokkaido. Such intervention, however, could not contain the prefecture's ethnic and class contradictions as Ainu craftspeople appropriated the same state institutions to create their own political spaces to confront colonial inequalities.

THE SELF-RELIANT FARMER

While the Hokkaido Governorate promoted Ainu handicraft production, its culture industry provided Ainu craftspeople with new opportunities to organize themselves and confront relations

[217] "Kyūdojin hogo shisetsu kaizen zadankai," *Hokkaido shakai jigyō* 42 (1935), 297.

of colonial dependency as autonomous commercial farmers. During the Showa Depression, an elite class of educated Ainu activists mobilized their villages to petition the abolishment of the Former Natives Protection Act and the expansion of their allotments from the government. They looked to the Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement of 1932 for inspiration because of its promise to transform farmers into new historical agents who could restore vitality to their villages through collective action and will.[218] Under this campaign, the Japanese government offered farmers across the country with support to collectivize themselves into cooperatives and social organizations that allocated state resources and funds in a more equitable manner, including community workshops that converted household handicraft production into modern subsidiary businesses. As the Economic Revitalization Movement complemented the visions of Ainu intermediaries in constructing a post-Protection Act society, they were quick to apply its initiatives to their villages.

The industrialization of Ainu handicrafts at Asahikawa was part and parcel of its Ainu community's movement to construct a modern model village of productive, educated, and hygienic households. The historian Tanimoto Akihisa argues that Ainu activists there created a distinct politics of community development known as the "vision of autonomous management" (*jishu kanri kōsō*) during the 1930s, which he defines as a movement to "control and make practical use of the provisional allotments in an autonomous manner" by recovering their land grants from

[218] The Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement (*Nōsangyoson keizai kōsei undo*) of 1932 was the Japanese government's basic policy towards the economic recovery and social reform of the countryside during the Showa Depression. For more detailed historical research on the Economic Revitalization Movement in Hokkaido, see Sakamoto Akihito, "Nōson saihen seisaku to nōji jikkō kumiai," *Hokkaidō daigaku nōkei ronsō* 38 (1982): 175-202, and Ono Masayuki, "Hokkaidō ni okeru nōson keizai kōsei undo no tenkai," in *Hokkaidō no kenkyū dai roku kan*, ed. Takakura Shin'ichiro and Nomura Takashi (Osaka: Seibundo, 1983). 117. Takakura Shin'ichiro also offers a comprehensive account of the movement in Hokkaidō, *Shin Hokkaidōshi dai go kan tsūsetsu yon*, Sapporo: Hokkaidō (1975), 1057-1090.

Japanese tenant farmers and having the Ainu residents themselves develop it.[219] As part of this plan, Ainu community leaders in Chikabumi proposed collectivizing people into the following cooperatives and social facilities that empowered the village with its own means of production : (1) a one hundred chō community farm; (2) a residential land association that constructed and leased new houses to Japanese tenants; (3) an ambitious three-storied concrete apartment complex with a public bath, cafeteria, and handicraft workshop to house Ainu residents; and (4) a community fund that provided scholarships for gifted students and subsidies for medical treatment and hygiene.[220] By redirecting community resources to its residents, Ainu activists hoped to finally achieve their longstanding goal of transforming their village into a self-sufficient agrarian entity.

The Ainu community at Chikabumi promoted the industrialization of handicraft production because such work was an important subsidiary business for its marginal farmers. Under the Protection Act, the Asahikawa municipal government transferred most of the Ainu provisional allotments to Japanese tenant farmers rather than their Ainu landowners.[221] Due to the small size of their estates, Ainu residents had to supplement their farming income with hunting during the winter season and migrant labor in the fishing, construction, transportation, and lumber

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[219] Tanimoto Akihisa, "Kindai Ainu no egaku miraizu – Chikabumi "kyūdojin hogochi" jishukanri no yume" in *Kinō no Nihon: Kindai shakai to bōkyoku sareta mirai*, edited by Ugai Masashi and Kawaguchi Akihiro (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2012), 86.

[220] "Seikatsu iji kōjyō no ikensho," in *Shin Asahikawa shi-shi*, edited by Asahikawa shi-shi henshū kaigi, 593-594; Oyama Yūzō, *Ashikawa Ainu no kenkyū* (Asahikawa: Hokkaidō Asahikawa shihangakkō, 1936), 98.

[221] After the passage of the Protection Act, the Asahikawa municipal government obtained control over the city's portion of the Ainu provisional allotments through a thirty-year lease with the Hokkaido Governorate in 1906. Although officials were obligated to distribute all 145 chō of the land to Ainu residents, they used 50 chō to establish a reservation (*hogochi*) that subleased one chō to each Ainu household and rented out 84 chō to Japanese tenant farmers. Under this arrangement, the Ainu people still retained title rights over their allotments with the hope that they would one day be able to recover them. For a more detailed account of this history, see Asahikawa shi-shi henshū kaigi, ed., *Shin Asahikawa shi-shi san ni maki* (Asahikawa: Asahikawa-shi, 1993), 831-866.

