

Chapter 8

Ainu Religious Consciousness and Challenges of Cultural Preservation

Yoshihide SAKURAI

Professor

Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University

Introduction

A report issued in July 2009 by the government's Expert Panel on Ainu Policy (an advisory body to the Chief Cabinet Secretary) outlined two Ainu policies for the future: 1) Eliminate ethnic discrimination and seek people's understanding for the creation of a multicultural society in Japan; 2) Protect the culture of these indigenous people by promoting Ainu culture. These policies were clearly stated in line with the spirit of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (adopted on September 13, 2007) and a resolution that urged the government to officially recognize the Ainu as an indigenous people (passed in the Upper and Lower Houses of Japan's Diet (parliament) on June 6, 2008).

The implementation of the first policy requires that the history and culture of Ainu people be appropriately taught to children through school education. Local governments must also disseminate information and implement social education to eliminate inappropriate language and behavior regarding the Ainu. As for the second policy, Ainu people's wishes for opportunities to learn about and hand down their ethnic traditions should be satisfied by building the facilities necessary to achieve this and offering relevant courses. In this regard, both tangible and intangible cultural property should be examined, and measures to protect, conserve, and promote it should be taken accordingly.

The most important consideration in implementing these specific measures is to appropriately address problems based on an understanding of how traditional culture has been handed down and maintained among Ainu people. It should also be noted that Ainu culture is not something only to be preserved as a traditional element; Ainu people also have an aspect of culture that conforms to modern society.

This chapter sheds light on the present state of ethnic culture from the two perspectives of religious consciousness—the core of Ainu culture—and cultural tradition.

Ainu Religious Consciousness

Practicing religion, be it a traditional or a more modern one, is not limited to membership of a religious community, participation in religious events or the professing of specific beliefs. Our outlook on the world, including the afterlife, as well as the domains of humans and the gods (all perspectives that form the basis for the development of our views on life and society) in addition to social relations based on this outlook, are all considered to be aspects of religion in a broader sense. In traditional societies, people were born into religious cultures, so their practice of religion tended to involve everyday religious acts as a matter of course. In many modern societies, however, people are more conscious of religion and choose it of their own free will. Where culture has been handed down, religious culture has also been passed on to succeeding generations, and people are generally free to make up their own minds about religious culture and its transmission in modern societies. The traditional Ainu outlook on the world and religious culture will also be handed down selectively and renewed by the present-day Ainu.

Now that we have looked at religion as a whole, let us examine the religious consciousness of Ainu people by focusing on their affiliation with religious organizations—a factor which people associate with religion more easily. The state of affiliation with religious communities among Ainu people exhibited characteristics similar to those seen in Japanese society as a whole and in Hokkaido society in general.

Table 8-1 Outline of religious beliefs (or religious community affiliations) (multiple answers)

	Ainu religious belief	Buddhism	Shintoism	Christianity	New religions	New Christian religions	Other religions	No religious belief	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	166	2,632	138	29	79	9	48	1,969	771	5,703
Percentage	2.9	46.2	2.4	0.5	1.4	0.2	0.8	34.5	13.5	100.0

The largest number of respondents cited Buddhism as their household religion, followed by those without particular religious beliefs. Those giving these two answers accounted for 80% of all respondents (Table 8-1). Since those without response made up 13.5%, respondents with different religious beliefs accounted for only about 6%. Of those with non-Buddhist religious beliefs, 2.9% said they had Ainu religious beliefs (this figure may be influenced by the provision of such an option among the responses) without belonging to any religious community, and nearly 3% said they belonged to religious communities and had specific religious beliefs. The latter group consisted of those choosing Christianity (Table 8-3) and those citing new and other religions (Table 8-4).

These percentages for respondents with religious beliefs are compatible with the religious consciousness of Japanese people as a whole. That is, many are involved in events associated with religious culture without being actively conscious of the religious aspect even though the number of those who have specific religious beliefs or belong to particular religious communities is small.

A breakdown of those citing Buddhism, Christianity, and new religions is shown in Tables 8-2 to 8-4. Among Buddhist sects, the percentage of those citing the orthodox Buddhist sect of Nichiren Shoshu was the highest; it should be noted that the figure surpassed that for respondents choosing the Jodo Shinshu sect. Since Hokkaido has a long history of activities that propagate Jodo Shinshu, it is the most powerful sect in the prefecture with the support of immigrants from the Hokuriku region (the northwestern part of Japan's main island of Honshu). On the other hand, Nichiren Shoshu is not a majority sect of the Nichiren Shu Buddhist order, and the growth of its influence in Hokkaido paralleled the expansion of the Soka Gakkai sect's influence. Since Soka Gakkai and Nichiren Shoshu have parted ways, it is unknown whether those choosing Nichiren Shoshu were affiliated with Soka Gakkai or had quit Soka Gakkai and joined Nichiren Shoshu. Those not choosing sects/denominations were considered less bound to the temples their households supported, and may not be conscious of the associated religious beliefs.

Many of those with affiliation to Christian churches did not clarify their denominations; as such, it remains unknown whether they were Catholic or Protestant.

As for new religions, since Soka Gakkai is the largest new religion in Japan, it is natural that the number of respondents choosing it surpassed the figure for those citing other religious communities. However, the number of Soka Gakkai followers was larger than that for large- or medium-sized religious communities such as Rissho Kosei Kai and Shinnyo-en. It is preferable to consider the influence of Soka Gakkai in relation to Nichiren Shoshu.

There was arguably a need to ask those choosing Ainu religious beliefs to elaborate on their outlooks on the world and religion, but this matter will be examined in further detail in the next section.

Table 8-2 Breakdown of Buddhist sects

Units: No. of people, %

	Jodo Shu	Jodo Shinshu		Hokke Shu	Nichiren Shu	Nichiren Shoshu	Tendai Shu
		Hongan-ji Sub-sect	Otani Sub-sect				
Actual number	29	73	3	6	42	47	132
Percentage distribution	1.1	2.8	0.1	0.2	1.6	1.8	5.0

	Soto Shu	Zen Shu	Shingon Shu	Other	No sect specified	Total
Actual number	44	79	38	9	2,136	2,632
Percentage distribution	1.7	3.0	1.4	0.3	81.2	100.0

Table 8-3 Breakdown of Christian denominations

Units: No. of people, %

	Catholic	Protestant	Other	No denomination specified	Total
Actual number	1	3	1	24	29
Percentage distribution	3.4	10.3	3.4	82.8	100.0

Table 8-4 Breakdown of new and other religions

Units: No. of people, %

	Soka Gakkai	Sukyo Mahikari	Reiha no Hikari	Rissho Kosei Kai	Shinnyo-en	Latter Day Saints	Jehovah's Witnesses	Other religions
Actual number	66	2	3	1	6	1	8	4
Percentage distribution	48.5	1.5	2.2	0.7	4.4	0.7	5.9	2.9

	No response	Total
Actual number	45	136
Percentage distribution	33.1	100.0

Traditional Ainu Culture and Religious Rituals

In Ainu people's religious outlook on the world, souls and gods come from the next world to the world of humans to engage in exchanges with people. In events such as the bear-sending ceremony (known as *iomante* in the Ainu language) and the Blakiston's fish-owl-sending ceremony (*kotan-kor kamuy iomante*), Ainu people entertain gods called *kamuy* and send the animals' spirits off to their world. This concept is also seen with goods; when utensils and tools become broken or are no longer useful in the world of humans, ceremonies are held to respectfully send off the spirits of these goods before discarding them.

Ainu people recognize this world as that of humans and the next world as that of the gods, rather than believing in a humanocentric system of past, present, and future. In the world of humans, they communicate with the gods through prayers to them (*kamuy-nomi*). If the gods answer their prayers, humans are grateful and give them gifts. If not, no gifts are given. As such, the relationship is extremely dynamic and reciprocal.

Among rituals, ancestor worship (*shinnurappa*) is of particular importance; Ainu people pray for their ancestors, who live the same lives as gods in the next world and wish for the divine protection of their descendants. The approach to the world of the gods stands at the core of Ainu people's view of religion. It is said that Ainu people used to consider their reciprocal relationship with the gods as the foundation for ethical standards in communities.

Now, what has become of such a view of religion and the implementation of rituals? Those practicing the rituals of *kamuy-nomi* and *shinnurappa* made up less than 10% of respondents in the survey, and the performance of sending-off ceremonies is now rare for both animals and for utensils/tools. Even the percentage of those who had heard of acts such as worshipping at sacred places, casting spells, and calling down spirits was only just into double figures. To summarize Ainu people's traditional view of religion and religious rituals, it can be said that only a fraction practice them and that levels of recognition for them as traditional events are also low.

Indigenous peoples do not necessarily preserve traditional ethnic and religious culture in their original forms. With the traditional culture of non-Ainu Japanese people too, there are different views on what periods or aspects of culture can be considered traditional. Some religious cultural customs from just a few decades ago are obsolete today. As Ainu people were forced to assimilate with non-Ainu Japanese people in the history of Hokkaido's development and have shared experience of social changes in the modern and present-day eras, it is quite natural that they retain elements of traditional culture as memories, like many people in Japanese society.

Table 8-5 Practice of religious rituals among Ainu people

Units: No. of people, %

		Still practice	Have practiced	Know through hearsay, rumor, etc.	Don't know	No response	Total
The bear-sending ceremony	Actual number	63	425	1,834	2,345	1,036	5,703
	Percentage distribution	1.1	7.5	32.2	41.1	18.2	100.0
Other animals-sending ceremony	Actual number	38	193	1,071	3,242	1,159	5,703
	Percentage distribution	0.7	3.4	18.8	56.8	20.3	100.0
The salmon-welcoming ceremony	Actual number	269	426	1,708	2,264	1,036	5,703
	Percentage distribution	4.7	7.5	29.9	39.7	18.2	100.0
Traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies	Actual number	76	302	1,155	3,018	1,152	5,703
	Percentage distribution	1.3	5.3	20.3	52.9	20.2	100.0
Traditional ceremony to purify building sites/for housewarming	Actual number	119	357	976	3,086	1,165	5,703
	Percentage distribution	2.1	6.3	17.1	54.1	20.4	100.0
Traditional memorial services for ancestors	Actual number	530	612	1,034	2,487	1,040	5,703
	Percentage distribution	9.3	10.7	18.1	43.6	18.2	100.0
<i>Inaw</i> offering	Actual number	424	541	985	2,677	1,076	5,703
	Percentage distribution	7.4	9.5	17.3	46.9	18.9	100.0
Prayer to gods	Actual number	432	496	1,270	2,450	1,055	5,703
	Percentage distribution	7.6	8.7	22.3	43.0	18.5	100.0
Prayer to sacred places	Actual number	282	332	1,070	2,885	1,134	5,703
	Percentage distribution	4.9	5.8	18.8	50.6	19.9	100.0
Taboos and conventions/rules to be followed in the ocean, rivers, and mountains	Actual number	190	185	923	3,261	1,144	5,703
	Percentage distribution	3.3	3.2	16.2	57.2	20.1	100.0
Ceremony to send the spirits of tools	Actual number	96	156	749	3,507	1,195	5,703
	Percentage distribution	1.7	2.7	13.1	61.5	21.0	100.0
Incantation	Actual number	48	179	794	3,502	1,180	5,703
	Percentage distribution	0.8	3.1	13.9	61.4	20.7	100.0
Consultation with a shaman	Actual number	35	245	730	3,483	1,210	5,703
	Percentage distribution	0.6	4.3	12.8	61.1	21.2	100.0
Dreaming interpretation	Actual number	322	215	825	3,190	1,151	5,703
	Percentage distribution	5.6	3.8	14.5	55.9	20.2	100.0

We should also focus attention on the handing down of the Ainu cultural spirit and the creation of modern Ainu culture instead of being swayed only by external cultural transmission. This report examines Ainu spirit in the next section.

The Concept of Ainuness (*Ainu puri*)

As people tend to prefer to express such matters in their own way, this survey asked about the concept of Ainuness in the form of an open-ended question, and many answers expressed a wide range of ideas indicating that Ainu *puri* and its related spirit remains alive and kicking today.

The largest number of respondents wrote that Ainuness meant remembering/practicing traditional culture, customs in everyday life, etc. among Ainu people. The second largest number of respondents cited Ainu characteristics such as coexistence with nature. Several examples of the answers received are reproduced below.

I aim to master the Ainu language and make a point of remembering the *upopo* (songs) I used to hear as my *huci* (grandmother) held me. We should preserve meat from animals hunted in the mountains by *ekasi* (elders) and eat it in winter. When harvesting mushrooms in mountain areas, they should be put in a *saranip* (a net bag made of bark) rather than a plastic bag so that the mushroom spores fall to the ground. Although I cannot embroider, it is important at least for children and grandchildren to master such skills. Lastly, we should maintain an appreciation for nature and everything around us, and teach our children to do so too.

Ainu puri encompasses the customs my grandparents and ancestors followed in life, and includes Ainu rituals, charms, fortune-telling from dreams, and the like. When I was a child, I often used to hear that the spirit of *Ainu puri* was maintained during traditional religious services for ancestors and certain anniversaries of people's passing.

Some respondents also wrote that Ainuness meant thinking about living as part of the Ainu community in light of relationships with their families, neighbors, and society. That is, rather than being something external, Ainuness is about feelings toward others.

Even if we cannot do exactly as our ancestors did, I believe we will find ourselves spiritually richer thanks to Ainu heritage, and will gradually come to cherish Ainu culture by being considerate to others, being appreciative of our food, learning about the history of the Ainu and studying how they have endured hardships.

Being thoughtful to others, giving and taking, considering others as our own relatives, and being considerate to elderly people. Simply knowing about things related to Ainu life, like the Ainu language, does not make us Ainu. *Ainu puri* involves feeling grateful for the Ainu spirit, gentleness, the gods, and the like. Namely, it is about appreciation for daily living.

It was also pointed out that with this spirit, even external changes in lifestyle are also a part of Ainuness.

Having respect for things in today's living environment (such as trying not to waste food and using things up) rather than trying to adopt past lifestyles, having pious feelings toward nature, animals, and plants; respecting ancestors, and staying generous to neighbors—all these things are part of *Ainu puri*. I want the destruction of the natural environment to stop so that it will continue to thrive and birds and animals will be able to survive. I also hope that Ainu oral literature will become more popular so that a wide range of people can understand it. If these things became a matter of course, I think this would be *Ainu puri*.

Living with nature, being grateful, instilling ingenuity and originality into daily life, and cherishing mutual support for others—although these concepts are vague, I believe they are part of our spiritual culture. Verbal communication is important in today's evolving lifestyles, but superficial *Ainu puri* alone is not enough.

These examples do not require any further explanation. *Ainu puri* represents spirit.

However, it is also true that culture has a physical presence that includes the form it takes and the way it molds things. People learn Ainu spirit through the use of language and the practice of rituals and customary acts. From this perspective, the spirit of coexistence with nature that has been cultivated on the basis of traditional occupations (such as agriculture, fisheries, and trade) may gradually become lost in daily life even among those living in Hokkaido's rich natural environment, let alone among urban dwellers and workers who have lower levels of interaction with nature in their daily lives. If the performance of Ainu rituals on ceremonial occasions is discontinued, opportunities to learn about interaction with the gods in the form of prayer will also be lost.

In this context, activities aimed at handing down and teaching about Ainu culture are necessary.

Participation in Ainu Cultural Activities: Preservation and Revitalization

Few respondents had had opportunities to learn directly from *huci* (female elders) and *ekasi* (male elders), who communicate the external culture of *Ainu puri*, about the Ainu language, oral literature, the production and performance of musical instruments, embroidery and fabric weaving, traditional food collection methods, fishing and hunting techniques, and recipes for traditional Ainu dishes. Rather, they tend to learn and master aspects of culture through cultural activities at local community halls and workshops/events hosted by foundations and private organizations working to preserve and disseminate Ainu culture.

