UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA

INDIGENA MOUSA:

INDIGENIZING HISTORIC AINU STUDIES AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF

SCOTLAND'S PERMANENT AINU EXHIBIT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE SCHOOL OF HISTORY AND ART HISTORY

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Abstract

During the long nineteenth century, empowered by Western modernity and systems of colonialism, Western scholars set out across the globe, seeking knowledge that reflected and supported the ideals of the European Enlightenment and Scientific Revolutions. Contemporary Ainu Studies and the National Museum of Scotland are often overlooked products of these themes as well as rich examples of the ongoing conversations of decolonization in educational spaces, both academic and museological. Through a detailed analysis of Ainu Studies, its English-language historiography, and contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice, this project contextualizes and analyzes the NMS's Ainu collection and permanent exhibit. Rather than adhering to the ideals set out by the modern ideology developed from the European Enlightenment, this project aligns with the work of postmodern and *post*-postmodern scholars like Brett Walker, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, and Christina Kreps. It adds to critiques of contemporary museum practice and addresses outdated modes of research that have held authority within Ainu Studies since the nineteenth century, contributing an updated, metamodern understanding to the field. Speaking in support of decolonization and Indigenization, this project continues the challenge of detangling contemporary ways of knowing from systems of colonialism.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Notes on Language and Glossary

This project bridges the boundaries between Japan and Russia to encompass all Ainu Mosir and incorporates Western history, particularly that of Scotland, producing a transnational discussion. As such, the project includes multiple languages and diverse terminology. The following pages address some of the critical terms used throughout the research. Because the project has been written in an American and British context all non-English words are transliterated using English phonetics and the Latin alphabet. Nevertheless, it is imperative to remember that language is an intrinsic part of culture, impacting the development of material culture and, thus, this work endeavors to incorporate the local languages as is relevant to the analysis presented.[1] The goal is to create accessible research, not erase local language or ways of knowing. To do this, the following glossary has been included to highlight local languages and all terms include local spellings.

Lastly, all Japanese names are written according to the author's preference. Many Japanese authors cited in this project follow the Japanese custom with the family name first. However, some Japanese authors present their names with family name second and I have chosen followed suit.

Ainu Mosir – (Ainu katakana: アイヌモシヒリ) Literally "the land of the Ainu," *Ainu Mosir* is the Ainu name for their ancestral land. Also translated as "a peaceful

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[1] Jenny L. Davis, "Resisting rhetorics of language endangerment: Reclamation through Indigenous language survivance," *Language Documentation and Description*, vol 14 (2017) 54.

country where the Ainu dwell."[2] Historically this has included all of Hokkaido, the

Kuril Islands, southern Sakhalin, and northern Honshu (see Figure 8 for map).

Amip – (Ainu katakana: アミプ) *Amip* is the Ainu term used to refer to the

"embroidered patters, often found on collars, backs and hems of Ainu robes [...]

[and] are also believed to ward off evil spirits."[3]

Amur River – (Russian: река Амур) (Chinese: 黑龙江, Heilong River) The *Amur River* is a

major river in northeast Asia providing a natural border between the Russian Far

East and China. With headwaters in the mountains of northeastern China, the Amur

flows into the Sea of Okhotsk just north of the Strait of Tartary (see Figure 8 for

map).

Attus – (Ainu katakana: アットゥシ) "*Attus* is a traditional Ainu plain-weave fabric

woven from tree bark fibers. Clothing made from the fabric is sometimes also

referred to as *attus*."[4]

Bakufu – (Japanese: 幕府) Literally "tent government" and synonymous with

"shogunate," *Bakufu* refers to Japan's shogunal government structure.

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[2] Kayano Shigeru, *The Ainu: A Story of Japan's Original People* (Boston, MA, Rutland, VT, and Tokyo, Japan: Tuttle Publishing, 1989) 12.

[3] "Ainu crafts: woodcarving and embroidery," Japan House London, accessed 12 February 2025, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/read-and-watch/ainu-crafts-woodcarving-and-embroidery/#:~:text=Embroidery%20&%20clothing&text=These%20embroidered%20patterns%2C%20often%20found,entire%20back%20of%20the%20robe.

[4] "Nibutani-attus," Ainu Culture: To Biratori... And Ainu Culture, accessed 28 November 2024, https://www.biratori-ainu-culture.com/en/craft/attus/.

Chikarkarpe – (Ainu katakana: チカラカラペ) *Chikarkarpe* is a specific style of robe crafted by Ainu. They are created using a cotton base with embroidered strips.[5]

Chishima Islands – (Japanese: 千島列島) The *Chishima Islands* are a string of volcanic islands stretching from eastern Hokkaido to the Kamchatka Peninsula. *Chishima* is the Japanese name used for the Kuril Islands. See also *Kuril Islands*.

Colonization – "[*Colonization*] usually refers to the long-term dominance of a people and geographic territory by a more powerful group from outside."[6]

Decolonization – Contemporary *decolonization* contains two different avenues of definition. The first pertains to the physical world: "*Decolonization* is the process by which a colony gains its independence from the colonizing nation in order to become an autonomous country."[7] The other definition used in this work is cultural:

> *Decolonization* today is also understood as a widespread cultural development. […] New cultural paradigms involve recognizing and moving away from cultural hegemony […]. These transformative social movements operate within a multicultural and pluralistic paradigm that covers the arts, cultural industries, mass media, and academic arenas.[8]

While both definitions are applicable in the research, the second will be considered more fully in the following chapters.

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[5] Ainu crafts: woodcarving and embroidery."

[6] Trudy Mercadal, "Decolonization," *Salem Press Encyclopedia* (2023) https://research.ebsco.com/c/7fhaq6/viewer/html/3genpfiv6n.

[7] Mercadal, "Decolonization."

[8] Mercadal, "Decolonization."

<u>Edo</u> – (Japanese: 江戸) (1603-1867) The *Edo* period is synonymous with the Tokugawa Bakufu. Taking its name from the Tokugawa administrative capital, *Edo* is the former name of Tokyo.

<u>Ekashi</u> – (Ainu katakana: エカシヒ) *Ekashi* are Ainu elders who preserve Ainu ways of knowing, including, but not limited to, spiritual stories, songs, and traditional crafts.[9]

<u>Epi-Jōmon</u> – (Japanese: 族縄文時代) (c. 3rd to 7th century BCE) *Epi-Jōmon* refers to the post-Jōmon period during which non-Yayoi, or non-Yamato, peoples migrated north from Honshu to Hokkaido.[10] (See Appendix A for timeline.)

<u>Ezo</u> – (Japanese: 蝦夷地) Roughly equivalent to *Ainu Mosir*, *Ezo* was used during the Edo period to refer to Hokkaido and, occasionally, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. Hokkaido will be the predominate term used in this work, but some citations may refer to the northern island using *Ezo*.

<u>Hokkaido</u> – (Japanese: 北海道) *Hokkaido* is the northern-most island of contemporary Japan. During the Tokugawa era the island was often referred to as *Ezo* (see Figure 8 for map).

<u>Honshu</u> – (Japanese: 本州) *Honshu* is the largest of Japan's four islands. Occasionally referred to as Japan's mainland, *Honshu* contains Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka (see Figure 8 for map).

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[9] Neil Gordon Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, compiled and edited by B.Z. Seligman (London, UK: Routledge, 1996) 8.

[10] Brett Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2006), 20.

Ikupasuy – (Ainu: イクパスイ) Misnamed moustache lifters by early Western scholars, *ikupasuy* are libation wands used to sprinkle libations at holy events.[11] *Ikupasuy* are occasionally referred to as *ikunishi*, particularly among Sakhalin Ainu.[12]

Inau – (Ainu: イナウ) *Inau* are handmade offerings to the Ainu deities. They are wooden sticks carved in a way to create curls of wood that remain attached to the top of the stick.[13]

Indigenous – *Indigenous* is defined as "existing, growing, or produced naturally in a region or country; native" in *Webster's New World College Dictionary* and is often used to refer to peoples like Native Americans, First Nations, Aboriginal peoples, and Ainu, to name a few. [14] Capitalizing the term is a recent development, encouraged by the growing necessity for respect and compassion among contemporary scholarship, "articulat[ing] and identif[ying] a group of political and historical communities." [15] Likewise, the following analysis uses "*Indigenous*" inclusive "of diverse, sovereign communities who were living in specific regions when [colonizing powers] first attempted to name, categorize, and colonize them."[16]

Indigenization – *Indigenization* may be defined

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[11] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 39-40.

[12] Moses Osamu Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 79, no. ½ (1949) 27-35.

[13] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 7.

[14] Christine Weeber, "Why Capitalize "Indigenous"?," *Essay/Ask Sapiens* (19 May 2020) https://www.sapiens.org/language/capitalize-Indigenous/.

[15] Weeber, "Why Capitalize "Indigenous"?"

[16] Weeber, "Why Capitalize "Indigenous"?"

as a process of inclusion, restoration, and promotion of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous knowledge systems, land teachings, languages which must come with critical engagement, and serious commitment from the institution [notably higher education institutions]. [It] question[s] the so-called universality of Western ways of thinking and doing by pluralizing social and scientific reality and by valuing Indigenous lives, and Indigenous ways of thinking, doing, and being in the world.[17]

This definition is directly related to the efforts of *Indigenization* currently happening in Canada in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Act. Reflective of the previous definition, *Indigenization* is capitalized because it refers to incorporating and honoring the ways of knowing practiced by *Indigenous* groups.

Iyomante – (Ainu: イオマンテ) The *iyomante* is an Ainu ceremony in which a bear is sacrificed, or "sent back" to Kamuy Mosir, or the "land of the gods."[18]

Jōmon – (Japanese: 縄文) (c. 14,000-1,000 BCE) *Jōmon* refers to the prehistoric population of the Japanese archipelago. The term refers to the straw-rope pattern pottery commonly found in *Jōmon* archaeology sites. (See Appendix A for timeline.)

Kamuy or Kamui – (Ainu: カムイ) Akin to the Japanese term *kami*, *kamuy* is the Ainu term for gods, deities, or spirits.

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[17] Catherine Dussault (Wendat, Nation huronne-wendat), Marc Molgat, Mona Tolley (Anishinabekwe, Kitagan Zibi First Nation), and Karine Vanthuyne, "Widening the circle: assuming differentiated responsibilities in the Indigenization of university education," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, vol 20, no 3 (September 2024) 420.

[18] "inomi," Upopoy: National Ainu Museum and Park, accessed 21 November 2023, https://ainu-upopoy.jp/en/ainu-culture/.

<u>Kaparamip</u> – (Ainu: カパラミプ) *Kaparamip* refers to a "distinct Ainu robe [style]" which uses "a thin indigo robe with white cotton appliqué patterns."[19]

<u>Karafuto</u> – (Japanese: 樺太) *Karafuto* is the Japanese word for Sakhalin. See *Sakhalin*.

<u>Kuril Islands</u> – (Russian: Курильские острова) The *Kuril Islands* are a part of the Sakhalin oblast, or province, in the Russian Far East. The chain of volcanic islands extends from eastern Hokkaido to the southern tip of the Kamchatka Peninsula and separates the Okhotsk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. See also *Chishima Islands*. (See Figure 8 for map.)

<u>Meiji</u> – (Japanese: 明治) (1868-1912) The *Meiji Restoration* of 1868 restored the Japanese emperor to head of state, ending the centuries-old Tokugawa Bakufu. The term *Meiji* may refer to the emperor and/or the Japanese government between 1868 and 1912.

<u>Metamodernity</u> – Metamodernity was proposed and explained by Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker in 2010:

> [I]f, simplistically put, the modern outlook vis-à-vis idealism and ideals could be characterized as fanatic and/or naïve, and the postmodern mindset as apathetic and/or skeptic, the current generations' attitude—for it is, and very much so, an attitude tied to a generation— can be conceived of as a kind of informed naivety, a pragmatic idealism. [...] *Metamodernism* moves for the sake of moving, attempts in spite of its inevitable failure; it seeks forever for a truth that it never expects to find.[20]

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[19] "Ainu crafts: woodcarving and embroidery."

[20] Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, vol 2, no 1, 5677 (2010) 5.

Emphasis added by present author.

The term was proposed as a next step in philosophical and methodological understanding following postmodernity.

Modernity – Modernity refers to the worldviews and methodologies developed during the European Enlightenment. Originating in the West, it was used to support Euro-centric understandings of economics, race, and politics.[21] Developing from ways of knowing like Social Darwinism and Orientalism, the ability to understand and adhere to Western definitions of modernity and industrialism were based on skin color, body proportions, and heritage. As a result, diverse peoples were categorized on a scale from civilization to barbarism in a way that disadvantaged non-Western cultures.[22]

Mour – (Ainu katakana: モウル) *Mour* is an article of casual clothing worn by women in the home.[23]

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[21] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2 014) 143-144.

Joy Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture: Indigenous People and Self-Representation,* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) 3.

[22] Francisco Bethencourt, *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013) 2-3, 254-256, 270.

James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press, 2013) 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, third edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2021) xv.

[23] "Traditional Livelihood – Food/Clothing/Housing," Akarenga: Portal Site of Hokkaido's History and Culture, accessed 12 February 2025, https://www.akarenga-h.jp/en/hokkaido/ainu/a-01/#:~:text=Underwear%20/%20Routine%20Clothing&text=Previous%20routine%20clothing%2C%20made%20of,of%20tree%20bark%20or%20cotton.

<u>Nihonjinron</u> – (Japanese: 日本人論) *Nihonjinron* refers to a line of thought that

celebrates Japanese culture and racial uniqueness. The philosophy uses biological

markers to celebrate Japanese homogeneity and culture.[24]

<u>Nivkh</u> – The *Nivkh* people are an Indigenous culture of Northeast Asia, "believed to

have lived in Sakhalin and in the area of the Asian mainland around the mouth of

the Amur River at least since around 1,000 BCE."[25] Their ancestors are sometimes

referred to as Gilyak by Western scholars. Like the Ainu and Uilta, they were an

integral part of the Northern Silk Road.

<u>Okhotsk Culture</u> – (c. 600-1,000 CE)

> The *Okhotsk culture* possessed many continental elements, and its
> roots can be traced to marine mammal-hunting peoples, such as the
> Nivkh of Sakhalin, as well as the Ul'chi and other peoples of the Amur
> Estuary. It is popularly held that in earlier centuries, continental groups
> likely interacted with the Epi-Jōmon and that this interaction possibly
> intensified during the Mongol invasion, forming the *Okhotsk culture*
> on Hokkaido.[26]

The *Okhotsk Culture* is commonly believed to be a parent culture to the Ainu,

having settled along the north and northeastern coastlines of Hokkaido.[27] (See

Appendix A for timeline.)

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[24] Rotem Kowner and Harumi Befu, "Ethnic Nationalism in Postwar Japan: *Nihonjinron* and Its Racial Facets," in *Race and Racism in Modern East Asia (vol. II): Interactions, Nationalism, Gender, and Lineage*, eds. Rotem Kowner and Walter Demel (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2015) 396.

[25] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Indigenous People Between Empires: Sakhalin Through The Eyes of Charles Henry Hawes," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, vol 18, issue 16, no 7 (15 August 2020) 4-5.

[26] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20, 25.

[27] Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1996) 26, 28.

Sea of Okhotsk – (Russian: Охотское море) The *Sea of Okhotsk* is a marginal sea of the

northwestern Pacific Ocean. The sea is located between the Kamchatka Peninsula,

the Kuril Islands, Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Siberia. It is named for the port of Okhotsk,

the first Russian settlement in the Far East, which is itself named for the Okhota

River to the north of the sea.

Postmodernity –

> [*Postmodernity*] takes the form of self-conscious, self-contradictory,
> self-undermining statement. [...] [*P*]*ostmodern's* initial concern is to
> de-naturalize some of the dominant features of our way of life; to
> point out that those entities that we unthinkingly experience as
> 'natural' (they might even include capitalism, patriarchy, liberal
> humanism) are in fact 'cultural'; made by us, not given to us.[28]

A direct critique of modernity, postmodernity challenges the assumptions created

by dominant regimes, such as Orientalism and Social Darwinism, which

undervalued non-Western peoples and created toxic taxonomies.[29] *Postmodernity*

was already taking root in academia by the time Chief Justice Earl Warren read the

decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, signaling the end of segregation

in US schools, but for a Topeka native, the decision is a tangible enactment of

postmodernity. When overlaid onto global timelines and historiography, the US's

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[28] Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism*, second edition (London, UK and New York, NY:
Routledge, 2002) 1-2.
Emphasis added by present author.
[29] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 254-256, 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

Civil Rights Movement aligns with the decentering of modernities, post-war

decolonization, and the growth of *postmodernity*.

Sakhalin – (Russian: Сахалин) *Sakhalin* is an island in the Russian Far East located

between the Tartar Strait and the Okhotsk Sea. *Sakhalin* and the Kuril Islands make

up the Sakhalin oblast of Russia. See also *Karafuto*.

Satsumon Culture – (Japanese: 擦文文化) (c. 700-1,200 CE) The *Satsumon Culture* is

believed to be a parent culture of the Ainu. With archaeological remains

concentrated in southern Hokkaido, the *Satsumon culture* was distinct from the

Okhotsk culture in its similarities with Japanese artistic culture, probably the result

of trade with Honshu and the Yamato peoples.[30] (See Appendix A for timeline.)

Tokugawa – (Japanese: 徳川時代) (1603-1867) The *Tokugawa* period, also known as

the *Edo* period, refers to the time during which the *Tokugawa Bakufu* held power

in Japan.

Uilta – Sometimes referred to as Ulta or Orok, the *Uilta* are somewhat recent arrivals

to Sakhalin having migrated to the island after the Nivkh and Ainu were established

but before the 18th century. Indigenous to the region, "[the *Uilta*] language is

closely related to that of other so-called 'Tungstic' groups such as the Evenk, Nanai

and Ulchi of the Siberian mainland."[31] Just like the Nivkh and Ainu, the *Uilta* took

part in the Northern Silk Road trade system.

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[30] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20 and 25.
Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 26-28.
[31] Morris-Suzuki, "Indigenous People Between Empires," 5.

Upshoro kut – (Ainu katakana: ウプシホロクッ) *Upshoro kut*, or "sacred girdles," are

articles of clothing made and worn by Ainu women.[32] They are tied to Ainu

spirituality and heritage, with weaving patterns passed from mother to daughter

and from mother-in-law to daughter-in-law. *Upshoro kut* are considered sacred,

not to be viewed by outsiders or men, but have been briefly studied by Neil Gordon

Munro during his time living among the Ainu in the early twentieth century.

Waijin – (Ainu katakana: ワイジン) *Waijin* is the Ainu term used to refer to Yamato

peoples.

Yamato – (Japanese: 大和 (Yamato kingdom) or 大和民族 (Yamato race)) *Yamato* refers

to the historic ethnicity of Japanese peoples. As opposed to the Jōmon, Ainu, or

Ryukyuans, *Yamato* is used to refer to the dominant ethnic group of Japan.

Yayoi – (Japanese: 弥生時代) (c. 300 BCE – 300 CE) The *Yayoi* period took place during

Japan's Iron Age. The period is distinguished by new pottery styles distinct from

the previous Jōmon style and the importation of rice cultivation. (See Appendix

A for timeline.)

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[32] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 53.

Chapter One: The Act of Deconstruction in the Heart of Empire, an Introduction

In the fall of 2022, I travelled to Japan and spent three months exploring the northern island of Hokkaido, a part of Ainu Mosir, the ancestral homeland of the Indigenous Ainu peoples, before finishing the trip in Tokyo. Inspired by the work of Tessa-Morris Suzuki, ann-elise lewallen, and Kirsten Ziomek, the goal in visiting Hokkaido was to better understand Ainu history and culture, as well as how these topics are represented and preserved by contemporary museums in Japan.[33] When I speak with friends and acquaintances about the trip, they grow glassy-eyed when I get carried away describing Hokkaido, instead wanting to know more about places like Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka – Japan's big three tourist cities. It is not that I expect my friends and acquaintances to appreciate the intricacies of my research. Rather, it was the similarities between Western and Japanese "ignorances" regarding Indigenous peoples, such as their shared lack of equitable representation, that caught my attention.[34] The relative disparity in attitudes of cultural preservation is evident in

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[33] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History: Rethinking East Asian Borders* (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2020).

ann-elise lewallen, "Bones of Contention: Negotiating Anthropological Ethics within Fields of Ainu Refusal," *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 39, no. 4 (2007) 509-540.

K. L. Ziomek, *Lost Histories: Recovering the Lives of Japan's Colonial Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University press, 2019).

[34] See for example:

Jessica C. Nelson, Glenn Adams, and Phia S. Salter, "The Marley Hypothesis: Denial of Racism Reflects Ignorance of History," *Psychological Science*, vol 24, no 2 (February 2013) 213-218.

Kimberly Peterson, "Epistemology of Ignorance and the Invisibility of Indigenous Peoples" (MSc diss., Western Washington University, spring 2024).

museological and educational contexts of both Japan and the United States. The unequal representation of Ainu in Japanese institutions echoes the same inequalities I saw between Puebloan peoples and white Americans in the Southwest United States during my undergraduate studies. From museum spaces to villages and reservations to casual interactions with acquaintances, Indigenous groups, like the Ainu and Puebloan peoples, are consistently "belittle[d] and misunder[stood]," relegated to a forgotten past by "dominant regimes."[35] I understand the exoticization by and willful ignorance of Western colonial powers, having learned it myself growing up in Kansas on the ancestral land of Indigenous Americans and doing my undergrad dissertation on the relationship between Ancestral and contemporary Puebloans.[36] However, witnessing mirroring attitudes concerning Indigenous peoples in the West and Japan illuminated two key issues: (1) the undercurrents of Western modernity are not limited to the West and (2) ignorance is still prevalent in contemporary society.[37] Overlaid onto these two concerns, my own interest in museums as the preservers and purveyors of complex histories created a space for consideration and questioning. What role did Western modernity play in the development of modern Japanese prejudices? To what

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[35] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*.
[36] See for example:
Carla Rice, Susan D. Dion, Hannah Fowlie, and Andrea Breen, "Identifying and Work Through Settler Ignorance," in *Critical Studies and the International Field of Indigenous Education Research* edited by Greg Vass and Melitta Hogarth (London, UK: Routledge, 2024) 15-30.
Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978).
[37] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: Harvard University Press, 1988) 22-23.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 104-106.

extent are contemporary museums and educational spaces responsible for the perpetuation of modern prejudices? What is my role as a researcher and future educator in addressing systemic prejudice and ignorance? Expanding upon these questions, this project sits at the complicated crossroads of historical and contemporary Ainu-Japanese, Japanese-Western, and Ainu-Western relationships.[38]

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[38] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristic, Conversations, and Contexts*, second edition (Toronto, Canada, Buffalo, NY, and London, UK: University of Toronto Press, 2021) 2:

> "For this prologue I am introducing myself purposefully for it is a relational work. [...] For the protocol of introduction, Māori scholar Graham Hingangaroa Smith suggests a prologue in Indigenous research. A prologue is a function of narrative writing that signifies a prelude. It encompasses essential information for the reader to make sense of the story to follow. While not every written narrative needs a prologue, it can be a useful device. Within Indigenous research writing, a prologue structures space for introductions. It is a precursory signal to the careful reader that woven throughout the varied forms of our writing – analytical, reflective, expository – there will be story, our story, for story is who we are."

As a non-Indigenous scholar writing on Indigenous issues, I feel that it is necessary to introduce myself and my positionality. The above opening paragraph is meant to give context to myself and my research—it is an introductory prologue which explains how I have come to my current research. Per the advice given by Kovach, this is my humble introduction.

1.1   Introduction

Knowledge of the Ainu, like other Indigenous groups, was purposefully disregarded, devalued, and minimized because the ethnic groups were deemed ""people without history," destined to disappear" in the face of colonization and modernization.[39] For example, Joy Hendry's 2005 monograph, *Reclaiming Culture*, explains how Indigenous peoples, like the Ainu, have been burdened with the challenge of rediscovering and reclaiming their cultures since the mid-twentieth century because of cultural erasure under the pressure of Western modernity.[40] Further illustrating this, few people are aware of the Ainu and those who are generally know because of personal connection, geographic proximity, Indigenous Studies research, or unique educational opportunities such as museum or university experiences. All of this is an unfortunate side effect of being an Indigenous culture in a world still grappling with the aftereffects of colonialism and nationalism.[41] The act of decolonization and its accompanying unlearning of Western white male privilege is an ongoing process that starts at places of education.[42] My own unlearning began in museums like the Kansas Museum of History in my hometown and the myriad of Indigenous museums my parents took me to during summer vacations. It is in spite of my formal education that celebrated and mythologized American culture and

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[39] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
[40] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.
[41] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 31.
[42] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 278-280.
Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 419-420.

colonialism that I turn to Indigenous Studies to combat systemic erasure and aid in the decolonial and Indigenizing processes that are a part of the current metamodern push for compassion, equity, and respect.[43]

Deconstructing outdated ways of knowing, evident in the revitalization of Indigenous cultures, often falls on the shoulders of non-Western scholars, resulting in unfair responsibility put upon minority groups. I want to help displace those obligations, bringing them into my own work in support of my colleagues, thus supporting diverse, pluralistic, interdisciplinary spaces.[44] Metamodernity, I propose, is the means by which this may happen. The definition presented in the glossary above claims that "[m]etamodernism moves for the sake of moving, attempts in spite of its inevitable failure; it seeks forever for a truth that it never expects to find."[45] It moves

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[43] For discussion on the definition of compassion see: Paul Gilbert, "Compassion: Definitions and controversies," in *Compassion: Concepts, Research and Applications* edited by Paul Gilbert (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge) 3-15.
Will Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*, second edition (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002) xi-xii.
> Consider for example, Kymlicka's "ideas of responsibility." The ideals of compassion, equity, and respect advocated for in this work mirror Kymlicka's call for "treating people with equal concern and respect."
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 259-265.
> It is important to remember "that the researchers who choose to research with and for marginalized communities" must do so ethically. Smith cites the Nuremburg Code, the World Medical Association Declaration of Helsinki (1965), and the Belmont Report (1979), each of which address the ethics of research. In line with Smith's point, this work not only works with respect but encourages respect for minority rights and ways of knowing.
[44] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 126.
> My goal is to support Smith's " revitalization and reformulation of culture and tradition; an increased participation in and articulate rejection of Western institutions; and a focus on strategic relations and alliances with non-Indigenous groups."
Anna J. Willow, "The World We (Re)Build: An Ethnography of the Future," *Anthropology and Humanism*, vol 46, no 1 (2020) 8.
[45] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 5.

across borders—academic, national, cultural—bringing perspectives into dialogue with one another and creating new ways of knowing. There is no one singular truth which can be found, rather there are multiple truths waiting to work together to enrich the human experience. The failure Vermeulen and van den Akker allude to takes away from the hope and compassion inherent in "mov[ing] for the sake of moving."[46] Rather than failure, this work seeks pluralistic success in standing at crossroads and bringing diverse ways of knowing into conversation, promoting compassionate, respectful, cross-cultural and interdisciplinary dialogues to combat and deconstruct biased ways of knowing.