industries.[222] Chikabumi had also been a popular destination for Japanese tourist groups since the 1910s, when the village's chief (*shūchō*), Kawakami Konusa'ainu, opened his Ainu Cultural Museum (*Ainu bunka sankōkan*). As hundreds of people arrived by bus and train each summer to watch traditional Ainu performances, residents began producing Ainu handicrafts as souvenir items for them. Much of this work took place in the traditional household economy, where non-working elders and children foraged their own raw material and used rudimentary tools to create such everyday items as utensils and clothing for the family. Saitō Fumio captures the limited resources that were available to craftspeople like him in his childhood recollections:

> I think it was the summer of 1933, 1934. It was when I was in the third grade of elementary school. My mother came home and said, "Some two hundred tourists from the mainland (*naichi*) will arrive here on the two o'clock train tomorrow!" With only that on my mind, I immediately carved three crawling bears that were six sun (7.1 inches) in length. The material [that was available to me] during this time was poplar, and I used black ink as paint before polishing it with candle wax to finish it. Since this was a time when there was absolutely no drying equipment, I applied the ink on the raw wood and let it dry around a natural fire for about two hours. After that, I melted a candle, applied it to the bear with a brush, and then polished it with a tawashi scrubbing brush to finish it. Then it was just a matter of waiting for the tourists to come.[223]

[222] Oyama Yūzō, *Ashikawa Ainu no kenkyū*, 82-83.

[223] Kanakura Gikei, *Asahikawa Ainu minzoku no kingendai-shi*, Tokyo: Koubunken (2006), 438-439.

As the Showa Depression devastated the countryside, rural villages across Japan formed partnerships with professional artisans, intellectuals, and state bureaucrats to transform their household handicraft industries into modern subsidiary businesses. Programs like the peasant art movement (*nōmin bijutsu undō*) in Nagano and the local mingei projects in the San'in region attracted nationwide attention for improving the financial conditions of farmers through workshops and research institutions that supervised the planning, production, and distribution of their folk products. In addition to raising incomes, these activities acted as grassroots instruments of cultural reform that indoctrinated people with new rural subjectivities to inspire them to participate in community development. The founder of the peasant art movement, Yamamoto Kanae, preached that the artistic values of individuality and creativity found within craftwork could be applied to more practical aspects of everyday life, including economic production and management.[224] For villages struggling with agricultural depression, his self-help vision of "free creation" (*jiyū seisaku*) and private commercialism offered a more equitable approach to rural economics than the existing landlord system.

Inspired by the peasant art movement, Ainu community leaders at Asahikawa encouraged the industrialization of handicraft production to transform Chikabumi into a self-reliant village. Kawamura Kaneto, a railway surveyor and the village's chief, oversaw this effort with the establishment of the Ainu Cultural Reference Museum (*Ainu bunka shiryō sankōkan*) in 1933, the Peasant Art Association (*Nōmin bijutsu-kai*) in 1933, and the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association in 1935. He and the artisan Sunazawa Ichitarō constructed the Ainu Cultural Reference Museum to not only serve as a tourist business that displayed Ainu traditional objects to Japanese visitors, but also provide Ainu craftspeople with a social place where they could

[224] Hoyt Long, *On Uneven Ground* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 162-163.

exchange information and improve their craft skills and techniques. By enrolling residents into social organizations that offered professional training and mutual assistance, their activism paralleled the folk art movements that were sweeping the nation. The collective space of the workshop, though, also created the social foundation of political mobilization as Kawamura describes his facility in the following terms:

> It is inevitable for Ainu wood-bear carving to reach an impasse in the near future if we leave things as they are right now. In order to be on the pathway that will break this deadlock, we have established the [Peasant Art Association] to develop the technical skills of peasant art and the [Ainu Self-Autonomy Alliance], which is an extremely solid and dependable movement that is not compromised by the schemes of wajin visionaries and the land problem to have the Ainu people themselves achieve their own daily life improvement and prosperity, as well as live in an autonomous manner (*jichiteki ni ikin to suru*) under the future protection system.[225]

Kawakami's project to industrialize handicraft production operated within his community's broader program of political action as goals of autonomous management clashed with colonial relations of dependency. During what is now known as the Third Chikabumi Land Restoration Movement of 1932, Ainu residents held a mass meeting and elected Matsui Kunisaburō and Amakawa Ezaburō to lead a petition movement for the unconditional return of their provisional allotments as private property from the Asahikawa municipal government. The city threatened to turn the village's disposession into a permanent condition by converting the land

[225] "Ainu bijutsu no tame, nōmin bijutsu kyōkai tanjō," Tokyo Nichi Nichi, August 26, 1933.

grants into a residential district after the lease's expiration that same year.[226] To prevent this, the village not only confronted the Hokkaido Governorate, but also sent four delegations to Tokyo that year and presented its demands to the Home Ministry, Finance Ministry, National Diet, and several other government ministries and media outlets. By petitioning the central government, Ainu activists used the higher authority of the nation-state to pressure prefectural authorities to meet their demands so that they could reconstruct their village. Although the movement was unsuccessful in recovering the village's land from the Asahikawa municipal government, it created a powerful discourse that articulated Ainu visions of land reform and local autonomy.