Table 8-6 Participation in Ainu cultural activities: Preservation and Revitalization

Units: No. of people, %

		Presently involved	Previously involved	Never been involved	No response	Total
Ainu language	Actual number	307	724	3,618	1,054	5,703
	Percentage distribution	5.4	12.7	63.4	18.5	100.0
Oral literature (<i>yukar</i> , <i>uepeker</i> , etc.)	Actual number	181	365	4,020	1,137	5,703
	Percentage distribution	3.2	6.4	70.5	19.9	100.0
Singing (<i>upopo</i> , singing while seated, etc.)	Actual number	361	550	3,698	1,094	5,703
	Percentage distribution	6.3	9.6	64.8	19.2	100.0
Musical instruments (<i>mukkuri</i> , <i>tonkori</i> , etc.)	Actual number	339	686	3,585	1,093	5,703
	Percentage distribution	5.9	12.0	62.9	19.2	100.0
Dancing	Actual number	431	727	3,484	1,061	5,703
	Percentage distribution	7.6	12.7	61.1	18.6	100.0
Rituals (<i>kamuy-nomi</i> , etc.)	Actual number	546	805	3,322	1,030	5,703
	Percentage distribution	9.6	14.1	58.3	18.1	100.0
Knitting	Actual number	175	403	4,000	1,125	5,703
	Percentage distribution	3.1	7.1	70.1	19.7	100.0
Embroidery	Actual number	288	590	3,743	1,082	5,703
	Percentage distribution	5.0	10.3	65.6	19.0	100.0
Fabric weaving	Actual number	141	317	4,112	1,133	5,703
	Percentage distribution	2.5	5.6	72.1	19.9	100.0
Traditional methods of hunting, farming, and fishing	Actual number	132	308	4,117	1,146	5,703
	Percentage distribution	2.3	5.4	72.2	20.1	100.0
Cooking and preservation methods	Actual number	306	624	3,684	1,089	5,703
	Percentage distribution	5.4	10.9	64.6	19.1	100.0
Woodcarving	Actual number	170	508	3,916	1,109	5,703
	Percentage distribution	3.0	8.9	68.7	19.4	100.0
Nature observation events (eco-tours, etc.)	Actual number	120	259	4,179	1,145	5,703
	Percentage distribution	2.1	4.5	73.3	20.1	100.0

In fact, few respondents had participated in activities related to the transmission of Ainu culture. Indeed, the vast majority had not necessarily had direct relations with Ainu culture at all. Even if we enumerate options for traditional culture as shown in the table above, many of them are connected to occupations, and necessary items in certain periods were created and used in the most appropriate ways. It is therefore only natural that in daily life, few had troubled themselves to hand down things that had become no longer necessary. However, many respondents highlighted in their responses to the open-ended question that they used Ainu culture as an appealing addition to their daily lives. Accordingly, we should attach importance to the fact that a certain number of respondents had expectations with regards to learning about traditional culture.

Table 8-7 Aspects of traditional culture you would like to be involved in in the future (multiple answers)

Units: No. of people, %

	Ainu language	Oral literature	Singing	Musical instruments	Dancing	Rituals	Knitting	Embroidery
Actual number	581	212	296	341	312	329	328	478
Percentage distribution	10.2	3.7	5.2	6.0	5.5	5.8	5.8	8.4

	Fabric weaving	Traditional methods of hunting, farming, and fishing	Cooking and preservation methods	Woodcarving	Nature observation events	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	355	303	459	430	475	4,161	5,703
Percentage distribution	6.2	5.3	8.0	7.5	8.3	73.0	100.0

Those wishing to learn the Ainu language made up the highest percentage, although even this was only 10% or so. Considering that the vast majority of respondents were not of school age, it is noteworthy that this many middle-aged and elderly people showed an interest in learning the language.

Cultural Learning Space

The term *cultural learning space* refers not to physical space but to 1) subjects to be learned about, 2) relations between learners and educators, and 3) social conditions for the promotion of learning.

As for the first point, the subjects appear to have become significantly developed, and a considerable number of research publications, academic reports, and books on Ainu culture are now available. However, it must be said that the extent of studies on Ainu culture has not matched that of Okinawan studies or the corresponding levels of support from prefectural residents. Although the research and promotion of Ainu culture by Ainu people are important, it is considered essential to also involve many non-Ainu people from Hokkaido. In this sense, more effort should be made toward developing educational materials and offering training programs to teach Ainu culture appropriately as part of local-district studies in school education.

As for the second point, providing more opportunities for Ainu people to learn together is important in the short term, and it is also desirable from a medium- to long-term perspective to offer forums for Ainu people to meet non-Ainu individuals and establish facilities and organizations aimed at promoting multicultural studies. Ainu respondents had various kinds of blood/genealogical relations—some had Ainu heritage in both their paternal and maternal lines, some had it in one or the other, and some were not Ainu but their spouses were. Some also had environments enabling them to learn about Ainu culture, while others did not. Given this situation, it can be considered that the burden on learners and educators can be alleviated by not judging the authenticity of Ainu culture based on blood relations or the degree of ethnic culture inherited.

As for the third point, cultural promotion measures alone are not sufficient to promote culture. A high number of Ainu people wanted to learn about Ainu culture, but all they could do in practice was to lead their lives and help support their families. Many respondents said they wanted to learn about Ainu culture if they could afford to, and these appeared to be the real feelings of Ainu people and those living in rural areas in Hokkaido. Since the fundamental resolution of this issue lies beyond the scope of cultural policies, it may be considered a strategic option to target elderly people who are able to hand down culture and youngsters receiving education to produce guardians of cultural transmission.

Conclusion

It should be seen as quite an achievement that recent Ainu policies and cultural promotion measures have increased the number of those who are proud of being Ainu and are highly motivated to hand down their culture in Hokkaido society. In open-ended questions, many elderly respondents looked back on their childhoods, recalling their experiences of having been bullied and discriminated against, and expressed their views in comparison with the present situation. Such views were varied, and included the following: a desire to demand compensation from the Japanese government for discrimination, assimilation, and land requisition (many respondents considered this an unjustified deprivation of customary use rights); a desire to obtain rights to use public land necessary for the transmission of Ainu culture; and the opinion that the route to coexistence between Ainu and non-Ainu Japanese people should be developed in a constructive manner to ensure respect for each other's cultures as well as a sense of values in regional communities and in Japanese society beyond cultural policies that highlight the difference between the Ainu and Wajin.

People have different opinions on ways to promote Ainu culture depending on their viewpoints and ideas. Putting them together indiscriminately would not be a fair way to report on a survey. However, if I may add a word at the end of this chapter as the surveyor, we do seek special considerations for measures to promote Ainu culture in Hokkaido's prefectural and national budgets. The program review for budget savings by the Government Revitalization Unit at the end of 2009 called for a significant cut in the national budget for education, which prompted discussions on expenses related to cultural promotion in Hokkaido. Enhancing transparency in budget development/execution and cutting out waste are extremely important considerations, but short-term results and achievements should not be demanded from educational and cultural policies.

Since Ainu culture is an invaluable aspect of cultural heritage for these indigenous people and a precious cultural resource for the present-day Ainu, Japanese society has made a political judgement that promoting Ainu culture is indispensable in order to realize a multicultural society. I would like to conclude this chapter by saying that we have no business stopping this historical current created by the Ainu for themselves, that Japanese society has decided to support.

Chapter 9

Requests for Ainu Policy Measures

Teruki TSUNEMOTO

Professor : Graduate School of Law, Hokkaido University

Director : Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University

As we analyzed responses regarding policy proposals in this survey, I would like to present an outline of Ainu policies and measures that have been implemented in Hokkaido, and look back on policy proposals made by the Ainu themselves.

Changes in Ainu Policy and Related Measures in Hokkaido

In 1961, the Japanese government provided funding for Utari welfare measures for the first time in the Health and Welfare Minister's subsidies for facility improvement toward enhanced living conditions in response to strong demand from Ainu people and the Hokkaido government. As a result, the Hokkaido government was able to commence welfare measures including the construction of community halls (to function as hub facilities for Ainu language classes, cultural transmission activities, counseling on daily living and education, and regional activities in areas with Ainu residents), and communal bathhouses. In 1972, the Survey on the Hokkaido Utari Living Conditions was conducted to clarify the actual living conditions of the Ainu, and comprehensive Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures were taken over a period of seven years from fiscal 1974 to 1980 based on the survey results. The Hokkaido government subsequently implemented living condition surveys every 7 years and executed four sets of welfare measures over a period of 28 years based on the outcomes.

The objectives of the first set of welfare measures were to promote the self-reliance of Ainu people and enhance their social and economic standing through the improvement of social environment and social welfare provisions, the promotion of stable employment, the enhancement of education and culture, and the advancement of production bases. There were three major policy areas: 1) district measures (improvement of living, employment, and welfare conditions; and the promotion of education and culture); 2) individual measures (housing loans and employment, education, and welfare measures); and 3) support for the development of relevant organizations. Since then, cultural promotion measures have been gradually enhanced. In the fourth set of welfare measures implemented from fiscal 1995 to 2001, the objectives were to improve the social and economic standing of the Ainu based on cultural promotion, educational improvement, enhancement of stability in daily life, industrial promotion, and the advancement of Ainu people's understanding of various issues. In particular, the promotion of Ainu culture and understanding of the Ainu were emphasized as part of efforts to advance comprehensive measures. Major policy measures included: 1) cultural promotion (cultural inheritance, promotion of investigative research); 2) educational improvement (enhancement of educational standards); 3) stability in daily life and industrial promotion; and 4) promotion of the understanding of Ainu people.

With the enactment of the Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture in 1997, the term Utari in policy measures and other names was replaced by Ainu. It was also stipulated that measures to promote Ainu culture and the understanding of Ainu people (previously implemented through welfare policies) should be promoted in accordance with the Basic Plan to be formulated by the Hokkaido government based on the aforementioned law. Other welfare-related measures

for the improvement of living standards and the like were put together in the form of the Measures to Promote the Improvement of Ainu Living Standards, and were implemented from fiscal 2002 to 2008. These measures aimed to promote relevant approaches in a comprehensive and effective manner based on stable daily living, educational improvement, stable employment, industrial promotion, and the enhancement of organizational activities in order to improve the social and economic standing of Ainu people through further enhancement of their living standards.

In July 2007, the Study Committee of Measures for the Advancement of Ainu Living Standards was established under the leadership of former Hokkaido University President Mutsuo Nakamura. The committee, made up of Ainu people and experts, examined comprehensive measures for Ainu people and concluded that efforts to improve Ainu living standards should continue beyond fiscal 2009 due to disparities between the Ainu and non-Ainu citizens of Hokkaido. In response, the Hokkaido government decided to execute the second set of promotion measures from fiscal 2009. Concrete policies included the operation and maintenance of community halls; loans for money to live on, bathroom/tombstone improvements, and new housing construction; encouragement of advancement to high school, vocational school, and university; appointment of educational counselors on the history and culture of the Ainu; encouragement of public vocational training; subsidies to cover employment promotion and job-hunting expenses; agricultural, forestry, and fisheries measures, small- and medium-enterprise promotion measures (e.g., folkcraft exhibitions and technical guidance/training); and subsidies for the Ainu Association of Hokkaido. Some of these measures are implemented with subsidies from the national government.

The Hokkaido government also established the Basic Plan concerning Measures to Ensure the Promotion, etc. of Ainu Culture based on the Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture in 1999. Specific programs under the plan included the operation of the Hokkaido Ainu Culture Research Center, surveys and preservation of Ainu folk cultural property, the implementation of cultural festivals to enhance understanding among Japanese people, training of Ainu language instructors, and transmission of Ainu culture.

Budgets for these Ainu-related measures in Hokkaido amounted to roughly 2.2 billion yen in fiscal 2004. However, due to financial issues faced by the Hokkaido government, this figure subsequently decreased by roughly 200 million yen annually, and stood at about 1.5 billion yen in fiscal 2008.

Policy Proposals by the Ainu

The Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures in the initial stage focused on the improvement of welfare and living standards in the true sense as explained above. Against the backdrop of growth among indigenous people's movements around the world that originated in the 1970s, the Hokkaido Utari Association (now known as the Ainu Association of Hokkaido) adopted a draft law concerning the Ainu people (the Law for the Promotion of the Ainu Culture and for the Dissemination and Advocacy for the Traditions of the Ainu and the Ainu Culture) at a general meeting in 1984. The draft, which was stronger in terms of measures to advance the interests of the Ainu, included the draft policy goals outlined below:

- Elimination of discrimination
- Allocation of seats in the Diet (parliament) based on ethnicity
- Support for the education of Ainu children, introduction of Ainu language lessons
- Establishment of courses on Ainu culture, history, etc., at universities, and employment of Ainu teachers
- Special exceptions to university admission

- Promotion of cultural transmission
- Support for farm management and the securing of certain farm areas
- Granting of fishing rights
- Promotion of forestry, commerce, and industry
- Enhancement of employment opportunities
- Creation of an ethnic self-support fund
- Establishment of consultative bodies in the national and Hokkaido prefectural governments

Ainu Association of Hokkaido Executive Director Tadashi Kato made comments at the second meeting on September 17, 2008, of the Advisory Council for the future Ainu Policy (established in August of the same year) that attracted attention in relation to the second set of organized policy proposals by the Ainu. He maintained that the implementation of the Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures and the Measures to Promote the Improvement of Ainu Living Standards did not necessarily improve the living standards of Ainu people. He also pointed out that the total amount of project funding had continued to decrease every year, and made the following eight policy proposals:

- Support the improvement of education for Ainu children
- Support for research on the Ainu, and ethnic education
- Return of the remains of Ainu people kept at universities and other institutions, and the performance of ceremonies related to their spirits
- Promotion of Ainu culture in a broader sense, including lifestyles and practices
- Use of land and resources as a foundation for cultural promotion
- Promotion of understanding among Japanese people through awareness-raising initiatives and education
- Reflection of Ainu people's views in political discourse and government policies
- Establishment of liaison and consultative bodies

Analysis of Responses

The policy proposals made by large numbers of respondents included the expansion of support for improving academic achievement (chosen by 51.0% of respondents), the creation of a discrimination-free society that respects human rights (50.2%), the expansion of employment measures (42.9%), and the introduction of Ainu language and culture in school education (32.7%).

Support for improving academic achievements has always ranked highly in organized policy proposals by Ainu people, as represented by the draft law concerning the Ainu people and Kato's comments. This survey clarified that ordinary Ainu people had strong demands for the same. Support for the education of Ainu people had been consistently provided in the form of scholarships, lump-sum payments for school enrollment and the like, or by loans through the Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures and the Measures to Promote the Improvement of Ainu Living Standards. However, in light of the percentages of Ainu children going on to higher levels of education and the drop-out percentages found by this survey, as well as in consideration of policy proposals by the Ainu, it is apparent that further measures are necessary. As for advancement to university in particular, it should be kept in mind that since many Ainu people live in rural areas, support for tuition and lump-sum payments for school enrollment alone will not necessarily improve the percentage of those going on to universities located in urban areas such as Sapporo. The introduction of Ainu culture in school education has also been demanded consistently

through organized policy proposals.

It is noteworthy that more than half of the respondents demanded that discrimination be redressed. In the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey conducted by the Hokkaido government in 2006, 72.3% of respondents replied that they had not experienced discrimination over the previous six to seven years, but this survey indicated that discrimination was still very much alive. This was also shown in answers to Question 12 in the survey, in which 44.1% of respondents said they did not like being Ainu because of their experience of being discriminated against. In the aforementioned policy proposals, the introduction of measures to redress discrimination was included in the opening of the draft law concerning the Ainu people. However, as the ability of questionnaire surveys to ascertain the actual state of discrimination is limited, we are currently waiting for the results of an interview survey conducted by the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu & Indigenous Studies in fiscal 2009.

All other policy proposals were also chosen by roughly 15% to over 20% of respondents, while those saying that no particular measures were necessary made up only 8.4%. It can therefore be said that Ainu people strongly shared the opinion that there is a need to introduce special policies for them.

