

The Current State of Ainu Education

Struggles for Cultural Revitalization

Amidst a Cumbersome Support System

愛努教育現況

在家重的支持體系裡奮力做文化復振

アイヌ教育の現状

厄介なサポート体制における文化復興へのもがき



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In today's world as globalization progresses at an alarming rate and wisdom-bearers in traditional societies pass into the "other" world, taking with them their vast repertoire of traditional knowledge and language abilities, and as "schooling" in the sense of Western school education becomes the norm throughout the earth, one exceedingly important issue for Indigenous societies is how to optimally adapt their knowledge systems and traditional pedagogies to the modern educational system so as to maintain the best of their ancient knowledge while increasing their ability to adapt to the needs of the current world. In Japan, where the Ainu culture has become largely a "culture of memory," a high degree of assimilation coupled with ambivalence arising from discrimination and prejudice about one's Ainu roots serve as obstacles limiting attention to the Ainu people's

在今日世界中，隨著全球化以驚人速度進展、傳統社會的智慧負載者帶著其龐大的傳統知識和語言能力，逐漸變成「另一個」世界的一員，同時隨著西方學校教育觀點下的「學校教育」變成全世界的標準，對原住民社會極重要的議題之一是，如何使其知識體系和傳統教學以最理想方式納入現代教育體系中，以便保存其古老知識的精華，同時提升其能力，以順應當今世界的需要。在日本，愛努文化大致已成為「記憶的文化」；高度同化，加上源自對於他人的愛努根源之歧視與偏見的矛盾心理，成了障礙，限制著對愛努人傳統知識的關注。同樣的，高等教育入學率整體而言低及

traditional knowledge. Similarly, low overall higher education matriculation rates and related relatively low socioeconomic status work to hamper Ainu people's time and financial resources available to learn their traditional culture. In this short paper I touch upon the various factors at play in this scenario, and submit that the creation of the Ainu "Cultural Promotion Act" in 1997 hasn't gone far enough in its potential capacity to address the issue of revitalization of Ainu "culture" through the vehicle of education.

"Traditional" Ainu Education

In the past, education in Ainu society, as in all Indigenous societies, was direct, experiential, hands-on, practical, and conducted by all adults throughout the community, fluidly and case-by-case as occasion demanded, as part of everyday life. For example, occasions for learning public speaking were made available through opportunities to hear and practice oratory at public events such as weddings and funerals. Attitudes revolving around knowledge stressed the social dimension of knowledge transmission: a core Ainu axiom states that knowledge which the possessor cannot explain is not knowledge that they can claim to possess. Similarly, social mores concerning knowledge reinforced the utility of that knowledge; one criterion for a young man to be marriageable was the ability to carve a hunting knife.

其相關的社經地位相對而言低，使得愛努人可取得之用以學習其傳統文化的時間和財務資源受到妨礙。在這篇短文中，筆者觸及在此一情況中的各種作用因素，並闡述在1997年出現的《文化振興法》的潛能並無太大發揮，來處理透過教育管道以復振愛努「文化」的議題。

「傳統」愛努教育

以往，愛努社會中的教育，如同所有原住民社會中的教育，是直接的、來自經驗的、實做的、實務的，是由所有成人在聚落各地實施，是依場合需要做變化，是日常生活的一部分。比如說，學習演說的時機是來自在婚禮、喪禮等公眾場合聽、練習演說術之機會。圍繞著知識轉的態度強調知識傳遞的社會面向——有一愛努精髓格言說：知識若是具備知識的人無法解釋，這些人就不能宣稱具備這知識。同樣的，與知識有關的延伸社會性強化該知識的實用性；一名年輕男性要具備結婚資格的準則是擁有雕刻獵刀的能力。

Ainu of three or four generations ago commonly possessed phenomenal memories; it was not uncommon then (and not completely unheard of now) for an Ainu man or woman to possess a minute mental map of all of the surrounding forest and mountains composed of what plants would be available where and in what seasons. Training for such memory building was promoted through action: actually accompanying someone into the mountains, aurally by listening and memorizing Ainu epics, which transmitted information as well as morals embedded in thoughtful and imaginative stories, or visually by the exercise of sitting at the edge of the hearth with an elderly relative and attempting to recreate the Ainu designs that the elder drew, then erased, in the hearth ashes.