In this project I will consider Ainu Studies historiography and contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice through a metamodern lens to create a decolonial and Indigenizing framework with which to evaluate Indigenous representation within educational spaces. My interest and familiarity with the Ainu come from years of dedicated study, but it is the job of scholars and museums, as "keepers of the collective memory," to preserve and deliver the same knowledge to the general public.[47] While the concept of scholars and museums as "keepers of the collective memory" is an idealized sentiment, I believe it holds merit in a metamodern system that encourages self-reflection and collaboration. In line with this, the ever-growing implementation of decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies empowers spaces of learning to

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[46] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 5.

[47] Tim Ambrose and Crispin Paine, *Museum Basics*, third edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2012) 7.

Naohiro Nakamura, "Indigenous Methodologies: Suggestions for Junior Researchers," *Geographical Research*, vol 48, no 1 (February 2010) 98.

deconstruct their prejudices, promote collaboration, and empower subaltern voices.[48]

My goal is to contribute to the conversation surrounding systemic decolonization of

educational spaces like museums and academia, illustrating contemporary progress

and shortfalls as seen through the case studies of Ainu Studies historiography and the

National Museum of Scotland (NMS). My project will overlay the decolonial and

Indigenizing framework onto Ainu Studies and the NMS, contributing valuable

critiques of systemic colonialism which enhances contemporary understandings of

Indigenous rights and representation.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Ainu are a composite culture group resulting from the intermingling and

evolution of the Epi-Jōmon (c. 250 BCE-700 CE), Okhotsk (c. 600-1,000 CE), Satsumon

(c. 700-1200 CE), and, finally, Japanese cultures (see Appendix A for timeline).[49] Having

inhabited the southern Okhotsk region for centuries, they are most famous for their

role as intermediate traders along the Northern Silk Road.[50] They are physically and

culturally distinct from the Japanese with their own language—one of several language

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[48] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012) 1-6.

[49] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20.

[50] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 26-27.

isolates in Northeast Asia—and spiritual customs which bear significant similarities to Arctic cultures.[51]

In 1604 Tokugawa Ieyasu issued a Black Seal letter disrupting Ainu ways of life and starting Japan's long colonization process to combat Chinese and Russian influence in the Okhotsk region (see Figure 8 for map).[52] Under the Black Seal order, the Matsumae family was granted "exclusive rights over trade with the Ainu," effectively establishing them as *daimyo*, or lord, of the northern island and incorporating the region into Japan's sphere of influence.[53] Between 1604 and 1869, Hokkaido and the Ainu were subjected to varying levels of Japanese control through systems of trade and tribute facilitated by the Matsumae and discrete periods of direct control by the *Bakufu*, effectively dismantling the Ainu as an economic power in the southern Okhotsk.[54] Finally, under the newly restored Meiji Emperor, Hokkaido was formally annexed by Japan in 1869 insulating Japan proper from Russian colonization and providing Japan with its own *terra nullius* narrative.[55]

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[51] Kirsten Refsing, "From Collecting Words to Writing Grammars," in *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives*, edited by Mark James Hudson, ann-elise lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2014) 195-196.

[52] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 37.

[53] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 37.

[54] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*.
Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-53
Refsing, "From Collecting Words to Writing Grammars," 186.

[55] David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA, and London, UK: University of California Press, 2005) 133.
Edwin Pietersma, "From Crafts to Agency: The Legacy of Colonial Discourses in Exhibiting the Ainu in the Tokyo National Museum and National Museum of Ethnography at Osaka between 1977 and 2017," *Museum and Society*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2023) 24.
Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-60.

Roughly parallel to the Tokugawa period, scholars from Europe and the United States, having been inspired by the European Enlightenment, set out across the globe during the modern era (1500-1945), seeking knowledge that reflected and advanced Western worldviews. God, gold, and glory drove Westerners to expand outward, facilitating the enactment of colonial-imperialist ideals of Western modernity and promoting the collection of knowledge that could support European understandings of economics, race, and politics.[56] As a result, using the scientific understandings of scholars like Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Western modernity developed hierarchical and taxonomical schemes of understanding that undervalued and exoticized non-Western peoples, relegating some cultures to a primitive past and white Euro-American groups to the future.[57] Thus, the ability to understand and adhere to Western definitions of modernity became predicated upon skin color, body proportions, and heritage in relation to dominant Euro-American culture groups.[58]

When met with the intricate social networks and isolationism of Japan, the ideas of nineteenth-century Western modernity were selectively incorporated into the Tokugawa mode of imperialism creating a foundation for the development of

Georgina Stevens, "The Ainu and Human Rights: Domestic and International Legal Protections," *Japan Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2001) 182.

[56] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-144.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.

[57] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

[58] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 254-256.

Japanese modernity during the Meiji era.[59] Under the Tokugawa Bakufu, Japan's notion

of civilization had been based on "a Confucian world order of a civilized *(ka)* core

surrounded by barbarian *(i)*, or at best imperfectly civilized, peripheries."[60] The chaos

following the forced opening of Japan by Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853

permanently weakened the Bakufu contributing to the Meiji Restoration of 1868.[61] The

Meiji Emperor encouraged "the embrace of Western-style modernity[,] prompt[ing] a

fundamental reinterpretation of the content of civilization, which led to the delineation

of a new roster of normative customs", thereby restructuring Japanese social and

political customs.[62] Moreover, the Emperor enacted economic policies that spurred the

rapid integration of Western technology through "the implementation of the

manifesto of '*fukoku kyōhei, shokusan kōgyō*' (Enrich the country; strengthen the

military. Increase production; encourage industry.)"[63] As a result, Western modernity

and Japan's Confucian system came together and "creat[ed] new standards of

civilization [that] simultaneously transformed the nature of barbarism and created new

forms of differentiation." [64] Mirroring the rise of nationalisms in nineteenth and

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[59] Mark K. Watson, ann-elise lewallen, and Mark J. Hudson, "Beyond Ainu Studies: An Introduction," in *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives*, edited by Mark James Hudson, ann-elise lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2014) 3.

[60] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 131.
Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "A Descent into the Past: The Frontier in the Construction of Japanese Identity," in *Multicultural Japan*, edited by Donald Denoon, Mark Hudson, Gavan McCormack, and Tessa Morris-Suzuki (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 81-94.

[61] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-53.

[62] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.

[63] Patricia Huang, "Early museological development within the Japanese Empire," *Journal of the History of Collections,* vol 28, no 1 (2016) 129.

[64] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.

twentieth century Europe, the Meiji government's "national ideology helped to reform and modernize [Japan's] political control."[65] By encouraging the adaption of Western standards, the Meiji Emperor ensured the sovereignty and longevity of the Japanese state amongst world systems dictated by Western modernity and, in the process, saw the formation of a distinctly Japanese form of modernity.[66]

In the creation of Japanese modernity, Japan co-opted Western techniques of modernization and colonization, enforcing colonial hierarchies on Indigenous peoples like the Ainu to secure access to the land and resources needed to support technological advancement and preserve modern sovereignty. [67] Illustrating the mingling of Western standards and Japanese ideals is the annexation of Hokkaido in 1869, Japan's first official colonial claim.[68] In the same way Frederick Jackson Turner suggested that westward expansion empowered US development, it can be said that "Japanese historians [...] viewed the move into [Hokkaido], and later Manchuria, as part of Japanese national development."[69] Emulating Western colonial powers, the Meiji Emperor equated expansion and colonization with modern power and sovereignty.[70] Under Meiji governance the Ainu were incorporated into Japanese culture through assimilation policies that "denied the validity of Ainu culture and indeed Ainu ethnicity itself" and perpetuated "the Meiji paradigm of a family-state." [71] The assimilation

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[65] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 307-308.

[66] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.

[67] Watson et al., "Beyond Ainu Studies: An Introduction," 4.

[68] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 51-55.

[69] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 6-7.

[70] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172.

[71] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-173.

polices promoted a homogenous Japanese culture and resulted in the 1899 Hokkaido

Former Aborigines Protection Act.[72] With its abundance of natural resources, land, and

people, Hokkaido was meant to fuel modernization, and it was assumed that the Ainu

would go extinct or assimilate just like other Indigenous peoples were assumed to do

in nineteenth-century US.[73] The trajectory from economic control to socio-political

control, from the Tokugawa Bakufu to the Meiji Emperor, exemplifies the transition

from pre-Western Japanese policies rooted in Confucianism and isolationism to

Japanese modernity reflective of European Enlightenment philosophies.

Since the Second World War the world has undergone massive shifts, producing

postcolonial world systems that demand change from the entangled methodologies

that were constructed by and for Western and Japanese modernities.[74] The shift from

modernity to postmodernity to metamodernity has transformed the ways in which

people interact with one another through a "provincial[ization]" and decentering of

the West.[75] Unfair hierarchies perpetuated by colonial structures are being challenged

and dismantled by the growth of feminist, queer, and subaltern social movements.[76]

Diverse social groups are detangling social structures created by Western modernity,

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[72] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-174.

[73] Clifford, *Returns*, 7.

[74] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 7.
Emma Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy: Uncovering the Unnamed Targets of Makereti's Revisionist Anthropology," *Modern Intellectual History*, vol 21 (2024) 184.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 32-38.
John H. Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009) 298.

[75] Clifford, *Returns*, 23.

[76] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 6 and 228.
Clifford, *Returns*, 6.

advocating for diversity and cross-cultural communication that de-centers the West and its domineering paradigms. In response, museums and other educational spaces are reflecting upon and re-evaluating their standards, turning toward decolonization and Indigenization to better understand non-Western peoples and cultures. [77] Historically, decolonization is the process of withdrawing colonial power from colonies, resulting in the independence of the formerly colonized nation.[78] Within contemporary museums and academia, it is an ongoing process that involves acknowledging and dismantling complicated colonial histories and power structures.[79] In museum spaces this may be done through the research and display of colonial collections in a way that respects and foregrounds minority voices, histories, and continuities. In may also include the deconstruction of old colonial policies, repatriation, and, at times, co-curating museum spaces to involve source communities and local ways of knowing more actively.[80] Indigenization, like the strategies used to promote Indigenous voices and decenter Western modernity in James Clifford's *Returns* and Joy Hendry's *Reclaiming Culture*, complements the process of decolonization. It is a process with which to re-evaluate and restructure educational arenas in a way that pays homage to Indigenous peoples and their ways of knowing—that promotes the continuity of Indigenous cultures and the multi-vocality of world systems.[81] This may be done, for

[77] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 296-298.

[78] Mercadal, "Decolonization."

[79] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 112-113.

[80] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 28-55.
Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell (eds), *Museum Activism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019) 9-15.

[81] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 229.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*.

example, through the aforementioned co-curation—a process which invites non-museum professionals into a museum space to create exhibits—or creating accessible repatriation processes.[82] This may also mean maintaining communication with source communities and promoting Indigenous research through curator relationships and institutional initiatives.[83] Taken together, decolonization and Indigenization, at their core, are processes through which nuanced understandings of history and culture that prioritize non-Western viewpoints may be shared and understood.

PROJECT AND LAYOUT

Following the opening of Japan and the Meiji Restoration, under the pressures of both Western and Japanese modernity, the Ainu were studied, categorized, and "collected" to fortify modern academia and museums. Between the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and WWII, Westerners like Isabella Bird (1831-1904), John Batchelor (1855-1944), and Neil Gordon Munro (1863-1942) established English-language Ainu Studies using the tools of Western modernity, such as collecting and research processes informed by the West's prejudiced taxonomies.[84] These individuals contributed to

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Clifford, *Returns*, 8.

[82] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 29 and 50-53.

Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 308.

Christina Kreps, "Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2009) 193.

[83] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 187-193.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 146.

[84] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 220-221.

both formal academia and museums with collections and knowledge that "[justified] expansion and imperial rule," "showcasing Eurocentric and racialized ideals and narratives."[85] Munro, specifically, made a home for himself among the Ainu as a community doctor which gave him the opportunity to bring together medical science and anthropology in his study of the Ainu.[86] Contributing to the development of Japanese modernity, Munro and his contemporaries, with their modernist methodologies, informed and inspired Japanese academia and museums, including the Tokyo National Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka.[87] Their writings also captured a unique point in history, witnessing the enactment of Western and Japanese modernities which drove nineteenth and twentieth century colonialism. As such, in accordance with metamodernity's movement across disciplines and spacetime to uncover pluralistic truths, their stories and collections deserve consideration and understanding through contemporary decolonial and Indigenizing frameworks.[88]

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[85] John Giblin, Imma Ramos, and Nikki Grout. "Dismantling the Master's House: Thoughts on Representing Empire and Decolonising Museums and Public Spaces in Practice, An Introduction." *Third Text*, vol 33, no 4-5 (2019) 471.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 5-7 and 29-31.

Bruno Brulon Soares, "The myths of museology: on deconstructing, reconstructing, and redistributing," *ICOFOM Study Series*, vol 49-2 (2021) 247 and 252-254.

[86] Roderick Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland: Dr. N. G. Munro," *Toho Liberal Arts Review*, no 45 (2013) 22.

[87] Huang, "Early museological development within the Japanese Empire," 130-131.

Pietersma, "From Crafts to Agency," 23.

[88] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 91-92.

Clifford, *Returns*, 23-24.

The National Museum of Scotland's (NMS) Ainu collection and exhibit are one of many that are connected to past systems of colonial-imperialism. Having received the bulk of their Ainu collection from Munro, the NMS is unique in Europe with the breadth and quality of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Ainu material culture it holds. Despite its large collection, the NMS is often overlooked in favor of larger institutions like the British Museum and Japan's Upopoy, a contemporary, collaborative Ainu museum. With its commitment to researching and deconstructing its colonial past, the NMS provides a rich example of both the colonial history of Indigenous Studies and the ongoing conversations of decolonization among academic and museological institutions.[89] Rather than uphold the biased hierarchies of Western modernity which characterized its parent organizations, the Society of Antiquaries and the Industrial Museum of Scotland, the NMS actively detangles outdated modes of thinking to work with and for its communities, in line with both postmodern and metamodern methodologies.[90] Though the institution is not perfect, its active engagement with metamodern and decolonial policies align with the goals of this project, and, thus, provide a focal point from which to explore contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice.

Using the historical arc of both Munro's work and the NMS's Ainu collection, this project contributes to the discourse surrounding Indigenous representation in

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[89] "Colonial Histories and Legacies in Our Museums," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/our-work/colonial-histories-and-legacies/.

[90] "History," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/our-organisation/history/.

educational spaces by combining two large topics: the English-language history of Ainu Studies and twenty-first century museum Ethics and Best Practice. In bringing these topics into conversation with one another, the current research contributes a metamodern interpretation of the crossroads between Ainu and Museum Studies—between Indigenous and Museum Studies. The work produced by Munro and his colleagues along with museological polices and reports are the primary source material used in this research. In analyzing these sources, contemporary Ainu and Museum Studies are critically considered through the lens of metamodernity in search of pluralistic truths and interdisciplinarity. In so doing, the project may be labelled unorthodox considering other historical studies which rely on more traditional primary sources, but, nevertheless, interrogating history and contemporary social sciences thusly paves the way forward for reflective and compassionate research which speaks to the ongoing nature of the human experience. In other words, in considering historical and contemporary source material in dialogue with each other, this work "moves for the sake of moving [...] [and] seeks forever for a [singular] truth that it never expects to find," sparking contemporary conversations which may result in pluralistic understandings of history.[91]

The work begins with a brief tour of the NMS's current Ainu exhibit and its surroundings, allowing readers to experience a clean, well-structured museum display

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[91] Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture*, vol 2, no 1, 5677 (2010) 5.
Emphasis added by present author.

without analysis. Following the tour, I outline the evolution of theory and ways of knowing from modernity to metamodernity, framing my own position as a twenty-first century scholar. Then the English-language historiography of Ainu Studies is presented and assessed in line with metamodern methodology, contextualizing the NMS as a product of its colonial past and postcolonial present. This is done by creating a map of educational theory and philosophy, as it was used in Ainu Studies, providing insight concerning the academic climate which informs the NMS's historic and present policies. Next, contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice is evaluated to construct a decolonizing and Indigenizing framework that may then be overlaid onto the NMS. Finally, the project culminates in the application of these paradigms onto the NMS and its Ainu collection and exhibition, providing an example of decolonization and Indigenization. This chapter returns to the map created in chapter 1.2 to consider current NMS and its policies in detail. By this process, the project redresses the history of Ainu and Museum Studies through a decolonial and Indigenizing lens, contributing a new, metamodern understanding of educational representation which honors the idea put forward by Linda Tuhiwai Smith: "the responsibility of researchers and academics is not simply to share surface information (pamphlet knowledge) but to share the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented."[92]

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[92] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 17.

1.2 Presenting the case study, The National Museum of Scotland's Ainu exhibit

To understand the historical arc of Ainu Studies in reference to the NMS and how this reflects the contemporary museum sector, an understanding of the current exhibition is vital. Expanding upon Smith's statement, "to share the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented," one must still know and appreciate the surface information.[93] Starting with a simple tour of the NMS Ainu display and its surroundings provides readers with the baseline from which this project grows. With minimal analysis or context beyond what is provided by the museum, this section lays out the Ainu exhibit as it stands in the NMS's Living Lands Hall as of March 2022.

The NMS's permanent Ainu case is situated in the southeast corner of the Living Lands Hall alongside other Indigenous peoples from around the world (see Figure 2). Located on the first floor of the museum, the Living Lands gallery begins with an introductory statement, positioned at point A in Figure 1, which introduces themes of landscape and Indigeneity. [94] The sign uses grandiose language to introduce visitors to the Indigenous cultures and their ways of knowing presented throughout the gallery.

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[93] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 17.

[94] *Living Lands Hall*, introductory panel, permanent display (Edinburgh, Scotland: National Museum of Scotland) visited March 2022.
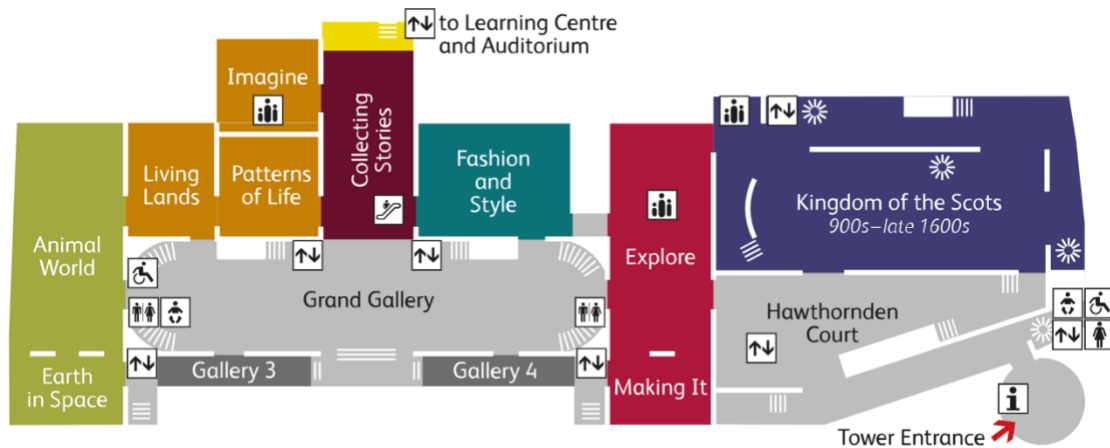
Figure 2: Floor plan of the first floor of the NMS. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/museum-map.

Figure 1: Approximate floor plan of NMS Living Lands Hall in relation to the Ainu exhibit. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/museum-map.
Point A: *Living Lands introductory panel.*

Just like with written work, grand introductory statements like this act as a hook, drawing visitors into the exhibition space. [95] Here the curator establishes a framework for the gallery that emphasizes Indigenous history and continuity. Supporting the introduction are signposts throughout the hall formatted in the same style that echo themes of land and perpetuity, introducing and explaining the cultures presented in each display.[96] Signposting like this creates a unifying theme around the hall and across cultures, allowing visitors to identify both similarities and differences between those presented as well as with themselves and navigate the gallery efficiently.

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[95] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 148-149.
[96] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 148-149.

Placed near the center of the room (Point B in Figure 1) is an introductory display case containing a handful of twenty-first century Ainu objects alongside other Indigenous Arctic materials.[97] Again mirroring literary conventions, this presentation acts as a chapter heading and introduction. Containing a mix of material cultures, it is an anchor point between Arctic Cultures, providing a space for visitors to stop, observe its contents, and then look up to see several detailed exhibitions of Arctic Cultures.[98] This organization creates a spiderweb effect, unifying several cultures across a large portion of the Living Lands Hall. Thereby, the curators have created a structure with which visitors may create meaningful connections through proximity of cultures within the museum and macrocosmically in their geographic commonalities.

Moving southeast from the introduction, visitors will find the main Ainu exhibit, which expands upon the previous information and themes provided throughout the gallery by zooming in on Ainu culture (Point C in Figure 1). The signs and material culture therein provide details and context about Ainu history and culture.[99] The display is constructed to be read left to right and front to back starting from a panel titled "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*."[100] The sign, formatted in the same way as the Living Lands introductory panel, provides an entry point into the presentation, presenting easily digestible general information about the Ainu. The placement of the sign to the

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[97] *Living Lands Hall*, introduction to Arctic peoples display, permanent display (Edinburgh, Scotland: National Museum of Scotland) visited March 2022.

[98] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 148-149.

[99] *Living Lands Hall*, main Ainu display case, permanent display (Edinburgh, Scotland: National Museum of Scotland) visited March 2022.

[100] "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*," *Living Lands Hall*, main Ainu display case, permanent display (Edinburgh, Scotland: National Museum of Scotland) visited March 2022.

left of the arrangement facing into the hall (Figure 3: Top), positions visitors at a logical

starting point that is further supported by the long panel of labels along the bottom

of both sides of the display case. Rather than placing labels alongside each item, the

curator numbered each item in the case and gathered all the labels onto the long panel,

minimizing literature and highlighting the material culture. Among the items present,

there are three small information panels, breaking up the space with further

information about specific aspects of the exhibition. Following the left to right, front

to back framework, the panels speak to Dr Neil Gordon Munro, the *iyomante*, and

craftsmanship. Each of these are details specific to the NMS's Ainu collection: the main

collector of the NMS's Ainu collection, Ainu spirituality, and contemporary Ainu crafts

and expression. Placing these small panels among the items present, provides points

of interest which break up the arrangement and add educational literature to support

the material culture. Finally, the exposition is concluded with a large panel titled "Ainu

Craft." Placed opposite "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*," this sign rounds out the Ainu

exposition in the right-most position on the side facing the wall (Figure 3: Bottom). By

following familiar English language rules in an English-language institution, the curator

uses written material to guide visitors through the material culture in such a way that

makes the collection cohesive and easy to follow.

As for the items on display, the structure is divided into subtle thematic sections,

organized to frame two Ainu robes, one a traditional attush and the other a kaparamip.

As one of the most visually ubiquitous representations of Ainu culture, the robes act

as centerpieces for the space. "Reading" the exhibit around the attush robe on the

front and the kaparamip on the back, from left to right and front to back, loose themes can be identified: men's work, women's work, ceremony and ritual, and contemporary Ainu objects and treasures. On the side facing into the Living Lands Hall (Image 4), above and to the right of the introductory sign are hunting tools—men's work. Below the introduction and carrying on across the bottom are the tools of women's work—gardening, gathering, and weaving. Moving upward on the right side of the attush and continuing onto the back are ceremonial objects including ceremonial knives, quivers, and arrows, as well as ikupasuy and inau. To the right of the kaparamip in Figure 3: Bottom are contemporarily made Ainu objects and other family treasures, including examples of Japanese lacquerware. While these themes are subtle, they are echoed in the labels along the bottom of the case and are noticeable to the trained eye. Arranging the display in this way creates a sense of order for museumgoers to follow.