By evoking such concepts as "free usage" and "autonomous management," the Third Chikabumi Land Restoration Movement appropriated the language of modern rural development to legitimize its demands in terms there were acceptable to the state. Within their petitions, Ainu activists framed their political demands in a transnational narrative from the primitive "native village" (*dojin buraku*) of hunter-gatherers to the modern "model village" (*mohan buraku*) of self-sufficient farmers.[227] They conceded that they once required the Hokkaido Governorate's stewardship because their "nature-based lifestyle" (*shizen seikatsu*) had prevented them from competing with skilled Japanese settlers in the "struggle for survival," but concluded that such oversight was now obsolete because they had abandoned the customs of the past and completed their assimilation into Japanese society. Having reached a stage in history where they could be trusted with private ownership of their land, Ainu activists pushed for the government to return

[226] The Asahikawa municipal council considered future plans of converting the Ainu provisional allotments into a residential district during the 1920s. Due to the city's rapid population growth, authorities concluded that the maintenance of an agricultural economy at Chikabumi was no longer a profitable model for them. Asahikawa shi-shi henshū kaigi, ed., *Shin Asahikawa shi-shi dai yon maki*, 568-571.

[227] "Kyū-dojin hogo no gi ni tsuki seigan," in *Ainu minzoku no kindai no kiroku*, edited by Ogawa Masahito and Yamada Sin'ichi (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1998), 40.

their allotments to them so that they could construct a modern community that would act as a model for Ainu villages across the prefecture.

Although the politics of Ainu autonomous management operated in a colonial temporality that naturalized the Ainu people's subjectivity as "former natives" who were in the process of transitioning through the historical stages of development, Ainu activists at Asahikawa inverted official representations of Japanese colonialism by arguing that it was such intervention itself, rather than a lack of it, that prevented them from achieving economic advancement. Within their petitions, Ainu community leaders framed the trajectory of their residents as a linear passage from the primitive to modern village. By replacing prefectural authorities with the Ainu people as the driving force of their economic revitalization, though, they reconceptualized themselves as modern members of society who could restore vitality to their villages through ownership of the means of production. As the result, the movement to create a model village of handicraft workshops, museums, and cooperatives was interrelated with political demands of local autonomy and land reform as these visions articulated new subjectivities that emphasized the Ainu people's capacity to be historical agents of their own progress.

The Invention of Tradition

The Rural Village Economic Revitalization Movement generated intense debates between Ainu community leaders over the future of their traditions and customs as they struggled to define the role of these elements of everyday life in their programs of historical progress. During the 1930s, villages and towns across the prefecture mobilized their elementary schools and such moral suasion groups (*kyoka dantai*) as the youth associations and women's associations to indoctrinate

residents with the values and dispositions of the modern self-sufficient farmer. The scope of these initiatives extended beyond the inculcation of modern practices and ideas because they also promoted the edification of past traditions through the discourse of local education (*kyōdo kyōiku*). At a time when agricultural depression threatened to unravel the social bonds of villages, administrative districts across Japan promoted museum exhibits, lecture series, and local history textbooks to create modern subjects who demonstrated a deep sense of historical appreciation towards their native place. By propagating such traditions to them, officials and educators inspired residents to form emotions of community attachment (*kyōdo aichaku*) to their villages and dedicate themselves to its recovery.

Ainu community leaders incorporated the establishment of local museums (*kyōdō-kan*) in their programs of daily life reform to reconfigure the meaning of vernacular customs to support national goals of economic revitalization and community development. During the Former Natives Protection Facilities Improvement Conference (*Kyūdojin hogo shisetsu kaizen zadankai*) of 1935, such Ainu activists as Mukai Yamao of Date and Moritake Takeuchi of Shiraoi requested the Social Division for government support to construct such facilities in their villages.[228] Concerned that the primitive remnants of the past were obstructing the Ainu people's historical progress, Mukai envisioned that the local museums would regulate their meaning by assembling various objects from the "Ainu past" and curating them in a way that emphasized the Ainu people's modernization to Japanese visitors, while also serving as a designated space where Ainu residents could perform their rituals for research and preservation purposes. The institution would delineate modern and traditional spaces within the village and divorce the latter from everyday life through its abolishment from the public view

[228] "Kyūdojin hogoshisetsu kaizen zadankai," 331.

During the 1930s, a growing number of Ainu activists requested the Hokkaido Governorate to regulate tourism businesses in Asahikawa and Shiraoi that catered to the colonial desires of Japanese tourists with mass exhibitions of Ainu ritual and dance performances. The most notable critique is Kaizawa Tōzō's *Ainu no sakebi* (*The Cry of the Ainu*; 1931), which declared that one of the greatest obstacles to the Ainu people's development is their misrepresentation as the "pitiful Ainu" (*hisan naru Ainu*) – "a race that continues to hunt every day in attush made from tree bark, unable to speak Japanese and only eating meat and fish while enjoying drinking nothing but sake."[229] As a railway surveyor who worked in the same team as Kawamura Kaneto, Kaizawa drew from his own experience as a part-time tourist guide in Shiraoi to accuse Japanese officials of creating such an image by ordering Ainu elders to reenact traditional dances in their attush whenever a member of imperial family visited Hokkaido. The portrayal was a national phenomenon not only because newspapers circulated photographs of the encounter across the country the next day, but also because tourism businesses staged similar exhibitions for Japanese visitors.