Final Chapter

Survey Report Summary

Toru ONAI

Professor

Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University

Faculty of Education, Hokkaido University

This report has examined the living conditions of the Ainu and their related awareness based on the results of a quantitative survey. This chapter aims to summarize the report by giving a brief rundown of matters that the survey highlighted. Issues to be examined in depth in the future will also be outlined.

Characteristics of Survey Subjects, Ainu Heritage, and Ethnic Consciousness

The examination of the survey subjects' characteristics in Chapter 1 produced almost the same results as those of the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey in 2006: subjects living in Iburi, Hidaka, and Ishikari Subprefectures accounted for approximately 70% of all respondents. It was confirmed once again that many Ainu people lived in these regions.

The number of family members indicated the same trend as that seen in the Hokkaido government survey of 2006, but differed slightly from that of the Population Census in 2005 in that there were fewer one-person households and a higher number with five or more family members.

In regard to population distribution by age group based on household questionnaires, respondents in their fifties made up the highest percentage. The average age was 41.5 years, which was slightly younger than the corresponding figures in the Hokkaido government survey (2006) and the Population Census (2005).

The ratio of men to women was roughly 50:50 both for household and individual questionnaires, and little gender gap was observed. With regard to birthplaces, 90% of respondents were born in Hokkaido. Many lived in Sapporo, but only a few cited it as their birthplace. The population of Sapporo as a whole had increased because people relocated there from across the prefecture due to professional opportunities and other factors. Ainu people appear to have followed this movement.

With regard to Ainu people's places of residence, one researcher has suggested that a phenomenon of distinct residential segregation is seen between non-Ainu Japanese people in Ishikari and Kamikawa Subprefectures, and Ainu people in Hidaka and Iburi Subprefectures based on differences in distribution between the Hokkaido population overall and the Ainu population by Subprefecture (Matsumoto 2001:150). While it is true that this survey also confirmed the presence of many Ainu residents in Iburi and Hidaka as opposed to the small populations indicated by the Hokkaido data, many people lived in locations other than their birthplaces, and Ainu people also exhibited population movement toward Sapporo in the same way as the overall Hokkaido population. Many non-Ainu Japanese people also lived in areas that were home to significant numbers of Ainu residents. Considering these facts, it may be an exaggeration to say that residential segregation is taking place. Discussions on such segregation would require clarification of social relations/exchanges with non-Ainu Japanese people in specific communities, including those with many Ainu residents.

Chapter 2 highlighted Ainu heritage and ethnic consciousness.

With regard to heritage, the survey confirmed advanced mixed parentage with Wajin, as has already been pointed out. Respondents whose parents were both Ainu descendants made up less than 20% of the total. It was

also confirmed that many respondents had mixed parentage not only in their own generations but also in those of their parents and grandparents.¹

Naturally, the patterns and significance of mixed parentage progression seemed to vary from generation to generation. At least two types of mixed parentage are conceivable: one resulting from marriage with Wajin, and the other stemming from the adoption of Wajin children by Ainu parents. An increasing number of Ainu people appear to have married Wajin in more recent years, but this type of adoption is thought to have taken place for a long time.

In fact, there were many cases of such Wajin adoption from around 1887, and some suggest that one of the motives for this was the promotion of mixed parentage (i.e., biological assimilation) (Baba 1972). This is because adopted Wajin would be raised as Ainu children and marry Ainu. However, there is also another school of thought that suggests Ainu originally engaged in adoption as a customary practice based on the concept of mutual assistance. As an extension of this idea, they adopted children of impoverished Wajin (including abandoned children) who settled in Hokkaido for land-development purposes in the Meiji era and thereafter, as well as children born out of wedlock with male Wajin as fathers (Yoshida 1996). Based on this view, the Ainu did not adopt Wajin for the purpose of promoting mixed parentage; rather, the adoption of Wajin resulted in advanced mixed parentage.

Either way, mixed parentage increased over a long period of time from the Meiji era onward, and the results of this survey gave a glimpse of the phenomenon. Future research challenges will include more in-depth clarification of the actual situation in this regard.

As for ethnic consciousness, only about 10% of respondents said they felt constantly aware of their Ainu heritage, with nearly half indicating that they were usually not particularly aware of their ethnicity at all. In regard to future lifestyles, less than 20% said that they wanted to live positively as Ainu. This trend showing reduced awareness of Ainu status was conspicuous among those under 30.

However, this weaker ethnic consciousness cannot be viewed simply as a manifestation of passive consciousness or taken as an attempt to conceal ethnicity. Rather, it seems possible that the phenomenon may be a manifestation of skepticism toward ethnicity-based distinction or the result of positive consciousness among individuals identifying themselves as global citizens.

From these results, it is difficult to judge whether or not those in younger generations will feel less and less aware of their Ainu heritage in the future because ethnic consciousness is formed in society. Unlike before, it is now becoming easier for Ainu people to express their Ainu heritage and feel proud of it. In the Diet, the Prime Minister has formally recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, and various support measures for them are now being explored. It is also true that future efforts to hand down ethnic consciousness from generation to generation may have a significant impact. Accordingly, we cannot deny the possibility that ethnic consciousness will be aroused and rebuilt among those belonging to younger generations.

It was furthermore not possible from the results of this survey to show that all those in older generations had the same ethnic consciousness. Rather, the results suggested that ethnic consciousness varied even among individuals in more mature age groups.

A column was also included on the questionnaire for respondents to freely indicate their opinions and impressions of the survey, and a wide variety of sentiments were expressed indicating that Ainu people had a range of views, including those on ethnic consciousness. What stood out the most among the various opinions and impressions about ethnic consciousness was the expression of views emphasizing a wide gap in awareness

between ordinary Ainu people and Ainu people promoting social movements. They included widespread criticism and opinions expressing feelings of discomfort about approaches to social movements and the individuals who promote them. Many respondents also indicated that they had never been particularly conscious of their Ainu heritage. Conversely, many also earnestly said that Ainu ethnic consciousness was indelibly marked in their hearts because of bullying by Wajin. In addition, a significant number of respondents expressed complex feelings from having been bullied not by Wajin but by Ainu people themselves. Some were also not Ainu but had an Ainu spouse, and were willing to learn Ainu culture as the Ainu way of thinking had resonated with them.

Attempts had previously been made to schematically express the diversity of Ainu people by identifying two schools of opposing thought among them: ethnically conscious Ainu vs. ethnically unaware Ainu, and those critical of using Ainu culture as a commercial tourism resource vs. those not critical (Ito 1996). However, the opinions and impressions expressed by this survey's respondents clearly show that the ethnic consciousness of Ainu people has a more complex structure.²

This diversity of ethnic consciousness appears to have been created against the backdrop of government policies for the Ainu, relations with non-Ainu Japanese people, ways to promote social movements as Ainu people, and the like. Given this situation, there seems to be a need for more detailed study on diverse ethnic consciousness and related changes as well as the background involved.

Labor, Social Welfare, Education, and Health

Chapters 3 and 4 examine labor, income, and social welfare.

In this survey, employment conditions with high percentages among Ainu people were regular employees, part-time and temporary workers, self-employed workers, and family employees. However, the percentage of regular employees was lower than the corresponding figure from the Hokkaido data, and the percentages of unstable employment conditions (such as part-time and temporary workers and family employees) were high. In terms of occupation, the percentages of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers, craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers, and service workers were high, while in terms of employee numbers, many respondents were working for small-scale establishments. While 26.2% in Hokkaido as a whole were working for small-scale establishments with fewer than 10 employees, the corresponding figure among Ainu people was as high as 45.9%.

When these employment conditions, occupation, and employee numbers were combined, individual incomes were naturally low. Even regular employees had low levels of income if the companies they worked for were small. For those who work for large companies with more than 1,000 employees, those in non-permanent positions could not expect high incomes. Low individual incomes led to low annual household incomes, and both the individual and household incomes of respondents were noticeably lower than those shown by the Hokkaido data. While the average annual household income in Hokkaido was 4.406 million yen, that of Ainu people was only 3.692 million yen.

The ratio of public assistance recipients was also significantly higher among Ainu people than in Hokkaido as a whole (5.2% among the Ainu as opposed to 3.9% in Hokkaido). This number was much higher than the 3.8% figure found from the Hokkaido Ainu Living Conditions Survey of 2006. In particular, female-headed Ainu households tended to be facing dire financial straits, with a total of 20% of such households receiving public assistance. The breakdown by region indicated that the ratio was high in Tokachi Subprefecture.

Considering these outcomes, it must be concluded that the Ainu education and livelihood support programs

implemented by the Hokkaido government based on the Hokkaido Utari Welfare Measures and the Measures to Promote the Improvement of Ainu Living Standards have failed to fill the gap in living standards between the Ainu and residents of Hokkaido as a whole. This underlines the need for an all-out examination of why such disparities have been left unbridged. The absence of such an investigation may result in low prospects for Ainu living standard improvement as well as the repetition of government policies with no clear effects.

Chapter 5 highlighted the situation regarding education.

There was a significant difference between the educational backgrounds of Ainu people and those of non-Ainu Japanese people. Although respondents in younger generations had gone on to higher levels of education, a discrepancy from the educational paths of non-Ainu Japanese people remained. Even among respondents aged under 30, those going on to university accounted for only 20.2%. The fact that the percentage of university entrants surpassed 50% in Japan as a whole in 2005 brings this gap into sharp relief. The high percentages of high school and university dropouts also stood out,³ and financial difficulties faced by Ainu households underpinned this situation. In fact, most of those who had to give up on the idea of going on to higher levels of schooling cited financial constraints as the reason.

Educational background significantly affects the average individual annual income - this is a fact common to all rather than being limited to Ainu people. Low levels of educational attainment in the Ainu population are believed to be a major factor contributing to low individual and household incomes, as has previously been pointed out. In turn, financially constrained household environments become detrimental to higher levels of educational achievement, which then leads to financial difficulties. It can be said that this pattern has been repeated from generation to generation, with poverty and poor education tending to be reproduced. In this regard, there is a need for measures to sever this vicious cycle by improving conditions to ensure that Ainu people can receive better education.

However, gaps in academic background and educational achievement have also been highlighted among non-Ainu Japanese people as a problem related to gaps in academic background between social classes. Various causes have been pointed to, including economic and cultural factors as well as general awareness of education and academic backgrounds (Onai 2005:174-94). Accordingly, there is a need to approach issues related to academic background and educational achievement among Ainu people from various angles.

In this regard, an important point to consider is whether issues with academic background and educational achievement among Ainu people are unique to them, or whether they will be resolved if generally discussed issues of disparity among social classes are resolved, as is the case with discussion over issues related to academic background and educational achievement among children in dowa (assimilation) districts (Onai ed. 2009:80-1).

Chapter 6 reported on health risk factors.

The results clarified that the percentage of Ainu people habitually enjoying smoking, drinking, and gambling was higher than the corresponding figures obtained from general national and prefectural surveys.

In other countries, it has been pointed out that indigenous populations tend to have a high number of individuals with alcohol and gambling dependence issues.⁴ Although this survey did not investigate the presence or absence of dependence, or examine the reasons for the high percentages of respondents enjoying smoking, drinking, and gambling, it was confirmed that health care must be viewed as an important consideration.

It should be added that impressions of this survey given by respondents included views that Ainu people should refrain from heavy drinking. Such responses stated that many Ainu people regrettably used to become addicted to alcohol, neglecting their children's education and their families and lacking a sense of responsibility as

members of society, and that their past still hinders them from fully restoring their rights as an indigenous people.⁵

On the other hand, the percentage of Ainu people undergoing health checkups—an important health-care factor—showed little difference from the national average. However, it was confirmed that in some regions (e.g., Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures), the percentages of health care recipients were low, although the numbers of habitual smokers and drinkers were not particularly low. In these regions, there is a particular need to investigate health conditions.

Social Consciousness, Religious Consciousness, and Policy Proposals

Chapter 7 examined the social consciousness of Ainu people from the two perspectives of factors for success and sense of inequality.

The investigation of Ainu social consciousness revealed two types—a consciousness that was no different from that of non-Ainu Japanese people, and another that was forced on them because of their Ainu heritage.

Like non-Ainu Japanese people, many respondents believed that success in society came from personal effort and personal ability, and the number of those choosing family standing and social rank/parents' social status, which was influenced by Ainu heritage, was small. Moreover, respondents with and without stable positions in society tended to choose different factors. The former—those in stable conditions—ascribed success to personal ability and effort, whereas the latter attributed it to family standing and social rank/parents' social status and good education.

On the other hand, when respondents were asked whether they felt a sense of unfairness, their answers revealed that, while such a sense arising from capital disparities (such as educational background and income/assets) was strong, there was also a deep-rooted sense of injustice stemming from racial/ethnic background factors. Women, those in unstable employment, those with low annual household incomes, and people middle-aged or older felt a strong sense of unfairness.

It was thus difficult to shed light on the identity of Ainu people other than pinpointing a sense of inequality arising from racial/ethnic background. The same phenomenon was found for factors for success and sense of inequality in the form of Ainu people feeling less aware of their ethnicity and having diverse levels of related awareness. However, the sense of discrimination arising from racial/ethnic background, which was unique to Ainu people, can also be considered to form the basis of other aspects of social consciousness. If this is the case, then this sense can be viewed as part of the Ainu identity in terms of social consciousness. It can therefore be thought that in-depth studies of relations between the sense of inequality arising from racial/ethnic background and other aspects of social consciousness might yield significant results.

Chapter 8 highlighted religious consciousness and challenges related to cultural transmission.

It was learned that the largest number of respondents cited Buddhism as their household religion, followed by those without particular religious beliefs. Respondents choosing these two answers accounted for 80% of the total. Among new religions, Soka Gakkai members accounted for the largest percentage. Based on these numbers, it can safely be said that the religious consciousness of Ainu people was similar to that of Japanese people as a whole.

As for Ainu people's traditional views of religion and religious rituals, only a fraction of the population practiced them, and levels of recognition of them as past events were also low. It was learned that indigenous peoples do not necessarily preserve traditional ethnic culture and religious culture in their original forms. Although those learning traditional culture again, and those willing to learn, clearly did not constitute the majority, respondents commonly expressed an interest in finding *Ainu puri* (Ainuness) in coexistence with nature, which

showed a glimpse of the Ainu spirit in traditional culture.

However, it is possibly not necessarily to clarify the process behind the formation of *Ainu puri*, on which respondents were asked to elaborate. There is a need to clarify in future studies whether they acquired *Ainu puri* through their daily lives or through conscious educational efforts by way of communication among them, or alternatively whether it came from the influence of various media.

Chapter 9 outlined Ainu policies and measures that have been implemented in Hokkaido and looked back on policy proposals made by Ainu people, then summarized the characteristics of the survey outcomes.

The results indicated that policy wishes expressed by many respondents included the expansion of support for improving academic achievement, the creation of a society free of discrimination and with respect for human rights, the expansion of employment measures, and the introduction of Ainu language and Ainu culture in school education. These items had always ranked highly in organized policy proposals by Ainu people, and it was clarified that they were also common demands among the ordinary Ainu population.

In the question at issue, we included policy proposals concerning the restoration of various rights that Ainu people had been previously deprived of, such as those related to land and traditional fishing methods. Nevertheless, the number of respondents supporting these policy proposals was unexpectedly small. On one hand, it can be thought that this resulted from weaker consciousness of historical issues combined with weaker levels of ethnic consciousness. On the other hand, however, since respondents' concerns tended to focus on extrication from impoverished Ainu lifestyles, proposals that were not directly related to Ainu people may not have drawn attention. As efforts to support Ainu people gather momentum in society, more careful examination of these policy proposals will be necessary when formulating related measures

Conclusion

A variety of matters were thus highlighted as a result of this survey. Some of them had previously attracted less attention, and the outcomes also reconfirmed other matters that had already been pointed out. However, the most important aspect was that many issues needing to be investigated on a deeper level had surfaced in regard to actual living conditions and consciousness among present-day Ainu people as well as their relations with society.

These issues are significant when we consider support measures for Ainu people, as they indicate that some problems cannot be resolved simply by extending or expanding conventional support measures. At the same time, the various problems highlighted by this survey have also produced targets for research. Hence, they should be carefully handled for the purpose of future research development.⁶

To conclude this report, it can be said that the survey's greatest contribution is the elucidation of many issues to be addressed in relation to actual problems as well as the identification of related research challenges.