The final component of the exhibit is a short documentary film about the Ainu. Set into the wall behind the display case, as can be seen in the background of Figure 3: Top, is a TV screen playing a short documentary film about the Ainu. The video plays on a loop and provides unique audiovisual insight into Ainu culture. The documentary allows visitors to hear from Ainu people as they discuss cultural practices, such as the *iyomante*. By including this element, the curator encourages museumgoers to see and appreciate Ainu people and culture as tangible and on-going. Moreover, it provides diversity to the arrangement as a means of engagement beyond reading literature and viewing static material culture.

Figure 3: NMS permanent Ainu exhibit.
Top: *Front of Ainu exhibit. Photo by author.*
Bottom: *Back of NMS permanent Ainu exhibit. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/streetview, accessed 14 November 2023.*

From the gallery's introduction to the Ainu presentation, themes of land, culture, and Indigeneity are used to create structure and narrative, guiding museumgoers through an informal educational experience. The Ainu case itself utilizes thematic structures to introduce visitors to Ainu culture and history in a clear and digestible fashion. Emphasizing both continuity and change within Ainu traditions in its wide variety of material culture, the exhibit attempts to foster connection between diverse Indigenous cultures and museum visitors. In short, the preceding chapter outlines how the NMS's Ainu exhibition acts as a functional introduction to Ainu culture and history for diverse audiences. Through my emphasis on context and structure, this chapter establishes a baseline from which this project grows.

Stepping back from the physical display itself a few questions come to mind:

- How did we get here?
- How and why did an Ainu exhibit develop in a Scottish national museum?
- Can the NMS's approach be framed within postcolonial, metamodern methodologies?

The following chapters chart the evolution of English-language Ainu historiography, contextualizing the development of the NMS's Ainu collection, addressing the first two questions. From there, an analysis of postcolonial museum Ethics and Best Practice will be explored and applied to the NMS to better understand the role of contemporary museums in the representation of contemporary Indigenous peoples and their histories, responding to the final question.

In this contribution to contemporary Indigenous and Museum Studies, the present research challenges modern ways of knowing as they have been perpetuated by traditional academic and museum strategies. In answering the above questions, this project attempts to detangle prejudices perpetuated by ongoing systemic colonial ideologies, interrogating contemporary "ignorances" of Indigenous peoples, and addressing the role of scholars and museums as "memory keepers" amidst an ever-expanding world.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Evolutions, Modernism to Metamodernism

As visitors or observers, we tend to think that museums are static spaces. Metaphors of the museum as "attic" or "treasure trove" reinforce this idea of unchanging dustiness where objective historical truth is displayed. However, everything that is displayed in a museum is the result of dynamic choices and shifting social, political, and economic circumstances both within and outside the museum walls.[101]

Legitimized by the philosophies of the European Enlightenment and Western modernity, humanities and social sciences scholarship from the modern period (1500-1945) is largely characterized by the categorization of mankind and methodical collection of culture, both tangible and intangible.[102] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, encouraged by Western governments and Enlightenment ways of knowing, public exhibition spaces developed using culture as a resource with which to explain, promote, and advance Western modernity, re-enforcing national identity, biased assumptions, and Euro-centric hierarchies.[103] Western scholars like Neil Gordon Munro and Isabella Bird exemplify this period through their collection and scholarly

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[101] Alima Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland: Objects, Identity, and the National Museum* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018) 6.

[102] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

[103] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. (London, UK: Routledge, 1995) 21-25.

practices that both stemmed from and enabled "imperialist dominance."[104] With the goal to collect, study, and preserve cultures predicted to go extinct under the influence of industrialization and modernization, Munro, Bird, and their contemporaries collected tangible and intangible heritage to export to the West and sell to the early renditions of museums like the National Museum of Scotland (NMS), the British Museum (BM), and the Smithsonian. [105]

Responding to the Meiji government's systems of modernization, Japan began implementing similar methods of collection and display by the turn of the twentieth century. Though the Japanese had their own forms of cultural collection prior to the Meiji Restoration, it was with the encouragement of Western modernity, exemplified by scholars like Munro and the Great Exhibitions, that Japanese institutions began mirroring Western systems of cultural taxonomy. [106] Japanese modernity and the accompanying museological transition are illustrated by the 1872 Yushima and 1903 Osaka Exhibitions, as well as the founding of Tokyo National Museum (TNM) in 1872.[107]

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[104] Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, "Posterity has Arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism," in *Museum Activism* edited by Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell (London, UK, and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019) 1.

[105] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471.

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 10-11.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.

[106] Naohiro Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture in the Japanese Museum System," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol 27, no 2 (2007) 339.

Huang, "Early museological development within the Japanese Empire," 128.

[107] Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture," 339.

Ziomek, *Lost Histories*, 27.

"History of the TNM," 東京国立博物館 Tokyo National Museum, 2024, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=143&lang=en.

These events represent the development of exhibition spaces as arbiters of national narratives and ways of knowing that reinforce modernity in the way that they were organized through nationalistic frameworks as areas of accessible education. They are both products and perpetuators of Western modernity in the way that they collected modern ideas and presented those ideas to the public. Just as Western collectors contributed to the growth of the BM and Smithsonian, so too did modern Japanese academic contribute to the TNM and set the standard for Japanese museums for decades to come.

By the second half of the twentieth century, the NMS, BM, Smithsonian, and TNM were well-known, firmly established centers of historic preservation and education. Indicated by Alima Bucciantini, a twenty-first century scholar, in the quotation at the start of this chapter, collecting practices and the museological climate shifted in the second half of the twentieth century, responding to changing social, political, and economic trends sparked by social actions like the Civil Rights Movement.[108] This period saw the re-evaluation and subsequent decentering of the white, male, Western gaze under the pressure of post-War postmodernism, poststructuralism, and geographic decolonization, whereby colonial systems were dismantled and national borders were redrawn.[109] Supported by organizations like the

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[108] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.

[109] Maura Reilly, *Curatorial Activism: Towards an Ethics of Curating* (London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 2018) 24-25.

Gail Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," in *Reinventing the Museum: historical and contemporary perspectives on the paradigm shift*, ed by Gail Anderson (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004) 1-3.

International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the United Nations (UN), these changes have continued to encourage museums to adapt to postmodern and, later, metamodern expectations, expressed through the development of theories like the New Museology and the Post Museum.[110] Both approaches call upon institutions to rethink museological strategies to better represent and address postcolonial society. Peter Vergo defined New Museology as a postmodern, postcolonial development against old systems of museum thought and methodology, advocating for "a radical re-examination of the rôle of museums."[111] The Post Museum was proposed by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill and her work which spanned the turn of the twenty-first century. First hinted at in the 1992 monograph, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Hooper-Greenhill's Post Museum grows out of a re-evaluation of the definition and role of museum spaces.[112] In 2000, Hooper-Greenhill specifies that "the museum must move from conceiving itself as a site of authority to a site of mutuality."[113] Together, Vergo and Hooper-Greenhill inspired a radical shift in Museum Studies away from the modern museum toward a postmodern deconstruction of Western-centric assumptions, which was echoed in museological practice.

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[110] Peter Vergo, "Introduction" in *New Museology*, edited by Peter Vergo (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989).
Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London, UK: Routledge, 2000).
[111] Vergo, "Introduction," 3.
[112] Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London, UK: Routledge 1992).
[113] Andrew Crampton, "book reviews: *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*," *tourist studies*, vol 1, no 3 (2001) 315.

Now, contemporary methods of thought and societal assumptions are changing again, evolving into something less cynical but just as de-constructive: metamodernity.[114] As Bucciantini notes in the statement above, museums, just like historical studies, are products of "dynamic choices and shifting social, political, and economic circumstances."[115] Thus, contemporary ways of knowing are encouraging a shift toward compassion, equity, and respect, allowing scholarship to look forward with hope and optimism. Beginning around the same time as the US Civil Rights Movement in the mid-twentieth century, communities around the world have advocated and fought for human rights and equal representation.[116] In response, educational spaces, academic and museological, continue to change, advocating more and more for compassion, equity, and respect. In the museum sector the metamodern shift may be seen in the developing systems of communication and co-curatorship between museums and source communities, and in the growing abundance of locally own museum spaces.[117] Both New Museology and Post Museum methodologies have persevered into metamodern ways of knowing, evolving with contemporary society.[118]

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[114] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism."

[115] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.

[116] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 10 and 179-182
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 123-132.

[117] Christina Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation and Heritage Preservation* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2003) 1-2.
Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 4, 21.

[118] See for example:
Kreps, "Indigenous curation."
Janet Marstine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice: An Introduction* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing 2006).

Geographic Decolonization

Postmodernity
- ICOM (est 1946)
- New Museology (Vergo 1989)
- Post Museum (Hooper-Greenhill 1992; 2000)

Institutional Decolonization
- NAGPRA, United States (1990)
- Colonial histories and legacies policies at National Museums Scotland, Scotland

Indigenization
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Canada (est 2008)
- Ainu Policy Promotion Act, Japan (est 2019)

Metamodernity
- compassion
- equity
- respect
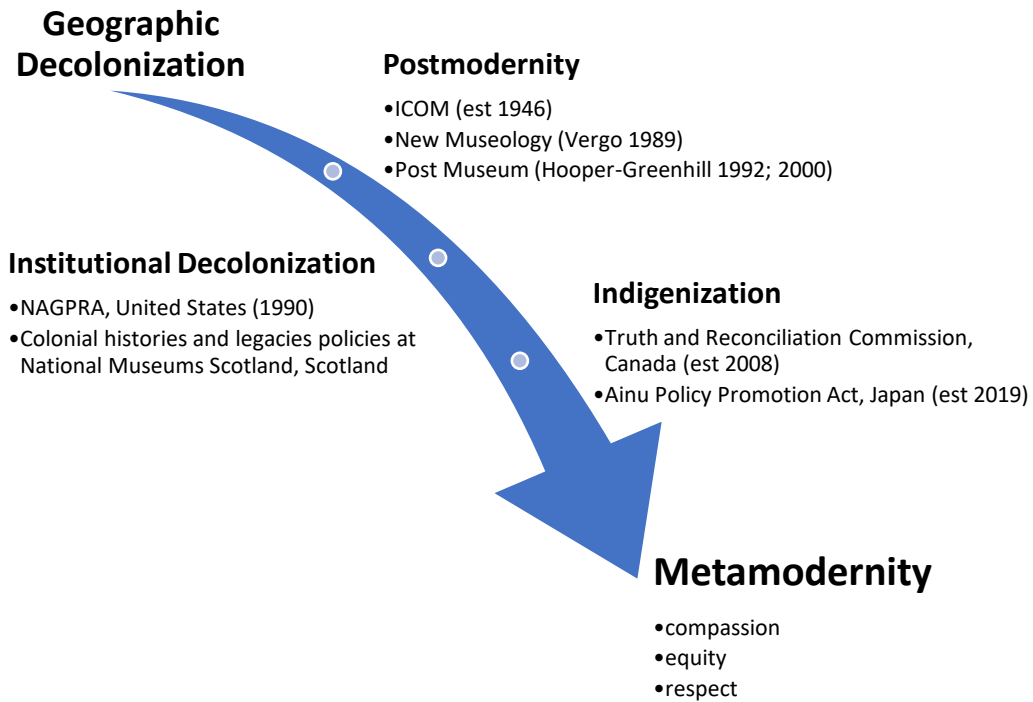
Figure 4: Diagram of the development of metamodernity. Created by author.

While the present study is distinctly metamodern in its Indigenizing approach, the source material is rooted in modern and postmodern thinking. Understanding the trajectory of academic and social thought, illustrated in Figure 4, in relation to Ainu and Museum Studies is foundational for chapters three through six and the evaluation of the museum space presented in chapter 1.2. As such, this chapter follows the trajectory shown in Figure 4, mapping out the evolution of "the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented," providing context and definition for the decolonial and Indigenizing analysis used in this project. [119] Beginning with the development of modern philosophies and frameworks, which predate "Geographical Decolonization" in Figure 4, this chapter maps out the evolution of scholarly theory and methodology from modernity to

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[119] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 17.

metamodernity creating a foundation for chapters three and four which address Ainu

Studies historiography as well as chapter five's critique of the contemporary museum

sector.

2.1 Modernity

Grown from the need to create systems of order and understanding from a Eurocentric point of view, modern ways of knowing, at their most basic, "[adhere] to the ideas and philosophies of the Enlightenment."[120] They rely on methods of observation and realism developed during the Enlightenment and Scientific Revolutions to make sense of an expanding world.[121] When combined with the geopolitics of the Age of Exploration and the Industrial Revolution, modern thought has been used to rationalize colonial pursuits. Indeed, during the modern era, Westerners

> expected that the spread of systems that their own societies had invented would obliterate all other systems, and they devised theory to bolster that view. They talked of 'modernization' as if this were a phenomenon that would displace cultural and social variety at the same time as spreading knowledge about technological achievement.[122]

The goal had been to "uplift" the world and all peoples contained therein through Western technology and industrial development. Further, because Western modernity relied on observation and realism, it was assumed to be objective and therefore beneficial to all, but, the theories and practices were reliant on "the universal gaze of the white, western male," an inherently biased viewpoint.[123] Rather than acknowledge

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[120] "Modernism," Oxford Reference, 2024, https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100203467.

[121] Graham Black, *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 129.

[122] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.

[123] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 3.

the impossibility of objective truth and accept pluralistic values, modern scholars like Munro and Bird enforced Western paradigms on the ever-expanding world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the perspective of and in relation to the (E)nlightened observer. [124] In this fashion, modernity became a method of manipulating social and cultural understandings in favor of the cis-gendered, heterosexual, middle-aged, Western-educated, white man. To justify this, scientific

Western Modernity

Social Darwinism, phrenology, Orientalism

Modernization, Industrialization, and Scientific Advancements

European Enlightenment and Scientific Revolutions
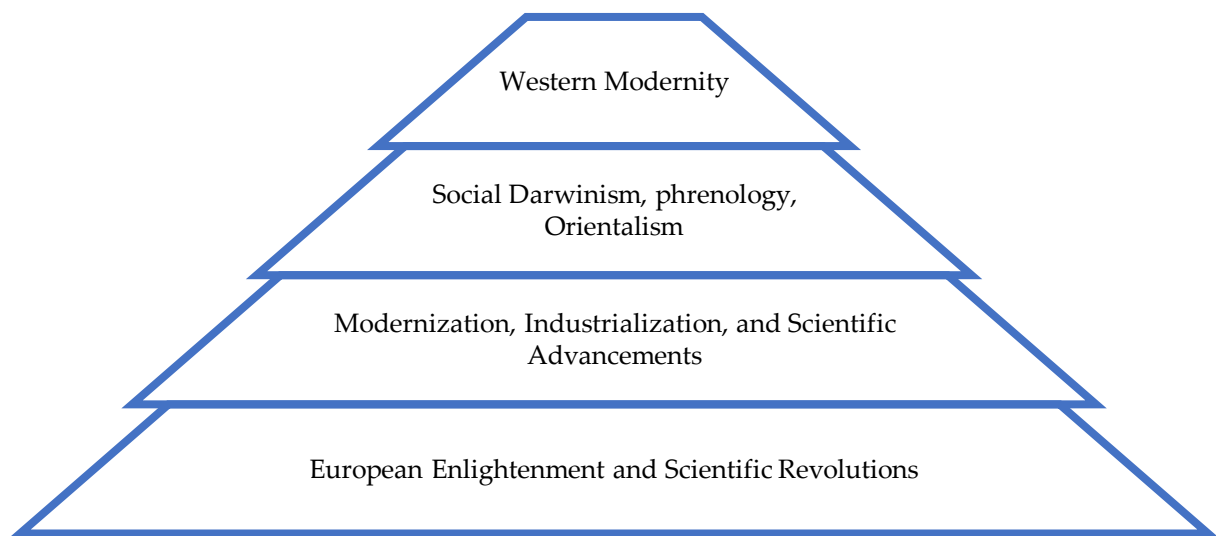
advancements like Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution and Henry Gray's *Gray's Anatomy* were co-opted to support Western modernity and modernization.[125] Social Darwinism, phrenology, Orientalism—these ideas evolved from the inequitable systems of hierarchical taxonomy used by Westerners to enforce ways of knowing that favored Western men and their Western modernity.

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[124] Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture," 339-340.
Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 129.
[125] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture* 3.

Translating the themes and procedures of Western modernity into educational spaces, both museological and academic, collection practices were developed as a means to "[preserve] cultural heritage on behalf of the people whom [Westerners] thought had lost it."[126] Maybe best exemplified by Rudyard Kipling's 1898 poem, *The White Man's Burden*, modern scholars understood their role in global society as benevolent collectors and preservers.[127] Combined with the false narratives of "dying

Figure 5: Diagram depicting the progressing development from the European Enlightenment to Western modernity. Created by author.

race" and "noble savage" foisted upon non-Western societies, nineteenth and twentieth century scholars worked through a mythologizing framework that lauded Western modernization, exoticizing and condemning the "Other."[128] Supported by modern "social, political, and economic circumstances," Munro, Bird, and their contemporaries supplied modern educational spaces with knowledges, material culture, and even people to showcase Western modernity in relation to a "barbaric," "dying" past.[129] These demonstrations became accessible sites of the transmission of knowledge rooted in an "us versus them" mentality. A comment by the contemporary scholar, Shahid Vawda summarizes the goals of these presentations:

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[126] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 2.

[127] "White Man's Burden Definitions and Meaning," Merriam-Webster, accessed 7 May 2023, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/white%20man%27%20burden.

[128] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

Soares, "The myths of museology," 252-253.

Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.

[129] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture* 3.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-144.

By the late 19th century museums functioned in support of the imperial project, simultaneously serving as informal educational institutions that attempted to shift pre-modern ideas of the populace onto a more rational plane and allowing glimpses of a world beyond their own everyday existence. This was a generative Enlightenment presumption that knowledge was liberating, while consolidating the idea of human progress and the universal rights of humans. But alongside these progressive ideas, imbricated with the rise of capitalism, was the rapid spread of colonialism with its attendant oppressions of 'the Others', especially those indicative of slavery, race and gender.[130]

In relation to Figure 5, Vawda positions nineteenth century exhibition spaces between the Enlightenment and Western modernity, as products of "progressive ideas" and actors of capitalism and colonialism. Not only does this describe museums, but it also speaks to the Great Exhibitions. Indeed, these spectacles, just like later museums, were developed as spaces of "informal education" that were meant to shift public perspectives and increase general knowledge, while also being "barometers for a nation's current progress and prestige."[131] In other words, they were concentrated representations of Western modernity's philosophies, methodologies, technologies, and wealth, among other things. The Great Exhibitions signify the culmination of ideas presented in Figure 5, representing a nation's alignment with Western expectations of modernity. In this function, the Great Exhibitions were also sites of transmission from adventurous scholar to industrial citizen, which then enabled the evolution from industrial citizen to (E)nlightened man, knowledgeable according to Western

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[130] Shahid Vawda, "Museums and the epistemology of injustice: from colonialism to decoloniality," *Museum International*, vol. 71, no. 1 (2019) 74.

[131] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 6.

Ziomek, *Lost Histories*, 29.

taxonomies and modernization. As crossroads in and of themselves, the Great Exhibitions both embodied and perpetuated Western modernity, influencing the development of the modern museum.

Illustrating this phenomenon are two comparable events, the Osaka Exposition held in Osaka, Japan (1903) and the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis, Missouri (1904). In both occasions, the organizers presented "exoticized" people to provide the public with "glimpses of a world beyond their own everyday existence" and celebrate the spread of modernity in Japan and the United States, respectively.[132] The Osaka expo, specifically, featured the Human Pavilion which housed "people from exotic locales, such as Africa, Java, India, the Ottoman empire, and the Malay peninsula" as well as recently converted Japanese citizens such as Okinawans, Ainu, and Taiwanese.[133] Similarly, the St. Louis exposition included a "native village and several family groups of the Hairy Ainus of Yezzo of Japan," housed "on the Anthropological reservation" alongside several other Indigenous peoples from around the world.[134] The Human Pavilion and the anthropology reservation demonstrate the modern colonizing power of Japan and the US by providing space to present races and cultures labeled "Other" and "dying" under the influence of Western modernity. Kirsten Ziomek, writing in 2014, points out that the stated goal of the Human Pavilion "was to showcase the

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[132] Vawda, "Museums and the epistemology of injustice," 74.

[133] Kirsten Ziomek, "The 1903 Human Pavilion: Colonial Realities and Subaltern Subjectivities in Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 73, no 2 (May 2014) 493-494.

[134] Walter L. Beasley, "The Aborigines of Japan," *The Abbeville Press and Banner*, 23 March 1904. "Ainu Aborigines in St. Louis: Primitive inhabitants of Japan collected by Professor Starr of Chicago University arrive at World's Fair for ethnology exhibit," *The St. Louis Republic*, 7 April 1904.

various races of the world," but "the display featured only those people deemed barbaric and primitive, and thus Japanese and Westerners were exempt."[135] With the Human Pavilion, Japan adhered to the standards established by the global superpowers of the time, engaging in the "oppression of "the Others,"" as explained by Vawda above.[136] Placing Indigenous peoples within deliberately constructed spaces created the illusion of static diagrams, a common tool of exhibition used in modern museums. By doing this, the organizers of both the Osaka and St. Louis expositions constructed false or fantasized narratives inspired by ideas like the "noble savage" and "dying race" myth, supporting Social Darwinism and Orientalism.[137] The goal was to educate the public in a specific way that uplifted Japanese and Western modernities, labelling those on show as barbaric, backwards, and destined for extinction.[138] Filtering everything through the nationalistic gazes of modernity and modernization, both events contributed to systems of observation employed in exhibitions spaces, like museums, so that the public could learn about "Others" in a manner deemed safe and appropriate by local, modern powers.

Moving into the present, take, for example, the Hokkaido Museum in Sapporo, Japan.[139] As a visitor enters the museum space, they may either turn right into a space dedicated to an exhibit about contemporary Ainu or go left into prehistoric Japan. The

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[135] Ziomek, "The 1903 Human Pavilion," 494.

[136] Vawda, "Museums and the epistemology of injustice," 74.

[137] Hans Dieter Ölschleger, "Ainu Ethnography: Historical Representations in the West," in *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives*, edited by Mark James Hudson, ann-elise lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2014) 28-29.

[138] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 14.

[139] *Main Exhibit* (札幌、日本, Sapporo, Japan: 北海道博物館, Hokkaido Museum, visited 2022).

1F

Tower Side Entrance
(North Entrance)

Contemporary
Ainu exhbit

up   up

down

Ramp

Main Exhibition Room   Grand Hall   Memorial Hall

Main Entrance
(South Entrance)
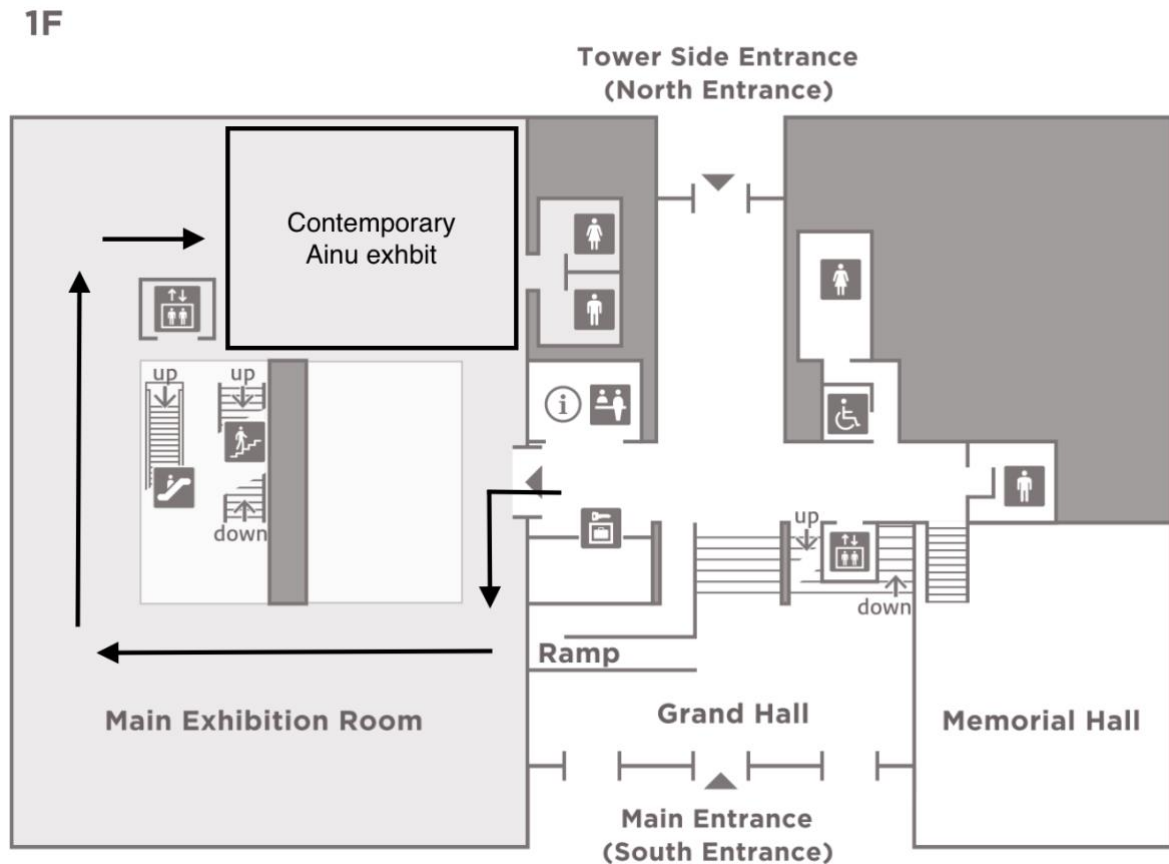
*Figure 6: Hokkaido Museum, Sapporo, Japan. Screengrab from
https://www.hm.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/en/guide/floor/. Shows suggested route through Hokkaido's history from
prehistory through to contemporary Ainu exhibit.*

prehistoric route, shown in Figure 6, while not strictly in line with modernity, may be

used to illustrate modern ways of knowing. This path guides museumgoers through

Hokkaido's prehistory, through the Jōmon, Zoku-Jōmon, Okhotsk, Satsumon, Ainu, and

Japanese eras to the contemporary Ainu showcase. While the museum is not a perfect

example of a modern museum, the systematic ordering of history and linear

arrangement of prehistory and Jōmon culture to contemporary Ainu culture is a

manifestation of a traditional, modern didactic approach. [140] While "the didactic

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[140] Nicola Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide: understanding, managing, and presenting objects*
(London, UK: Lund Humphries, 2020) 93-94.

approach is a convenient one" that can organize "knowledge into manageable chunks

suitable for display," it also minimizes the complexities of history and cultural

interactions.[141] In this way, galleries like the one at the Hokkaido Museum that rely

heavily on an "objective" timeline can miss the nuances acknowledged by postmodern

and metamodern approaches which seek pluralistic ways of knowing. This does not

make the Hokkaido Museum a bad museum, as will be expanded upon in later sections,

but it does exemplify the prevalence of traditional, modern practices that continue to

hold sway into the twenty-first century.