Lamenting the illegibility of the Ainu people's voice in Japanese society because of their primitivization, Kaizawa proposes a new approach to community development that mobilizes modern education to dispel the myth of the "pitiful Ainu." In *Ainu no sakebi*, he writes that Ainu youths are different from the village elders who want to continue the customs of the past because they are modern subjects who "cry" for equal treatment in Japanese society to achieve the following objectives: (1) the attainment of the same education as Japanese students through school desegregation; (2) the eradication of the chise through housing reform; and (3) the improvement

[229] Kaizawa Tōzō, "Ainu no sakebi," *Ainu minzoku kindai no kiroku*, edited by Ogawa Masahito and Yamada Sin'ichi (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1998), 374-375.

of their employment situation.[230] Asserting that these demands are obscured by the subjectivity of the "pitiful Ainu," Kaizawa appropriates the historical narrative of modernization to conclude that the disappearance of the Ainu people's traditions is a regrettable yet inevitable outcome of their study of modern knowledge (*gakumon*). Consequently, he hopes that Ainu youths will record and catalogue their rituals in an academic manner similar to the local education movement instead of practicing them in their daily lives.[231]

The debate over Ainu traditions and customs shaped the landscape of Chikabumi as Kawamura Kaneto viewed educational facilities to be the most suitable social institutions to oversee his village's administration of culture. Addressing middle class criticisms of the tourism businesses, he created a new model of the industry when he founded the Ainu Cultural Reference Museum and the Asahikawa Ainu Handicraft Association. The two replaced the primitivized body with didactic museum displays and high-quality souvenir items as the markers of Ainu tradition.[232] By partitioning modern and traditional spaces, the new facilities acted as instruments of colonial assimilation that organized the relationship between Japanese agricultural development and vernacular Ainu practices as a hierarchical one, displacing the latter from the everyday and redefining it in terms of such national goals as economic revitalization and community education. Consequently, the formation of local museums and handicraft workshops were interrelated projects of cultural reform that integrated Ainu residents into Japanese society and modernized their customs as "folk art."

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[230] Kaizawa Tōzō, "Ainu no sakebi," 380.

[231] Kaizawa Tōzō, "Ainu no sakebi," 383.

[232] Asahikawa shi-shi henshū kaigi, ed., *Shin Asahikawa shi-shi dai yon maki*, 674-676.

For the Ainu activists of Asahikawa, the industrialization of handicraft production constituted an important component of their construction of a model village that disciplined residents through their collectivization into government-sponsored cooperatives, social organizations, and educational institutions. Such a vision signified a state corporatist form of colonial modernity that facilitated the reconstruction of Ainu communities within the framework of the Economic Revitalization Movement. Although the new institutions expanded government intervention in community affairs, they also acted as a space where Ainu residents could articulate their subjectivity as self-reliant farmers by forming new dispositions that embodied their political demands of land reform and economic autonomy. Declaring modern agricultural development to be incompatible with the colonial inequalities of the Asahikawa municipal government, Ainu activists appropriated national mobilization and assimilation to envision a more equitable post-Protection Act society in which they recovered the means of their production from the existing allotment system.

THE MODERN GIRL AND BOY

As Ainu handicrafts circulated the Japanese marketplace, more villages outside of Hokkaido's tourism infrastructure began to produce them for commercial sale during the 1930s. The Ainu Handicraft Exhibition attracted submissions from craftspeople who lived in not only such popular travel destinations as Asahikawa, Shiraoi, Noboribetsu, Akan, and Sapporo, but also working-class villages in the Saru and Mukawa river basins and the Shizunai township. Most of these communities, however, did not have the specialized facilities and tools like the one in Asahikawa to mass produce a highly commodified version of "Ainu folk art" that catered to the

primitivist desires of urban consumers and tourists. Without government support, their industries remained centered on the household economy, with non-working family members foraging their own raw material and using rudimentary tools to create handicrafts during the winter off-season. As these non-professional Ainu craftspeople submitted cheaper items of everyday practical use rather than such decorative pieces as wood-carved bears and Ainu dolls, the different quality and profitability of artworks at the Ainu Handicrafts Exhibition reflected the class and regional divisions of the Ainu people.[233]

With the onset of the Showa Depression, Ainu youths across Hokkaido established handicraft societies in their villages to improve their skills and techniques in creating souvenir items for the tourism industry.[234] While woodworking and weaving were the traditional responsibilities of such non-working family members as the elderly and children, more young adults participated in these activities because of their need to supplement their income. Handicraft production was convenient secondary work for them not only because it was something that they could do within their homes during the winter off-season, but also because many of them already had experience creating such objects for their family. Inspired by the handicraft movement in Asahikawa, Ainu youths in places like Shiraoi and Bihoro emulated its model by forming production circles under the guidance of individuals who had completed woodworking apprenticeships at Chikabumi.[235] Without state-sponsored workshops, though, many of them still struggled to profit from their work due to their lack of training and wood resources in creating high-quality items.

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[233] For instance, a wood-carved bear by a notable artist from Asahikawa could sell for as much as ninety-five yen, while decorative bowls and tobacco pipes from Nibutani sold for less than five yen. "Ainu shukōgei-hin tenrankai," 78-85.

[234] "Kyūdojin hogo shisetsu kaizen zadankai," 297.

[235] "Kyūdojin hogo shisetsu kaizen zadankai," 299.