Notes

- 1) The Survey on Former Aborigines published by the Hokkaido government in 1922 showed that of 18,821 Ainu people as of December 31, 1916, 13,557 (72.0%) were pure-blooded Ainu, 4,550 (24.2%) were of mixed parentage, and 714 (3.8%) were Wajin (Hokkaido Government 1922: 114-5).
- 2) Some respondents expressed criticism of this survey in response to the question asking for their impressions of it. One indicated a belief that conducting a survey only among members of the Hokkaido Utari Association would not clarify the actual situation. Another had taken part in many such surveys, but the fact that livelihoods had never become easier as a result made the respondent skeptical about how this survey might be helpful. We plan to use these criticisms and questions in future investigative research activities.
- 3) Ayumi Watarai also pointed out the low percentages of those going on to university and the high percentages of high school and university dropouts (Watarai 2007).
- 4) Examples include alcohol dependence among Native Americans and First Nations in Canada (Brian 1994), alcohol abuse problems among Indigenous Australians (Aborigines), Maori and Native Americans (Saggers and Gray 1998), and dependence on alcohol, drugs, and gambling among Native Americans (French 2000). In past research, biological, cultural, political, economic, and other factors have been pointed out as background matters related to alcohol dependence and other addictions (Saggers and Gray 1998: 68-88).
- 5) Heavy drinking among Ainu people has been pointed out since the Meiji era (1868 to 1912). Representative assertions of this include one by teacher training college vice-principal Eitaro Iwatani (Oguma 1998: 61-2).
- 6) To investigate these issues on a deeper level, we interviewed a total of 114 Ainu residents of Sapporo and Mukawa in November 2009. The results will be sorted and analyzed for announcement in due course.

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Appendixes

1. Request for Cooperation in Academic Research
2. Research Project on the Actual Living Conditions of the Ainu:
Household Survey
3. Research Project on the Actual Living Conditions of the Ainu:
Individual Survey
4. Simple Aggregated Results of the Hokkaido University Research
Project on the Actual Living Conditions of the Ainu

October 1, 2008

Request for Cooperation in Academic Research

Dear Sir/Madam,

The year 2007 marked Hokkaido University's establishment of the Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, where researchers from various fields jointly engage in activities related to research and education. In close coordination and cooperation with the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, it also plays the important role of forming a bridge between the Ainu people and academia.

As one of the Center's projects, we are currently conducting research on the living conditions of the Ainu. This sociological initiative aims to shed light on the real lives and views of the Ainu in terms of education, employment, living, opinions, and other areas. Although the Hokkaido government has previously conducted related research, it has been pointed out that the results did not necessarily represent the actual conditions, as the number of subjects was small. With this issue in mind, we plan more effective research to consider the results in future studies and incorporate them into Ainu-related measures.

In order to take into account the actual living conditions and views of as many Ainu people as possible, this research targets members of the Ainu community aged from 18 to 85 (and their family members) who live in Hokkaido. The subjects were chosen by officials from the Ainu Association of Hokkaido or the survey's researchers (Ainu living advisors, Ainu Association of Hokkaido branch managers, etc.). Only the researchers conducting the survey will be privy to the names and addresses of respondents, as no list of those taking part will be provided to Hokkaido University.

Researchers will visit each household and ask respondents to fill out household and individual questionnaires before returning later at an appointed time to collect them. We would be very grateful if you could complete the questionnaire and hand the sealed version to the researcher.

No personal information will be shared with any third party, as all answers will be statistically processed.

Thank you for your time. We appreciate your understanding and cooperation in this research.

Sincerely,

Teruki Tsunemoto

Director, Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University

Contact:

Toru Onai

Professor of Sociology of Education, Faculty of Education

Social Research Project Leader

Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University

Tel./fax: 011-706-3093

E-mail: soe@edu.hokudai.ac.jp

Research Project on the Actual Living Conditions of the Ainu: Household Survey

1. Please indicate your address, including the district name.

→ (), () City/Town/Village

(Chuo-ku), (Sapporo) City
e.g. (Bunkyo-cho), (Takikawa) City
(Nibudani), (Biratori) Town

2. Please give an outline of your family structure, including each member's relationship to yourself, age (as of Oct. 1, 2008), gender, and residential status (living together or separately).

No.	Relationship	Age	Gender	Living together (LT) or living separately (LS)
1	Householder (self)	yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)
2		yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)
3		yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)
4		yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)
5		yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)
6		yrs. old	1. M 2. F	1. LT 2. LS (Location:)

3. Which of the following best describes your home?

1. Self-owned single-family home (including land)
2. Self-owned single-family home (leased land) 3. Condominium
4. Privately rented house/apartment 5. Company/government housing
6. Municipal/government corporation housing 7. Rented room 8. Other

4. Are you currently receiving livelihood subsidies?

1. Yes 2. Previously received 3. Never received

5. Are you receiving school expense subsidies?

1. Currently receiving subsidies from the high school education promotion program for Ainu children
2. Have received subsidies from the high school education promotion program
3. Currently receiving subsidies from other programs → (Please specify)
4. Have received subsidies from other programs → (Please specify)
5. Not receiving/have never received school expense subsidies

6. What is your gross annual household income?

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| A. No income | B. Less than ¥1,000,000 | C. ¥1,000,000-1,999,999 |
| D. ¥2,000,000-2,999,999 | E. ¥3,000,000-3,999,999 | F. ¥4,000,000-4,999,999 |
| G. ¥5,000,000-5,999,999 | H. ¥6,000,000-6,999,999 | I. ¥7,000,000-7,999,999 |
| J. ¥8,000,000-8,999,999 | K. ¥9,000,000-9,999,999 | |
| L. ¥10,000,000 or more → approx. ¥ () | | |

7. What was your family's financial status when you were 15 years old?
- a. Badly off b. Relatively badly off c. Relatively well off d. Well off
8. Circle all the things below that your family had when you were 15 years old.
- a. Own house b. Bath c. Electricity d. Gas
 e. Running water f. Radio g. TV h. PC
 i. Internet access j. Refrigerator k. Air conditioner l. Bicycle
 m. Motorcycle n. Private car o. Piano p. Fixed-line phone
 q. Fax r. Mobile phone s. None t. Unknown

*The questions from here to #14 are for those who chose "a. Always," "b. Often" or "c. Sometimes" in #3 (feeling of consciousness over Ainu identity). If you chose "d. Never," please skip to #15.

9. When did you become aware that you are Ainu? Please circle one option.
- a. Before entering elementary school (up to approx. 6 yrs. old)
 b. When I was an elementary school student (approx. 7-12 yrs. old)
 c. When I was a junior high school student (approx. 13-15 yrs. old)
 d. When I was a high school student (approx. 16-18 yrs. old)
 e. After graduating from high school (after 19 yrs. old) → (Please specify: approx. yrs. old)
 f. Unknown
10. What made you become aware that you are Ainu? Please circle all that apply.
- a. What I heard from my parents
 b. What I heard from other family members or relatives
 c. What I heard from neighbors d. What I heard from friends
 e. What I heard from school teachers f. When I noticed my physical characteristics
 g. Other
11. What makes you feel proud to be Ainu? Please circle all that apply.
- a. Ainu history b. Ainu culture c. The Ainu's battle against discrimination
 d. Great Ainu figures e. Physical characteristics f. Other ()
 g. Nothing in particular

g. Junior college, technical college

→ (1. Attended 2. Did not attend)

— Graduation status (1. Graduated 2. Left without graduating 3. Currently enrolled)

— National or private (1. National/public 2. Private 3. Unknown)

— Type of course (1. Full-time 2. Part-time 3. Correspondence)

h. University

→ (1. Attended 2. Did not attend)

— Graduation status (1. Graduated 2. Left without graduating 3. Currently enrolled)

— National or private (1. National/public 2. Private 3. Unknown)

— Type of course (1. Full-time 2. Part-time 3. Correspondence)

i. Graduate school

→ (1. Attended 2. Did not attend)

— Graduation status (1. Graduated 2. Left without graduating 3. Currently enrolled)

— National or private (1. National/public 2. Private 3. Unknown)

16. (For those not currently enrolled in school) Did you want to advance to a higher educational institution?

a. Yes → I wanted to advance to ()

b. No

17. (For those who chose “a. Yes” in #16) Why did you give up on the idea of attending a higher educational institution? Please circle all that apply.

a. Financial reasons b. Needed to work c. Parental objection

d. Insufficient academic ability e. Other ()

f. No particular reason

III. Current life

18. Have you ever changed jobs?

a. Yes → approx. () times b. No c. Have never been employed

19. Which of the descriptions below best matches your job type? Please indicate your first job, the job in which you have been engaged for the longest period, and your current job. Do not include part-time employment during time at school.

First job () Job with longest period of engagement () Current job ()

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Manager/officer | b. General full-time employee (e.g., in a salaried position) |
| c. Part-time, temporary, or seasonal employee | |
| d. Self-employed (manager owning and running an establishment with 4 or fewer employees) | |
| e. Family employee | f. Other () g. Unemployed |
| h. Student (currently enrolled) | |

20. Which of the descriptions below best matches the details of each job?

First job () Job with longest period of employment ()

Current job ()

- a. Clerical work (office work including general affairs, sales, personnel affairs, and accounting work)
- b. Security (police officer, self-defense official, firefighter, security guard, etc.)
- c. Distribution (wholesale, retail, real estate, insurance, etc.)
- d. Craft/production (factory worker, construction worker, carpenter, auto mechanic, etc.)
- e. Transportation/communication (driver, mail carrier, operator, etc.)
- f. Professional/engineering (doctor, nurse, lawyer, teacher, children's nurse, tax accountant, engineer, etc.)
- g. Managerial (section chief or higher in a company or public office, including assembly member or manager)
- h. Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (excluding work in these fields as a second job as well as agricultural and fish processing)
- i. Service sector (hairdresser, beautician, chef, tour guide, etc.)
- j. Other (Please specify:) k. Unemployed l. Student (currently enrolled)

21. How many people are employed at your current place of work (including employees at headquarters, branches, and plants)?

- a. 1 b. 2-4 c. 5-9 d. 10-49 e. 50-99 f. 100-499 g. 500-999
- h. 1,000 or more i. Public office j. Unemployed k. Student (currently enrolled)

22. Please tell us about your employment conditions. Which benefits are available at your current workplace?

- a. Retirement bonus b. Bonus c. Employment insurance
- d. Workers' accident insurance e. Paid holidays f. Child-care leave
- g. Housing allowance h. Commuting allowance i. Unknown
- j. No benefits at all

23. (For those who are currently working) Are you thinking of changing jobs?

- a. Yes, very much so b. Yes, a little c. No, not really d. No, not at all
- e. Don't know

24. Please give the reasons for your answer to the previous question (circle all that apply).
- a. Low salary b. Incompatibility with boss c. Poor relations with others
 - d. Hard work e. Few holidays f. Unrewarding g. Interested in another field
 - h. Anti-Ainu discrimination i. High salary j. Good relations with others
 - k. Good work l. Easy to take leave m. Rewarding
 - n. Not interested in other jobs o. Other () p. No particular reason
25. What is your current financial status?
- a. Badly off b. Relatively badly off c. Relatively well off d. Well off
26. Please circle all the things you currently have at home.
- a. Bath b. Radio c. TV d. PC e. Internet access f. Refrigerator
 - g. Air conditioner h. Bicycle i. Motorcycle j. Private car k. Piano
 - l. Fixed-line phone m. Fax n. Mobile phone o. None
27. Do you currently have any problems? Please circle all that apply.
- a. Low income b. Heavy debt c. Health issues (self)
 - d. Health issues (family member/s) e. Marriage f. Lack of employment
 - g. Poor working conditions h. Advancement to higher education (self)
 - i. Children's education j. Family relationships
 - k. Relations with others at work/school
 - l. Problems with neighbors m. Housing issues n. Nothing to live for
 - o. Anti-Ainu discrimination p. Other ()
 - q. Nothing in particular
28. Who do you talk to about your problems? Please circle all that apply.
- a. Family b. Ainu friend or acquaintance c. Non-Ainu friend or acquaintance
 - d. Boss at work e. Colleague at work f. Neighbor g. School teacher
 - h. Social worker i. Administrative agency j. Ainu living advisor
 - k. Ainu career counselor l. Ainu educational counselor
 - m. Other () n. Don't talk to anyone

35. Which of the following types of health insurance (excluding life insurance) are you covered by?
- a. National health insurance b. Other insurance
c. Not covered by any health insurance
36. Which of the following describes your annual gross income?
- a. No income b. Less than ¥1,000,000 c. ¥1,000,000-1,999,999
d. ¥2,000,000-2,999,999 e. ¥3,000,000-3,999,999 f. ¥4,000,000-4,999,999
g. ¥5,000,000-5,999,999 h. ¥6,000,000-6,999,999 i. ¥7,000,000-7,999,999
j. ¥8,000,000-8,999,999 k. ¥9,000,000-9,999,999 l. ¥10,000,000 or more

IV. Current beliefs and ideas

37. Which factors do you think are important to succeed in society? Circle up to two answers.
- a. Good family, parents' social status b. Individual ability c. Individual effort
d. Academic background e. Luck and chance f. Connections in high places
g. Other ()

38. Do you think the following inequalities currently exist in Japan?

	Yes, very much	To some extent	No	Unknown
a. Gender-related inequality	3.....	2.....	1	0
b. Inequality related to academic background	3.....	2.....	1	0
c. Inequality related to occupation	3.....	2.....	1	0
d. Inequality related to income or assets	3.....	2.....	1	0
e. Inequality related to family social status	3.....	2.....	1	0
f. Inequality related to race and ethnic groups	3.....	2.....	1	0

V. Religious beliefs and related Ainu culture

39. Do you follow any particular religion? Please circle all that apply.

- a. Ainu religion b. Buddhism (family religion:) c. Shinto
d. Christianity (Denomination:)
e. Other religion (Please specify:) f. None

40. Have you ever practiced or heard of the following religious rites of traditional Ainu culture?

	Currently practice	Experienced before	Heard of	Don't know
a. The bear-sending ceremony	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
b. Other animal-sending ceremonies	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
c. The salmon-welcoming ceremony	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
d. Traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
e. Traditional Shinto ceremony to purify building sites/for housewarming	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
f. Traditional memorial services for ancestors	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
g. Inaw offering	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
h. Prayer to gods	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
i. Prayer to sacred places	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
j. Taboos and conventions/rules to be followed in the ocean, rivers, and mountains	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
k. Ceremony to send off the spirits of tools (when discarding them)	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
l. Incantation (to improve weather, prevent natural disasters, cure poor physical conditions or illness, etc.)	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
m. Consultation with a Shaman (tusu)	4.....	3.....	2.....	1
n. Dream interpretation	4.....	3.....	2.....	1

41. Have you ever performed or been involved in activities to pass on or restore the following things related to Ainu culture? Circle all numbers that apply.

	Currently involved	Been involved	Never been involved
a. Ainu language	3.....	2.....	1.....
b. Oral literature (yukar, uepeker, etc.)	3.....	2.....	1.....
c. Singing (upopo, singing while seated, etc.)	3.....	2.....	1.....
d. Musical instruments (mukkuri, tonkori, etc.)	3.....	2.....	1.....
e. Dancing	3.....	2.....	1.....
f. Rituals (kamuy-nomi, etc.)	3.....	2.....	1.....
g. Knitting	3.....	2.....	1.....
h. Embroidery	3.....	2.....	1.....
i. Weaving	3.....	2.....	1.....
j. Traditional hunting, farming, and fishing methods	3.....	2.....	1.....
k. Cooking and preservation methods	3.....	2.....	1.....
l. Woodcarving	3.....	2.....	1.....
m. Nature observation events (eco-tours, etc.)	3.....	2.....	1.....

42. Which of the above would you like to be involved in in the future? Please indicate any of the letters (from a to m) listed above that apply.