Paraphrasing Jos de Mul, Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker

reference "modern enthusiasm" as "encompassing everything from utopism to the

unconditional belief in Reason."[142] The illusion of an objective truth and a self-

righteous belief in imperial benevolence fueled this sense of "modern enthusiasm,"

encouraging the development of nineteenth and twentieth century educational

techniques predicated on the framework of top-down showing-and-telling,

exemplified by static diagrams, still seen in museums and academia today. As

missionaries of "modern enthusiasm," scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth

century contributed to modern museums and methodologies through the study and

collection of cultures that were deemed too weak to survive the onslaught of Western

modernization. In short, modern studies were considered vehicles of benevolent

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[141] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 130.
Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 30.
[142] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

evolutionary change and preservation, exemplified by nineteenth and twentieth century exhibitions and didactic, show-and-tell techniques. The results are skewed dioramas of culture that lack nuance, compassion, and deep understanding.[143]

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[143] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 14.

2.2 Postmodernity

Spurred by post-War decolonization, social movements like the Civil Rights Movement, and the increasing awareness and importance of subaltern perspectives, postmodernity turned to a new kind of cynicism as well as poststructuralism and deconstruction to address the biases of modern "objectivity" (see Figure 7). [144] Continuing to paraphrase de Mul, Vermeulen and van den Akker define "postmodern irony" as "encompassing nihilism, sarcasm, and the distrust and deconstruction of grand narratives, the singular and the truth."[145] Predicated on "deconstruction [...] and the rejection of grand narratives," postmodernity is a reflexive reaction against modern paradigms, which had been couched in a self-perpetuating, Western-centric worldview, as addressed in Figure 7.[146] The implosion of colonial powers sparked a reflexive turn inward to find identity outside of past colonial structures, resulting in a crossroads which is both self-centered in the need for new identity and communal in its push for equality. While regional world powers were capitulating, underrepresented peoples were able to organize and campaign for change, using new technologies and global awareness, "deconstruct[ing]" and "reject[ing] grand narratives." [147] Accordingly, scholar Ihab Hassan characterizes postmodernity "as a kind of autobiography, an

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[144] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ and Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press 2000) 8-9.

[145] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

[146] Luke Turner, "Metamoderism: A Brief Introduction," 12 January 2015, https://www.metamodernism.com/2015/01/12/metamodernism-a-brief-introduction/.

[147] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4

Turner, "Metamodernism."

interpretation of our lives in developed societies, linked to an epochal crisis of identity."[148] From the perspective of US scholars, like the current author, the "crisis of identity" and subsequent changing sociopolitical climate of the post-war era is best represented by the Civil Rights Movement. Stepping back from the US, other social movements and legislative changes, such as the deconstruction of South Africa's apartheid and the 1997 Ainu New Law in Japan, characterize the development postmodernity through a sociopolitical lens. During this time, theory evolved out of Western centrism, subverting and deconstructing outdated ways of knowing.[149]

Modernity	World War II	Postmodernity
• hierarchical taxonomies based in Enlightenment ways of knowing • self-perpetuating Western-centrism through colonization, Social Darwinism, and Orientalism	• rapid technological development resulting in increased communication and globalization • break down in hierarchical taxonomies through geographical decolonization	• dissatisfaction with and break down of old world order • search for understanding in response to increased communication and globalization • Civil Rights Movement

Figure 7: Diagram depicting the shift from modernity to postmodernity through the catalyst of WWII. Created by author.

Exemplifying the theoretical evolution out of modernity, scholars Sumaya Kassim and Linda Tuhiwai Smith "write back" to imperial powers, detangling Western modernity's hold on educational spaces.[150] For example, Kassim uses present tense

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[148] Ihab Hassan, "Beyond Postmodernism toward an aesthetic of trust," *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, vol 8, no 1 (April 2003) 5.

[149] Stephen W. Melville and Donald G. Marshal, *Philosophy beside Itself: On Deconstruction and Modernism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 3.

[150] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 282.

when saying, "to many white people, the [museum] collections are an enjoyable diversion, a nostalgic visit which conjures up a romanticized version of Empire."[151] Publishing in 2017, Kassim "writes back" to imperialistic powers, calling out the continued use of modern methodologies, such as static dioramas and didactic, top-down educational techniques, in museum spaces in a way that highlights White cynicism and supports the growing demand for systemic decolonization of educational spaces. Kassim works in the same postcolonial sphere as Smith, echoing the desire for decentering and "problematiz[ing]" the white, male, Western gaze, thus reflecting the distrust contained within postmodern ways of knowing.[152] While change is slow, particularly in museums, Kassim's challenge characterizes ongoing conversations which not only empower, but demand change in educational spaces in accordance with postmodern criticisms. In this manner, places of education relying on static dioramas of cultures and histories perpetuated by Western modernity are being subjected to intense questioning and re-evaluation.

Supporting theoretical evolutions in museological arenas, postmodernity and post coloniality in academic spheres has resulted in the growth of subfields like Area Studies and Borderland Studies, which decenter nationalistic, grand narratives, prioritizing local histories and ways of knowing.[153] Not only are academic paradigms

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[151] Sumaya Kassim, "The museum will not be decolonised," *Media Diversified*, 15 November 2017, https://mediadiversified.org/2017/11/15/the-museum-will-not-be-decolonised.

[152] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 282-283.

Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 186.

[153] Mark R. Beissinger, "Disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and the plurality of Area Studies: A view from the social sciences," in *The Rebirth of Area Studies: Challenges for History, Politics and International*

shifting, but *who* is allowed to engage in those changing techniques is reflective of postmodernity. Smith's monograph, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, in its multiple editions, illustrates and encourages the same change called for by Kassim. Smith's work addresses the influx of Indigenous-led scholarship and systemic change, supporting the increase of non-White, non-Western academics and research methodologies.[154] Kassim and Smith represent a fundamental transformation taking place in educational spaces in that they challenge, discuss, and enact proactive change that paves the way for systemic decolonization and Indigenization.

ICOM, New Museology, and the Post Museum are also reflective and reflexive to the contexts which inform postmodern scholarship like that of Kassim and Smith. Decentering Western scholarship, representing postmodern institutional changes consistent with decolonial methodologies, these institutions, scholars, and methodologies have paved the way for metamodernity, decolonization, and Indigenization in the twenty-first century.

Emerging from the tumultuous environment of postmodern social change taking place in the latter half of the twentieth century, New Museology was developed by Peter Vergo in the 1980s. Vergo collected a variety of essays from a handful of museum scholars into a volume titled *New Museology* (1989). In the introduction of the work, Vergo defines New Museology:

Relations in the 21st Century, edited by Zoran Milutinovic (London, UK and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris and Company, Limited, 2019) 134.

"About: Association for Borderland Studies," Association for Borderlands Studies, accessed 27 June 2023, https://absborderlands.org/about-2/.

[154] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

> At the simplest level, I would define [New Museology] as a state of widespread dissatisfaction with the 'old' museology, both within and outside the museum profession; and though the reader may object that such a definition is not merely negative, but circular, I would retort that what is wrong with the 'old' museology is that it is too much about museum *methods*, and too little about the purposes of museums; that museology has in the past only infrequently been seen, if it has been seen at all, as a theoretical or humanistic discipline, and that the kinds of questions raised above have been all too rarely articulated, let alone discussed.[155]

Vergo positions New Museology as a "dissatisfaction with the 'old' museology," a direct application of postmodernity's critical reaction against Western modernity, indicated in Figure 7. Likewise, the negativity and circular nature of the definition noted by Vergo, reflects postmodernity's pessimism and nihilism in its distrust of modern traditions. Interrogating and demanding answers of outdate systems situates Vergo firmly in postmodernity's challenge of modernity. The introduction goes on to explain that the essays contained therein are not meant to address every detail of museum work, rather focusing on elements the authors deem most pressing, which include meaning-making by and through museum spaces, education, and the legality of galleries and museums.[156] Taken with the definition cited above, the admission of

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[155] Vergo, "Introduction," 3.

[156] Vergo, "Introduction," 3-4.

Charles Saumarez Smith, "Museums, Artefacts, and Meanings," in *New Museology* edited by Peter Vergo (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989) 6-21.

Ludmilla Jordanova, "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums," in *New Museology* edited by Peter Vergo (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989) 22-40.

Peter Vergo, "The Reticent Object," in *New Museology* edited by Peter Vergo (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989) 41-59.

Norman Palmer, "Museums and Cultural Property," in *New Museology* edited by Peter Vergo (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989) 172-204.

limitations reminds readers that neither scholars nor museums, as the topic of the volume, are omnipotent purveyors of knowledge. There are limits—an ideal inherent in postmodernity's "rejection of grand narratives." [157] Vergo characterizes the postmodern museum in a humanistic way that allows for re-evaluation and growth, implying that museums are not meant to have all the answers like the modern museum had claimed and attempted; rather the museum is a place of intellectual development and experience that should be reflective and reflexive.[158] Approached from another angle, no longer can museums "[assume] a white audience and [privilege] the white gaze" without critique. [159] From Vergo's perspective, the museum needs to productively respond to and grow with its community. Despite being written in 1989, Vergo's words stand in solidarity with Kassim, warning contemporary museums: "[u]nless a radical re-examination of the rôle of museums within society […] takes place, museums in [England], and possibly elsewhere may likewise find themselves dubbed 'living fossils.'"[160] The pessimistic tone of Vergo's conclusion coupled with Kassim's point mirrors the fatalism and deconstructive nature of postmodern theory, challenging the lingering techniques of Western modernity at the end of the twentieth century.

Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, writing between 1990 and 2010, continues the conversation concerning postmodern museum spaces through her concept of the Post

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[157] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.
[158] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 300.
[159] Kassim, "The museum will not be decolonised."
[160] Vergo, "Introduction," 3-4.

Museum. Providing insight and theorization regarding both Museum Studies and the larger museum sector, Hooper-Greenhill's work has been instrumental to contemporary Museum Studies, particularly in England. In her 1992 monograph, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, Hooper-Greenhill offers insight into the shift from modern to postmodern in the mechanisms of the museum sector. The book begins with an interrogation of what constitutes a museum, providing a nuanced understanding of the evolution of the traditional institution, culminating in the claim: "The experience of going to a museum is often closer to that of going to a theme park or a funfair than that which used to be offered by the austere, glass-case museum."[161] Immediately, Hooper-Greenhill touches on the deconstruction of the modern museum, encouraging readers to expand their understanding of museum spaces beyond stereotypical temple-like spaces perpetuated by modern idealism.[162] Hooper-Greenhill's understanding of museological space coincides with a claim by postmodern scholar, Amin Maalouf:

> We must act in such a way as to bring about a situation in which no one feels excluded from the common civilization that is coming into existence; in which everyone may be able to find the language of his own identity and some symbols of his own culture; and in which everyone can identify to some degree with what he sees emerging in the world around him, instead of seeking refuge in an idealized past.[163]

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[161] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 1.

[162] Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: inside the public art museum* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995) 10-17.

[163] Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*, translated by Barbara Bray (New York, NY: Arcade Publishing, 2001) 163.

Contextualized in the postmodern need for identity, Hooper-Greenhill points out that no longer are museums reliant on the idea of ritualistic experiences, rather they can and should be simply spaces of accessible learning. As a result, diverse museological spaces are empowered to reflect the equally diverse populations implied by Maalouf's understanding of postmodernity. Hooper-Greenhill's monograph goes on to bring together the history of museums and museological practices to contextualize and interrogate the current museum sector and its techniques and theory.[164] From the introductory paragraph to the statement of intent, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* presents Hooper-Greenhill's professional insight into the museum sector's dismantling of Western modernity from her position at the end of the twentieth century, thus providing a postmodern and internal point of view of Museum Studies and museological practice.

Then, in 2000, Hooper-Greenhill published *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, providing an even more developed application of postmodern theory onto both the museum sector and the academic discipline of Museum Studies, which results in the idea of the Post Museum.[165] Here, Hooper-Greenhill attempts to create a postmodern framework for museum practice and theory achieving three major points:

> First, building on earlier discussions of the modern museum's formative functions, the book asks how the museum idea can respond to challenges posed by postmodernism and postcolonialism. According to Hooper-Greenhill, the museum is rightly seen as a dated institution and needs to re-

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[164] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 9.

[165] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*.

examine its social role and pedagogic strategies. The museum must move from conceiving itself as a site of authority to a site of mutuality – a movement that will see the modern museum replaced by what Hooper-Greenhill terms the 'post museum'. Second, the book illustrates the importance of these questions by discussing the multiple processes through which meaning and authority are constructed within the museum. Third, through discussions of material and visual culture the book extends contemporary theoretical debates concerning the construction of meaning in the museum.[166]

Rather than the presentation of museum history addressed in previous works, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* is a direct response to the postmodern shift in the museum sector. Calling out the "dated" nature of the museum does much the same as Vergo's work, questioning the purpose of museums in a postmodern, postcolonial society. Hooper-Greenhill's proposed Post Museum challenges museums to reorient themselves toward "mutuality," incorporating the plurality and variety addressed by Maalouf which would eventually come to characterize metamodern methodologies.[167] Rather than serve and preserve modernity's obsession with objectivity, the Post Museum provides space for the "theoretical debates concerning the construction of meaning" and identity.[168] A critique of the monograph is that it lacks an analysis of museum consumers, focusing heavily on exhibitions and museum structure.[169] This highlights the power of museum

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[166] Crampton, "book reviews," 315.

[167] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420.
Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193.

[168] Crampton, "book reviews," 315.
Hassan, "Beyond Postmodernism," 10-11.

[169] Crampton, "book reviews," 317.

professionals, tucking public perspective to the back, thus adhering to modern ideals

of "writing up" professional critiques and sidelining everyday experiences. While this

may undermine Hooper-Greenhill's publication, the ideas presented provide valid

criticisms of the museum sector, calling into question the role of the contemporary,

decentering Western modernity, and contributing to postmodern understandings of

museological techniques and development.

In terms of Sapporo's Hokkaido Museum, postmodern methodologies may be

glimpsed in the signposts directing visitors along the timeline of Hokkaido's history.

For example, the museum's explanatory labels take on a tone of critique concerning

the Japanese government after the settlement of the Matsumae clan in Hokkaido. One

sign reads:

> From around 1630, domainal vassals of the Matsumae clan began to visit
> Ainu settlements, imposing trade which took advantage of the Ainu. And
> Wajin began to flood into Hokkaido in search of gold dust. These Wajin
> settlers soon began to interfere with Ainu industry and lifestyle.[170]

Here the curatorial team employees a modern didactic approach in that the sign is

presented as a statement of fact, however, stating that the "Wajin settlers [...] began

to interfere with Ainu industry and lifestyle" stresses the negative impacts of

colonialism.[171] A plurality of truth is presented in the statement which foregrounds the

nuance and variety of historical narratives, refuting nationalistic, consolidating ways of

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[170] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).
[171] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).

knowing common in modernity.[172] Continuing through the space, one of the last signs, labelled "The Ainu and Hokkaido's Settlement and Development," states:

> As government settlement and development policies progressed, the Ainu people faced many hardships as their traditional way of life was forbidden as "barbaric". Even activities that the Ainu had previously been relatively free to perform, such as deer hunting and salmon fishing, were banned. Some Ainu were forced out of their homes. In response to this situation, the government issued the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act in 1899. However, out of convenience for the Wajin, this act forced Wajin ways of life upon the Ainu, and thus could not truly resolve the hardships of the Ainu.[173]

Spatially, this sign connects the historic exhibition and the living Ainu gallery, providing a historic jumping-off point into the twenty-first century. In consideration of postmodernity, this sign reflects postcolonial philosophies in calling attention to the unfair conditions forced upon the Ainu by the Japanese. Unlike modern displays that minimize or ignore subaltern narratives, the Hokkaido museum engages in the postmodern "deconstruction of grand narratives," utilizing postmodern techniques and turning toward increasingly metamodern methodologies that recenter subaltern voices in historical narratives.[174] Accordingly, Sapporo's Hokkaido Museum represents a crossroads between postmodern deconstruction and metamodern Indigenization, providing space for museum professionals and visitors to consider the plurality of history.

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[172] Vawda, "Museums and the epistemology of injustice," 74.

[173] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).

[174] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.

Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

Additionally, as mentioned previously, ICOM was founded around the same time as the UN, contributing to the international petitions for peace and cooperation that mark the middle of the twentieth century. In terms of the evolution of thought, ICOM illustrates a re-evaluation of Western modernity, with its traditional theories and practices, as employed by museum spaces. The organization stands as a model of collaboration and dialogue, providing space for museum professionals from all over the world to come together and reflect on the ongoing development of museology.[175] It was with ICOM in the background that scholars like Vergo and Hooper-Greenhill were able to re-evaluate and challenge museological methodologies. The detangling of unfair techniques of display and education perpetuated by Western modernity is made easier with the collaborative space provided by ICOM, and it is with the encouragement of changemakers like ICOM, Vergo, and Hooper-Greenhill, that metamodern methodologies are developing, changing academic and museological spaces of learning.

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[175] "Mission and Objectives," ICOM: International Council of Museums, accessed 23 March 2023, https://icom.museum/en/about-us/missions-and-objectives/.

2.3 Metamodernity

The twenty-first century continues to experience the evolution of theory and methodology, in response to and support of the persistent change of social expectations and ways of knowing. Following Linda Hutcheon's 2002 claim that "the postmodern moment has passed," and her challenge to contemporary scholars to label the new post-postmodern theory, several academics have addressed the most recent take on theory and ways of knowing.[176] In response, Timotheus Vermeulen and Robin van den Akker propose the idea of metamodern in their 2010 article, "Notes on Metamodernism." They suggest that metamodern practice "is constituted by the tension, no, the double-bind, of a modern desire for *sens* and a postmodern doubt about the sense of it all."[177] They go on,

> both metamodernism and the postmodern turn to pluralism, irony, and deconstruction in order to counter a modernist fanaticism. However, in metamodern this pluralism and irony are utilized to counter the modern aspiration, while in postmodernism they are employed to cancel it out. That is to say, metamodern irony is intrinsically bound to desire, whereas postmodern irony is inherently tied to apathy.[178]

Put differently, metamodern builds on the postmodern's subversion and rejection of grand narratives but moves away from its cynicism and nihilism.[179] Metamodernity is an evolution toward neoromanticism and the contemporary desire for inclusive

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[176] Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism*, 181.
Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 3.
[177] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 6.
[178] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 10.
[179] Melville and Marshal, *Philosophy beside Itself*, 3.

compassion that denies both modern prejudices and postmodern nihilism. It is the need for connection and interdisciplinary approaches to research that result in wholistic, pluralistic ways of knowing which embrace decolonial and Indigenizing practices.[180] It is a space of mediation and discussion rather than meaning-making (modernity) or meaning-deconstruction (postmodernity). In terms of the current study, metamodernity is the coming together of two different types of education— museological and academic—by means of directional writing, which will be discussed in detail in chapter three. Mediating between sources of knowledge which inform contemporary ways of knowing, examining the dialogue between museums and academia creates a ""lateral" intellectual history," revealing the ways in which decolonization and Indigenization may be used to not only examine the margins, but also close the gaps between oppressive, traditional modernity and pessimistic but positively-deconstructive postmodernity.[181] The result is a balanced, compassionate, multivocal understanding of history and human ways of knowing.

In a metamodern context, decolonization and Indigenization are important tools that may be used to redistribute authority across educational spaces. As addressed previously, contemporary decolonization refers to "a widespread cultural development" which argues against "cultural hegemony" and advocates for "a multicultural and pluralistic paradigm that covers the arts, cultural industries, mass

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[180] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 168-176.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 112-113.
[181] Consider, for example, the constructive conversation inherent in Indigenous sharing circles as discussed in Dussault, et al (2024).
Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 158.

media, and academic arenas."[182] This definition is a simple starting point which encompasses the most basic tenants of decolonial understanding, providing space for the methodology to evolve in this study. Indigenization is defined above "as a process of inclusion, restoration, and promotion of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous knowledge systems, land teachings, languages which must come with critical engagement, and serious commitment."[183] It is a process of not only appreciating Indigenous ways of knowing but incorporating those into teaching strategies used across educational spaces. Taken together, these definitions complement one another, Indigenization being a specific enactment of decolonization which looks to Indigenous knowledges and methodologies. As a mediation of the plurality of human experience, metamodernity stands on the shoulders of the cycle between decolonization and Indigenization. Deconstructing colonial understandings by decentering dominant narratives and validating local ways of knowing underpin metamodernity in the way it encourages dialogue rooted in compassion and respect. Both decolonial and Indigenizing techniques facilitate these processes by creating spaces for equitable discussion and learning across boundaries, physical and metaphorical.[184] Overlaid onto the relationship between museums and academia, decolonization and Indigenization provide strategies which can be used to "deconstruct the colonial heritage in the social sciences and [denounce] relations based on domination and

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[182] Mercadal, "Decolonization."

[183] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420.

[184] See for example: Dussault et al., "Widening the Circle."

hierarchization."[185] In support of the breakdown of modernity and the move away from postmodern nihilism, this project interrogates contemporary ways of knowing to detangle educational spaces from biased assumptions and encourage dialogues.

In museological spaces metamodernity is best illustrated by the contemporary development of New Museology and the Post Museum. Rather than doing away with these concepts, metamodernity embraces their evolution into the twenty-first century. Through New Museology and the Post Museum, museums and museological theory are expanding, adapting to contemporary demands for respect, equity, and representation to include collaborative strategies and encourage locally owned museums which empower and promote underrepresented voices.[186] In the same way that academic scholars like Hendry and Clifford advocate for Indigenous and subaltern voices, contemporary museums are being called to do the same though strategies like New Museology and the Post Museum.[187]

Vergo's New Museology lends itself to the trends of metamodern theory and practice in its amorphous but generally positive and constructive nature. Rather than create new systems and demand they be enacted by museological institutions, Vergo's proposal provides an impetus for museum professionals to learn from each other,

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[185] Soares, "The myths of museology," 145.

[186] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 168-176.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 28-55.

Janes and Sandell (eds), *Museum Activism*, 9-15.

Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 229.

Clifford, *Returns*, 8.

[187] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 29, 50-53.

Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 308.

Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193.

encouraging collaborative re-evaluation rather than demanding it. As such, New Museology is built on systems of respect, equity, and representation, much like metamodernity. Providing the foundation for communication, Vergo sets the stage for scholars like Nicola Pickering to (re)define New Museology in 2020:

> New Museology asserts that museums should move way from focussing just on the functional role of caring for collections and curatorship to take on a greater social and political role in society; become more people-focussed; serve and represent a more diverse public; and adopt new forms of communication and interactions with audiences, working in dialogue to create and exchange knowledge.[188]

Rather than maintain Vergo's original definition that was built on postmodern dissatisfaction, Pickering's definition provides concrete details for growth in the twenty-first century. Pickering does not change the core meaning of the definition, rather she expands and clarifies it, promoting rigorous, contemporary Ethics and Best Practice. Moreover, Pickering's definition aligns the ideals of ICOM, calling upon museums to move away from the old "show and tell," top-down methodologies of Western modernity, toward practices that encourage diverse exhibition, accessibility, and dialogue in line with metamodern way of knowing.

Complementing the ideas of Vergo and Pickering, scholars John Giblin, Imma Ramos, and Nikki Grout published "Dismantling the Master's House: Thoughts on Representing Empire and Decolonising Museums and Public Spaces in Practice, An Introduction" in a 2019 volume of *Third Text*. Firstly, the journal itself is "dedicated to

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[188] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 131.

the critical analysis of contemporary art in the global field," providing a space for discussions about both art and museum spaces in the twenty-first century museological climate.[189] *Third Text* is an academic manifestation of the collaborative and critical ideologies inherent in metamodernity which inform ICOM and New Museology. Publishing with *Third Text* situates Giblin et al., in deconstructive and collaborative conversations which may employ decolonizing and Indigenizing methodologies, thereby supporting the compassion and respect called for by metamodernity. Giblin et al., as contemporary museum professionals, provide readers with valuable insight and critical questions about the contemporary museum industry. For example, they explain:

> Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, museums emerged as active tools of empire, showcasing Eurocentric and racialised ideals and narratives that often reflected the disciplinary logic of the imperial state. Collecting practices abroad were an inherent part of colonialism, and by displaying these collections under Western classification systems, British museums also offered a public justification for expansion and imperial rule.[190]

In addressing imperial methodologies and their impact on both historical collecting practices and museum development, Giblin et al. reminds readers and museumgoers of the historic goals that museums were built upon. They contextualize postmodern museum policies as responses to the colonial goals and methodologies of the past. Moreover, using language like "racialised" creates a tone that is critical of historic

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[189] "About Us," Third Text, accessed 13 August 2024, http://www.thirdtext.org/about-us.