Nowadays, while opportunities to learn in such traditional environments do exist, they are rare. Groups such as Sapporo's Ainu Art Project, a community of Ainu families devoted to promotion of Ainu art, ceremony and music, evoke the traditional spirit of learning-through-participation explained above, and Yasuko Yamamichi's "Ainu Language School"/Community adds onto this the physical resources of traditional thatched buildings nestled at the edge of a virtually untouched natural environment. But the ironic reality of Ainu education is that the

愛努人在三、四代之前普遍擁有現象記憶；那時候（現今也不是全然未聞），愛努男人或女人腦中普遍保有一張關於周圍森林和山的小小地圖，內容是哪裡和在哪些季節可以找到什麼植物。這種記憶建構的訓練是透過行動來推展的：真的就陪某人走進山裡、聽覺上用耳朵聽愛努史詩並記在腦子裡（愛努史詩傳遞資訊與道德，這些就刻劃在富有思想和想像力的故事之中）、或視覺上與一位年長親戚坐在火爐邊，並在灰燼上試圖重新繪出這位老人家畫的愛努圖案，然後塗掉。

現今，要在這樣的傳統環境中學習的機會雖然的確是有的，但很稀少。札幌的愛努藝術計畫（一個由愛努家庭組成的團體，致力於提倡愛努藝術、儀式和音樂）等團體帶動起前述的參與式學習之傳統精神，而山道康子的愛努語教室為這種精神增添實體資源，據點是傳統的草蓋屋頂建築，座落於臨界沒被碰觸過的自然環境之地。但愛努教育的諷刺事實是，其大部分是在設定和限制下



▲ 左圖：鮭魚是愛努民族的傳統食物。右圖：愛努民族的傳統糧倉。

greater part is conducted in settings and under limitations controlled by the Japanese government and its organs.

Assimilative and One-Sided History

Assimilatory policies beginning in the late 1800s acted to breakdown Ainu society and disband Ainu communities. For the past hundred and some years, Ainu traditional hunting has been banned or exceedingly regulated, traditional materials needed for Ainu architectural, culinary, artistic and folk art activities have become private commodities for a price, housing and accommodation have become modern, and, perhaps most crucially, most of the traditional knowledge-bearers who possessed the

進行的，受到日本政府及其機構的控制。

同化的與片面的歷史

始於1800年代晚期的同化政策用以瓦解愛努社會和拆散愛努聚落。過去一百多年間，愛努的傳統狩獵被禁止或被極度規範，愛努建築、烹飪、藝術和民俗技藝活動所需的傳統材料變成有價的私有商品，住屋和居所成為新式的，或許最為關鍵的，是傳統知識負載者大多數已經過世，他們是能說愛努語且已從第一手經驗獲致其傳統知識的人。主因之一是同化教育乃以日本語進行，始

ability to speak the Ainu language and had obtained their traditional knowledge from firsthand experience, have passed away. One major factor was assimilatory education conducted in the Japanese language, beginning from the early 1890s, which acted not only to eradicate speakers of the Ainu language, but also, because it was inferior to the education offered to the *Wajin* children in the same communities, instilled in many Ainu a strong desire to succeed according to Japanese standards. At the same time, not least to some extent, stigmas generated by *Wajin* settlers came to be associated by Ainu with such "illegal" traditional knowledge.

Currently, low overall going-rates for higher education (half compared to *Wajin* Japanese in the same communities) and low socioeconomic status amongst a significant portion of the Ainu population are reflections of these historical burdens of discrimination, as well as being further fodder for repeated cycles of poverty. Meanwhile, ironically, many Ainu complain that in the struggle for making an everyday living they "do not have time" to study or practice their culture and language, or that even if they did there would have to be some kind of an economic incentive in order for them to consider it worth their while.

於1890年代晚期的日本語同化教育不單用以根除說愛努語者，更甚者，由於愛努教育係處於提供給同社區和人孩童之教育的下風，這灌輸給許多愛努人一種強烈欲望，要依日本標準達到成功。與此同時，在某種程度上也蠻重要的是，愛努人把和人墾殖者所造成的污名與這樣的「違法」傳統知識連結在一起。

目前，高等教育參與率整體而言低（是同社區和人的一半）以及相當比例的愛努人的社經地位低，正反映出歧視的歷史包袱，且孕育著循環不斷的貧窮。同時，反諷的是，許多愛努人抱怨說，要掙每日生計都很拚了，他們「沒時間」學習或落實他們的文化和語言，或說，即使他們做了，也要有某種經濟誘因好讓他們認為這樣是值得的。

愛努傳統技藝教學。
（二風谷愛努文化博物館提供）



Current Ainu Education

The current Ainu educational movement in Hokkaido consists of:

◎ *Children*

Study units in schools (to the writer's present knowledge, only one school nationwide has an integrated, grades 1-6 curriculum specifically giving attention to the Ainu)

2 Ainu language classes for children / 4 Parent and child Ainu language classes

◎ *University*

Several Hokkaido universities offer courses about Ainu history, society and culture, as well as Ainu language classes

Komazawa Tomakomai University, a private institution, offers a specialized concentration in Ainu culture

◎ *Adult*

Intermittent vocational (embroidery, carving, stone polishing), and on-the-job (Ainu language, culture) training

Ainu culture classes sponsored by FRPAC

◎ *General*

Ainu language classes (14 authorized classrooms

當前的愛努教育

北海道現行的愛努教育運動包括：

◎ 孩童

學校的研習小組（就筆者所知，日本全國只有一所學校有辦專為愛努人投注關懷的六年一貫課程。）

兩個兒童愛努語教室，四個親子愛努語教室。

◎ 大學

北海道有幾所大學提供關於愛努歷史、社會、文化的課程，也開設有愛努語課。

私立苫小牧駒澤大學提供針對愛努文化的專門課。

◎ 成人

週期性的職業訓練（刺繡、雕刻、磨石）和在職訓練（愛努語言、文化）

愛努文化振興・研究推進機構贊助的愛努文化課

◎ 一般

愛努語教室（全北海道有14間獲核准的

Prefecture-wide)

Cultural preservation societies (17 designated societies Prefecture-wide)

◎ *Other Organizations*

Study Groups - i.e, Kamui no mi (Ainu prayer ceremony) study group

Yasuko Yamamichi "School"

Ainu Art Project

Eteke Kanpa no Kai (Citizens-sponsored study group for Ainu children aimed at improving academic performance; a portion of the participating children are also involved in learning Ainu culture and language)

Nowadays, many, although not all of these activities take place in modern facilities, and are under funding from the Ainu Association of Hokkaido or the Foundation for the Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture (FRPAC), both of which are organs of the Japanese government. The only groups and organizations listed above completely "strings-free" from government control are those listed under the "Other" category.

Movements for Increased Ainu Control of Education

The high mark in the Ainu self-determination movement, which fostered the above-listed current

教室)

文化保存會 (全北海道有17個被指定的文化保存會)

◎ **其它組織**

研習團體：如，Kamui no mi (愛努祈禱儀式) 研習團體

山道康子「學校」

愛努藝術計畫

Eteke Kanpa no Kai (由居民贊助的研習團體，旨在改善愛努孩童的學業表現，部分參與孩童也學習愛努文化和語言)。

目前有許多活動 (雖非全部) 是在現代場所舉辦，且受北海道愛努協會或愛努文化振興・研究推進機構資助，兩者皆是日本政府機構。前述團體和組織中完全「免於」政府控制的是那些列於「其它」類別者。

增強愛努對教育之控制權的運動

愛努自決運動的最高點發生在1984年，當時，北海道愛努協會批准了名為《愛

Ainu cultural and linguistic revitalization movement, came in 1984 with the ratification by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido of a draft proposal known as the Ainu New Law which was submitted to the Hokkaido government and the Japanese State.

The demands for education and culture were:

1. Implementation of a general policy for education of the Ainu youth
2. A plan, as part of the above policy, to teach the Ainu youth the Ainu language
3. Abolition of discrimination against Ainu in school and social education
4. Establishment of university courses in the Ainu language, culture, and history, employing capable Ainu people as professors, associate professors, and instructors unhampered by existing codes, giving special consideration to assisting Ainu youth to take these courses
5. Establishment of a national research institute to specialize in research and maintenance of the Ainu language and culture, to introduce new approaches to research in order to reverse the trend of previous one-sided research which didn't include the Ainu outlook and which treated them as objects
6. Reconsideration and improvement of the

努新法》的草案，此一提案送交北海道廳（北海道政府）和日本國政府（日本中央政府）。愛努自決運動孕育了前述的現行愛努文化和語言復振運動。

《愛努新法》的教育和文化要求：

1. 實施一般性的愛努青年教育政策。
2. 有一項教導愛努青年愛努語的計畫，做為前項政策的一環。
3. 廢除在學校和社會教育中對愛努人的歧視。
4. 設置愛努語言、文化及歷史的大學課程，排除現行慣例聘用有能力的愛努人擔任教授、副教授和講師，並做特殊考量，以協助愛努青年修習這些課程。
5. 設立一所國家級研究機構專事愛努語言和文化的研究與維護工作，並引入新研究方法以扭轉之前片面研究的潮流（過去研究未將愛努的前瞻納入，且將愛努人當做研究客體）。
6. 重新思考並改善正在產生影響的當