By reconfiguring the social function of handicrafts towards the fulfillment of national goals of agricultural development and cultural reform, Ainu discourses of the model village concealed that household production composed the dispositions of modern working-class youths who were immanent in capitalist relations rather than primitive remnants of a hunter-gatherer culture. During the Showa Depression, the collapse of the rural economy exacerbated the class divisions of the Ainu people between a middle class of commercial farmers who supported the reproduction of Hokkaido's capitalist economy, and an underclass of marginal landowners who provided cheap labor to it.[236] As the latter turned to handicrafts to supplement their income, their experiences reveal that socio-economic differences in production were based on class rather than the stages of historical development. Consequently, the targets of cultural reform were not the residues of a primitive society but modern capitalist workers who were the driving force of Hokkaido's rapid industrialization, contradicting dominant narratives which naturalized the incorporation of the traditional household economy into the national one.

While Ainu youths navigated the consumer market, their woodwork and embroideries represented modern dispositions of code-switching that were a common hallmark of mass culture. The historian Miriam Silverberg argues that Japanese observers deployed a variety of cultural categories to make sense of the changing cultural patterns of the younger generation during the 1930s as the latter experimented with commodities and practices from different spatial and temporal registrars to envision new identities.[237] Ainu and Japanese writers made similar

[236] Government statistics from 1932 report that the primary source of income for a third of Ainu households was hired work, while several more would have engaged in such work as a secondary occupation during the farming off-season. Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō* (Sapporo: Hokkaidochō, 1933), 8-9.

[237] Perhaps the most notorious cultural construct of modern Japanese mass culture is the Modern Girl (*moga*), which reimagined working-class women as militant and decadent consumer subjects who experimented with material culture to create new identities and practices that resisted the conventional norms of society. Silverberg notes that several working-class embodiments of the *moga*, including the café waitress, were rural migrant workers sold into indentured servitude. Consequently, the *moga* not only highlights the active participation of rural subjects in mass

observations in their accounts on the Ainu youth, with Kaizawa Tōzō writing in *Ainu no sakebi* that the Ainu women wearing attush robes with short hair and lip tattoos in souvenir postcards are Modern Girls (*moga*) with bobbed hairstyles and fake tattoos made from cosmetics.[238] As school teachers in Asahikawa noticed that the Ainu women there dressed "smart" in their high heels, researchers visiting Nibutani also documented Ainu men adorning Western-style business suits in their daily lives.[239] Consequently, while Ainu youths played with different fashion styles and objects, their handicrafts embodied parallel acts of code-switching that appropriated a usable past to create a modern working-class culture.

Despite state assimilation initiatives, Ainu villages across Hokkaido experimented with old and new practices to construct hybrid working-class cultures that did conform to the teleology of the model village. Even in the mountain villages of the Saru river basin, which Japanese officials described as having not changed since "ancient times," Ainu residents synthesized the material culture of urban laborers with vernacular traditions and customs.[240] During a medical expedition to the area in 1932, Inouye Zenjurō, Professor of Hygiene at Hokkaido University, writes that the people there adopted an admixture of Ainu, Japanese, and Western practices in their everyday lives. In addition to renovating their chise (traditional Ainu dwellings) with such modern fixtures as glass windows, elevated floors, ceilings, and plank roofs, residents also reshaped their domestic

culture, but also that it is circularities of commodities and bodies generated by rural-urban migration that allows such culture to be recognized as a national phenomenon in the first place. Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Modern Japanese Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 17-18, 51.

[238] Kaizawa Tōzō, "Ainu no sakebi," 381.

[239] Oyama Yūzō, *Asahikawa Ainu no kenkyū* (Asahikawa: Hokkaidō Asahikawa shihangakkō, 1936), 85.

[240] Inouye Zenjurō, "Hokkaidō kyūdojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū (koya ni kansuru chōsa)," *Hokkaidō igaku zasshi* 14, no. 5 (1936), 836-837.

environment by replacing the traditional hearth with stoves and kerosene lamps.[241] Inouye also noticed that people of all age groups wore the "simple clothing of wajin laborers," including sweaters, hanten, cotton undershirts, pants, and rubber boots, while older women wrapped their heads with Ainu cotton headbands and Japanese-style handkerchiefs.

Within the Saru river basin, Ainu craftspeople followed a similar trajectory of code-switching between modern and traditional registrars in their work as local handicraft industries continued to rely on such non-capitalist modes of production as indentured servitude. As a young child in Nibutani during the 1920s, Kaizawa Iwako first learned to produce handicrafts in the traditional household economy through multiple live-in apprenticeships (*hōkō*) with her mother, grandmother, aunt, and neighbor.[242] Rather than attend elementary school, Kaizawa worked from morning to night to maintain the household, receiving training on kaeka (the craft of creating thread from ohyo elm-bark) from her grandmother to assist in the production of rudimentary ropes and mats for daily use, before mastering the skill of weaving attush from a neighbor to create more decorative pieces. In this sense, she internalized the gender norms of the working-class Ainu woman through the creation of embroideries as she speaks of her early experiences with it in economic terms alongside other such tasks as running errands at the post office and couriering money.

Kaizawa's experience with embroideries also embodied a distinct vision of community development that conceptualized the forest as a social extension of her everyday life as she moved

[241] Inouye notes that several Ainu people also preserved the basic layout of the chise by constructing entrances that faced upstream the river to pay respect to the river deity, as well as eastern-facing windows known as the kamuy-puyar which welcome kamuy visiting the household. Inouye Zenjurō, "Hokkaidō kyūdojin no eiseigakuteki kenkyū (koya ni kansuru chōsa)," *Hokkaidō igaku zasshi* 14, no. 5 (1936), 829, 831, 836-837. See also Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, Sapporo: Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika (1936), 20-22.