43. What does the term Ainu puri mean to you?

a. I don't know

b. I think it has the following meaning:

(Open answer)

VI. Future

44. Do you want to continue to live in your current location?

- a. Yes b. Yes, if possible c. Not if I can move d. No e. Don't know

45. Please indicate the reasons for your answer to the previous question (circle all that apply).

- a. Good living environment b. Good relations with others c. To take care of parents
d. Land and/or home ownership e. No anti-Ainu discrimination
f. Nowhere to move to g. Bad living environment h. Poor relations with others
i. Land and/or home ownership elsewhere j. Anti-Ainu discrimination
k. Job transfer l. Current employment m. No good jobs
n. Poor access to transportation o. Marriage plans p. Other ()
q. No particular reason

46. Which level of school do you want your children to advance to as a minimum?

If you are not a parent, please answer as you would if you had children.

- a. Junior high school b. High school c. Vocational school
d. Junior/technical college e. University f. Graduate school
g. Other () h. Unknown

47. Which of the following do you try to do? Circle the one that applies most.

- a. Freely enjoy each day
b. Plan carefully for affluence
c. Live happily each day with loved ones
d. Work with others toward a better society
e. Other ()
f. Don't know

48. Which of the following Ainu measures do you strongly agree with? Please circle up to three.
- a. Establishment of a national center to study and research Ainu culture
 - b. Teaching of Ainu language and culture in schools
 - c. Promotion of business sectors in which the Ainu work (agriculture, forestry, fisheries, commerce, and industry)
 - d. Improvement of Ainu employment measures
 - e. Provision of greater support to the Ainu to help advancement to high school and university and improve academic ability
 - f. Provision of free access rights to national and prefectural land for the Ainu
 - g. Promotion of easing of regulations to allow the Ainu to catch salmon, etc.
 - h. Creation of a society where human rights are respected and the Ainu do not suffer racial discrimination
 - i. Establishment of permanent national and local organizations to discuss Ainu measures
 - j. Creation of a system to reflect Ainu opinions in national and local politics (provision of special legislative seats, etc. to the community)
 - k. Compensation to the Ainu for their land and resources
 - l. No implementation of special measures for the Ainu
 - m. Other ()

Lastly, please provide any feedback you may have regarding this research, the Hokkaido University Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, or the future of the Ainu.

This concludes the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time.

Simple Aggregated Results of the Hokkaido University Research Project on the Actual Living Conditions of the Ainu

Household Survey

Number of questionnaires distributed = 3,438

Number of valid responses = 2,903

Rate of valid response = 84.4%

1. Basic data: branch size

	Sapporo	Ebetsu	Chitose	Eniwa	Yakumo	Oshamanbe	Asahikawa	Toyotomi
Actual number of members	284	14	68	17	125	39	18	7
Composition ratio	9.8	0.5	2.3	0.6	4.3	1.3	0.6	0.2

	Abashiri	Monbetsu	Muroran	Tomakomai	Noboribetsu	Date	Toyoura	Toyako
Actual number	16	11	45	193	45	84	21	17
Composition ratio	0.6	0.4	1.6	6.6	1.6	2.9	0.7	0.6

	Sobetsu	Shiraoi	Oiwake	Mukawa	Biratori	Niikappu	Shinhidaka	Mitsuishi
Actual number	7	276	10	232	191	84	173	37
Composition ratio	0.2	9.5	0.3	8.0	6.6	2.9	6.0	1.3

	Urakawa	Samani	Erimo	Obihiro	Otofuke	Kamishihoro	Memuro	Makubetsu
Actual number	141	82	154	96	5	4	26	14
Composition ratio	4.9	2.8	5.3	3.3	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.5

	Honbetsu	Urahoro	Kushiro	Teshikaga	Akan	Tsurui	Shiranuka	Nemuro
Actual number	10	38	72	23	42	1	46	21
Composition ratio	0.3	1.3	2.5	0.8	1.4	0.0	1.6	0.7

	Shibetsu	Municipalities with no branches	Total
Actual number	94	20	2,903
Composition ratio	3.2	0.7	100.0

2. Basic data: place of residence

	Sapporo	Otaru	Asahikawa	Muroran	Kushiro (city)	Obihiro	Iwamizawa	Abashiri
Actual number	286	2	20	47	115	95	2	16
Composition ratio	9.9	0.1	0.7	1.6	4.0	3.3	0.1	0.6

	Tomakomai	Bibai	Ebetsu	Monbetsu	Nemuro	Chitose	Noboribetsu	Eniwa
Actual number	194	1	14	11	23	68	45	17
Composition ratio	6.7	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.8	2.3	1.6	0.6

	Date	Kitahiroshima	Ishikari	Tobetsu	Yakumo	Oshamanbe	Iwanai	Nanporo
Actual number	82	4	4	1	125	39	1	1
Composition ratio	2.8	0.1	0.1	0.0	4.3	1.3	0.0	0.0

	Naganuma	Toyotomi	Toyoura	Sobetsu	Shiraoi	Oiwake	Atsuma	Toyako
Actual number	1	7	21	7	275	10	3	17
Composition ratio	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.2	9.5	0.3	0.1	0.6

	Mukawa	Biratori	Niikappu	Urakawa	Samani	Erimo	Shinhidaka	Otofuke
Actual number	229	192	85	140	82	154	206	6
Composition ratio	7.9	6.6	2.9	4.8	2.8	5.3	7.1	0.2

	Kamishihoro	Shintoku	Memuro	Makubetsu	Honbetsu	Ashoro	Urahoro	Teshikaga
Actual number	4	1	26	14	10	1	38	23
Composition ratio	0.1	0.0	0.9	0.5	0.3	0.0	1.3	0.8

	Tsurui	Shiranuka	Shibetsu	Total
Actual number	1	45	92	2,903
Composition ratio	0.0	1.6	3.2	100.0

*For recently consolidated municipalities, the post-consolidation names were used. The number of Kushiro residents may include some in Kushiro Town.

3. Number of family members

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or more	No response	Total
Actual number	484	718	589	530	360	169	41	12	2,903
Composition ratio	16.7	24.7	20.3	18.3	12.4	5.8	1.4	0.4	100.0

Households with two or three members were more common. The largest number of household members was 10.

4. Age

	0 to 9	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 to 69	70 to 79
Actual number	428	1,180	1,322	1,083	1,318	1,607	1,153	574
Composition ratio	4.8	13.3	14.9	12.2	14.9	18.2	13.0	6.5

	80 to 89	90 to 99	Total	Average age
Actual number	160	22	8,847	41.5 years old
Composition ratio	1.8	0.2	100.0	-

5. Gender

	Male	Female	Total
Actual number	4,296	4,399	8,695
Composition ratio	49.4	50.6	100.0

6. Living together or living separately

	Living together	Living separately	Total
Actual number	6,417	1,184	7,601
Composition ratio	84.4	15.6	100.0

7. Which of the following best describes your home?

	Self-owned single-family home (including land)	Self-owned single-family home (leased land)	Condominium	Privately rented house/apartment	Company/government housing	Municipal/government public housing	Rented room	Other
Actual number	1,575	284	19	334	31	384	24	11
Composition ratio	54.3	9.8	0.7	11.5	1.1	13.2	0.8	0.4

	No response	Total
Actual number	241	2,903
Composition ratio	8.3	100.0

8. Are you currently receiving livelihood subsidies?

	Yes	Previously received	Never received	No response	Total
Actual number	152	140	2,319	292	2,903
Composition ratio	5.2	4.8	79.9	10.1	100.0

Households currently receiving livelihood subsidies accounted for 5.2% of the total, while those that had received them before accounted for 4.8%. The ratios for current recipients in Hokkaido and Japan in 2006 were 3.5% and 2.1%, respectively.

9. Are you receiving school expense subsidies? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Currently receiving subsidies from the Incentive Program to Promote Education at High School Level for Ainu children	Have received subsidies from the Incentive Program to Promote Education at High School Level	Currently receiving subsidies from other programs	Have received subsidies from other programs	Not receiving/have never received school expense subsidies	No response	Total
Actual number	357	1,027	70	86	989	464	2,903
Composition ratio	12.3	35.4	2.4	3.0	34.1	16.0	100.0

Households that were current or former recipients of subsidies from the Incentive Program to Promote Education at High School Level accounted for 47.7% of the total. This was significantly higher than the figure for current or former recipients of subsidies from other programs, which accounted for 5.4% of the total.

10. What is your gross annual household income?

	No income	Less than ¥1,000,000	¥1,000,000 – 1,999,999	¥2,000,000 – 2,999,999	¥3,000,000 – 3,999,999	¥4,000,000 – 4,999,999	¥5,000,000 – 5,999,999	¥6,000,000 – 6,999,999
Actual number	92	195	432	567	409	280	177	102
Composition ratio	3.2	6.7	14.9	19.5	14.1	9.6	6.1	3.5

	¥7,000,000 – 7,999,999	¥8,000,000 – 8,999,999	¥9,000,000 – 9,999,999	¥10,000,000 or more	No response	Total	Average
Actual number	71	40	60	100	378	2,903	¥3,558,000
Composition ratio	2.4	1.4	2.1	3.4	13.0	100.0	¥3,692,000

*The amount shown in the upper row below "Average" is the mean annual income of all households surveyed, while that in the lower row excludes no-income households.

Individual Survey

Number of questionnaires distributed = 7,306

Number of valid responses = 5,703

Rate of valid response = 78.1%

1. Basic data: branches

	Sapporo	Ebetsu	Chitose	Eniwa	Yakumo	Oshamanbe	Asahikawa	Toyotomi
Actual number	507	36	131	54	305	85	30	14
Composition ratio	8.9	0.6	2.3	0.9	5.3	1.5	0.5	0.2

	Abashiri	Monbetsu	Muroran	Tomakomai	Noboribetsu	Date	Toyoura	Toyako
Actual number	35	14	82	362	75	191	30	19
Composition ratio	0.6	0.2	1.4	6.3	1.3	3.3	0.5	0.3

	Sobetsu	Shiraoi	Oiwake	Mukawa	Biratori	Niikappu	Shinhidaka	Mitsuishi
Actual number	11	586	11	643	354	125	272	70
Composition ratio	0.2	10.3	0.2	11.3	6.2	2.2	4.8	1.2

	Urakawa	Samani	Erimo	Obihiro	Otofuke	Kamishihoro	Memuro	Makubetsu
Actual number	267	66	438	171	5	8	42	27
Composition ratio	4.7	1.2	7.7	3.0	0.1	0.1	0.7	0.5

	Honbetsu	Urahoro	Kushiro	Teshikaga	Akan	Tsurui	Shiranuka	Nemuro
Actual number	15	99	72	34	59	2	74	48
Composition ratio	0.3	1.7	1.3	0.6	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.8

	Shibetsu	Municipalities with no branches	Total
Actual number	185	49	5,703
Composition ratio	3.2	0.9	100.0

Mukawa Branch collected the highest number of responses (643), and Shiraoi and Sapporo branches collected more than 500 responses. The number of collected responses was higher in branches in municipalities in the Iburi and Hidaka regions.

2-1. Gender

	Male	Female	Unknown	Total
Actual number	2,795	2,885	23	5,703
Composition ratio	49.0	50.6	0.4	100.0

2-2. Age

	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 to 69	70 to 79	80 to 89	Unknown	Total	Average age
Actual number	160	751	707	1,089	1,378	982	490	83	63	5,703	48.81 years old
Composition ratio	2.8	13.2	12.4	19.1	24.2	17.2	8.6	1.5	1.1	100.0	-

2-3. Age groups

	Younger than 30	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 to 69	70 or older	Unknown	Total
Actual number	911	707	1,089	1,378	982	573	63	5,703
Composition ratio	16.0	12.4	19.1	24.2	17.2	10.0	1.1	100.0

3. Which of the following family members or relatives of yours are Ainu descendants? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Father	Paternal grandfather	Paternal grandmother	Mother	Maternal grandfather	Maternal grandmother	Adopted father	Adopted mother
Actual number	2, 386	1, 263	1, 266	2, 385	1, 226	1, 472	114	92
Composition ratio	41. 8	22. 1	22. 2	41. 8	21. 5	25. 8	2. 0	1. 6

	Spouse	No Ainu descendants	Unknown	Other response	No response	Total
Actual number	1, 851	234	478	50	175	5, 703
Composition ratio	32. 5	4. 1	8. 4	0. 9	3. 1	100. 0

The numbers of subjects whose fathers or mothers were Ainu descendants were 2,386 and 2,385, respectively (both accounting for 41.8% of the total). Meanwhile, the number of respondents whose parents were both Ainu descendants (1,080) was less than half that of the above two groups. Respondents with Ainu spouses accounted for nearly one third of the total (32.5%).

4. Do you ever feel conscious of your Ainu identity?

	Yes, always	Yes, often	Sometimes	No, never	No response	Total
Actual number	725	598	1, 402	2, 520	458	5, 703
Composition ratio	12. 7	10. 5	24. 6	44. 2	8. 0	100. 0

5-1. Marital status

	Married	Widow/ Widower	Separated	Never married	No response	Total
Actual number	3, 520	318	419	1, 078	368	5, 703
Composition ratio	61. 7	5. 6	7. 3	18. 9	6. 5	100. 0

5-2. Marital status of your partner (For those who's married, separated, and has lost a partner)

	Ainu	Japanese other than Ainu	Other	No response	Total
Actual number	1, 872	2, 269	94	22	4, 257
Composition ratio	44. 0	53. 3	2. 2	0. 5	100. 0

6-1. Where were you born?

	Hokkaido	Other prefecture	Abroad	No response	Total
Actual number	5, 221	253	43	186	5, 703
Composition ratio	91. 5	4. 4	0. 8	3. 3	100. 0

6-2. Place of birth (within Hokkaido) (N = 5,703)

	Mukawa	Shiraoi	Biratori	Erimo	Shinhidaka	Sapporo	Yakumo	Urakawa
Actual number	578	431	359	330	321	274	244	230
Composition ratio	10. 1	7. 6	6. 3	5. 8	5. 6	4. 8	4. 3	4. 0

	Tomakomai	Obihiro	Date	Muroran	Kushiro (city)	Shibetsu	Chitose	Niikappu
Actual number	188	137	136	102	100	100	95	95
Composition ratio	3. 3	2. 4	2. 4	1. 8	1. 8	1. 8	1. 7	1. 7

	Oshamanbe	Shiranuka	Samani	Hidaka	Urahoro	Nemuro	Noboribetsu	Asahikawa
Actual number	87	86	85	78	62	59	56	52
Composition ratio	1. 5	1. 5	1. 5	1. 4	1. 1	1. 0	1. 0	0. 9

	Toyoura	Memuro	Hakodate	Otaru	Teshikaga	Toyako	Yubari	Abashiri
Actual number	35	35	32	31	29	28	27	23
Composition ratio	0. 6	0. 6	0. 6	0. 5	0. 5	0. 5	0. 5	0. 4

	Iwamizawa	Kitami	Honbetsu	Bibai	Eniwa	Ishikari	Atsuma	Otofuke
Actual number	19	17	16	15	15	14	14	14
Composition ratio	0. 3	0. 3	0. 3	0. 3	0. 3	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2

	Makubetsu	Monbetsu	Rumoi	Mori	Hiroo	Betsukai	Ashoro
Actual number	13	12	11	11	11	11	10
Composition ratio	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2	0. 2

Number of people	Name of municipalities
9	Ashibetsu, Ebetsu, Akabira, Abira, Rausu
8	Kamishihoro, Ikeda
7	Wakkanai, Mikasa
6	Takikawa, Hokuto, Yoichi, Taiki
5	Utashinai, Furano, Haboro, Toyotomi, Shari
4	Shibetsu, Nayoro, Fukagawa, Kitahiroshima, Shikaoi, Setana, Suttu, Mashike, Oozora, Akkeshi, Shibecha
3	Sunagawa, Matsumae, Fukushima, Esashi, Kutchan, Iwanai, Tomari, Kuriyama, Shimokawa, Bihoro, Sobetsu, Kushiro (town)
2	Kikonai, Kaminokuni, Imakane, Kuromatsunai, Rankoshi, Niseko, Kyogoku, Shakotan, Furubira, Kamisunagawa, Minamifurano, Tomamae, Teshio, Sarufutsu, Oketo, Engaru, Yubetsu, Shintoku, Shimizu, Rikubetsu, Nakashibetsu
1	Tobetsu, Nanae, Shikabe, Okushiri, Rusutsu, Kimobetsu, Kyowa, Kamoenai, Niki, Naie, Naganuma, Aibetsu, Kamikawa, Nakagawa, Shosanbetsu, Enbetsu, Rebun, Koshimizu, Nishiokoppe, Shihoro, Nakasatsunai, Toyokoro, Tsurui

6-3. Place of birth (outside Hokkaido)

	Aomori	Sakhalin	Iwate	Tokyo	Akita	Kanagawa	Osaka	Fukushima
Actual number	43	30	21	20	17	14	9	8
Composition ratio	0. 8	0. 5	0. 4	0. 4	0. 3	0. 2	0. 2	0. 1

	Miyagi	Chiba	Shizuoka	Aichi	Saitama	Other or unknown	No response
Actual number	7	7	7	7	6	35	392
Composition ratio	0. 1	0. 1	0. 1	0. 1	0. 1	0. 6	6. 9

Number of people	Name of prefecture, country, region
5	Gunma, Kyoto, Miyazaki, Kagoshima
4	Yamagata, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Nagasaki
3	Ibaraki, Tochigi, Niigata, Nagano, Manchuria
2	Toyama, Ishikara, Shimane, Yamaguchi, Kagawa, Kumamoto, China, USA, Kunashiri Island
1	Yamanashi, Gifu, Mie, Shiga, Hyogo, Nara, Okayama, Tokushima, Kochi, Oita, Etorofu Island, Philippines, Korea, Russia

The majority of subjects were born in Hokkaido (91.5%)—many of them in Mukawa and Shiraoi (the two municipalities with many branch members). Those born in Sapporo accounted for only 4.8% of the total, indicating that many Ainu people move to Sapporo later in life.