◀ 二風谷保育所。

contemporary efforts at force to transmit and preserve Ainu culture

In 1997, after prolonged deliberations, the Japanese government responded by creation of what is known as the Ainu "Cultural Promotion Act" (CPA), which was passed to finance cultural activities and to subsidize cultural exchange and research concerning the Ainu. Additionally, a piecemeal and snail-paced plan to "re-create" traditional Ainu subsistence areas (*Iwor*) could contribute to traditional learning, but so far in practice has not. While the Act has made concerted efforts to enlighten Japanese citizens about the Ainu situation, and to some extent has revised and reinforced the system for transmission and preservation of Ainu culture, it almost completely bypasses the role of public education in cultural transmission by literally neglecting demands #1 and #2 above, and in actuality it has done virtually nothing to respond to the latter half of demand #4.

代作法，以便傳遞和保存愛努文化。

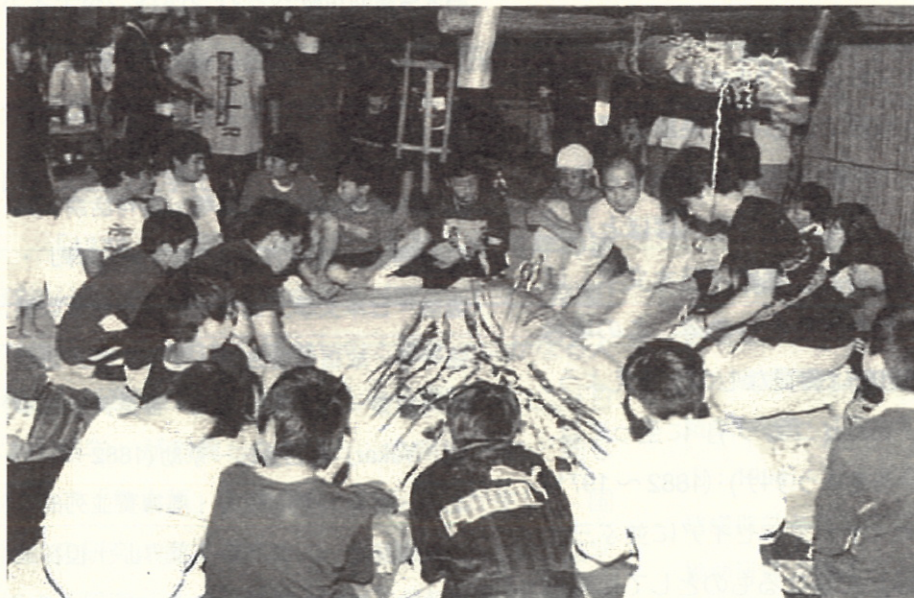
經過長期審議，日本政府在1997年以通過名為《文化振興法（CPA）》的法案作為回應，此法旨在資助文化活動，並為與愛努有關的文化交流和研究提供補貼。此外，有一項非全面性且推行極為緩慢的計畫，用以「再生」愛努人的傳統生計領域（*Iwor*；狩場），這可能有助傳統學習，然至今尚未施行。雖然《文化振興法》做了結合力量的努力來啟蒙日本國民有關愛努人的情況，且某種程度改變了、也加強了傳遞和保存愛努文化的體系，但該法幾乎完全忽視公立教育在文化傳遞上的角色，表面上忽略《愛努新法》草案第一條和第二條，實際上對於第四條後半的要求根本沒作出回應。

The Future

Recently, since the passage of the CPA, demands for the issues addressed in the Ainu New Law have almost ceased to be heard. The ratification in September of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples presents a prime opportunity for the Ainu to revive their desires and consciousness regarding these educational and other issues. How they do this, and which concepts and practices they adopt from other Indigenous movements, are ultimately up to the Ainu people themselves, but the presence of a network of Indigenous research institutes such as ALCD presents a strong support.

未來

近來，自從《文化振興法》通過後，對於《愛努新法》所觸及的議題之要求幾乎銷聲匿跡。《聯合國原住民族權利宣言》在九月獲准，帶給愛努人一個絕佳機會，得以重燃其關於這些教育及其它議題的想望和意識，如何做、以及有哪些概念和作法可以採納自其他原住民運動，終將看愛努人本身，但政大原住民族研究中心等原住民研究機構所構成的網絡提供了強有力支持。



◀ 傳統愛努生活是傳統愛努教育的基礎。
(二風谷愛努文化博物館提供)