[190] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471.

Western methodologies, holding museological spaces accountable for historic prejudices. Then, intensifying the above statement, Giblin et al. goes on,

> European empires have been represented implicitly and explicitly throughout the existence of museums […] However, concurrently, explicit, critically reflective narratives about colonialism, colonial collecting and colonial legacies have been conspicuously absent. Instead, with few exceptions, critical histories of empire have been marginalised in favour of celebratory narratives, art-historical perspectives, or de-historicised ethnographic descriptions.[191]

Giblin et al. accuses the contemporary museum of erasing colonialism in a way that mirrors Vawda's statement above. According to Giblin et al., rather than engage with metamodern methodologies that encourage introspection and decolonization, like that of New Museology, many contemporary museums remain willfully ignorant of the negative impacts of Western modernity and imperialism. By ignoring the lasting impact of colonialism, museums passively support historic injustices and prejudices. Just like other contemporary scholars like Kassim and Smith, Giblin et al. emphasize the shortcomings of institutions like the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM, all built from Western modernity and colonialism.[192]

Balancing the challenges quoted here, the article also addresses projects hosted by the BM, as it responds to twenty-first century calls for decolonization. These include the "Global, Local and Imperial Histories Research Group, coordinated by Giblin and Ramos between 2016 and 2018," "a major temporary exhibition, 'South Africa: The Art

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[191] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 474.
[192] Kassim, "The museum will not be decolonised."
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 72.

of a Nation', and the new colonial and postcolonial displays in the South Asia gallery."[193] Juxtaposing criticism alongside decolonial and Indigenizing work illustrates the ongoing improvements happening in contemporary systems. Rather than focus on criticizing the prejudices of Western modernity built into contemporary systems, Giblin et al., just like Smith, endeavor to engage in constructive metamodern scholarship that encourages positive change. Thus, the article presents a balanced discussion the positives and negatives of the present museum sector.

Moving across Museum Studies toward Ainu Studies, scholars like Chisato O. Dubreuil and Jane Wilkinson engage with the metamodern methodologies of New Museology in their work considering Ainu representation in the international museum sector. Despite publishing at the start of the twenty-first century before the term metamodernity was first suggested, both scholars exemplify the shift from twentieth century postmodernity to contemporary metamodernity. In her 2002 publication, "Ainu Art on the Backs of Gods," Dubreuil examines two Ainu artifacts housed at the Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA) in Detroit, Michigan. Dubreuil, herself an Ainu, uses her own cultural knowledge to explain the objects and their motifs.[194] For example, she posits, "the spiritual beliefs of the Ainu are complex and often misunderstood, with interpretations debated even among today's Ainu." [195] Dubreuil highlights contemporary Ainu and their culture in this conversation, admitting that Ainu culture

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[193] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House."

[194] Chisato O. Dubreuil, "Ainu Art on the Backs of Gods: 'Two Exquisite Examples in the DIA Collection,'" *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, vol. 76, no. ½ (2002) 4-17.

[195] Dubreuil, "Ainu Art on the Backs of Gods," 7.

is not static, just like other cultures today and historically. Consequently, Dubreuil

"writes back," reminding readers that objects seen in museums are often a part of

ongoing traditions, holding diverse meanings inside and outside places of preservation

and education. Dubreuil calls into question static understandings of culture that often

accompany isolated presentations, like those seen in museums. Dubreuil ends the

article with a dismissal of non-Ainu theorization:

> The decoration of Ainu garments has long been the subject of misguided
> speculations. Japanese and Western researchers sometimes find it hard to
> believe that the abstract designs do not depict some real or imaged entity.
> Yet as stated above, they do not represent any living things or natural
> phenomena; the abstract compositions are nonetheless religious symbols
> designed to please *kamuy* and protect the wearer from the evil god, *wen-
> kamuy*.[196]

Dubreuil positions herself in opposition to Western modernity through her own

cultural knowledge as an Indigenous scholar. In the same way that Smith writes

through her perspective as Māori and Indigenous scholars in Canada work with the

Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Dubreuil actively Indigenizes the DIA's holdings

by including personal knowledge in her research.[197] Despite publishing nearly two

decades prior, Dubreuil and the DIA engage "in dialogue to create and exchange

knowledge," in line with Pickering's 2020 definition of New Museology and

metamodernity as proposed in the current research.[198] Dubreuil's article illustrates the

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[196] Dubreuil, "Ainu Art on the Backs of Gods," 15.
[197] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.
Dussault et al., "Widening the Circle."
[198] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 131.

ongoing conversations taking place in the museum industry, bridging the gap between

Vergo's original 1989 definition and Pickering and Giblin et al. in the 2020s.

Across the Atlantic, back in the UK, the National Museum of Scotland can be

seen following similar standards through Jane Wilkinson's 2001 article, titled "Around

the Sacred Hearth, the Ainu of Northern Japan." Introducing a travelling exhibition that

showcases Ainu artifacts housed in several U.K. collections, the article was published

to raise awareness of Ainu studies during Japan's 2001 "nationwide, year-long,

celebration of Japanese culture."[199] From the onset, Wilkinson situates herself and the

NMS in a constructive relationship with the Ainu: "This paper explores a developing

relationship between the National Museums of Scotland (NMS) and Ainu communities

in Japan which began at the end of the nineteenth century." [200] In this manner,

Wilkinson and the NMS are shown to be in dialogue, just as Vergo, Pickering, and

metamodernity suggest. [201] What is more, as the curator of the NMS's Japanese

collection at the time of this event, Wilkinson is situated in a place of authority just like

Giblin et al., as coordinators in their 2019 article. Wilkinson's position frames her article

in a way that it may be used to inspire further conversation in the relationships

between museums and source communities. In her conclusion, Wilkinson uses this

position of authority and expertise to advocate for Ainu centrality:

> This exhibition will elucidate the beliefs, which informed the daily life of the
> Ainu and show that these provide an alternative view of their life that is far

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[199] Jane Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu Material to Hokkaido for Temporary Exhibition to Increase the Awareness of Ainu Culture," *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 13 (March 2001) 60.

[200] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu Material," 55.

[201] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 131.

from cruel or barbaric. It will examine the study of the Ainu at the end of the nineteenth century by both travelers and anthropologists from Europe and gather together the best of the Ainu collections in the UK. Finally it is hoped to show the re-emergence of Ainu pride in their heritage today through photographs, contemporary crafts, and demonstrations by Ainu artists.[202]

This statement aligns with the general trend seen in contemporary metamodern methodologies: the reconciliation and revitalization of Indigenous Studies. Rather than adhere to modern ideologies, Wilkinson encourages the collaborative ideals behind New Museology and metamodernity, reminding readers to celebrate constructive dialogues. Wilkinson also validates Ainu culture, refuting historic myths of cruelty and barbarism which were part of the Great Exhibitions and the exoticization of Indigenous peoples. In the end, Wilkinson "writes back" against old prejudices, encouraging metamodern conversation which will contribute to decolonization and Indigenization inside and outside museological spaces.

Moving to the other postmodern museum methodology discussed above, Hooper-Greenhill's Post Museum was first established at the start of the twenty-first century, bridging the gap between postmodern and metamodern theory and practice. In this position, Hooper-Greenhill's work functions in much the same way as Vergo's: as a postmodern foundation for growth and communication, enabling the metamodern call for respect, equity, and representation. Mirroring how Pickering built on Vergo's work, scholar Christina Kreps expands upon Hooper-Greenhill's work in a

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[202] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu Material," 61.

manner relevant to this study, offering a tangible example of the metamodern and interdisciplinary shift in the museum sector. Kreps takes the concepts of diversity and representation one step further in her chapter, "Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage," published in the 2009 volume, *Intangible History*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa. Here, Kreps considers the role and use of Indigenous curation in response to the 2003 UNESCO *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.[203] While the chapter is relatively short, Kreps argues for the respect and integration of Indigenous curatorial practices in the twenty-first century museum, an explicit example of Indigenization. Specifically, she cites Hooper-Greenhill and the notion of the Post Museum:

> In the Post Museum, curatorial authority is shared among the museum, community members, and other stakeholders whose voices and perspectives contribute to the production of knowledge and culture in the museum through partnerships that celebrate diversity.[204]

Acknowledging the widely respected scholar, Hooper-Greenhill, Kreps positions herself in previously established, postmodern museum theory. Building upon this foundation adds credence to Kreps work, pushing Museum Studies scholarship further into conscientious representation and re-evaluation as advocated for by Hooper-Greenhill and Vergo. In this specific case, Kreps supports metamodernity by reminding readers that knowledge is preserved and passed on through respectful and diverse representation, accessible education, and collaborative communication. Additionally,

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[203] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193-208.
[204] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.

Kreps carefully acknowledges the role of source communities in museums with the

statement: "other stakeholders whose voices and perspectives contribute to the

production of knowledge and culture."[205] With far-reaching implications, this

comment acknowledges and validates local and source community ways of knowing

in the organization of exhibition spaces, a direct use of decolonial and Indigenizing

philosophy. Later in the article, Kreps returns to conversation with Hooper-Greenhill,

positing,

> regarding the place of objects and collections in museums, [Hooper-Greenhill] asserts that the Post Museum will place more emphasis on their use rather than on accumulation and that intangible heritage will also receive greater attention.[206]

Here Kreps continues to uplift Hooper-Greenhill's assertions that museums should,

and will, move away from the Social Darwinist methodologies of the past toward

perspectives based on mutual learning, discussion, and experience. To continue

evolving toward an inclusive and more equitable future, Hooper-Greenhill and Kreps

advocate for dialogues between museums, source communities, and museumgoers. In

other words, the Post Museum will see a shift in curatorial authority that results in a

system more akin to "writing across" and "in-between," a system that adheres to

metamodern ideology.[207] The coming-together of Hooper-Greenhill's theory and

Kreps' argument for Indigenous curation is important because it represents the

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[205] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.
[206] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.
[207] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.

tangible changes happening in contemporary museum practices regarding Indigenous

rights and representation.

Two contemporary articles further exemplify the methodological shifts explored

by Hooper-Greenhill and Kreps are Lisa Hiwasaki's "Ethnic Tourism and the Shaping of

Ainu Identity," published in 2000, and the 2013 work, "Connecting Indigenous Ainu,

University, and Local Industry in Japan: The Urespa Project," by Maeda and Okano.

Beginning with Hiwasaki, her articles aligns with Kreps' discussion of intangible

heritage by going outside the museum with her 2000 article:

> The purpose of this paper is to emphasise the importance of ethnic tourism
> both in Ainu contemporary culture and in representations of the Ainu in
> Japanese society today, as well as to explore Ainu identity negotiations
> occurring through ethnic tourism.[208]

Throughout Hokkaido, there are Ainu tourist villages that act as types of living

museums, and in these villages Ainu people are able to maintain their traditions and

culture, especially through music, dance, and craftsmanship.[209] While the tourist

villages are places of historical preservation, they are also places of cultural

development, allowing contemporary Ainu to develop skills and expand upon

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[208] Lisa Hiwasaki, "Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido and the Shaping of Ainu Identity," *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 3 (Autumn 2000) 394.
[209] See for example:
"Ainu Culture Promotion Center (Sapporo Pirka Kotan)," Welcome to Sapporo, accessed 24 January 2025, https://www.sapporo.travel/en/spot/facility/sapporo-pirka-kotan/.
"Home," Ainu Culture: To Biratori… And Ainu Culture, 2022, https://www.biratori-ainu-culture.com/en/.
"Home," 阿寒湖：アイヌコタン, Akanko: Ainu Kotan, accessed 24 January 2025, https://www.akanainu.jp/en/.
"Home," Upopoy: National Ainu Museum and Park, accessed 24 January 2025, https://ainu-upopoy.jp/en/.

traditional crafts.[210] In emphasizing the role of ethnic tourism in contemporary Ainu

economics, politics, and culture, Hiwasaki calls attention to the ongoing efforts of

preservation and re-vitalization happening in contemporary Ainu communities, thus

prioritizing and recentering Ainu voices in the conversation. In the same way that

Hooper-Greenhill and Kreps promote communication and shared authority in line with

metamodernity, Hiwasaki uplifts Ainu agency in Hokkaido's ethnic tourism industry.[211]

While Hiwasaki does not directly cite the Post Museum, her discussion speaks to the

same themes, encouraging readers to view the Ainu as a living culture that is

continuing to develop into the twenty-first century through the preservation of

heritage. Moreover, tourist villages reflect the Post Museum's inclusivity of diverse

museum spaces. Hiwasaki "writes back" against the tradition of museums as ritual-like

spaces by celebrating unorthodox means of preservation and presentation. Later in

the article, Hiwasaki references Davydd J. Greenwood, a postmodern scholar, in her

explanation of the importance of tourism studies:

> The study of tourism is meaningful because tourism is 'the largest scale
> movement of goods, services and people that humanity has perhaps ever
> seen' and tourism is of fundamental importance to an increasing number of
> people.[212]

With this citation, Hiwasaki builds on postmodern scholarship bringing it into a twenty-

first century conversation, thus contributing to metamodern theory. Hiwasaki adheres

to the metamodern call for constructive dialogue, rather than falling back on

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[210] Hiwasaki, "Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido," 402-404.

[211] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.

[212] Hiwasaki, "Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido," 395.

postmodernity's cynical rejection of past theory. Bringing together the ideas of scholars like Greenwood and Hooper-Greenhill positions Hiwasaki in a dialogue that "writes across" multi-vocal understandings, validating all voices, including the Ainu, in the conversation and providing space for Ainu self-advocacy. Finally, this idea is further cemented in Hiwasaki's conclusion:

> As an important venue of self-expression, and especially as a place where the [Japanese] can interact with the Ainu in the Ainu domain, tourist villages hold opportunities to make substantial changes and help carve out paths for future generations.[213]

Hiwasaki advocates for decolonization and Indigenization by continuing to re-affirm that contemporary cultural development is a valid part of cultural history. Hiwasaki, though writing five years prior, speaks to the same movement Hendry notes in her 2005 monograph, *Reclaiming Culture*; both scholars recognize, see value in, and validate the post-and metamodern movements of Indigenous revitalization.[214] In conclusion, Hiwasaki's article "writes across" Ainu and Museum Studies, positioning Ainu culture revitalization through tourist villages and the preservation of intangible heritage in the context of decolonization and Indigenization of museum spaces. Hiwasaki exemplifies the metamodern shift in Museum Studies, particularly with the ideals of the Post Museum, through her centering of Ainu voices and culture in the creation and management of Ainu tourist villages.

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[213] Hiwasaki, "Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido," 412.
[214] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.

"Writing across" Museum Studies into educational methodologies, another example of the metamodern shift can be found in the Urespa Project, as outlined, and discussed by K. Maeda and K. H. Okano. This article speaks to the ongoing changes among colonial institutions encouraged by metamodern methodologies like decolonization and Indigenization. The goals of both the article and the Urespa Project are addressed in Maeda and Okano's introduction:

> The aim of this paper is to examine how Ainu participation in higher education can be promoted; and discuss this in the context of the United Nation [D]eclaration on the [R]ights of [I]ndigenous [P]eoples. We will draw on a case study of Sapporo University's Urespa Project. Under this Project, the university offers scholarships to Ainu students (who then take a special course in Ainu Culture and History) and developed collaborations with private sector companies, in order to assist Ainu students' transition to employment.[215]

There are several important details in this introductory statement that speak to the ongoing changes across Japanese colonial institutions. Sapporo University exists within a system of education and scholarly governance that is inherited from the Japanese colonial systems, just like many contemporary Japanese museums. Secondly, Maeda and Okano contextualize their argument alongside the same postcolonial, post-Civil Rights Movement discussion as Hooper-Greenhill, Kreps, and Hiwasaki, thereby contributing to the larger metamodern discussion concerning decolonization and Indigenization in educational spaces. Empowering projects that promote Indigenous education and representation, like the Urespa Project, directly impacts the

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[215] Maeda K. and Okano K.H., "Connecting Indigenous Ainu, University and Local Industry in Japan: The Urespa Project," *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, vol 12, no 1 (2013) 46.

development of Indigenous curation discussed by Kreps and Hiwasaki above, in part due to the education needed to work in museums. Thirdly, Maeda and Okano address the contemporary, functional changes that are being enacted to foster cross-cultural communication and revitalization as discussed by Hendry. [216] The Urespa Project, according to Maeda and Okano, fosters accessibility, inclusivity, communication, and education, through the empowerment of Indigenous peoples, directly contributing to cultural revitalization and visibility. [217] Overall, Maeda and Okano offer readers a dynamic example of the metamodern methodologies of decolonization and Indigenization, in that they explore a means of communication between colonial institution and Indigenous peoples that has far-reaching implications. Tying these writers and ideas together, it becomes obvious that postcolonial, metamodern ideas and methodologies like decolonization and Indigenization are changing the way in which society and academics are perceiving and communicating with Indigenous peoples in positive, functional ways. In terms of educational spaces, the work described in this section reaffirms the need for decolonization and Indigenization to inform the way minority peoples and voices are presented. Compassion and respect for plurality is indispensable in both museums and academia. Initiatives like the Urespa Project and scholars like Kreps and Giblin et al., all contribute to ongoing dialogues which support

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[216] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.
See also: Clifford, *Returns.*
Dussault, "Widening the circle."
[217] Maeda and Okano, "Connecting Indigenous Ainu," 57-58.

metamodern institutions and the continued development and implementation of decolonization and Indigenization.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has briefly mapped out the theoretical evolution of academic and museological philosophy and methodology from Western modernity to contemporary metamodernity. Beginning with Western modernity, shaped by Eurocentric, Enlightenment-era ideas that positioned Western knowledge, culture, and technology as the pinnacle of human progress (see Figure 5), academia and museums were used to perpetuate "us vs them" mentalities that denied the validity and survival of Indigenous cultures. [218] The didactic model of top-down communication still commonly used in educational spaces is a survival of teaching stategies rooted in modernity.[219] For example, Hokkaido Museum in Japan organizes its exhibits in a linear, chronological way, which is characteristic of those modern display strategies.[220] While this method may be effective in some instances of formal teaching, it is also "frequently full of detailed information that would be impossible to absorb in a series of committed visits, let alone in one outing," thus making it futile for the informal learning of mass audiences.[221] In the mid-twentieth century, postmodern thought emerged, influenced by post-War decolonization, social movements like Civil Rights Movement in the US, and the recognition of marginalized voices in academia. Postmodernity challenges grand narratives, objective truth, and the Western-centric perspective that

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[218] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
[219] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 131.
[220] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).
[221] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 148.

dominated earlier academic and cultural frameworks.[222] This is reflected in the rise of fields such as Area Studies and Borderland Studies, as well as the development of new museum methodologies, such as Vergo's New Museology and Hooper-Greenhill's Post Museum. Illustrating postmodernity, ICOM was founded in the 1940s with the goal to provide international collaboration for museums to re-evaluate and improve their methodologies to be more inclusive, reflective, and diverse.[223] This shift in both academia and museums paved the way for subaltern revitalization, pushing scholars to diversify and deepen academic understandings. In the Hokkaido Museum cited previously, this evolution is evident in the curators' admission of wrongdoings during Japanese colonization of Ainu Mosir.[224] Finally, metamodernity has emerged as the most recent evolution of academic and museological ways of knowing. Characterized by a tension between modern desires for meaning and postmodern skepticism, metamodern methodologies seek to mediate these opposing forces with a focus on inclusive compassion, respect, equity, and connection.[225] In the context of museums, this is evident in the continued development of New Museology and the Post Museum parallel to a rise in decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies across academia and society.[226]

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[222] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

[223] "History of ICOM," ICOM: International Council of Museums, 23 March 2023, https://icom.museum/en/about-us/history-of-icom/.

[224] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).

[225] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 12.

[226] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 202.

Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 131.

A century after the exploitation and coercion of Indigenous peoples for the Great Exhibitions, museums are now re-evaluating their roles as places of preservation so that they may better support the revitalization of living cultures and the informal education of mass audiences. Growing beyond the expectations of a postcolonial culture, exemplified by the Civil Rights Movement, museological and academic policies and methodologies are enacting significant positive change in the twenty-first century. This project sits on the foundation laid by the advocacy and change sparked by the Civil Rights Movement, utilizing metamodern strategies of decolonization and Indigenization to better understand English-language Ainu historiography and the National Museum of Scotland's Ainu exhibit. The present research endeavors to contribute an updated understanding of contemporary Ainu and Museum Studies by "writing between" museological and academic spaces, thus overlaying metamodern ways of knowing onto Ainu Studies historiography and the NMS's historic Ainu display and collection.

Intermission I: History and Geography of the Okhotsk Region

Figure 8: Okhotsk Sea and surround regions with labels.
NormanEinstein, "File: Sea of Okhotsk Map with State Labels.Png," Wikimedia Commons, October 24, 2005,
https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=385863.

Both Russia and Japan have long, complex histories, stretching back hundreds,

if not thousands of years. In fact, Japan has boasted about its long history since 1935

when a tourist guide, published by the Japanese Government Railways Board of Tourist

Industry, encouraged visitors to explore Japan's "three thousand years of history."[227]

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[227] Morris-Suzuki, Tessa, "Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan," In
Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives, edited by Mark James Hudson,
ann-elise lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 53.

Today, echoing that same sentiment, Japanese tourist websites suggest visiting places like Nara and Kyoto, both historical seats of imperial power as far back as 710.[228] Both across the Okhotsk Sea and around the world from Japan, the massive Russian nation likewise claims a long history. Many timelines date Russian history back to the establishment of the Kievan Rus in the nineth century.[229] In the Okhotsk region specifically, Russia can trace its contacts back to the Cossack advancement into the area in the sixteenth century.[230] Stuck in between these powerful nations are a handful of Indigenous peoples who have maintained their lives and cultures despite the pressure of colonization and modernization.[231] Alongside the map provided above, it is helpful to understand the overarching historical timeline of this region. Provided in Appendix A is a timeline of the Okhotsk region since the Stone Age. The chronology situates the Okhotsk region in a global setting that may be compared to similar timelines for other regions. Furthermore, the dates mentioned in the following chapters may be placed into this timeline to better under the development of Ainu culture and historiography.

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[228] "Kyoto: For over 1000 Years the Capital of Japan," japan-guide.com: Kyoto, accessed 25 June 2024, https://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2158.html.

"Nara: Japan's First Permanent Capital," japan-guide.com: Nara, accessed 25 June 2024, https://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2165.html.

[229] "Russia Profile – Timeline," BBC, accessed April 26, 2019, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17840446.

[230] BBC, "Russia Profile – Timeline."

[231] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.

Chapter Three: The Dynamic Past, Historiography and Historical Legacies

The ideas of "writing down" and "writing up" have a simplicity at face value that is often taken for granted. "writing down" takes place when one is taking notes or drafting their ideas. To use an often-cited analogy, it is like the artist choosing their medium and preparing it with broad strokes and sketches. It is research- and practice-focused. The results of this process will most likely not be published. "writing up" takes place after this - the artist has their medium in hand and a solid foundation to build from. It is the act of writing complete drafts and polishing them to perfection. Both are processes that any seasoned writer is familiar with for they both contribute to a finished piece. Despite their similarities and contributions to a published piece, they are not perceived to hold the same merit. Richard Smith addresses these differences in his 2020 publication, "Writing Up and Down: The Language of Educational Research":

> Writing enters the relatively straightforward business of 'writing down', that is to say, a process of recording: putting the interviews and observations onto paper, as if this was as direct and unproblematic as turning on an electronic device to record the interviews themselves. Writing *up* elevates the data into the register proper for the PhD or journal article—no figurative language, and certainly no literary flourishes—as well as giving an account of the methodology used.[232]

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[232] Richard Smith, "Writing Up and Down: The Language of Educational Research," *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, vol. 54, no. 3 (2020) 666.

"writing down" is an act that anyone can do. Anyone can write down a quote they found particularly interesting or write down notes from a lecture. While these are simplistic examples, they exemplify the accessibility of the act of "writing down." It is not about prose or word choice or even cohesion in the idea being communicate; it is a method of communication akin to a conversation, with all the mistakes that can happen within a casual setting. The "writing up" process, on the other hand, demands attention and finesse that "elevates" the text to something considered publishable. The idea is simple, similarly rooted in the act of communication like 'writing down,' but it takes more time, patience, and, most importantly, practice. "writing up" as a "totally embedded [part of] the research process" demands attention, thought, and education or training.[233] It is a system of elite communication that lies beyond the means of some due to time and education constraints.