Outside Hokkaido, many of the subjects answered that they were born in the northern Tohoku region (Aomori, Iwate, Akita, etc.) and in the metropolitan area (Tokyo, Kanagawa, etc.). Thirty senior citizens were born in Sakhalin and three in northern territories.

*Respondents' addresses that had changed after municipal consolidation were replaced with the current ones.

7-1. From which level of school did your parents graduate or leave without graduating most recently? Father

	Elementary school (including under the prewar system)	Junior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Senior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Vocational school	Junior college, technical college	University	Graduate school	Other
Actual number	1, 580	1, 574	802	76	23	95	2	45
Composition ratio	27. 7	27. 6	14. 1	1. 3	0. 4	1. 7	0. 0	0. 8

	Unknown	No response	Total
Actual number	1, 027	479	5, 703
Composition ratio	18. 0	8. 4	100. 0

7-2. From which level of school did your parents graduate or leave without graduating most recently? Mother

	Elementary school (including under the prewar system)	Junior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Senior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Vocational school	Junior college, technical college	University	Graduate school	Other
Actual number	1, 608	1, 538	878	101	33	17	3	59
Composition ratio	28. 2	27. 0	15. 4	1. 8	0. 6	0. 3	0. 1	1. 0

	Unknown	No response	Total
Actual number	1, 017	449	5, 703
Composition ratio	17. 8	7. 9	100. 0

Half of respondents indicated that both their parents had graduated most recently from elementary/junior secondary school. Enrollment in higher education facilities was extremely low, with fathers slightly over 2% and mothers around 1%.

8-1. What was your family's financial status when you were 15 years old?

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	No response	Total
Actual number	2, 591	1, 648	938	185	341	5, 703
Composition ratio	45. 4	28. 9	16. 4	3. 2	6. 0	100. 0

8-2. By age group

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	Total
Younger than 30	20.7	42.7	29.5	7.1	850
30 to 39	32.3	37.7	25.0	5.0	665
40 to 49	41.2	35.6	20.4	2.9	1,052
50 to 59	57.5	27.2	13.4	1.9	1,305
60 to 69	67.7	22.4	7.4	2.5	930
70 or older	71.6	16.0	10.1	2.3	514
Total	48.4	30.7	17.5	3.4	5,316

Those who answered that they were badly off when they were 15 years old accounted for 45.4% of the total. By generation, the younger the respondents, the better their feeling about financial conditions. Nonetheless, even in the youngest age group (below 30 years old), respondents who answered “badly off” or “relatively badly off” accounted for nearly two thirds (63.4%).

9-1. All the things that your family had when you were 15 years old

	Own house	Bath	Electricity	Gas	Running water	Radio	TV	PC
Actual number	3,817	4,003	4,805	3,760	3,887	3,926	3,738	229
Composition ratio	66.9	70.2	84.3	65.9	68.2	68.8	65.5	4.0

	Internet access	Refrigerator	Air conditioner	Bicycle	Motorcycle	Private car	Piano	Fixed-line phone
Actual number	142	3,399	71	3,703	543	2,196	191	2,979
Composition ratio	2.5	59.6	1.2	64.9	9.5	38.5	3.3	52.2

	Fax	Mobile phone	None	Unknown	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	370	489	72	84	220	5,703
Composition ratio	6.5	8.6	1.3	1.5	3.9	100.0

9-2. By age group

	Own house	Bath	Electricity	Gas	Running water	Radio	TV	PC	Internet access	Refrigerator	Air conditioner
Younger than 30	65.9	92.6	99.4	98.4	99.1	75.7	93.9	23.2	14.8	95.0	4.8
30 to 39	63.0	84.2	98.7	96.8	97.7	78.4	92.6	2.3	0.9	93.2	2.2
40 to 49	67.6	80.1	98.0	93.2	94.8	78.2	91.8	0.2	0.1	89.7	0.8
50 to 59	74.6	67.6	92.1	69.8	69.6	74.0	76.2	0.3	0.2	56.5	0.2
60 to 69	73.4	59.2	76.0	25.4	33.1	69.1	25.3	0.0	0.0	16.8	0.2
70 or older	68.8	50.0	44.0	8.4	12.7	41.0	3.9	0.0	0.0	6.3	0.0
Total	69.6	73.0	87.7	68.7	70.9	71.5	68.2	4.2	2.6	62.0	1.3

	Bicycle	Motorcycle	Private car	Piano	Fixed-line phone	Fax	Mobile phone	None	Unknown	Valid cases
Younger than 30	88.0	8.2	88.1	11.7	92.3	33.4	49.3	0.0	0.6	881
30 to 39	83.5	11.9	71.6	6.4	89.1	7.3	4.9	0.0	0.1	689
40 to 49	77.7	10.3	54.6	3.0	80.4	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.3	1,065
50 to 59	64.5	14.8	20.6	0.5	40.7	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.8	1,321
60 to 69	51.1	6.7	4.4	0.2	12.2	0.2	0.2	2.8	2.5	944
70 or older	29.7	2.8	2.2	0.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	6.7	7.5	536
Total	67.5	9.9	40.0	3.5	54.3	6.7	8.8	1.3	1.5	5,436

10. When did you become aware that you are Ainu?

	Before entering elementary school	When I was an elementary school student	When I was a junior secondary school student	When I was a senior secondary school student	After graduating from senior secondary school	Unknown	No response	Total
Actual number	505	1,027	507	140	144	292	110	2,725
Composition ratio	18.5	37.7	18.6	5.1	5.3	10.7	4.0	100.0

11. What made you become aware that you are Ainu? (Multiple answers allowed)

	What I heard from my parents	What I heard from other family members or relatives	What I heard from neighbors	What I heard from friends	What I heard from school teachers	When I noticed my physical characteristics	Other	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	1,364	494	175	644	68	443	229	140	2,725
Composition ratio	50.1	18.1	6.4	23.6	2.5	16.3	8.4	5.3	100.0

The greatest number of respondents (37.7%) said they had become aware of their Ainu identity when they were elementary school students. Approximately three quarters of respondents seemed to have become aware by the time they graduated from junior secondary school. Half of the respondents said what they heard from their parents had made them aware of the fact, followed by 23.6% who became aware as a result of input from their friends.

12. What makes you feel proud to be Ainu? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Ainu history	Ainu culture	The Ainu's battle against discrimination	Great Ainu figures	Physical characteristics	Other	Nothing in particular	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	891	1,180	607	465	152	54	807	145	2,725
Composition ratio	32.7	43.3	22.3	17.1	5.6	2.0	29.6	5.3	100.0

13. What makes you feel embarrassed that you are an Ainu? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Ainu history	Ainu culture	The Ainu's experience of discrimination	Living standards	Physical characteristics	Other	Nothing in particular	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	70	60	1,202	554	882	50	793	134	2,725
Composition ratio	2.6	2.2	44.1	20.3	32.4	1.8	29.1	4.9	100.0

Respondents primarily felt proud of Ainu culture (43.3%) and history (32.7%), while many felt embarrassed about their experience of discrimination (44.1%) and physical characteristics (32.4%).

14-1. Who or what has made you feel proud to be an Ainu? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Parents	Family members or relatives other than parents	Ainu friends or acquaintances	Non-Ainu friends or acquaintances	School teachers	TV	Books	Other
Actual number	673	240	236	60	29	89	78	36
Composition ratio	24.7	8.8	8.7	2.2	1.1	3.3	2.9	1.3

	Nothing in particular	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	643	946	2,725
Composition ratio	23.6	34.7	100.0

14-2. Who or what has made you feel embarrassed to be an Ainu? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Parents	Family members or relatives other than parents	Ainu friends or acquaintances	Non-Ainu friends or acquaintances	School teachers	TV	Books	Other
Actual number	43	82	157	716	134	139	37	75
Composition ratio	1.6	3.0	5.8	26.3	4.9	5.1	1.4	2.8

	Nothing in particular	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	694	936	2,725
Composition ratio	25.5	34.3	100.0

15. How do you want to live in the future?

	Want to live actively as an Ainu	Want to live without considering ethnicity	Want to live without revealing my Ainu identity	Other	No response	Total
Actual number	464	1,872	144	45	200	2,725
Composition ratio	17.0	68.7	5.3	1.7	7.3	100.0

16-1. Which of the following educational establishments have you attended?

(The figures show the number of people who attended each establishment.)

	Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school (including under the prewar system)	Junior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Senior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Vocational school	Junior college, technical college	University	Graduate school
Actual number	1,890	1,075	4,988	4,813	3,145	652	188	251	12
Enrollment rate	33.1	18.8	98.9	95.7	68.4	19.8	5.9	7.9	0.4
No. of data	5,703	5,703	5,046	5,027	4,595	3,289	3,165	3,166	3,029

16-2. Enrollment by age group

		Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school (including under the prewar system)	Junior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Senior secondary school (including under the prewar system)	Vocational school	Junior college, technical college	University	Graduate school
Younger than 30	Actual number	558	361	850	852	819	162	59	123	3
	Enrollment rate	79.4	60.4	99.9	99.9	95.2	26.7	10.3	20.2	0.6
30 to 39	Actual number	431	240	649	650	557	126	42	39	3
	Enrollment rate	76.8	56.1	99.8	99.7	87.3	26.7	9.5	9.0	0.7
40 to 49	Actual number	566	255	1,014	1,021	794	147	35	29	2
	Enrollment rate	65.5	39.5	99.6	99.4	79.8	20.6	5.2	4.3	0.3
50 to 59	Actual number	275	167	1,202	1,218	623	150	30	33	1
	Enrollment rate	29.4	19.9	98.9	98.8	57.6	19.7	4.1	4.6	0.1
60 to 69	Actual number	39	39	797	773	247	37	17	19	3
	Enrollment rate	6.7	6.9	97.8	92.5	37.3	7.7	3.5	4.0	0.6
70 or older	Actual number	10	2	438	265	75	21	4	3	0
	Enrollment rate	3.3	0.7	95.6	68.1	23.5	8.9	1.7	1.3	0.0
Total	Actual number	1,879	1,064	4,950	4,779	3,115	643	187	246	12
	Enrollment rate	47.7	31.6	98.9	95.8	68.4	19.7	6.0	7.8	0.4

Although more than half of respondents had attended senior secondary school (68.4%), enrollment in higher institutions after graduation from senior secondary school dropped significantly, with only 19.8% going on to vocational school, 5.9% to junior and technical colleges, and 7.9% to university. The younger the generation, the higher the senior secondary school enrollment rate: 95.2% for those younger than 30, which is almost the same level as the national average (96.0%). However, enrollment in university for these younger people was 20.2%, which is more than 20% lower than the national average for the same age group (42.2%).

16-3. Senior secondary school (including former junior high school and women's high school) (N = 3,145)

	Graduation status			National or private			Type of course		
	Graduated	Left without graduating	Currently enrolled	National/public	Private	Unknown	Full-time	Part-time	Correspondence
Actual number	2,242	337	41	1,420	369	12	1,582	239	32
Percentage in N	71.3	10.7	1.3	45.2	11.7	0.4	50.3	7.6	1.0

*Those with "Don't know" responses and no response are included in N, while those are excluded from the table (same for all cases until table 16-7)

Among nearly 70% of respondents who had attended senior secondary school, at least 10.7% left without graduating. By the type of course followed, 7.6% took part-time courses. Enrollment in part-time high school considerably differs by generation. In the 2008 data, the rate was 3.6% for Hokkaido (5,395 out of 143,140 students).

16-4. Vocational school (N = 652)

	Graduation status			National or private		
	Graduated	Left without graduating	Currently enrolled	National/public	Private	Unknown
Actual number	511	62	26	135	174	35
Percentage in N	78.4	9.5	4.0	20.7	26.7	5.4

16-5. Junior/technical college (N = 188)

	Graduation status			National or private			Type of course		
	Graduated	Left without graduating	Currently enrolled	National/public	Private	Unknown	Full-time	Part-time	Correspondence
Actual number	139	17	16	39	78	3	101	5	3
Percentage in N	73.9	9.0	8.5	20.7	41.5	1.6	53.7	2.7	1.6

16-6. University (N = 251)

	Graduation status			National or private			Type of course		
	Graduated	Left without graduating	Currently enrolled	National/public	Private	Unknown	Full-time	Part-time	Correspondence
Actual number	120	48	67	48	131	1	148	10	15
Percentage in N	47.8	19.1	26.7	19.1	52.2	0.4	59.0	4.0	6.0

16-7. Graduate school (N = 12)

	Graduation status			National or private		
	Graduated	Left without graduating	Currently enrolled	National/public	Private	Unknown
Actual number	4	1	2	6	1	0
Percentage in N	33.3	8.3	16.7	50.0	8.3	0.0

Enrollment in higher educational institutions after graduation from senior secondary school dropped considerably. Even for those who enrolled, the rates of dropout from vocational school and junior/technical college were 9.5% and 9.0%, respectively, and that from university was 19.1%, which is 10% higher than the figure for junior/technical college.

17-1. (For those not currently enrolled in school) Did you want to advance to a higher educational institution?

	Yes	No	No response	Total
Actual number	1,793	2,652	1,109	5,554
Composition ratio	32.3	47.7	20.0	100.0

17-2. (For those who wanted to advance to higher educational institutions) Which of the following levels of school did you want to attend?

	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior/technical college	University	Graduate school	Other
Actual number	11	54	576	124	60	548	26	6
Composition ratio	0.6	3.0	32.1	6.9	3.3	30.6	1.5	0.3

	No response	Total
Actual number	388	1,793
Composition ratio	21.6	100.0

18. (To those who wanted to advance to higher educational institutions) Why did you give up on the idea of attending a higher educational institution? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Financial reasons	Needed to work	Parental objection	Insufficient academic ability	Other	No particular reason	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	1,364	441	192	244	92	55	33	1,793
Composition ratio	76.1	24.6	10.7	13.6	5.1	3.1	1.8	100.0

Among respondents who wanted to be enrolled in higher education institutions (32.3%), three quarters (76.1%) had given up on the idea for financial reasons. The need to work (another primary reason for giving up on the idea) may be included among the figures of financial reasons.