[242] Kaizawa Iwako, "Watashi wa Ainu," in *Ekashi to fuchi* (Sapporo: Sapporo terebi hōsō kabushikigaisha, 1983), 114-115.

into prefecture's network of mass consumption. Several women in Nibutani like her lived through the Showa Depression by producing attush for the commercial market.[243] Without communal workshops that procured raw material from the state's cooperative markets, craftspeople there were responsible for each stage of the economic process, including the dangerous work of harvesting ohyo (elm bark) used in the creation of embroideries. Tracing the social life of the attush, Kaizawa states that women foraged wood in parts of the government-owned mountain forests that were leased to them by the town hall to prevent deforestation, while others asked forest workers to gather such material for them when they left for the mountain interior. After creating wood fiber from the bark, the women then weaved the threads into attush and sold their finished products to the village's elementary school.

By acting as a social space that shaped Nibutani's daily rhythms, the woodlands provided the material source of the village's livelihood as women like Kaizawa Iwako relied on it for subsistence practices that maintained the household economy.[244] Apart from harvesting elm bark for embroideries, women used the forests to gather firewood for the hearth and a variety of herbs and tree parts for medical treatment. Due to their difficulty in accessing doctors, women depended on their extensive knowledge of the different plant species in the mountains to produce home remedies for such diseases as the common cold, stomach pain, and spiritual ailments, as well as therapeutics used for child-rearing and childbirth. [245] The spirits (*kamuy*) that populated the forests also constituted the basis of the village's vast repertoire of oral storytelling, dancing, and singing

[243] Kaizawa Iwako, "Watashi wa Ainu," 113.

[244] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney argues that plant cultivation was a constituent part of a distinct mode of production by situating it in a vast web of activities that formed the basis of the Hokkaido Ainu village economy, including hunting, fishing, animal domestication, healing, handicraft production, and trade. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Regional Variations in Ainu Culture," *American Ethnologist* 3, no. 2 (1976), 303-308.

[245] Kaizawa Iwako, "Watashi wa Ainu," 118-120.

cultures, including the menoko yukar, uepekere, kamuy yukar, and yaisamene, which were popular forms of entertainment and social bonding between elderly women and the community during the evening.[246]

Nibutani's community-based approach to forest management is reminiscent of the Ainu people's traditional resource management system known as the iwor. Prior to Japanese colonialism, each village in the Saru river basin claimed exclusive right to its surrounding natural environment on a seasonal basis to regulate the usage of mountain forests, rivers, and ocean coasts. The anthropologist Seiichi Izumi defines this space, the iwor, as the Ainu people's "arena of daily life" where they engaged in subsistence practices necessary for the reproduction of the kotan (natural village).[247] Such an area was distinct from the village itself as the iwor was also referred to as the kamuy kotan, or the "the world of the spirits." Although the relationship between villagers and this land was mediated by the kamuy, their rights to it were also hereditary and territorial because it entailed a defined set of material practices to ensure the area's sustainability. Within the mountain iwor, residents created community plant-gathering sites known as shikina to forage (1) edible plants for food and medicine; (2) elm bark (ohyo) for clothing; (3) wood material for home construction; (4) firewood; and (5) aconite poison (suruk) used for hunting arrows.[248] These rights constituted a distinct system because a person wanting to enter another village's iwor had to first obtain its consent.

While the Japanese government rationalized economic production and exchange within the countryside through the Economic Revitalization Movement, such premodern territorial

[246] Kaizawa Iwako, "Watashi wa Ainu," 118-119.

[247] Izumi Seiichi, "Saru Ainu no chienshūdan ni okeru iwo," *Minzokugaku kenkyū* 16, no.3-4 (1952), 32.

[248] Izumi Seiichi, "Saru Ainu no chienshūdan ni okeru iwo," 37-39.

organizations as the iwor continued to provide Ainu villages with the basic resources necessary for their reproduction. Under the Hokkaido Ten Year Plan of 1900, the Hokkaido Governorate recognized the Ainu people's traditional rights to the woodlands when they first transferred parts of the national forest to the local administrative districts to form town and village properties known as "town forests" (*chōyūrin*). It is within these spaces that officials allowed Ainu villages to continue their customary practices of foraging wood and plants under the supervision of local bureaucrats and forest service officers. By 1931, the Biratori township managed 4,071 chō of town-forest land as community firewood gathering places and another 295 chō as a community pastures for horse ranchers.[249] Such rights to the forests, though, still operated within colonial-capitalist inequalities as the prefectural government regulated 42,611 chō of the district's forest as national-forest land while large landlords and companies owned much of the 21,893 chō that were sold off as private property.

Due to the Hokkaido Governorate's unequal distribution of land, the prefecture's capitalist development eroded the traditional property rights of Ainu resident in the Saru river basin as the logging operations of large conglomerates marginalized Ainu subsistence practices there. While Ōji Paper remained the largest forestry concern in the area, officials also sold generous tracts of the national forest in Biratori to the trading company Mitsui Bussan during the mid-1920s as part of the prefecture's export-oriented economic initiative that encouraged the processing of oak and katsura wood for the European market.[250] By 1935, Mitsui was the largest private landowner in the district with over 6,000 chō of woodlands.[251] This is in contrast to the 648 chō that 253 Ainu

[249] Yutaka Ishii, "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū," *Hokkaidō daigaku nōgakubu enshūrin kenkyū hōkoku* [Research Bulletins of the College Experiment Forests Hokkaido University] 37, no.2 (1980), 400.