The tidal wave of twenty-first century social media has seen a marked blurring between "writing down" and "writing up." The elitist mentality behind the act of "writing up" is diminishing in favor of accessibility and ease of communication. A passing thought may be written down and published on any number of social media sites to be consumed and interacted with by thousands or millions of people.[234] We no longer must "write up" to standards set by academics or elites, nor are we simply "writing down" unfiltered thoughts or regurgitating notes. Rather there is a growing

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[233] Nina Lykke, Anne Brewster, Kathy Davis, Redi Koobak, Sissel Lie, and Andrea Petö, "Editorial Introduction," in *Writing Academic Texts Differently: Intersectional Feminist Methodologies and the Playful Art of Writing*, edited by Nina Lykke (New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2014) 2.
[234] Zhong Bu, *Social Media Communication: trends and theories* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2022) 13-14.

desire in contemporary society to "write across" and "write between," facilitating cross-cultural communication, diverse interpersonal relationships, and informal educational experiences.[235] The division between thinking and writing— "two sides of the same coin"—are breaking down in favor of accessibility and plurality, allowing for metamodern movement across and in between.[236] The post-War world, spurred by the systemic breakdown of old empires and the Civil Rights Movement, is increasingly interconnected and "the binary of scientific European/ascientific Native has proven methodologically untenable and ethically unpalatable."[237] The result may be characterized as a metamodern move toward compassion, respect, and inclusivity in the way people are drawn together across borders to share and learn together.

Contemporary social media is both a product and tool of this phenomenon, in the way it has empowered more and more people to write in all directions.[238] This shift can be seen today, and historically, on multiple fronts when considered through the lens of intersectionality.[239] Most obviously, contemporary students are showcasing their personal and academic diversity through social media. Students are 'writing across' to other students, sharing their experiences and research and 'writing between' by sharing research that may not make it into their final projects but are interesting, nevertheless. Knowledge and research are moving across social, political, and national

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[235] Christine Greenhow, Cathy Lewin, and K. Bret Staudt Willet, "Teachers without Borders: Professional Learning Spanning Social Media, Place, and Time," *Learning, Media and Technology*, vol 48, no 4 (2023) 679-680.

[236] Lykke et al., "Editorial Introduction," 2.

[237] Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 184.

[238] Zhong, *Social Media Communication*, 188.

[239] Lykke et al., "Editorial Introduction," 3.

boundaries, and people are "writing back" to dominant regimes.[240] No longer are elites governing the dissemination of knowledge, rather individuals are increasingly able to curate their news feeds and converse with others around the world.

Aligning with this contemporary trend, accessible, informal sharing of information has long been used by Indigenous peoples.[241] Catherine Dussault and her colleagues address this in their 2024 article, "Widening the circle,": "Indigenous peoples, and more specifically the Anishinaabeg First Nation, have developed and traditionally employed sharing circles as a tool for personal growth and collective transformation."[242] The publication "present[s] a written version of the sharing circle the authors had about their experiences with implementing an Indigenous Curriculum Specialist-led Indigenization initiative."[243] As described by Dussault et al., sharing circles are "a tool for personal growth and transformation," similar to scholarly work.[244] As such sharing circles are a form of communication. Presented as they are by Dussault et al., the circle may be classified adjacent to the paradigm of directional writing. Directional writing incorporates multiple perspectives to better understand the information presented and a sharing circle facilitates the sharing of those diverse perceptions. Furthermore, in their conclusion the authors state, "we hope that our written sharing circle demonstrates some of the concrete ways by which we can

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[240] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 282.

[241] Lykke et al., "Editorial Introduction," 3-4.

[242] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420-421.

[243] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 419.

[244] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420.

unsettle the academy to creates spaces for Indigenization to occur[.]"[245] With this stated aim the publication combines the processes of "writing up," being an edited and published article, "writing down," with the inclusion of unedited communication, and Indigenization in its use of Indigenous tools. In short, Dussault et al., illustrates the contemporary development of directional writing and its use in a metamodern context.

At its heart this project is a consideration of Indigenous representation amid the international museum industry through a case study of the National Museum of Scotland's (NMS) permanent Ainu exhibit. It is a PhD project carried out in the immediate aftermath of COVID-19, against a backdrop of turbulent global affairs. Building from the foundation laid in chapter two, directional writing is my manifestation of metamodernity. The processes of writing in every direction is prominent because I am working in a system built from the tradition of 'writing up,' from my own "written down" research and thoughts, for communities that deserve "writing back," "across," and "in between." Linda Tuhiwai Smith puts it succinctly:

> it is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *Indigenous Peoples* together, in the same breath, without having an analysis of imperialism, without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices.[246]

To "write up" this project in a way that honors all those involved, I must break down practices rooted in modernity, "writing back," "across," and "in between," as both

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[245] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 426.
[246] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 2.

postmodernity and metamodernity propose. From there, this research attempts to go one step further, looking back and analyzing with compassion and understanding so that I may address topics that are authentic and applicable in a postcolonial, metamodern context. Much like Dussault et al., propose I will be "writing across" to those who can take my research as one part of the greater detangling of imperial research and methodologies. In my attempt to create an accessible cross-examination of museological and academic perceptions of Indigenous representation, I provide a map for my colleagues to interrogate Indigenous displays. The following historiography and evaluation framework, to be described in chapter five, are synthesizes of "written up" works which may be used to inform contemporary, metamodern paradigms that "write back" against outdated traditions and celebrates diversity and inclusivity.

What is, today, considered to be Ainu Studies began in the nineteenth century when scholars, missionaries, and explorers began visiting Hokkaido during missions fueled by the ideals of Western modernity. As discussed previously, Western modernity "[adheres] to the ideas and philosophies of the Enlightenment," promoting Western paradigms, and creating stratified taxonomies that favor the (E)nlightened observer.[247] In line with this, modernity promotes the idea that societies must pursue and implement the most recent technologies, sciences, and philosophies available via

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[247] Oxford Reference, "Modernism."
Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture," 339-340.

systems of Western innovation.[248] Nineteenth century colonialism became dependent on the capitalist ideas of modernization that demanded the seizure of land and resources that supported and powered modern, Western innovation. This often resulted in the overpowering and oppression of local cultures that were labelled "lesser than" the colonial power. With these ideals in mind, Westerners arrived in Hokkaido with varying goals, from research to exploration, and their efforts set the foundation for English-language Ainu Studies. Prior to the arrival of Westerners in Hokkaido, written records that mention the Ainu come primarily from Japanese documentation of trade and civil interactions with the peoples of the large, northern island. By the nineteenth century, the Tokugawa Bakufu (1603-1868) had been shifting their policies in Hokkaido from a trade relationship to one of defense and colonization in the face of Russian expansion into the area.[249] It was not until the forced opening of Japan to Westerners by Commodore Matthew C. Perry in the mid-nineteenth century that systematic studies of the Ainu emerged as an academic discipline. With the arrival of Western academics, Ainu Studies emerged as one among the many subjects of early modern anthropology and ethnography that grew out of the research and exploration powered by Western ideals of modernism and colonialism.

As academic work is cumulative, I am by no means the first to work with decolonial and Indigenization frameworks. As addressed in the previous chapter the

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[248] John V. Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing: A New History of Science, Technology and Medicine* (Manchester, UK and Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 50-53.
[249] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 161-165.

evolution of academic thought and methodology is ever-expanding and changing, and the present work sits at the twenty-first century culmination of decades of work. Within Ainu Studies, Neil Gordon Munro stands as a pillar of the English-language subfield. Despite the principles of Western modernity with which he was raised and educated, Munro and his work translate into contemporary decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies. To this end, Munro creates a foundation—a measuring stick—from which the next two chapters are built. Chapter three begins with *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*, both published by Munro while he lived in Yokohama, Japan, while chapter four starts with *Ainu Creed and Cult*, Munro's magnum opus published post humorously in the 1960s. Organized into two overarching themes, (pseudo)science and transnationalism, the next two chapters lay out English-language Ainu Studies historiography.

3.1 Coins of Japan and Prehistoric Japan

The act of "writing up" is "a recognisable descendant from the scientific revolutions of the late 16th and early 17th centuries and the European Enlightenment, which took science as its model."[250] Intrinsic to Western modernity, this process is most obviously exemplified by the upper middle and upper class individuals educated in Europe during the long nineteenth century, individuals such as Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) and Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Lev Sternberg (1861-1927), Isabella Bird (1831-1904). With their social and economic stability, these men, and to a lesser degree women, were able to travel and study in a way that aligned with and contributed to Western modernity.[251] They pursued "curiosities" in the name of modern ways of knowing, "writing down" their thoughts and observations to "write up" their reports and disseminate them to other Westerners. They were both the products and facilitators of modern imperialism and colonialism.

In 1854, Commodore Matthew Perry (1794-1858), a product of Western modernity, commanded the Convention of Kanagawa, forcing Japan to open its borders to the West outside of the previously established port of Nagasaki. Commodore Perry was not the first Westerner to infiltrate the Japanese system, but he came at a time when the Bakufu was losing domestic support. Faced with the aggression of Western imperialism, personified by Commodore Perry, the Tokugawa

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[250] Smith, "Writing Up and Down" 637.
[251] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-144.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.

Shogunate began to falter, eventually resulting in the Meiji Restoration of 1868.[252] To

preserve Japanese autonomy, the newly restored emperor set about the rapid

modernization and Westernization of his country.[253] Signaling Japan's adoption of

Western imperialism and colonialism, the annexation of Ezo and its rebranding as the

northern frontier, Hokkaido, in 1869 may be considered Japan's first formal act of

modern colonization.[254] Prior to this, Japan had begun exerting control over Hokkaido

in 1604 with the Black Seal Order of Tokugawa Ieyasu, which established the Matsumae

family as daimyo, or lord, of the large northern island. The Matsumae family had been

charged with the economic and political stability of Japan's northern trade routes

through the management of the region and its inhabitants, the Ainu. At the time of

Tokugawa's Black Seal order, the Ainu controlled much of the trade entering Japan

through Hokkaido in their role as prominent traders along the Northern Silk Road. This

trade system, a part of the Northern Silk Road, connected Japan to mainland Asia via

Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Amur River Basin.[255] The Matsumae daimyo was the

Bakufu's colonial agent used to enforce economic regulation and co-dependency to

increase Japanese influence in the region and insulate Japan against Russian and

Chinese influence.[256] Though the process was slow, and it would be another two and

a half centuries before Japan made a formal claim to the entire island, Tokugawa Ieyasu

and the Matsumae family had laid the foundation for the Meiji colonization of

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[252] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-53.
[253] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.
[254] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 51-55.
[255] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 131.
[256] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 37-39.

Hokkaido. The political machinations of the Bakufu gave way to the colonial pursuits of the Meiji Emperor. Coupled with the sharp influx of Western scholars empowered by Commodore Perry, modern colonialism transformed Hokkaido from a remote backwater to Japan's own Manifest Destiny frontier.

Halfway around the world and five years prior to the Meiji Restoration Neil Gordon Munro was born to Dr Robert Gordon Munro and Margaret Pringle Munro. Born and raised in the Scottish Lowlands, Munro pursued his higher education in the School of Medicine at Edinburgh University. Despite taking time off from school due to illness in 1882, Munro graduated and set out to travel the world in 1879. As many Western-educated young adults did at the time, Munro pursued his curiosities, first to India and then to Japan. Once in Japan, Munro worked at, and in some records jointly founded, Yokohama General Hospital starting in 1892 and received his Japanese medical license in 1899. Just fourteen years after arriving in Japan, Munro "became a naturalized Japanese citizen" and adopted both katakana and kanji spellings of his name. [257] During his free time, Munro travelled around Japan and directed or participated in many archaeological excavations. From these archaeological notes and experiences Munro "wrote up" *Coins of Japan* (1906) and *Prehistoric Japan* (1908). With time Munro became a renowned scholar of Japanese and Ainu history, maintaining contact with other prominent Western scholars like Basil Hall Chamberlain and Frederick Starr.

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[257] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 20.

Despite being trained as a medical doctor, Munro's passions seem to have aligned more with anthropology and human history. Like many other Victorian Gentlemen (and women) of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Munro participated in a type of exploration-powered research.[258] These scholars were often Western-educated individuals who were inspired by the adventures of people like the Isabella Bird and Arnold Henry Savage Landor. From Bird and her predecessors to later scholars like Munro, these Westerners sought knowledge of the human world that would bolster and clarify understandings of human origins and relations.[259] These were the individuals that led to the explosion of ethnography on the back of the Age of Enlightenment and Scientific Revolutions before. While many existing examples of ethnography are products of the rampant racism of Western imperialism and colonialism, doing more harm than good in their depictions of colonized peoples, there are many that retain significance in their respective fields. Munro's publications predominantly fall into this later group because his surviving works are balanced portrayals of Ainu Studies and Japanese archaeology around the turn of the twentieth century. Alongside his medical career, Munro fueled his insatiable curiosity first through archaeology and then through anthropology, ethnography, and advocacy. Combining his curiosity and training, Munro cultivated a unique perspective on

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[258] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-144.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.
[259] Bethencourt, *Racisms,* 2-3 and 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

Japanese and, later, Ainu history, which is valuable to contemporary scholars across the fields of Ainu and Japanese Studies as well as anthropology and archaeology. This perspective can be seen through Munro's three monographs: *Coins of Japan* (1904), *Prehistoric Japan* (1908), and *Ainu Creed and Cult* (1962). Both *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*, relied on Munro's historical studies and excavations, the majority of which were done before Munro moved to Nibutani, Hokkaido around 1930.[260] Both publications exemplify Munro as a Victorian Scotsman and product of colonialism, seen especially through the language, acknowledgements, and photography used throughout. Exploring *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan* contextualizes early Ainu Studies in its relationship to Japanese Studies as well as Munro's own shift from modern Western scholar to the compassionate advocate to be seen in *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

The language Munro uses throughout *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan* is one of the most telling elements of his education under the framework of Western modernity. Beginning with *Coins of Japan*, Munro's first "written up" monograph, the use of subtly historicizing language relegates Japan and East Asian languages to a primitive past.[261] While this may have not been done intentionally or maliciously, the language used is indicative of the unfair hierarchies and taxonomies of Western modernity that dominated academic thought around the turn of the twentieth century.

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[260] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 22.

[261] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

For example, in the introduction of the volume, Munro states, "They [the script on the collected coins] are written in characters which are a manifest survival of the picture writing of early man."[262] This statement is followed by a description of how these characters were "scored or scratched" rather than merely written. The imagery of "scratching" letters rather than "writing" calls to mind cave art, not a developed written language, thereby dismissing the intricacy and sophistication of Japanese and Chinese writing systems. Munro continues,

> As speech is more important than writing, which in early times was a crude and inefficient adjunct to it, it has resulted that many nations have reached quite an advanced state in the arts of life without developing the art of writing to a useful degree. [263]

The language Munro employs here continues to belittle East Asian writing systems, insinuating they are less developed, even prehistoric, in the hierarchies of Western modernity.[264] While Munro tempers the sentiment by admitting the "advanced state [of] the arts of life," the whole statement undercuts the validity of East Asian languages, perpetuating that non-Western cultures are somehow lesser-than. Munro's claim speaks directly to the ideas of Social Darwinism and Orientalism, presenting the Chinese writing system, and, by extension, the Japanese writing system, as a "survival of the picture writing of early man," situating them below the "more evolved" European writing systems.[265] At the end of the monograph, Munro includes an appendix, labelled

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[262] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, vii.

[263] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, vii.

[264] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 254-258.

[265] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, vii.
Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 305-306.

Appendix A, which allows the reader "to trace back the origins of the characters on the

Japanese coins, to their archaic forms."[266] With this inclusion, Munro proposes that

nineteenth century East Asian writing systems have evolved over time, challenging his

audience to trace the shapes back through time, emulating Darwin's Theory of

Evolution. Providing readers with evidence to form their own opinions may be

considered good practice in that it allows readers the freedom to think critically, but

the context of Munro's evidence upholds Social Darwinism and, by extension, the

elitism of Western academia.

Evolving from *Coins of Japan*, Munro published *Prehistoric Japan* just four years

later. At about two and half times the length and including 421 illustrations, *Prehistoric*

Japan was meant to be a comprehensive introduction to Japanese history through

archaeology.[267] This tome is a product of its time as "an attempt to give the European

reader some idea of Prehistoric Japan," through a study of archaeological excavations

and artifacts.[268] The language of this statement of intent echoes the sentiments of

colonial travelogues popular during the long nineteenth century. Just as other

Westerners did before him, Munro attempts to provide Westerners with a window into

a non-Western culture. Unlike those Westerners, Munro's focus is on history rather

than current culture and society. The preface begins with the previously mentioned

statement of intention, followed by: "The result is a sketch rather than a complete

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[266] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, viii.
[267] Frederick Starr, "Reviewed Work: *Prehistoric Japan* by Neil Gordon Munro," *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 11, no. 2 (Apr – Jun 1909) 297-298.
[268] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, v.

picture, but it is a faithful sketch so far as it goes, though perhaps, not without some error of detail."[269] This explanation addresses two important points: (1) Munro absolves himself of intentional error, and (2) he reminds readers that writing a complete account of any country's prehistory is an impossible task. In this instance, Munro acknowledges his shortcomings and reminds readers to think critically, both of which are prominent themes in twenty-first century academia. Rather than repeating the elitism prescribed through Social Darwinism and Orientalism, prominent in Western modernity, readers can see a shift toward self-awareness and limitation in Munro's work.

Moving further into the monograph, Munro's terminology choices continue to play an important role in the composition. The contents page of *Prehistoric Japan* lists chapter titles such as "Palæolithic Phase," "Neolithic Sites," and so on, with four out of fifteen chapters dedicated to the Yamato peoples.[270] As noted in the glossary, the Yamato peoples are the ancestors of the modern Japanese people. Having migrated from the Asian continent between 300 BCE and 250 CE, the Yamato peoples are thought to have displaced the Jōmon peoples who had populated the Japanese archipelago for thousands of years prior.[271] Considering both the title of the monograph and the chapters listed on the contents page, emphasis is placed on the Jōmon and Yamato peoples, without any immediate mention of ethnic diversity. This is notable because Japan has been known for its rhetoric of homogeneity since the

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[269] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, v.
[270] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, vii.
[271] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20-21.

Meiji Restoration.[272] For example, "the Meiji paradigm of a family-state," often "denied the validity of Ainu culture and indeed Ainu ethnicity itself," perpetuating the dogma of Japanese superiority. [273] Encouraged by the racial theories of the West, Japanese sentiments continued to develop resulting in the mid-twentieth century concept of *nihonjinron*.[274] While Munro predates *nihonjinron*, by focusing on the Jōmon-Yamato dynamic *Prehistoric Japan* anticipates the mono-ethnic sentiments in Japanese society that develop into *nihonjinron*. That is except for Munro's final chapter: "Chapter XV: The Prehistoric Races."[275] The introduction of this chapter reads:

> From time immemorial the Japanese islands have been occupied by a population carrying on that life cycle, which, from its comparatively rudimentary nature has been called Primitive. This population, as certain remains testify, formerly inhabited also the west and south, but were compelled to retreat by the pressure of an alien people. The Ainu, sole survivors of the primitive inhabitants, now number about 17,000 in Yezo, 2000 in Saghalin and a few hundred in the Kurile Islands.[276]

The wording of this passage reflects both Western and Japanese colonialism and modernities. In using terms like "rudimentary" and "primitive," Munro maintains misrepresentative semantics reflective of Social Darwinism and the work of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903).[277] Both Darwin and Spencer had been "widely translated [into Japanese] between the 1870s and 1890s, and [S]ocial Darwinism [had become] an

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[272] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-174.
[273] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-173.
[274] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.
Kowner and Befu, "Ethnic Nationalism in Postwar Japan," 396.
[275] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 661-680.
[276] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 661.
[277] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 270, and 300-302.

important theoretical framework" in Japan by the time Munro published *Prehistoric Japan*.[278] In other words, Social Darwinism was present in both Western and Japanese modernity. Munro, existing between his Western education and Japanese livelihood, adhered to the standards of his time, like Social Darwinism, with words like "rudimentary" and "primitive." Just as in *Coins of Japan*, Munro's language primes readers to think a certain way despite attempts to displace blame and encourage critical thinking. In the end, Munro was unable to stray far from his training as a Western scholar and continued to uphold to the vernacular and racial standards created by Western modernity and its "writing up" processes.

In addition to his word choice, Munro's acknowledgements are an important point of divergence from his contemporaries. This is most apparent in Munro's crediting of the help and resources provided by several Japanese scholars. In the Preface of *Coins of Japan*, following the statement of intent discussed above, Munro lists the names of seven Japanese individuals.[279] First seen here, Munro's citation of non-European individuals continues throughout his academic work.[280] Munro never shied away from distributing his thanks and acknowledging his informants. From a twenty-first century perspective, this can be taken for granted because of strict plagiarism rules and the ever-increasing diversity of academia, but Munro's acknowledgements are not just "good practice" by the academic standards used today,

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[278] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 356-357.
[279] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, iii.
[280] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 8.

they are also a nod to the decentering of Western academia and the diversity of knowledge and education. In this way, Munro may be considered ahead of his time in the respect he held for all scholars regardless of national origin and pluralistic ways of knowing. Additionally, with the preface of *Coins of Japan*, Munro reminds his readers that to understand Japanese history and culture, one must consider the work and collections of Japanese scholars.[281] Contrasting Munro, Isabella Bird, a travelogue writer of the nineteenth century, rarely recognized the knowledge of her Japanese companions. In her work, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, she went so far as to describe her guide, Ito, as "the most stupid-looking Japanese that I have seen."[282] The dismissive, aggressive language employed by Bird is a result of the biases of Social Darwinism and Western modernity's elitism.[283] Munro, as a Scotsman, had direct experiences with this system inside and outside of school, thus it is not unreasonable to consider that Munro purposely undermined these systems because of prejudices that he may have experienced as a colonial subject of the British Empire. No matter the reasoning, Munro's acknowledgement and praise of his Japanese colleagues reminds readers that knowledge is not limited to Western scholars. Munro goes out of his way to move beyond the Western-centric idea of knowledge and recenter the Japanese within their own history through his citations, thereby contributing to multi-vocal dialogues which result in diverse ways of knowing.

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[281] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, iii-iv.
[282] Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (London, UK: John Murray, 1880) 11.
[283] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 302-306.

Finally, Munro's extensive use of photography is central to both *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*. The opening line of the former reads: "With the object of showing the characters on the various coins of Japan in as clear a manner as possible, tracings were made which were afterwards photographed and reproduced by half tone process."[284] From the start Munro's incorporation of photography set him apart from his predecessors. This technology enabled research, preservation, and global dissemination of knowledge in ways that were previously unimaginable. While camera technology was not exclusive to Westerners, it was an expensive pursuit that remained inaccessible to many, making its use in academic work a double-edge sword. Without the financial means and social capital afford him through his Western lineage, Munro would not have been able to rely so heavily on photography in his scholarly endeavors. In *Prehistoric Japan*, Munro expands his use of photographic evidence. With a collection of 421 illustrations, the book is a treasure trove of nineteenth-century archaeological photography.[285] Munro includes a range of images, such as excavation plans, stone tools, earthenware, statues, human remains, and living people. While scholars, both past and present, benefit from these visual resources, the exploitation of living individuals and human remains in these photographs warrants critical examination. The first picture of a living human to appear in *Prehistoric Japan* depicts an Ainu woman posing to show her tattooed arms.[286] This photograph appears as part

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[284] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, iii.

[285] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, ix-xvii.

[286] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 262.

of Munro's comparative analysis of carved patterns which had been uncovered during archaeological digs. While this analysis may illustrate the continuity of artistic designs between historic material culture and living traditions, the inclusion of a tattooed woman—especially during a time when Ainu tattoos were prohibited—was problematic.[287] The photo exemplifies the exploitation allowed for by systems of modernity. As a product of his time, Munro intent was to offer comparative evidence of cultural continuity, but his methods may have caused distress for the individuals involved.

This pattern of exploitation extends to other photographs in Munro's work. One of the most striking examples is found in the final chapter of *Prehistoric Japan*, which include photographs and illustrations of human skulls.[288] The first of these is a photograph of an Ainu skull held at what had been the Imperial University, now likely the University of Tokyo.[289] Both Munro's photograph and the fact that the skull was housed in the Imperial University collections reflect the disrespect and disregard for Indigenous peoples characteristic of nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial and academic cultures. Munro and his colleagues viewed these remains as valuable artifacts of human history, essential pieces of a collective puzzle. At the time, the

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[287] Mayunkiki, "The Meaning of Tattoos for Ainu Women," talk organized by The Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation and Hokkaidō Prefecture, 16 January 2020, accessed 9 May 2023, https://dajf.org.uk/event/the-meaning-of-tattoos-for-ainu-women#:~:text=For%20the%20Ainu%2C%20the%20tattoo,follow%20a%20%E2%80%9CJapanese%20lifestyle%E2%80%9D.

[288] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 660-675.

[289] "Chronology," The University of Tokyo, accessed 12 August 2024, https://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/about/chronology.html.

cultural beliefs and values of the people being studied were largely ignored. Regardless of intent, Munro's inclusion of such images illustrates his insatiable pursuit of knowledge, revealing the ethical concerns surround the treatment of living people and human remains.

Taking a step back from Munro as an individual, a line from a 1912 review of *Prehistoric Japan* highlights the importance of archaeology as a discipline for scholars at that time: "[*Prehistoric Japan*] is based chiefly on the explorations [Munro] made of the ancient refuse and shell strata which mark the settlements of the very early inhabitants of Japan."[290] This line is a discrete summary of Munro's monograph, providing readers with a basic understanding of *Prehistoric Japan*. The review goes on to praise Munro for his research, discoveries, and the construction of the "written up" work. Other journals echo this positive review with one appearing in the 1909 edition of *American Anthropologist* and another in 1914 in *Man*.[291] Taken together, these reviews give credence to Munro and his work, while also contextualizing Munro's research as one among many. Put differently, Munro and his Western colleagues supported one another in a perpetuation of Western scholarship. The praises illustrate the interconnectedness of modern academia and are indicative of a reliance on Western scholars and methodologies. Frederick Starr, specifically, in his 1909 review mentions several famous works about Japan and Japanese archaeology, all of which

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[290] "Reviews," *British Medical Journal*, vol. 1, 2674 (1912) 730.