19. Have you ever changed jobs?

	Yes	No	Never been employed	No response	Total
Actual number	3, 311	1, 459	260	673	5, 703
Composition ratio	58. 1	25. 6	4. 6	11. 8	100. 0

20-1. Employment condition (first job)

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	75	2, 215	1, 371	363	343	56	47	45	1, 188	5, 703
Composition ratio	1. 3	38. 8	24. 0	6. 4	6. 0	1. 0	0. 8	0. 8	20. 8	100. 0

20-2. Occupation (first job)

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers
Actual number	585	81	515	1, 224	158	293	5	782
Composition ratio	10. 3	1. 4	9. 0	21. 5	2. 8	5. 1	0. 1	13. 7

	Service workers	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	619	40	43	46	1, 312	5, 703
Composition ratio	10. 9	0. 7	0. 8	0. 8	23. 0	100. 0

For respondents' first type of occupation, the rates of general full-time employment (38.8%) and craft/production (21.5%) were notably higher, followed by agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (13.7%) and the service sector (10.9%).

21-1. Employment condition (jobs respondents engaged in for the longest period)

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	127	1, 780	1, 272	549	407	48	47	44	1, 429	5, 703
Composition ratio	2. 2	31. 2	22. 3	9. 6	7. 1	0. 8	0. 8	0. 8	25. 1	100. 0

21-2. Occupation (jobs in which respondents were engaged for the longest period)

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers
Actual number	453	47	412	1, 074	294	273	27	912
Composition ratio	7. 9	0. 8	7. 2	18. 8	5. 2	4. 8	0. 5	16. 0

	Service workers	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	545	45	55	41	1, 525	5, 703
Composition ratio	9. 6	0. 8	1. 0	0. 7	26. 7	100. 0

Among jobs in which respondents were engaged for the longest period, the rate of craft/production (18.8%) was higher than that for other jobs, but was 2.7% lower than the rate of jobs that respondents took first. The rate of those employed the longest in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, meanwhile, was 16.0%—an increase of 2.3% over the first period of employment.

22-1. Employment condition (current jobs)

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	162	1, 212	1, 106	634	469	50	906	81	1, 083	5, 703
Composition ratio	2. 8	21. 3	19. 4	11. 1	8. 2	0. 9	15. 9	1. 4	19. 0	100. 0

22-2. Occupation (current work)

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers
Actual number	302	40	266	854	256	244	50	957
Composition ratio	5. 3	0. 7	4. 7	15. 0	4. 5	4. 3	0. 9	16. 8

	Service workers	Other	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	454	60	903	78	1, 239	5, 703
Composition ratio	8. 0	1. 1	15. 8	1. 4	21. 7	100. 0

22-3. Employment condition by age group (current job)

	Proprietors and executives of establishments	Regular employees in constant employment	Part-time workers, temporary workers, contract employees, seasonal workers	Self-employed workers	Family employees	Other	Unemployed	Student	Total
Younger than 30	0. 6	39. 7	24. 2	3. 0	8. 5	1. 7	11. 4	10. 9	726
30 to 39	2. 7	33. 3	28. 5	7. 2	10. 9	0. 8	16. 4	0. 2	622
40 to 49	3. 8	30. 8	26. 8	14. 4	10. 8	1. 2	12. 0	0. 1	976
50 to 59	5. 2	26. 2	24. 7	19. 0	10. 1	1. 4	13. 4	0. 0	1, 138
60 to 69	4. 9	12. 5	23. 3	19. 1	8. 5	0. 6	31. 2	0. 0	721
70 or older	2. 2	4. 0	8. 6	15. 6	14. 1	0. 2	55. 3	0. 0	405
Total	3. 5	26. 2	24. 0	13. 6	10. 2	1. 1	19. 7	1. 8	4, 588

22-4. Occupation by age group (current job)

	Clerical workers	Security workers	Salespeople	Craftspeople, manufacturing workers, and other related workers	Transport and communication workers	Specialist and technical workers	Administrative and managerial workers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries workers
Younger than 30	10.6	1.3	8.0	19.4	1.7	10.1	0.1	12.7
30 to 39	11.6	1.5	6.7	22.0	6.2	5.4	0.5	14.1
40 to 49	7.9	1.1	5.8	19.5	8.4	6.4	0.7	23.5
50 to 59	5.2	0.6	6.8	21.6	6.7	5.4	1.9	25.3
60 to 69	2.6	0.4	4.7	19.0	6.7	2.3	1.9	24.3
70 or older	0.3	0.5	1.3	6.5	1.0	0.8	1.3	28.2
Total	6.7	0.9	6.0	19.1	5.7	5.5	1.1	21.4

	Service workers	Other	Unemployed	Student	Total
Younger than 30	13.4	0.6	11.3	10.8	715
30 to 39	12.1	3.0	16.7	0.2	610
40 to 49	12.0	1.8	12.8	0.0	960
50 to 59	10.7	1.2	14.8	0.0	1,076
60 to 69	6.0	1.0	31.1	0.0	688
70 or older	2.3	0.3	57.5	0.0	386
Total	10.1	1.4	20.3	1.8	4,435

For respondents' current occupation, the rate of unemployment was higher, probably because many respondents had retired early. The highest rate was for those engaging in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (16.8%), followed by craft and production (15.0%). As was the case with first jobs, the rate of respondents in white-collar jobs (professional and technical, managerial, and clerical work) was low, while that for blue-collar workers accounted for the majority.

23. How many people are employed at your current place of work?

	1	2 – 4	5 – 9	10 – 49	50 – 99	100 – 499	500 – 999	1,000 or more
Actual number	314	692	591	940	343	349	83	168
Composition ratio	5.5	12.1	10.4	16.5	6.0	6.1	1.5	2.9

	Public office	Unemployed	Student	No response	Total
Actual number	41	702	63	1,417	5,703
Composition ratio	0.7	12.3	1.1	24.8	100.0

Many respondents were currently working for small- or medium-sized companies, while only a small percentage worked for large companies. The rate of civil service workers was also as low at 0.7%.

24. Which benefits are available at your current workplace? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Retirement bonus	Bonus	Employment insurance	Workers' accident insurance	Paid holidays	Child-care leave	Housing allowance	Commuting allowance
Actual number	885	1, 166	2, 066	1, 769	1, 052	224	470	1, 196
Composition ratio	19. 8	26. 0	46. 1	39. 5	23. 5	5. 0	10. 5	26. 7

	Unknown	No benefits at all	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	222	698	1, 224	4, 479
Composition ratio	5. 0	15. 6	27. 3	100. 0

Although a relatively high number of workplaces offered employment insurance (46.1%) and workers' accident insurance (39.5%), such employers still accounted for less than 50%. The rate of respondents who received bonuses was about a quarter of the total (26.0%), and that of people with no benefits was 15.6%.

25. (For those who are currently working) Are you thinking of changing jobs?

	Yes, very much so	Yes, a little	No, not really	No, not at all	Don't know	No response	Total
Actual number	271	704	785	1, 608	308	929	4, 605
Composition ratio	5. 9	15. 3	17. 0	34. 9	6. 7	20. 2	100. 0

26-1. (For those who are currently working) Why are you thinking of changing jobs? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Low salary	Incompatibility with boss	Poor relations with others	Hard work	Few holidays	Unrewarding	Interested in another field	Anti-Ainu discrimination
Actual number	662	102	200	237	159	150	123	25
Composition ratio	14. 4	2. 2	4. 3	5. 1	3. 5	3. 3	2. 7	0. 5

	High salary	Good relations with others	Good work	Easy to take leave	Rewarding	Not interested in other jobs	Other	No particular reason
Actual number	81	251	293	248	492	336	179	644
Composition ratio	1. 8	5. 5	6. 4	5. 4	10. 7	7. 3	3. 9	14. 0

	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	1, 790	4, 605
Composition ratio	38. 9	100. 0

26-2. Hope for changing jobs and its reasons (Multiple answers allowed)

		Low salary	Incompatibility with boss	Poor relations with others	Hard work	Few holidays	Unrewarding	Interested in another field
Yes, very much so +Yes, a little	Actual number	552	87	163	195	128	132	104
	Composition ratio	59. 2	9. 3	17. 5	20. 9	13. 7	14. 1	11. 1
No, not really +No, not at all	Actual number	71	9	25	28	25	13	15
	Composition ratio	4. 3	0. 5	1. 5	1. 7	1. 5	0. 8	0. 9
Don't know	Actual number	32	5	7	11	2	5	3
	Composition ratio	15. 8	2. 5	3. 4	5. 4	1. 0	2. 5	1. 5
Total	Actual number	655	101	195	234	155	150	122
	Composition ratio	23. 6	3. 6	7. 0	8. 4	5. 6	5. 4	4. 4

		Anti-Ainu discrimination	High salary	Good relations with others	Good work	Easy to take leave	Rewarding	Not interested in other jobs
Yes, very much so +Yes, a little	Actual number	11	1	7	7	7	8	20
	Composition ratio	1.2	0.1	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	2.1
No, not really +No, not at all	Actual number	7	79	240	284	234	479	302
	Composition ratio	0.4	4.8	14.6	17.3	14.2	29.2	18.4
Don't know	Actual number	2	1	3	2	6	4	12
	Composition ratio	1.0	0.5	1.5	1.0	3.0	2.0	5.9
Total	Actual number	20	81	250	293	247	491	334
	Composition ratio	0.7	2.9	9.0	10.5	8.9	17.7	12.0

		Other	No particular reason	Valid cases
Yes, very much so +Yes, a little	Actual number	67	55	933
	Composition ratio	7.2	5.9	100.0
No, not really +No, not at all	Actual number	101	443	1,643
	Composition ratio	6.1	27.0	100.0
Don't know	Actual number	8	131	203
	Composition ratio	3.9	64.5	100.0
Total	Actual number	176	629	2,779
	Composition ratio	6.3	22.6	100.0

27-1. What is your current financial status?

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	No response	Total
Actual number	1,911	2,308	912	76	496	5,703
Composition ratio	33.5	40.5	16.0	1.3	8.7	100.0

27-2. What is your current financial status? (By age group)

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	Total
Younger than 30	27.0	48.4	21.4	3.3	823
30 to 39	33.9	46.2	18.7	1.2	664
40 to 49	39.3	44.6	15.2	1.0	1,049
50 to 59	38.4	42.5	18.1	0.9	1,277
60 to 69	41.6	42.6	14.7	1.0	870
70 or older	37.8	41.8	18.5	1.9	481
Total	36.7	44.3	17.6	1.5	5,164

(Refer to the results of 8-2)

What was your family's financial status when you were 15 years old? (By age group)

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	Total
Younger than 30	20.7	42.7	29.5	7.1	850
30 to 39	32.3	37.7	25.0	5.0	665
40 to 49	41.2	35.6	20.4	2.9	1,052
50 to 59	57.5	27.2	13.4	1.9	1,305
60 to 69	67.7	22.4	7.4	2.5	930
70 or older	71.6	16.0	10.1	2.3	514
Total	48.4	30.7	17.5	3.4	5,316

Reference: Survey on the actual living conditions of the Hokkaido Ainu

	Badly off	Relatively badly off	Relatively well off	Well off	No response
1993 survey	33.0	44.0	20.0	1.0	2.0
1999 survey	31.0	49.6	18.0	0.7	0.7
2006 survey	0.3	18.3	51.4	29.7	0.3
This survey	33.5	40.5	16.0	1.3	8.7

The total rate of respondents who considered themselves badly off (33.5%) or relatively badly off (40.5%) was 74.0%, while the corresponding figure for those who thought themselves well off was as low as 1.3%, indicating that the financial status of the Ainu is not favorable. Compared with the rate of respondents who considered themselves badly off or well off when they were 15 years old, the former dropped to 33.5% and the latter to 1.3%. This may indicate that Ainu feelings about financial status have become more uniform and that many of them have come to feel relatively badly off. Comparing the results of this survey with those of the Hokkaido government's survey on the actual living conditions of the Hokkaido Ainu, the standard of living among the Ainu seems to have returned to the levels seen before the 2006 survey, which indicated that the rate of those who were badly off had decreased and the figure for well-off individuals had sharply increased.

28. All the things that your family has currently (Multiple answers allowed)

	Bath	Radio	TV	PC	Internet access	Refrigerator	Air conditioner	Bicycle	Motorcycle
Actual number	5,030	3,888	5,311	2,115	1,414	5,159	435	3,538	391
Composition ratio	88.2	68.2	93.1	37.1	24.8	90.5	7.6	62.0	6.9

	Private car	Piano	Fixed-line phone	Fax	Mobile phone	None	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	4,579	434	4,433	2,390	4,405	6	335	5,703
Composition ratio	80.3	7.6	77.7	41.9	77.2	0.1	5.9	100.0

29. Do you currently have any problems? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Low income	Heavy debt	Health issues (self)	Health issues (family member/s)	Marriage	Lack of employment	Poor working conditions	Advancement to higher education (self)
Actual number	2,600	750	1,825	1,420	192	381	442	45
Composition ratio	45.6	13.2	32.0	24.9	3.4	6.7	7.8	0.8

	Children's education	Family relationships	Relations with others at work/school	Problems with neighbors	Housing issues	Nothing to live for	Anti-Ainu discrimination	Other
Actual number	581	257	149	139	498	180	135	106
Composition ratio	10.2	4.5	2.6	2.4	8.7	3.2	2.4	1.9

	Nothing in particular	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	901	505	5,703
Composition ratio	15.8	8.9	100.0

30. Who do you talk to about your problems? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Family	Ainu friend or acquaintance	Non-Ainu friend or acquaintance	Boss at work	Colleague at work	Neighbor	School teacher	Social worker
Actual number	3,084	541	864	127	297	159	53	81
Composition ratio	54.1	9.5	15.1	2.2	5.2	2.8	0.9	1.4

	Administrative agency	Ainu living advisor	Ainu career counselor	Ainu educational counselor	Other	Don't talk to anyone	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	147	290	95	34	105	985	867	5,703
Composition ratio	2.6	5.1	1.7	0.6	1.8	17.3	15.2	100.0

31. Which of the following health checkups have you had in the past year? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Regular checkup at work	Checkup in municipality	Self-pay complete medical checkup	Other	None	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	1,863	1,035	369	233	1,823	516	5,703
Composition ratio	32.7	18.1	6.5	4.1	32.0	9.0	100.0

32. Do you smoke?

	Yes, every day	Sometimes	Used to, but quit	No	No response	Total	Constantly smoke cigarette /day average
Actual number	2,266	186	550	2,318	383	5,703	20.1
Composition ratio	39.7	3.3	9.6	40.6	6.7	100.0	-

33. Do you drink?

	Yes	Used to, but quit	No (cannot drink)	No response	Total	<i>go</i> (approx. 0.18 l)/day in terms of sake average
Actual number	2, 606	386	2, 313	398	5, 703	2. 86
Composition ratio	45. 7	6. 8	40. 6	7. 0	100. 0	–

34. All the gambling activities you have engaged in over the past year. (Multiple answers allowed)

	Pachinko/ pachislot	Horse racing	Bicycle racing	Lottery	Soccer pools (<i>toto</i>)	Have gambled in the past year	Have never gambled	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	1, 527	380	12	1, 444	88	847	1, 695	612	5, 703
Composition ratio	26. 8	6. 7	0. 2	25. 3	1. 5	14. 9	29. 7	10. 7	100. 0

35. Do you hold any of the following special certifications? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Driver's license	Class-2 driver's license	Boat operator license	STEP English proficiency test (2nd grade or higher)	Nissho bookkeeping skill test	Secretarial skill test	Boiler maintenance engineer	Welder
Actual number	4, 232	493	625	55	308	33	51	209
Composition ratio	74. 2	8. 6	11. 0	1. 0	5. 4	0. 6	0. 9	3. 7

	Nurse	Physical therapist	Children's nurse	Care worker	Home helper	Care manager	Chef	Nutritionist
Actual number	57	1	44	57	189	15	116	18
Composition ratio	1. 0	0. 0	0. 8	1. 0	3. 3	0. 3	2. 0	0. 3

	Hairdresser	Beautician	Other	None	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	19	61	555	731	525	5, 703
Composition ratio	0. 3	1. 1	9. 7	12. 8	9. 2	100. 0

36. Which of the following pension plans are you covered by or do you currently receive?

	National pension	Mutual pension	Employee pension	Other pension plans	Not covered by any pension plan	No response	Total
Actual number	2, 437	111	2, 161	50	475	469	5, 703
Composition ratio	42. 7	1. 9	37. 9	0. 9	8. 3	8. 2	100. 0

37. Which of the following types of health insurance are you covered by?

	National health insurance	Other insurance	Not covered by any health insurance	No response	Total
Actual number	2, 891	1, 876	213	723	5, 703
Composition ratio	50. 7	32. 9	3. 7	12. 7	100. 0

The rates of respondents who were covered by national pensions and employee pensions were 42.7% and 37.9%, respectively, while that of people not covered by any pension plan was 8.3%. For health insurance, the rate of those covered by national health insurance was the highest (50.7%), and that of people not covered by any insurance was 3.7%.