[250] Nibutani burakushi hensan iinkai and Nibutani jichikai, *Nibutani*, Biratoricho: Nibutani jichikai (1983), 245.

[251] Wood production in Biratori rose from 335,701 yen to 680,294 yen between 1932 and 1934. Yutaka Ishii, "Chiiki ringyō kōzō ni kansuru jisshōteki kenkyū," 347-350.

households received there under the Protection Act. [252] Consequently, the prefectural government's unequal distribution of land ensured that capitalist enterprises were the largest benefactors of Biratori's economic expansion as wood production reached new heights during the Showa Depression due to an increase in overseas demand for plywood in India and railroad ties in Manchukuo.

The co-existence of traditional forms of community development in the modern present embodied the uneven nature of Japanese capitalism during the 1930s when economic crisis created new outlets of expansion for the country's conglomerates. As the historian Harry Harootunian writes, "The perpetuation of the old and habitual in the new present signifies the general condition of subsumption found everywhere capitalism has established its program of production, and… this bringing together and combining of incommensurables not only makes the present into a fractured heterogeneity but also differentiates the modern social from all those theorizations that still seek to distance the capitalist now from its other to literally homogenize it as genuinely modern."[253] Critiquing Japanese intellectuals who portrayed the continued existence of pre-capitalist customs as a sign of their country's incomplete modernization, Harootunian writes that there is no "pure example of capitalism" that can act as such a benchmark.[254] Within Japan, capitalist development created local inflections that appropriated the feudal agrarian village to fulfill the most basic subsistence needs of the country's growing industrial workforce which did not earn a subsistence wage. [255] Consequently, elements of precapitalist society were not primitive remnants left untouched by modernization, but operated in a structure that assigned them with new capitalist

[252] Hokkaidochō gakumubu shakaika, *Hokkaidō kyūdojin gaikyō*, 34-36.

[253] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx*, New York: Columbia University Press (2017), 193.

[254] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* 178.

[255] Harry Harootunian, *Marx after Marx,* 191-192.

functions as peasants migrated between small-scale agriculture in their hometowns and factory wage labor in the urban centers during the year.

Nibutani's handicrafts pointed to a discordant temporality that appropriated the village's traditional rights to the commons to enunciate indigenous claims to the natural landscape in a capitalist economy dominated by Japanese conglomerates. As residents code-switched between an industrial sector that provided cheap wage labor to the region's lumber and charcoal businesses, an agricultural sector that consisted of marginal farmers, and a household economy based on private commercialism and indentured servitude, Hokkaido's colonial-capitalism synchronized the daily rhythms of the Ainu body to its seasonal cycles to create a self-subsistent workforce. With Japanese companies encroaching Nibutani's woodlands, though, the persistence of traditional foraging practices and collective memories of marginalization highlighted that the capitalist subsumption of the village economy was not absolute. In this sense, Ainu handicraft production not only facilitated the village's reproduction as a critical node in the empire's lumber industry, but also hinted at alternative trajectories that did not conform to its expansion in the Saru river basin by introducing a different set of relations with the forest that were based on community management and sustainability.

While Ainu youths pursued handicraft production, their efforts to socialize such work reflected the struggles of a modern working-class to create alternative subjectivities and dispositions in Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist landscape. Although Ainu community leaders spoke for the underclass through demands of land reform, educational desegregation, and cultural reform, the experiences of the latter did not follow the linear and progressive trajectory of state rural development. Ainu woodcraft and embroideries in such places as Nibutani instead represented the construction of new social spaces that experimented with elements of mass culture and a usable

past to improve the livelihood of the most vulnerable segments of the Ainu population. Consequently, these objects aestheticized multiple imaginaries whose meanings were not dominated by any one institution or person. As Ainu handicrafts circulated the prefecture's commercial market, model villages, and household economies, their creators left traces of a negative dialectics that envisioned an alternative trajectory in Japanese colonialism – a community free from capitalist displacement.

CONCLUSION

On March 11, 1937, the Seventieth Session of the Imperial Diet passed the Amended Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (*Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogo-hō no kaisei-an*). A delegation of thirteen Ainu community leaders led by Tamura Kichirō of Fushiko village observed the deliberations from the building's public gallery and celebrated the law's passage as a moment of "racial emancipation" (*dōzoku kaihō*).[256] The amendment not only removed institutions which they considered to be obstacles to the Ainu people's historical progress, but also provided financial and institutional resources to convert their villages into self-sufficient rural entities through the following measures: (1) relaxation of the property restrictions on the Ainu allotments by allowing their landowners to transfer their property to another party with the approval of the Governor of Hokkaido; (2) expansion of the Protection Act's welfare measures to include assistance for non-farming occupations; (3) a scholarship fund for gifted students to advance past the elementary school level; (4) state subsidies for the construction of modern Japanese-style houses; (5) financial assistance for the establishment of social institutions; and (6) abolishment of the Ainu school system.