[291] Starr, "Reviewed Work: *Prehistoric Japan*," 297-298.

A. C. Haddon. "Reviewed Work: *Prehistoric Japan* by Neil Gordon Munro," *Man*, vol. 14 (1914) 10-12.

were written by Westerners.[292] There is no mention of Japanese scholars working in their own history. Starr goes on to commend how Munro has consolidated all previous scholarship into one large monograph. The results are a self-perpetuating echo chamber of Westerners praising and citing one another in a distinctly non-Western field. The result is an academic field couched in Western modernity which informed and reflected historical and anthropological ways of knowing during the long nineteenth century.

When considering Munro's use of the language, acknowledgements, and photography, it is obvious that Munro meant to make a positive contribution to the field of Asian studies through his consideration Japanese history and archaeology. First in *Coins of Japan*, Munro invited his audience to critically consider Japanese coinage, rather than merely telling his audience his own opinions. He did this by providing material needed to enter a dialogue not only with Munro, but with other scholars of Japanese history. In *Prehistoric Japan*, Munro provided readers with great insight into both Japan and its archaeological history. While the work certainly had its faults, it provided a window into Japan for many people that would not have otherwise had the opportunity. The illustrations and descriptions have provided readers, past and present, with a unique perspective on Japanese archaeology as practiced at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover, Munro's style of writing offers a balanced overview of the archaeological record in a way that was accessible for a wide variety of people, not

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[292] Starr, "Reviewed Work: *Prehistoric Japan*," 297.

just scholars. Taken as a pair, both *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan* act as decent introductory texts. While both were specific to their subjects, coins and archaeology respectively, they were well-rounded, accessible texts. Munro's language occasionally reveals his status as part of colonial Britain, despite his recognition of his Japanese colleagues which set him apart from his Western contemporaries. From his position as a Scottish subject of the British Empire, Munro's work offered a distinct perspective on Japanese history, blending diverse viewpoints and fostering a more inclusive understanding of the past.

3.2 Twentieth Century Scholarship

Munro "wrote up" and published *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan* in the early twentieth century, a time when Western academia dominated the intellectual and physical landscapes. Western scholars were regarded as authoritative figures, shaping knowledge according to Western modernity. From the echo chamber exemplified by Starr and the reviews of *Prehistoric Japan*, Ainu Studies emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, fuelled by the Western quest to trace the origins of humanity. Early Ainu Studies was largely shaped by by colonial scholars like Munro. The themes of (pseudo)science and transnationalism—both grounded in Western modernity—will be used to consider the early genealogy of English-language Ainu Studies.

SOCIAL DARWINISM AND PSEUDO-SCIENCE

In 1859, Darwin "wrote up" and published his famous work, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. The resulting growth of evolutionary biology had a ripple effect throughout academia beyond the hard sciences and even into society, politics, and economics.[293] Over a decade later, Darwin returned to his theory and "wrote up" *The Descent of Man* (1871), in which he addressed human evolution directly.[294] Both publications inspired debate across the academy—echoes of which live on in the twenty-first century—about the implications of evolution concerning both the

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[293] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 300-301.
[294] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 297.

biological and social aspects of humanity.[295] First appearing around 1880, the term

Social Darwinism accounts for the social application of Darwin's Theory of Evolution.[296]

While the debate is ongoing, Robert C. Bannister's 1979 summary of Social Darwinism

will be used here: "the term social Darwinism, although applied ubiquitously,

consistently derived its sting from the implication that the struggle and selection of

the animal realm were also agents of change (and progress) in human society."[297] Put

another way, human society evolves through processes akin to *natural selection* and

survival of the fittest. The systematic studies and hierarchical categorization of peoples

through ethnographic studies used between the mid-nineteenth century and the

Second World War are rooted in the ideas and theories of Western modernity and can

be categorized under the term Social Darwinism.[298] These systems were used to order

and divide the world according to Western standards in a way that was meant to

emulate scientific fact, thereby contributing to a proliferation of pseudoscience. These

mechanisms of knowledge organization influenced the study of the Ainu as

Westerners entered Japanese academia in the latter half of the nineteenth century and

into the beginning of the twentieth. These early works are steeped in Western

paternalism and Social Darwinism, as reflected in Munro's work in *Coins of Japan* and

Prehistoric Japan. Scholars like Phillip Franz (1796-1866) and Heinrich von Siebold

(1852-1908), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), Lev Sternberg (1861-1927), Carl

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[295] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 67-90.

[296] Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1979) 4.

[297] Bannister, *Social Darwinism*, 8.

[298] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 300-301.

Whiting Bishop (1881-1942), and Wellington D. Jones (1909-1948) contributed to Ainu

Studies in a way reminiscent of Munro's early works. Under the pressure of scientific

advancement in the nineteenth century, Ainu Studies and Japan Studies academics

applied categorization methodologies and taxonomies, thereby adhering to Social

Darwinism and its pseudoscience and devaluing the Ainu as Indigenous peoples,

relegating them to a primitive past without a future.[299]

The father-son duo, Phillip Franz and Heinrich von Siebold were both products

of and perpetrators of Western modernity and its infiltration of Japanese spaces. The

Von Siebolds are prime examples of the Western need to document, classify, and

explain everything that dominated scholarship well into the twentieth century. One of

the most revealing examples of early, Western science in Japan is Philip Franz's two-

volume work documenting Japanese plant life, *Flora Japonica*, as well as the abundant

use of "Siebold" in the scientific names of Japanese flora.[300] Beyond Philip Franz, the

taxonomies of Western modernity were applied to humanity as well. For example,

terms like "Mongoloid" and "Caucasian" permeated early ethnography, such as in

Sternberg's "The Ainu Problem."[301] From the perspective of nineteenth and early

twentieth century scholars, these terms were a way to classify people and create order

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[299] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

[300] Phillip Franz von Siebold and Joseph Gerhard Zuccarini, *Flora Japonica; sive, Plantae Quas in Imperio Japonico Collegit, Descripsit, ex Parte in Ipsis Locis Pingendas Curavit.*, (Lugduni Batavorum: Apud Auctorem, 1835).

[301] Lev Sternberg, "The Ainu Problem," *Anthropos*, vol 24, no 5/6 (Sep – Dec 1929) 757.

from a perceived chaos. While the terms themselves are not inherently malicious, the Social Darwinist implications and assumptions contained therein contribute to the dismissal of the Ainu as a "dying people," in much the same way that Munro used "rudimentary" and "primitive" in the final chapter of *Prehistoric Japan*.[302] Using this language in "written up" material perpetuates the philosophies of Social Darwinism, creating arbitrary hierarchies reflected in both Western and Japanese modernity.

Basil Hall Chamberlain, a contemporary of the von Siebolds and Munro, also "writes up" to Western modernity's taxonomies. In his 1888 publication, *Aino Folk-Tales*, Chamberlain states, "Thus it is *a priori* that the stupid and barbarous will be taught by the clever and educated, not the clever and educated by the stupid and barbarous."[303] This statement concludes Chamberlain's argument that the Ainu may have developed their oral traditions based on what they had learned from the Japanese. While it cannot be denied that cultural interactions impact the development of culture, Chamberlain "writes up" for his colleagues in accordance with Social Darwinism, placing the Japanese into "the clever and educated" category thereby undermining Ainu agency. These "writing up" trends anticipate later concepts like *nihonjinron* and Japan's monoethnic mythology.[304] In the end, the vocabulary used by von Siebolds,

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[302] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Fabian, *Time and the Other.*
[303] Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-Tales* (USA: Independently published; originally published London: Privately printed for Folk-Lore Society, 1888) 11.
[304] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 198-199.
Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 300-306.

Chamberlain, and, in part, Munro contribute to biased myths of "dying races," undermining the validity of Indigenous cultures.

In the first quarter of the twentieth century, scholars like Bishop and Jones exemplify the continued marginalization of the Ainu in favor of the Japanese narrative. Like the von Siebolds and Chamberlain before him, Carl Whiting Bishop sought to explore the broader history of Japan in his 1923 publication, "The Historical Geography of Early Japan." While the bulk of the article addresses Japan's general history, Bishop "writes up" that "the earliest inhabitants of Japan of whom we have any knowledge were the ancestors of the existing Ainu of [Hokkaido]."[305] With this statement, Bishop sets himself up to address the Ainu and their history, but this was done only sparingly. Consequently, Bishop left out a significant part of Japanese history through the marginalization of the Indigenous history of Hokkaido. Additionally, Bishop relied heavily on Chinese sources and Western scholars throughout the article, diminishing the role of Japan in the writing its own history. Bishop goes so far as to state, "derived without exception from Chinese sources are our first contemporary accounts of the Japanese people, two thousand years ago."[306] While Bishop also cites the *Kojiki*, a mythological account of Japan's founding akin to Homer's epics and Virgil's *Aeneid*, the reliance on Chinese sources contributes to the erasure of local autonomy and ways of knowing in the writing of early Japanese history. Bishop's narrative is both a result

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[305] Carl Whiting Bishop, "The Historical Geography of Early Japan," *Geographical Review*, vol. 13, no. 1 (January 1923) 42.

[306] Bishop, "The Historical Geography of Early Japan," 40.

of and contribution to the historical reliance on Chinese source material, and its biases, which led to the placement of China slightly higher in Western modernity's hierarchy of civilization.[307] By overlaying Western European trends and favoritisms onto Japan, Bishop places Japan into a Eurocentric worldview, diminishing Japan's ability to exist as a modern state. Considered as a whole, Bishop's article reminds readers to consider source material outside of Japan but also stands as an example of outdated, marginalizing research. With this example, modern readers are reminded that the Ainu were not the only ones who were negatively impacted by the research and methodologies of Western modernity. Japan's history was also marginalized by early researchers.

In another version of Eurocentrism from the same decade, Wellington D. Jones illustrates the idea of civilization through the control of nature, which had also been addressed by Franz Philip von Siebold's biological research touched on previously. In his 1921 publication, "Hokkaido, the Northland of Japan," Jones states:

> [Hokkaido's] population is sparse, and agriculture is in its infancy. Much of its cultivatable area is covered with virgin forest. And yet, though at present undeveloped and unimportant, the possibilities of Hokkaido are of real significance, for its area constitutes one-fifth that of all Japan, and its resources in proportion to area are not far inferior to those of other parts of that country.[308]

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[307] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 157.

[308] Wellington D. Jones, "Hokkaido, the Northland of Japan," *Geographical Review*, vol. 11, no. 1 (January 1921) 16.

In this statement, Jones promotes ideals of civilization inherent in Western modernity without regard to native populations and local ways of knowing. Jones uses language like "infancy" and "virgin," reflecting the same transformation Richard White addresses in his *The Roots of Dependency*. "White concludes that the cultural and economic impact of the market economy, more than any other single force, destroyed Native American subsistence systems and undermined their autonomy." [309] With the encouragement of modern Western scholars like Jones, Hokkaido was personified as untouched land with endless potential without regard for the Ainu and their historical role in the island's ecology.[310] In the same vein as Munro and Chamberlain, Jones' language marginalizes the Ainu, going so far as to remove them from the narrative, empowering the exploitation of Hokkaido for Japanese modernization and Westernization.[311] In fact, the underlying tone in this statement aligns with the ideals of Manifest Destiny that powered the expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century and resulted in the genocide of Indigenous American peoples.[312] Jones, like many of his industrial contemporaries, promoted colonialism to increase industrialization and capitalism because these were viewed as necessary building blocks for modernity.[313] Jones concludes his article by praising Hokkaido for its natural

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[309] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 74.

[310] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 75.

[311] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Fabian, *Time and the Other.*

[312] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-60.
Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 133.
Pietersma, "From Crafts to Agency," 24.

[313] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 64 and 186-187.

resources and how important those resources will be to modernizing Japan.[314] Here

Jones demonstrates the Western mindset which celebrates industrialization and

modernization over the livelihood of minority populations and the preservation of the

environment. Accordingly, capitalism and industrialization can be characterized as

tools of modernity which power the marginalization of subaltern histories, especially

those of Indigenous peoples.

Bishop and Jones are prime examples of early twentieth century scholarship and

ways of knowing. They researched and "wrote up" about their world in a way that

promoted Western modernity. Neither Bishop nor Jones considered the Ainu in any

significant way, but, instead, prioritized research that calls for the use of Hokkaido in

the modernization of Japan. Bishop even discredits the Japanese, diminishing their

history and agency in the Japanese archipelago, while Jones completely dismisses the

presence of the Ainu in Hokkaido. These scholars marginalized the local players of a

conversation concerning modernity and modernization.

Through these early examples of both Ainu and Japan Studies, the postcolonial

scholar can see that the earliest historiography of the Okhotsk region was dominated

by Western scholars in part due to increasingly efficient means of travel and

communication.[315] Chamberlain was the "Professor of Philology at the Tōkyō University"

in 1886, when he visited Hokkaido to study the Ainu language.[316] Edward Morse

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[314] Jones, "Hokkaido," 30.

[315] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 124.

[316] Edward B. Tylor, "Introduction," in *Aino Folk Tales* by Basil Hall Chamberlain (USA: independently published), (originally published London: Privately printed for Folk-Lore Society, 1888), 3.

(1838-1925), a scholar from the US, "was instrumenta; in introducing the ideas of Darwin to Japan," and in 1884 he "helped establish the Tokyo Anthropological Society (Tokyo Jinruigakkai)."[317] Ludwig Riess (1861-1928), a German scholar, encouraged the implementation of Western historical methodology during the Meiji era. And,

> a work by Heinrich von Siebold had become the first book on archaeology to be published in Japanese in 1879, although an Archaeological Society of Japan was not founded until 1895, starting publication of the *Kōkogakkai Zasshi* the following year.[318]

Munro, Chamberlain, and their contemporaries "directly influenced the first generation of Japanese scholars trained in the Western scientific disciplines."[319] "The speed of scientific development" under the banner of Western modernization pushed both Western scholars and those operating under Japanese modernity to study and classify the whole of the Japanese archipelago and its inhabitants.[320] As a consequence, Westerners controlled, directly and indirectly, how history was written during this time, setting global standards for decades to come.

Continuing into the twentieth century, Between the first World War and the Civil Rights Movement, the hard sciences impacted the evolution of academic ways of knowing, shifting Western modernity toward postmodernity. "[S]cientific principles, rationalised production, functional aesthetics, medical prowess, professional expertise and the welfare state" compounded to reorganize the historical taxonomies and

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[317] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 80.
[318] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 80-81.
[319] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 80.
[320] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 124.

hierarchies.[321] In the broad academic discipline of history, this trend can most clearly be seen through the use of biology to support historical and archaeological theories. Building off of the foundation laid by the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, and Munro, scholars like Reginal Ruggles Gates, Sanae Kanda, R. G. Harvey, and Christy G. Turner II worked with this crossroads of biology and history to better understand the Ainu and their part within the history of the Japanese archipelago. Writing in 1956, Reginal Ruggles Gates "wrote up" a comparative study of Ainu and Japanese skulls, beginning his article thusly:

> The origin and relationships of the Ainu is one of the most obscure problems in anthropology. To throw further light on this matter, 140 Ainu were studied in Hokkaido, and in addition Ainu skulls were measured in Tokyo.[322]

Mirroring the work of Lev Sternberg, to be address in more detail in the following section, Gates equates the Ainu to an "obscure problem" in a way that, while not actively malicious, diminishes the Ainu as living people.[323] There is a convergence of Darwin's biological Theory of Evolution and Social Darwinism in this statement, in that Gates aims to employ a biological system of evolution to better understand the long history of the Ainu, but the vocabulary used replicates the shortcomings of Social Darwinism instead. Falling back on the pseudoscientific methodology akin to phrenology, Gates relies on arbitrary measurements of stolen human remains, rather

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[321] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 186.

[322] Reginald Ruggles Gates, "A Study of Ainu and early Japanese Skulls," *Zeitschrift für Morphologies and Anthropologie*, vol. 48, no. 1 (November 1956) 55.

[323] Sternberg, "The Ainu Problem," 755-799.

than addressing the Ainu as a living culture.[324] Even if the results of Gates' study reveal a relationship between Japanese, Jōmon, and Ainu physiology, his language and methodology diminishes the importance of human interaction and living culture. Gates, in similar fashion to von Siebold, Chamberlain, and Sternberg, dismiss the Ainu as living people and, instead, views them as test subjects, upholding the hierarchical themes of Social Darwinism in the early half of the twentieth century.

Writing just over two decades after Gates, both Kanda Sanae and R. G. Harvey et al., contribute to this conversation of history, anthropology, and biology. Kanda measures skulls in his article, "Anthropological study on the excavated skulls from the Usu shell mound in Hokkaido, Japan – a contribution to the Ainu problem," and Harvey et al., considers previously done blood sampling and testing in their article, "Blood Groups, Serum Proteins and Enzymes of the Ainu of Hokkaido."[325] Both articles rely on biological jargon and cite primarily scientific studies, thus both articles "write up" to an audience versed in the biological side of anthropology, making them hard to read for diverse audiences. The use of scientific methodologies and vocabulary does not diminish the scholarly work of these scholars, but it does characterize both articles as products of Western modernity's "writing up" principles. Rather than "writing across" and making the work accessible to those outside of biological anthropology, the work

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[324] Gates, "A Study of Ainu and early Japanese Skulls," 56, 58-59, 60, and 62-67.

[325] Kanda Sanae, "Anthropological study on the excavated skulls from the Usa shell mound in Hokkaido, Japan—a contribution to the Ainu problem," *Zeitschrift für Morphologie and Anthropologie*, vol. 69, no. 2 (September 1978) 209-223.

R. G. Harvey, D. Tills, A. E. Mourant, E. R. Giblet, H. Cleve, A. G. Bearn, and R. B. McConnell, "Blood Groups, Serum Proteins and Enzymes of the Ainu of Hokkaido," *Human Biology*, vol. 50, no. 4 (December 1978) 425-450.

maintains a level of elitism that makes it difficult for non-specialists. Kanda's thesis

states:

> An attempt has been made in this study to find out the chronological
> changes of the skulls and morphological relations between the excavated
> skulls [from the Usu shell mound] and the Ainu.[326]

While no firm conclusion is stated in the article, Kanda does note that, based on both

skeletal and ceramic remains, there may have been significant immigration of non-

Ainu, Japanese peoples to Hokkaido during the III period, or the Satsumon period.[327]

In comparison, Harvey et al., concludes that

> the results of the present study confirm that the overall distribution of gene
> frequencies in the Ainu is essentially similar to that of East Asian
> Mongoloids and that in a number of blood group systems Ainu frequencies
> are well within the range of the Japanese.[328]

Both conclusions support the historical narrative that the Ainu and Japanese have had

a close relationship since the Yayoi period, which has resulted in biological similarities

across the archipelago. Here hard science is being used to effectively support the

historical and anthropological findings. While these are interesting conclusions both

statements are undermined by the fact that still no consideration is given to the living

Ainu, exemplifying the dominance of Social Darwinism and a reliance on evolution. For

example, in Kanda's study non-Usu skulls are not given a location or date of retrieval

other than "the excavated skulls from recent graves and the skull of the present Ainu

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[326] Kanda, "Anthropological study," 210.
[327] Kanda, "Anthropological study," 221.
[328] Harvey et al., "Blood Groups," 437.

are added in this report."[329] This is a prime example of culturally irresponsible traditions seen by earlier modern scholars like Munro. Harvey et al., does the same by considering two case studies that were the result of Ainu blood samples taken in Hokkaido and shipped to England and the United States for testing and studying.[330] By using human remains without explicit, informed permission from the living people of the same culture, scholars like Kanda and Harvey, et al, do a disservice to academics in their disregard and disrespect of living cultures.[331] This has resulted in a distinct distrust among colonized peoples around the world.[332] Nevertheless, studying scholars like Gates, Kanda, and Harvey, et al, is imperative for postcolonial scholars because of the lessons that may be gleaned. Learning from the shortcomings and disrespect inherent in these studies provides scholars in the twenty-first century an opportunity to do better—to recognize and grow from past traumas, mend relationships, and move forward with more comprehensive understandings and healthy inquiries.

TRANSNATIONALISM

The field of Transnational Studies is credited as being popularized in the early twentieth century by Randolph Bourne (1886-1918). Bourne was a radical essayist from

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[329] Kanda, "Anthropological study," 211.

[330] Harvey et al., "Blood Groups," 428-429.

[331] Nakamura Naohiro, "Redressing injustice of the past: the repatriation of Ainu human remains," *Japan Forum*, vol 31, no 3 (2019) 366.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 27-28.

[332] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1.

the United States, a philosophical scholar who wrote on and contributed to the "dissatisfaction with older traditions" and promoted "the ideal of a "trans-national America.""[333] It is with Bourne's 1916 article, "Trans-National America," that the term transnationalism came into common parlance.[334] In this article, Bourne rejected the popular ideal of the United States as a "melting pot," and, instead, promoted a cosmopolitan view of the country. [335] He proposed that rather than being a conglomerate of cultures, the US was a place for cultures to come together, retaining their individuality but also creating a new and better culture. Extrapolating this concept into academia, scholars may consider individuals cultures as parts of larger systems of interaction that move across physical and social borders. Further, it can be assumed that no culture exists in a vacuum and communication is an integral part of the human experience. The key point here is that Transnational Studies zooms in on the cross-cultural interactions and dialogues that contribute to the development of society and culture. Applying this to the field of Ainu Studies, this concept helps scholars to understand the role of the Ainu and the development of their culture as a part of the greater world systems that overlap the southern Okhotsk Sea. From economic to cultural ties, the Ainu may be addressed as a culture which thrived off trade and cross-cultural communication and, therefore, it is productive to apply a transnational lens to the development of Ainu Studies.

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[333] Christopher Lasch, "Preface," in *The Radical Will: Selected Writings, 1911-1918*, eds. Olaf Hansen and Christopher Lasch (New York, NY: Urizen Books, 1977) 9-11.
[334] Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-264.
[335] Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-249.

Just as with (pseudo)science described above, Phillip Franz and Heinrich von Siebold, as well as Basil Hall Chamberlain played a significant role in transnational Ainu Studies. Because these scholars did not limit themselves to the Ainu but studied the whole of Japan, "writing up" several texts across both Ainu and Japan Studies, they contributed to transnational studies of the region. The von Siebolds and Chamberlain often positioned the Ainu as a minor part of the overarching historical record of the Japanese archipelago, an unknowing nod to the multiculturalism and transnationalism that characterize the islands. For example, the von Siebolds wrote that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago "on the basis of archaeological evidence."[336] The father and son team placed the Ainu into a transnational paradigm of cultural development, characterizing the long history of the archipelago as diverse and inclusive. While their hypothesis was not entirely accurate in that there was significant cultural development between the Jōmon and the Ainu, they, nevertheless, acknowledge the overlaps of Ainu and Japanese history that were often dismissed or marginalized by other scholars.

Working around the same time, Chamberlain travelled to the northern island "in summer of 1886, in order to study the Ainu language."[337] This was Chamberlain's third visit to Hokkaido during his tenure as "Professor of Japanese and Philology at

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[336] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 81.
[337] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 78.
Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales*, 9.

Tokyo University."[338] Later, in his publication that resulted from the visit, *Aino Folk Tales*, Chamberlain argues:

> I would, therefore, merely suggest in passing that the probabilities of the case are in favour of the Ainus having borrowed from the only clever neighbours, the Japanese. (The advent of the Russians is so recent that they need hardly be counted in this connection.)[339]

This statement accepts the transnational paradigm suggested by the von Siebolds in that Chamberlain acknowledges communication between the Ainu and Japanese that resulted in cultural development. However, Chamberlain's Western training and biases are also evident. Rather than a mutually impactful relationship between the Ainu and Japanese, Chamberlain applies the hierarchies and taxonomies of Western modernity removing agency from Ainu culture and supporting the Japanese as "the only clever neighbours."[340] Furthermore, Chamberlain dismisses Russian influence in the region, contributing additional marginalization to the conversation. While the Russians did not officially enter the region until the Cossack advancement into the region in the sixteenth century, there were other Indigenous peoples in the region that contributed to the development of Ainu culture.[341] This is without considering the influence of broader trade relationships like those with the Chinese noted by Bishop previously.[342] Chamberlain discredits Ainu and Indigenous agency, disregarding the presence of cultures outside the Ainu-Japanese dialogue, despite evidence to the contrary from

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[338] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 80.

[339] Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales*, 11.

[340] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 300-306.

[341] BBC, "Russia Profile – Timeline."

[342] Bishop, "The Historical Geography of Early Japan."

across the southern Okhotsk region. From a twenty-first century, decolonial, Indigenizing standpoint, Chamberlain's claim is short-sighted and inconsiderate, despite also holding merit as an early transnational approach. Ultimately, both the von Siebolds and Chamberlain, to varying levels, acknowledge the influence of cross-cultural communication and, therefore, apply the lens of transnationalism to early Ainu Studies.

The twentieth century saw substantial expansion of Ainu Studies by non-Western and Western scholars alike. Scholars such as Lev Sternberg and Takakura Shinichirō (1902-1990) exemplify the ongoing transnational conversation in twentieth century Ainu Studies and the internationality of academia. Lev Yakovlevich Sternberg arrived in northern Sakhalin after being exiled to the Sakhalin penal colony in 1889 for his activism against the Tsar and it was there that he began his ethnographic work among the Indigenous populations.[343] Over the course of his life, Sternberg travelled extensively, pursuing ethnographic studies inside and outside Russia eventually taking a professorship at Petrograd University in 1918.[344] Sternberg may be considered "Western" by some, but his position as a Russian scholar differentiates his work from those of the von Siebolds and Chamberlain because of Russia's position on the periphery of Western modernity.[345] In the 1999 English republication of "The Social Organization of the Gilyaks," scholar Bruce Grant addresses Sternberg as a scholar:

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[343] Lev Sternberg, "The Social Organization of the Gilyak," *Anthropological Papers of The American Museum of Natural History*, no. 82 (1999) xi.
[344] Sternberg, "The Social Organization of the Gilyak," xiii.
[345] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 254-255.