38. Own annual income (tax included)

	No income	Less than ¥1,000,000	¥1,000,000 – 1,999,999	¥2,000,000 – 2,999,999	¥3,000,000 – 3,999,999	¥4,000,000 – 4,999,999	¥5,000,000 – 5,999,999	¥6,000,000 – 6,999,999
Actual number	930	1, 026	1, 079	961	468	230	127	72
Composition ratio	16. 3	18. 0	18. 9	16. 9	8. 2	4. 0	2. 2	1. 3

	¥7,000,000 – 7,999,999	¥8,000,000 – 8,999,999	¥9,000,000 – 9,999,999	¥10,000,000 or more	No response	Total	Average
Actual number	51	22	30	75	632	5, 703	¥1, 975, 000
Composition ratio	0. 9	0. 4	0. 5	1. 3	11. 1	100. 0	¥2, 419, 000

*The amount shown in the upper row below "Average" is the mean annual income of all households surveyed, while that in the lower row excludes no-income households.

The rate of respondents whose annual incomes were from ¥1,000,000 to 1,999,999 was the largest (18.9%), and those with an annual income of less than ¥3,000,000 accounted for 70.1%. The average annual income was ¥1,975,000, or ¥2,419,000, when no-income households are excluded.

39. Which factors do you think are important to succeed in society? (Up to two answers allowed)

	Good family, parents' social status	Individual ability	Individual effort	Academic background	Luck and chance	Connections in high places	Other	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	561	2, 111	3, 625	1, 158	1, 197	595	98	716	5, 703
Composition ratio	9. 8	37. 0	63. 6	20. 3	21. 0	10. 4	1. 7	12. 6	100. 0

Reference: Seventh World Youth Survey (2003, Japan)

	Good family, parents' social status	Individual ability	Individual effort	Academic background	Luck and chance	Don't know / No response	Valid Cases
Composition ratio	2. 8	53. 6	75. 6	9. 1	40. 1	2. 0	100. 0 (1, 042)

40. Do you think the following inequalities currently exist in Japan?

		Yes, very much	To some extent	No	Unknown	No response	Total
Gender-related inequality	Actual number	920	2, 259	859	570	1, 095	5, 703
	Composition ratio	16. 1	39. 6	15. 1	10. 0	19. 2	100. 0
Inequality related to academic background	Actual number	1, 904	1, 883	477	465	974	5, 703
	Composition ratio	33. 4	33. 0	8. 4	8. 2	17. 1	100. 0
Inequality related to occupation	Actual number	1, 464	1, 958	678	529	1, 074	5, 703
	Composition ratio	25. 7	34. 3	11. 9	9. 3	18. 8	100. 0
Inequality related to income or assets	Actual number	1, 847	1, 679	545	573	1, 059	5, 703
	Composition ratio	32. 4	29. 4	9. 6	10. 0	18. 6	100. 0
Inequality related to family social status	Actual number	1, 328	1, 757	890	620	1, 108	5, 703
	Composition ratio	23. 3	30. 8	15. 6	10. 9	19. 4	100. 0
Inequality related to race and ethnic groups	Actual number	1, 443	1, 832	818	631	979	5, 703
	Composition ratio	25. 3	32. 1	14. 3	11. 1	17. 2	100. 0

The rate of respondents who believed inequality related to academic background existed very much or to some extent was the highest at 66.4%, while 57.4% acknowledged the existence of inequality related to race and ethnic groups to the same extent.

41-1. Do you follow any particular religion? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Ainu religion	Buddhism	Shinto	Christianity	New religions	New Christian religions	Other religions	No religious belief
Actual number	166	2, 632	138	29	79	9	48	1, 969
Composition ratio	2. 9	46. 2	2. 4	0. 5	1. 4	0. 2	0. 8	34. 5

	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	771	5, 703
Composition ratio	13. 5	100. 0

41-2. Breakdown of Buddhist sects

	Jodo Shu	Jodo Shinshu			Hokke Shu	Nichiren Shu	Nichiren Shoshu	Tendai Shu
			Hongan-ji Sub-sect	Otani Sub-sect				
Actual number	29	73	3	6	42	47	132	3
Percentage distribution	1. 1	2. 8	0. 1	0. 2	1. 6	1. 8	5. 0	0. 1

	Soto Shu	Zen Shu	Shingon Shu	Other	No sect specified	Total
Actual number	44	79	38	9	2, 136	2, 632
Percentage distribution	1. 7	3. 0	1. 4	0. 3	81. 2	100. 0

41-3. Breakdown of Christian denominations

	Catholic	Protestant	Other	No denomination specified	Total
Actual number	1	3	1	24	29
Percentage distribution	3.4	10.3	3.4	82.8	100.0

41-4. Breakdown of new and other religions

	Soka Gakkai	Sukyo Mahikari	Reiha no Hikari	Rissho Kosei Kai	Shinnyo-en	Latter Day Saints	Jehovah's Witnesses	Other religions
Actual number	66	2	3	1	6	1	8	4
Percentage distribution	48.5	1.5	2.2	0.7	4.4	0.7	5.9	2.9

	No response	Total
Actual number	45	136
Percentage distribution	33.1	100.0

42. Have you ever practiced or heard of the following religious rites of traditional Ainu culture?

		Currently practice	Experienced before	Heard of	Don't know	No response	Total
The bear-sending ceremony	Actual number	63	425	1,834	2,345	1,036	5,703
	Composition ratio	1.1	7.5	32.2	41.1	18.2	100.0
Other animals-sending ceremony	Actual number	38	193	1,071	3,242	1,159	5,703
	Composition ratio	0.7	3.4	18.8	56.8	20.3	100.0
The salmon-welcoming ceremony	Actual number	269	426	1,708	2,264	1,036	5,703
	Composition ratio	4.7	7.5	29.9	39.7	18.2	100.0
Traditional wedding and funeral ceremonies	Actual number	76	302	1,155	3,018	1,152	5,703
	Composition ratio	1.3	5.3	20.3	52.9	20.2	100.0
Traditional ceremony to purify building sites/for housewarming	Actual number	119	357	976	3,086	1,165	5,703
	Composition ratio	2.1	6.3	17.1	54.1	20.4	100.0
Traditional memorial services for ancestors	Actual number	530	612	1,034	2,487	1,040	5,703
	Composition ratio	9.3	10.7	18.1	43.6	18.2	100.0
Inaw offering	Actual number	424	541	985	2,677	1,076	5,703
	Composition ratio	7.4	9.5	17.3	46.9	18.9	100.0
Prayer to gods	Actual number	432	496	1,270	2,450	1,055	5,703
	Composition ratio	7.6	8.7	22.3	43.0	18.5	100.0
Prayer to sacred places	Actual number	282	332	1,070	2,885	1,134	5,703
	Composition ratio	4.9	5.8	18.8	50.6	19.9	100.0
Taboos and conventions/rules to be followed in the ocean, rivers, and mountains	Actual number	190	185	923	3,261	1,144	5,703
	Composition ratio	3.3	3.2	16.2	57.2	20.1	100.0
Ceremony to send the spirits of tools	Actual number	96	156	749	3,507	1,195	5,703
	Composition ratio	1.7	2.7	13.1	61.5	21.0	100.0
Incantation	Actual number	48	179	794	3,502	1,180	5,703
	Composition ratio	0.8	3.1	13.9	61.4	20.7	100.0
Consultation with a shaman	Actual number	35	245	730	3,483	1,210	5,703
	Composition ratio	0.6	4.3	12.8	61.1	21.2	100.0
Dreaming interpretation	Actual number	322	215	825	3,190	1,151	5,703
	Composition ratio	5.6	3.8	14.5	55.9	20.2	100.0

Among rituals currently practiced, traditional memorial services for ancestors had the highest rate of practitioners (9.3%). Meanwhile, the rates of respondents who had never experienced the ceremony to send the spirit of tools (61.5%), incantations (61.4%), and consultation with a shaman (61.1%) were higher.

43. Have you ever performed or been involved in activities to pass on or restore the following things related to Ainu culture?

		Currently involved	Been involved	Never been involved	No response	Total
Ainu language	Actual number	307	724	3,618	1,054	5,703
	Composition ratio	5.4	12.7	63.4	18.5	100.0
Oral literature (<i>yukar</i> , <i>uepeker</i> , etc.)	Actual number	181	365	4,020	1,137	5,703
	Composition ratio	3.2	6.4	70.5	19.9	100.0
Singing (<i>upopo</i> , singing while seated, etc.)	Actual number	361	550	3,698	1,094	5,703
	Composition ratio	6.3	9.6	64.8	19.2	100.0
Musical instruments (<i>mukkuri</i> , <i>tonkori</i> , etc.)	Actual number	339	686	3,585	1,093	5,703
	Composition ratio	5.9	12.0	62.9	19.2	100.0
Dancing	Actual number	431	727	3,484	1,061	5,703
	Composition ratio	7.6	12.7	61.1	18.6	100.0
Rituals (<i>kamuy-nomi</i> , etc.)	Actual number	546	805	3,322	1,030	5,703
	Composition ratio	9.6	14.1	58.3	18.1	100.0
Knitting	Actual number	175	403	4,000	1,125	5,703
	Composition ratio	3.1	7.1	70.1	19.7	100.0
Embroidery	Actual number	288	590	3,743	1,082	5,703
	Composition ratio	5.0	10.3	65.6	19.0	100.0
Fabric weaving	Actual number	141	317	4,112	1,133	5,703
	Composition ratio	2.5	5.6	72.1	19.9	100.0
Traditional methods of hunting, farming, and fishing	Actual number	132	308	4,117	1,146	5,703
	Composition ratio	2.3	5.4	72.2	20.1	100.0
Cooking and preservation methods	Actual number	306	624	3,684	1,089	5,703
	Composition ratio	5.4	10.9	64.6	19.1	100.0
Woodcarving	Actual number	170	508	3,916	1,109	5,703
	Composition ratio	3.0	8.9	68.7	19.4	100.0
Nature observation events (eco-tours, etc.)	Actual number	120	259	4,179	1,145	5,703
	Composition ratio	2.1	4.5	73.3	20.1	100.0

Among activities in which respondents were currently involved, rituals (*kamuy-nomi*, etc.) had the highest rate of practitioners (9.6%). Meanwhile, the rates of people who had never experienced nature observation events (eco-tours, etc.) (73.3%), traditional hunting, farming, and fishing methods (72.2%) and weaving (72.1%) were low.

44. Which of the above would you like to be involved in in the future? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Ainu language	Oral literature	Singing	Musical instruments	Dancing	Rituals	Knitting	Embroidery
Actual number	581	212	296	341	312	329	328	478
Composition ratio	10.2	3.7	5.2	6.0	5.5	5.8	5.8	8.4

	Fabric weaving	Traditional methods of hunting, farming, and fishing	Cooking and preservation methods	Woodcarving	Nature observation events	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	355	303	459	430	475	4,161	5,703
Composition ratio	6.2	5.3	8.0	7.5	8.3	73.0	100.0

Many people chose Ainu language (10.2%) as something in which they would like to be involved in the future.

45. What does the term *Ainu puri* mean to you?

	Don't know	I think it has the following meaning:	No response	Total
Actual number	3, 920	407	1, 376	5, 703
Composition ratio	68. 7	7. 1	24. 1	100. 0

*Open-answer is omitted.

46. Do you want to continue to live in your current location?

	Yes	Yes, if possible	Not if I can move	No	Don't know	No response	Total
Actual number	2, 536	1, 105	514	319	751	478	5, 703
Composition ratio	44. 5	19. 4	9. 0	5. 6	13. 2	8. 4	100. 0

47. What is the reasons for your answer to the previous question? (Multiple answers allowed)

	Good living environment	Good relations with others	To take care of parents	Land and/or home ownership	No anti-Ainu discrimination	Nowhere to move to	Bad living environment	Poor relations with others
Actual number	1, 902	1, 013	619	2, 252	342	639	229	127
Composition ratio	33. 4	17. 8	10. 9	39. 5	6. 0	11. 2	4. 0	2. 2

	Land and/or home ownership elsewhere	Anti-Ainu discrimination	Job transfer	Current employment	No good jobs	Poor access to transportation	Marriage plans	Other
Actual number	33	31	44	34	199	233	83	172
Composition ratio	0. 6	0. 5	0. 8	0. 6	3. 5	4. 1	1. 5	3. 0

	No particular reason	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	407	1, 027	5, 703
Composition ratio	7. 1	18. 0	100. 0

48. Which level of school do you want your children to advance to as a minimum?

	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	College/technical college	University	Graduate school	Other	Unknown
Actual number	12	1, 011	616	440	2, 053	138	55	506
Composition ratio	0. 2	17. 7	10. 8	7. 7	36. 0	2. 4	1. 0	8. 9

	Up to them	No response	Total
Actual number	35	837	5, 703
Composition ratio	0. 6	14. 7	100. 0

The rate of respondents wanting their children to at least reach senior secondary school was 17.7%, while university was the most common choice with 36.0%. Among respondents who indicated “Other,” 0.6% chose “To the level they choose” or “Up to them”—a response not shown as an option.

49. Which of the following do you try to do?

	Freely enjoy each day	Plan carefully for affluence	Live happily each day with loved ones	Work with others toward a better society	Other	Don't know	No response	Total
Actual number	1, 004	1, 424	1, 571	309	63	795	537	5, 703
Composition ratio	17. 6	25. 0	27. 5	5. 4	1. 1	13. 9	9. 4	100. 0

50. Which of the following Ainu measures do you strongly agree with (choose up to five)?

	Establishment of a national center to study and research Ainu culture	Teaching of Ainu language and culture in schools	Promotion of business sectors in which the Ainu work (agriculture, forestry, fisheries, commerce, and industry)	Improvement of Ainu employment measures	Provision of greater support to the Ainu to help advancement to high school and university and improve academic ability	Provision of free access rights to national and prefectural land for the Ainu	Promotion of easing of regulations to allow the Ainu to catch salmon, etc.	Creation of a society where human rights are respected and the Ainu do not suffer racial discrimination
Actual number	1, 242	1, 863	1, 339	2, 449	2, 908	1, 174	845	2, 864
Composition ratio	21. 8	32. 7	23. 5	42. 9	51. 0	20. 6	14. 8	50. 2

	Establishment of permanent national and local organizations to discuss Ainu measures	Creation of a system to reflect Ainu opinions in national and local politics (provision of special legislative seats, etc. to the community)	Compensation to the Ainu for their land and resources	No implementation of special measures for the Ainu	Other	No response	Valid cases
Actual number	881	1, 214	1, 233	479	143	1, 147	5, 703
Composition ratio	15. 4	21. 3	21. 6	8. 4	2. 5	20. 1	100. 0

The rates of respondents were especially large for those who chose “Provision of greater support to the Ainu to help advancement to high school and university and improve academic ability” (51.0%), “Creation of a society where human rights are respected and the Ainu do not suffer racial discrimination” (50.2%), and “Promotion of business sectors in which the Ainu work” (42.9%).