As the Hokkaido Governorate reformed its Ainu policy, the Amended Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act represented the realization of the longstanding goals of the Ainu middle class to convert their villages into self-sufficient agrarian entities. Viewing the allotments as the pillar of the Ainu village economy, a distinct group of Ainu intellectuals and community leaders from the Obihiro area appropriated the Japanese government's social policy towards rural

[256] Okabu Shirō, "Kyūdojin zakki," Shakai jigyō (1937).

development and its model village (*mohan buraku*) ideology to overcome the structural limits of the Protection Act and transform migrant wage laborers into independent commercial farmers. Their project facilitated the establishment of a network of semi-official social organizations that served as the link between state and society, including mutual aid associations that managed the land, moral suasion groups that indoctrinated people with the interiority of the ideal Japanese rural subject, and such institutions as elementary schools, local museums, handicraft workshops, and Japanese-style cultural houses that created productive, hygienic, and educated households. By collectivizing Ainu residents into these corporate entities, the model village ideology created a template of community development that synchronized the cyclical rhythms of the Ainu body to the national economy.

Ainu community leaders utilized the national project of constructing model villages to organize a political movement that mobilized Ainu people across Hokkaido to not only rebuild their hometowns into autonomous villages, but also petition the Japanese government to abolish the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act and create a more equitable social welfare system. Beginning with the Kasai subprefectural government's establishment of the Kyokumeisha, activists from the Obihiro area led by Yoshida Kikutarō formed alliances with local notables from other Ainu villages to form the Hokkaido Ainu Association in 1930 and represent their constituents at the Hokkaido Ainu Youth Conference and the Former Natives Protection Facilities Improvement Conference. By serving as colonial intermediaries between the Ainu people and the Hokkaido Governorate, they exported their model of community development to other villages and constructed a national voice that articulated political demands of land reform, school desegregation, the establishment of autonomous cooperatives, and housing reform in their debates over legislative reform with Japanese officials.

The Ainu project of creating model villages also signified the emergence of a new national culture that envisioned the Ainu people as modern historical subjects who could restore vitality to their communities based on collective will. Through such rostrums as *Utari Gusu*, *Ezo no Hikari* and *Utari no Tomo*, Ainu activists not only disseminated their visions of local autonomy and community development to the broader Ainu reading public, but also created dialogical spaces where they exchanged ideas and debated one another on a variety of topics relating to daily life in the Ainu villages, including agricultural development, temperance, education, and housing reform. These print networks operated alongside projects to transcribe folktales, industrialize handicrafts, and construct local museums to reconfigure the purpose of traditional customs towards the fulfillment of such national goals as spiritual discipline and cultural reform. By mobilizing cultural production to propagate the model village ideology, the Ainu middle class constructed a distinct interiority that reimagined themselves rather than the colonial state as the driving force of the Ainu people's progress.

Ainu discourses of the model village concealed that their object of reform composed the modern working-class communities that were immanent in Hokkaido's capitalist economy as Japanese conglomerates spearheaded the prefecture's colonization. During the Showa Depression, the collapse of the rural economy exacerbated the class divisions of the Ainu people between a middle class of commercial farmers who supported the reproduction of the prefecture's capitalist economy, and an underclass of marginal landowners who provided cheap labor to it. With a third of Ainu people leaving their hometowns to work for businesses that benefited from the Hokkaido Governorate's land distribution policy and export-oriented strategy of economic recovery, the experiences of Ainu migrant laborers reveal that socio-economic differences within the population were based on class rather than the stages of historical development. Consequently, the targets of

Ainu and Japanese agricultural development and cultural reform were not the residues of a primitive society but modern capitalist workers who were the driving force of Hokkaido's rapid industrialization.

Despite state assimilation initiatives, Ainu villages across Hokkaido constructed hybrid working-class cultures that did conform to the teleology of the model village. Their adoption of an admixture of Ainu, Japanese, and Western practices in their daily lives highlights the active participation of Ainu people in mass culture through networks of state integration and rural-urban labor migration. As Ainu women in Asahikawa dressed "smart" in their high heels and Ainu men in Nibutani wore Western-style business suits, the landscape of their hometowns consisted of chise with such modern fixtures as glass windows, elevated floors, ceilings, and plank roofs. These cultural formations co-existed with such traditional concepts of land usage and community development as the iwor that regulated Ainu commercial handicraft production, hunting, and basic subsistence in relation to the woodlands. In this sense, the everyday lives of the Ainu working-class constituted acts of cultural experimentation that synthesized the material culture of urban laborers and vernacular customs to form autonomous social spaces that improved the livelihood of marginal landowners.

Ainu cultural production did not embody a singular emancipatory politics but a double consciousness that appropriated a common language to articulate demands of autonomous community management and land reform in Hokkaido's heterogenous landscape. While Ainu villages formed multiple cultural formations across the prefecture, their politics did not point to the transitional triumph of the modern model village over the primitive native one, but instead signified the class contradictions of a commercial agricultural sector that facilitated the reproduction of capitalist relations, and a large underclass that provided cheap wage labor to

Japanese conglomerates. Consequently, Ainu print literature, oral storytelling, handicraft production, moral suasion meetings, petitions, tourism businesses, houses, and local museums constituted an interrelated and coeval set of practices and ideas that together formed a distinct dialogical space. It is the interactions and debates that took place in this social space that provided the source material for alternative imaginaries, relations, and villages in Hokkaido's colonial-capitalist economy.

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