> [Sternberg] has enjoyed the reputation as a famous ancestor for the generations of anthropologists he trained and influenced. Yet, looking back on Sternberg's work today, what perhaps stands out is not even just what he wrote, but how his work has come to mean so many different things to so many.[346]

Grant goes on, providing examples of Sternberg's influence throughout the international field of anthropology and among the Gilyaks themselves. From Grant's introduction, Sternberg may be considered a transnational scholar who "wrote across" national borders and established foundations from which the field of anthropology grew. However, his work addressing the Ainu reveals Sternberg's modern prejudices, reminding contemporary readers of the problematic origins of anthropology as a formal discipline. Illustrating this, near the end of his life, Sternberg visited Hokkaido to study the Ainu. The resulting article, "The Ainu Problem," was published posthumously in 1929.[347] Labelling the Ainu as a "problem" demonstrates Sternberg's training under Western modernity, marginalizing the Ainu as lesser than, a "problem" to be dealt with, rather than a people with history and culture.[348] From the title, Western modernity shines through the work as Sternberg "writes up" in accordance with "dying race" mythologies.[349] Still, Sternberg's work aligns with the ideals of

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[346] Sternberg, "The Social Organization of the Gilyak," xxiii.

[347] Sternberg, "The Social Organization of the Gilyak," xiv.
Sternberg, "The Ainu Problem," 755-799.

[348] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

[349] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

transnationalism, contextualizing the Indigenous peoples of the Okhotsk region in complex world systems. His work with the Nivkh people, referred to as Gilyaks in many Western publications, alongside the Ainu illustrates Sternberg's expansive, nuanced understanding of the Okhotsk region. In fact, Sternberg goes so far as to look beyond the Okhotsk region and compare the Ainu to Indigenous Peoples in southeast Asia and Oceania.[350] While Sternberg's claims do not hold up under scrutiny in a twenty-first century context, his work does challenge the hierarchies and taxonomies of Western modernity through transnational methodologies. In this way, Sternberg contributes to the growing field of Indigenous Studies through his use of transnational anthropology across the Okhotsk and comparative studies outside of the region.

Building upon the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, and Sternberg, Takakura Shinichirō was one of the first Japanese academics to emerge in modern Ainu Studies. While Takakura was not the first Japanese individual to study the Ainu, he provided a valuable step toward formalizing the study of the Ainu on their own rather than as a subset of Japanese history. Takakura helped to establish Ainu Studies in Japan, moving the field away from Western ethnography and history. In his most influential work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, originally published in 1948, Takakura focuses on Hokkaido during the slow colonization process of the Tokugawa Era.[351] With the stated purpose "to present some data concerning the study of native policy within the frame of colonial

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[350] Sternberg, "The Ainu Problem," 798-799.

[351] Takakura Shinichirō, "The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation," translated and edited by John A. Harrison, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, no. 4 (1960) 1-88.

policy," Takakura's monograph provides readers with a discussion of the Ainu-

Japanese relationship dating back to a mythological origin. [352] In such manner,

Takakura not only supports the Japanese colonial project, but also reminds readers

that the Japanese have acknowledged and maintained contact with their northern

neighbors for centuries. Citing government and private records, Takakura provides an

illustration of the transnationalism of the Japanese archipelago, anticipating and

subverting the Japanese claim of mono-ethnicism and homogeneity that was

popularized under the Meiji government. [353] This dichotomy is interesting because

Takakura's expressed goal in the study is in support of Japan's colonization of

Hokkaido, but the resulting insights go against the Japanese policy of assimilation

enforced by the 1899 Protection Act. In fact, the observations made by Takakura

acknowledge the Ainu as a separate culture that requires some level of diplomatic

exchange with the Japanese rather than as backward peoples in need of modernity.

The monograph continues under the subtitle of "Ainu Society."[354] With an emphasis

on economic relationships between the Ainu and Japanese, and social organization of

Hokkaido Ainu, Takakura's discussion provides readers with a brief understanding of

Ainu history from a Japanese perspective.[355] Due to the need for brevity, Takakura does

not address the reach of Hokkaido Ainu trade routes into Sakhalin and the Asian

mainland, thus he is unable to create a comprehensive understanding of the Ainu as a

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[352] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," 7.
[353] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-173.
[354] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," 12-23.
[355] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," 12-23.

fully functioning economic player within the trade systems of the southern Okhotsk Sea. Takakura, intentionally or unintentionally, minimizes the agency and influence of the Ainu in the southern Okhotsk, aligning with the trends of Western modernity.[356] Nevertheless, Takakura's exploration of Ainu history is particularly interesting from a postcolonial perspective because of its diversity in thought. On the one hand, Takakura submits to the hierarchy of Western modernity as employed by the Japanese government, but, on the other, he is unable to wholly discount the diversity and transnationality of the Ainu and, by extension, the whole Japanese archipelago. He may not address the valuable role of the Ainu in the Northern Silk Road and he may support Japanese modernity, but this article reminds readers of the historical autonomy of the Ainu and the transnationalism intrinsic in the systems of the southern Okhotsk region.

Alongside political and economic relationships, scholars in the early half of the twentieth century were interested in Ainu spirituality. While religious and spirituality studies do not speak to transnationality in the same way that social studies do, the work of scholars Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882-1971) and Moses Osamu Baba do contribute to a transnational understanding of the Ainu. Amongst Ainu Studies, Westerners often turned to the Iyomante when studying Ainu religion: "*Iyomante* is a ceremony where hospitality is extended to the ramat (spirits) of kamuy before they are sent back to the

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[356] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

world from which they came."[357] The ceremony was done to honor the Ainu deities, kamuy, by sending sacred spirits to Kamuy Mosir, the land of the gods, with a celebratory feast. In Kindaichi Kyōsuke's 1949 article, "The Concepts Behind the Ainu Bear Festival (Kumamatsuri)," Ainu religion is explored through the Iyomante. Kindaichi begins his article with a short explanation of the term kamuy, "which means a god" in Ainu, followed by an exploration of the Ainu perception of how gods visit the earth in the form of animals.[358] The article offers little depth, relying on surface explanation rather than critical discussion resulting in a two-dimensional understanding of the Ainu worldview, with little to no exploration of the impacts of spirituality on Ainu culture or cross-cultural interaction. The final page of the article is dedicated to the Kumamatsuri, or Iyomante in Ainu.[359] The Iyomante is presented as the centerpiece of Ainu religion through a short narrative in which Kindaichi's tone is reminiscent of Japanese superiority, exemplified by the continuous use of the Japanese word Kumamatsuri, rather than the Ainu name Iyomante. This can be interpreted as a deliberate erasure of the Ainu language in favor of the colonizer's language, undermining Ainu agency. Furthermore, no sources were cited in the text of the article. Though this is not unusual for the time in which it was written, it implies undue authority to Kindaichi himself and disregards information from the Ainu themselves or other academic sources. The

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[357] Upopoy: National Ainu Museum and Park, "inomi."

[358] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, "The Concepts behind the Ainu Bear Festival (Kumamatsuri)," translated by Minori Yoshida, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 5, no. 4 (winter 1949) 345-348.

[359] Kindaichi, "The Concepts behind the Ainu Bear Festival," 349-350.

article was written as a simple explanation of Ainu religion, and it falls short of a critical, academic exploration of Indigenous religion.

Moses Osamu Baba, publishing in the same year as Kindaichi, focuses on the imagery of ceremonial objects used by the Ainu in his article "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu." A variety of illustrations and photos of objects are included in the article, giving the audience a comprehensive visual of Baba's research material just as Munro had done previously.[360] While Baba's article does not explore the complexities of the Ainu religion, his exploration of ceremonial artwork offers a glimpse into a religion that goes beyond Kindaichi's brief explanation. Rather than lay out a two-dimensional explanation of the iyomante, Baba engages with the artwork produced by the Ainu, providing readers with more depth and analysis of material culture. For example, Baba divides ikunishi, or ikupasuy, into groups:

> (a) simple *iku-nishi*; (b) *iku-nishi* in the natural shape of a twig or small branch; (c) *iku-nishi* with animal motives; (d) *iku-nishi* with boat motives; (e) *iku-nishi* with motives based on weapons; (f) *iku-nishi* with tied thread designs; (g) *pon-iku-nishi*; (h) miscellaneous.[361]

Following this list, Baba goes through each type, providing further description and analysis of each. Baba spends time with each category, acknowledging the diversity of shape and meaning inherent in material culture. Doing this in relation to the Ainu, especially Sakhalin Ainu, provides readers with understanding that goes beyond the stereotypical perpetuated by other early twentieth-century scholars because Baba

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[360] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 27-35.
[361] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 29.

"writes across" Hokkaido to acknowledge diversity within Ainu culture. Moreover, from the start of his short article, Baba centers the conversation on Sakhalin Ainu through a brief exploration of the religion and a correction of Western terminology. Among the corrections, Baba writes, "*iku-nishi* (miscalled 'moustache-lifters')."[362] Though done in passing, this note reminds readers that Western translations are not perfect, thereby giving authority to the Indigenous, Ainu language. Additionally, Baba notes that ikunishi is the Sakhalin Ainu word equivalent to ikupasuy, used by Hokkaido Ainu.[363] Hokkaido Ainu are the most studied of Ainu peoples, but there is great diversity among the culture group and Baba's work is an early acknowledgement of that. Baba continues to rely on transliterated Ainu language throughout his article, continuously reminding readers of the importance and transnationalism of language. In the same way Munro acknowledged non-Western contributions to his work, Baba can be seen here utilizing non-Western language to recenter the Ainu. Besides language, Baba relies on artifacts to explore Ainu religion rather than second-hand sources.[364] While interpreting motifs without context can lead to misunderstandings, Baba's efforts are commendable in his usage of Indigenous primary source material. Still, Baba used Ainu objects that were in his possession for this article without acknowledgement of the objects still held by and being produced by the Ainu nor the original creators behind the objects used.[365] No artists are named, nor are previous owners acknowledged. This

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[362] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 27.
[363] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 28.
[364] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 34-38.
[365] Baba, "Iku-Nishi of the Saghalien Ainu," 34.

calls into question how Baba acquired his collection and the morality of his research methods. Without acknowledgement or citation, Baba's readers are unable to cross-check his research. Further undermining his conclusions, Baba's lack of reference to the living culture of the Ainu contributed to the false "dying race" narrative that allowed researchers to justify rapid and, often, inconsiderate research of the Ainu. In the end, the audience is left wondering how valid Baba's research material is and if Baba's methods were ethical.

Finally, in the middle of the twentieth century Richard K. Beardsley (1918-1978) returns to the comprehensive approach to history seen before in *Prehistoric Japan* and the work of Bishop and Jones. Bridging the gap between modern and postmodern studies, Beardsley is known of his work in Japan Studies.[366] With his 1955 publication, "Japan Before History," Beardsley provides readers with a survey of Japanese archaeology. At the time of writing, the article was meant to reintroduce its audience to Japanese history and archaeology, as this subject had fallen out of favor amongst academic circles.[367] Much like his predecessors, the fault of Beardsley's work lies in the language surrounding the Ainu. In his introduction, Beardsley denotes the Ainu as "a primitive non-Japanese people."[368] The use of "primitive" in this statement aligns with old Western and Japanese views that labelled the Ainu as barbarian outsiders, despite the fundamental and complex role of the Ainu in trade networks linking Japan with the

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[366] "Richard K. Beardsley papers, circa 1950-1975," University of Michigan Library, 2024, https://findingaids.lib.umich.edu/catalog/umich-bhl-8569.

[367] Richard K. Beardsley, "Japan Before History: A Survey of the Archaeological Record," *The far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3 (May 1955) 317.

[368] Beardsley, "Japan Before History," 318.

Asian mainland.[369] At the end of the survey, Beardsley adds, "[the Ainu] had to beat a retreat before the bearers of Japanese culture." [370] With this fatalistic statement, Beardsley further marginalizes the role of the Ainu throughout the history of the Japanese archipelago. While neither of these statements are wholly untrue, by using this language Beardsley places the Ainu below the Japanese, adhering to the social constructs of the early twentieth century. This is problematic because it withholds Ainu agency and disregards Ainu history in favor of Japan's development. The Ainu were prominent players in the cultural and social development of the Japanese archipelago, thus by using this vernacular and barely mentioning the Ainu at all, Beardsley's Japanese history survey falls short of an effective analysis of a transnational region.

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[369] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 356-358.
Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 111-112.
Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 11.
[370]Beardsley, "Japan Before History," 345.

3.3 Conclusion

Between the Convention of Kanagawa until Munro's death in 1942, Japan was transformed from an isolationist, feudal nation to a modern, industrializing world power.[371] Japanese modernity and the influx of Westerners laid the foundation for the diverse, internationally interconnected Japan that exists today. Amid this transformation the stage was set for the solidification of Ainu Studies as an academic discipline.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Ainu Studies began taking shape through the work of Western explorers and missionaries like Bird and Batchelor before being formalized through the work of the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, and Munro.[372] Early Ainu Studies, shaped by Western modernity, imposed Western biases and hierarchical classifications onto the Ainu. They were labelled as "primitive" and their agency was often ignored, with their subjugation justified through Eurocentric ideals of modernity and capitalism.[373] Being a product of his education in nineteenth century Edinburgh, Munro's early works, *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*, reflect colonial mindsets but are also progressive in their inclusive language and citation. For example, Munro's

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[371] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 307-308.
Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.
[372] See for example:
Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan.*
Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan.*
Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-Tales.*
[373] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

inclusion of Japanese scholarship may be considered progressive for his time.[374] *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan* stand as significant contributions to early Ainu and Japanese historiography, having made these unique histories more accessible for global audiences in the early twentieth century.

Munro's contemporaries, on the other hand, relied heavily on Western modernity's ideologies. Scholars like Bishop, Jones, Gates, Kanda, and Harvey prioritized hierarchies, focusing on the histories of dominant regimes and using the Ainu in biological studies. In this way, the Ainu were exploited by researchers for the knowledge Indigenous history and biology could contribute to Western modernity and modernization.[375] Simultaneously, transnational studies grew in popularity, promoting understandings of cross-cultural communication and diversity in the development of culture. By studying the Ainu through the broader context of northeast Asian trade and communication systems, scholars like the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, Sternberg, and Takakura established a precedent within Ainu Studies that encourages later scholars to consider geographical and cultural contexts.[376] Nevertheless, Western modernity persisted in the field, perpetuating Western biases and neglecting Ainu agency into the mid-twentieth century.

The following chapter continues the narrative started here in chapter three, exploring how Ainu Studies developed into the twenty-first century. The foundations

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[374] Munro, *Coins of Japan*, iii.
[375] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 247-270.
[376] See for example:
Sternberg, "The Ainu Problem."
Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan."

laid by early scholars carried through into the latter half of the twentieth century, and postmodern thought played a pivotal role in challenging many Western biases. Influenced by the expansion of human rights through movements like the Civil Rights Movement, this shift set the stage for the metamodern turn in the 1990s and beyond.

Chapter Four: The Changing Present, Contemporary Legacies and Indigenous Studies

At the corner of SE Monroe Street and SE 15th Street in my hometown of Topeka, Kansas sits the Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Park.

> *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* was the culmination of a plan by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to integrate public schools in the United States as part of their larger mission to achieve equity, political rights, and social inclusion for all people of color.[377]

Brown v. Board was one of five cases combined and taken to the United States Supreme Court in 1951 to dismantling segregation legislation. The ruling was presented on 17 May 1954 in favor of Brown and later addressed by Chief Justice Earl Warren: "We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."[378] In the United States, this Supreme Court ruling has become synonymous with the Civil Rights Movement alongside the actions of Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr. They have become the foundation stones upon which the US has built a facade of equal rights and opportunities for all. While I recognize that systemic racism still exists, this narrative was a cornerstone of my education as a student in the US and stands as a postmodern watershed moment for me and my worldview.

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[377] "Brown v. Board of Education," National Parks Service, accessed 3 April 2024, https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/kansas.htm.

[378] National Parks Service, "Brown v. Board of Education."

Stepping back from my personal perspective, the United States' Civil Rights Movement is an example of the social and cultural revolutions that resulted from the international decolonization in the aftermath of the Second World War. While the US Civil Rights Movement cannot be considered representational of the diverse decolonization movements that took place all over the world in the middle of the twentieth century, for a Topeka native it is a concrete example of decolonial ideals and actions. This is an important point in the historical narrative because it provides a concrete example of the fundamental shifts that took place in academia in the mid-twentieth century. A change that can be seen in the displacement of Western modernity in favor of post- and metamodern ways of knowing which rely on methodologies like decolonization and Indigenization.[379] It can be experienced in post- and metamodern methodologies that promote accessibility and cross-cultural communication, post structural and deconstructive systems like directional writing and the demarginalization of minority histories.[380] While "writing up" and publication are still considered the most advanced forms of academic writing, "writing down," "writing across," "writing in between," and "writing back" hold their own intersectional power amid contemporary scholarly discussions.[381] These techniques allow for the demotion of Western modernity and its colonial ideals, encouraging scholars from the 1960s

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[379] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 278-280.
Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 419-420.

[380] Graham Hitchcock and David Hughes, *Research and the Teacher: A Qualitative Introduction to School-based Research*, second edition (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995) 335-337.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 38-41 and 282-283.

[381] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420.
Lykke et al., "Editorial Introduction," 4.

onwards to engage with marginalized histories and "write across" old barriers. [382]

Chapter four continues the historiographical narrative began in chapter three, mapping Ainu Studies since the middle of the twentieth century to the present. Through the continued use of directional writing, pseudoscience and science as well as transnationalism remain the throughlines of this discussion, but the setting and academic discussions shift under the pressure of decolonization.

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[382] Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 24-25.
Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 1-3.

4.1 Ainu Creed and Cult

Munro was not ignorant of the long history of imperialism and colonialism present in the world when he first arrived in Hokkaido in 1898.[383] England had long since laid claim to Scotland, giving Munro a personal connection to the story of imperial expansionism that empowered Japan's annexation of Hokkaido. Moreover, this same type of narrative was taking place in North America at the same time. In fact, Japan's colonization of Hokkaido mirrors the westward expansion of the United States beginning with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.[384] While the term "Manifest Destiny" was not in use during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ideals contained therein were a part of Western modernity and, therefore, a theme of modern Western education as experienced by Munro.[385] In a way, from 1898, Munro's story took on similar themes to the famous poem by Rudyard Kipling, *The White Man's Burden*.[386] In line with the imagery of Kipling's poem, and encouraged by the ideals of Western modernity, Munro moved to Nibutani, a prominent Ainu village in southern Hokkaido, in 1930.[387] There he set up a medical clinic for the community and engaged in ethnographical studies of the Ainu.[388] Munro's intentions were compassionate and he went on to become a valuable part of both the Nibutani community and, by extension,

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[383] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 22.
[384] Pietersma, "From Crafts to Agency," 24.
Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-60.
[385] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 6-10.
[386] Merriam-Webster, "White Man's Burden Definitions and Meaning."
[387] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 22.
[388] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu material," 60.

modern and postmodern Ainu history.[389] With the goal of eventually "writing up" a complete guide to Ainu history and culture, Munro used his position as a doctor to both work with and study the Ainu. While there are both positives and negatives about Munro and his intentions from a twenty-first century, postcolonial perspective, it cannot be ignored that Munro was largely accepted by the Ainu community of Nibutani. Unfortunately, Munro passed away before he could "write up" his *magnum opus*, *Ainu Creed and Cult*. Instead, scholars must rely on Munro's "written down" notes, donated material collections, and the post-humorously published *Ainu Creed and Cult*, compiled and edited by Brenda Z. Seligman in the 1960s. Reflecting the construction of chapter three, Munro's research provides a springboard from which postmodern and metamodern Ainu Studies will be investigated. Considering Munro's language, acknowledgements, and his choice of supportive evidence, contemporary scholars may better understand the shift from modern Western scholarship to the compassion and advocacy characterizing contemporary studies.[390]

Brenda Zara Seligman (1883-1965) knew Munro through her husband, Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873-1940), who had met Munro in 1929 while visiting Japan.[391] Both Seligmans were anthropologists, trained through the paradigms of Western modernity, and collectors, who contributed to the ethnographic collections housed at the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum today.[392] During his 1929 visit,

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[389] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu material," 60-61.

[390] Willow, "The World We (Re)Build," 8.

[391] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xii.

[392] "Mrs Brenda Zara Seligman," British Museum, accessed 20 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62946.

"[Mr] Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people," and, inspired by this, Mr Seligman helped to acquire and maintain funding for Munro's continued research in the early 1930s.[393] In a similar fashion to that seen with the reviews of *Prehistoric Japan*, the interactions between Munro and the Seligmans are examples of Western modernity's echo chamber effect. Sponsorships and outside funding are vital to research, but the phenomenon illustrated by the coming together of the Seligmans and Munro belies the internalized machination of Western modernity. Western money is going to Western scholars who perpetuate Western modernity and the marginalization of non-Western cultures and ways of knowing. Nevertheless, it was due, in part, to this relationship, that Mrs Seligman had the materials to compile and publish *Ainu Creed and Cult* after Munro's death, using letters exchanged between her husband and Munro, as well as small publications and personal notes that had been donated to the National Museums Scotland.[394]

In 1962, Mrs Seligman wrote the introduction for the publication of *Ainu Creed and Cult*.[395] Through this introduction, Mrs. Seligman positions herself and Munro at the crossroads of Western modernity and decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies. Regarding Western modernity, Mrs Seligman states that "it seemed a serious omission

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"Prof Charles Gabriel Seligman," British Museum, accessed 20 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG62945.

[393] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xii.

[394] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xiv-xvi.

[395] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xviii.

for a book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important rite."[396] Mrs

Seligman is referring to the iyomante in this statement and to remedy the omission,

she includes notes Munro wrote for his iyomante film. The desire to be thorough is

commendable, but the focus on the iyomante speaks to the orientalism of Western

modernity rather than producing a work that addresses Ainu spirituality in its complex

richness. In line with the latter point concerning decolonization and Indigenizing,

Seligman mentions that

> Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an
> account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but
> also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular,
> that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration
> and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd
> superstitions.[397]

Supporting this statement, Seligman consults with "Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in

the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo," in

the editing and compilation of the volume.[398] This may seem counterintuitive because

Watanabe appears to be a Japanese scholar and is therefore an agent of Japanese

modernity, but Mrs Seligman's reliance on a non-Western scholar contributes to a

transnational understanding of Munro's work, in alignment with Munro's own citation

of Japanese scholarship. Thus, while Mrs Seligman seemingly remains a proponent of

modernity's prejudice expectations, she does step away from the Western echo

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[396] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xiii.

[397] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xiv.

[398] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xv.

chamber. Furthermore, her admission in the statement above, assuring readers of Munro's respect for Ainu culture, supports the late-twentieth century work against Western modernity and *Ainu Creed and Cult* remains a valuable volume in the historiography of Ainu Studies because of Mrs Seligman's efforts.

When examining the work itself, *Ainu Creed and Cult* emerges at a crossroads in the historiography of Ainu Studies. Munro "wrote down" his notes for the monograph while he worked and lived among the Ainu in the 1930s and 40s; he "wrote down" his findings and personal thoughts in his capacity as both a Western researcher trained in Western modernity and as a compassionate doctor who cared for those around him. The monograph was then "written up" for publication by Mrs Seligman, a Western woman with extensive experience in the imperialist ethnography of the early twentieth century.[399] Adding another layer to the narrative, Mrs Seligman compiled the work during post-WWII decolonization and human rights movements. As a result, *Ainu Creed and Cult* is an invaluable historical resource that documents Ainu culture during the first half of the twentieth century and a unique product of compassion and curiosity from inside the constraints of Western modernity. This monograph, alongside Munro's collection of Ainu materials donated to institutions in the UK, has become an irreplaceable piece of contemporary Ainu Studies because of the scholarly dialogue, source material, and personal experiences it provides to the field.

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[399] British Museum, "Mrs Brenda Zara Seligman."

As one scholar among many, Munro's work was never without dialogue and *Ainu Creed and Cult* is no exception. Peppered throughout the volume, Munro cites colleagues and informants, giving both credence and nuance to his analysis just as he had done in *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*. From chapter one, readers are exposed to academic dialogues that Munro himself experienced within Ainu Studies. For example, Munro states, "I have no evidence that evil spirits are worshipped by the Ainu, though as stated by Batchelor, sometimes they are cajoled and placated as a means of getting rid of them."[400] While this remark is an application of Western morality that may be rightly criticized as such, Munro also introduces his audience to Reverend John Batchelor, one of the most famous of Western scholars of Ainu Studies. For context, Batchelor had arrived in Hokkaido in 1880 under the tutelage of Reverend W. Denning and lived alongside both Ainu and Japanese peoples, spreading his religion through preaching and education.[401] During his time in Hokkaido, Batchelor learned the Ainu language and studied the Ainu themselves. In the end, Batchelor became an influential player in early Ainu Studies with his publications: *The Ainu of Japan* and *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary (Including a Grammar of the Ainu Language)*.[402] Munro acknowledges the work of Batchelor, bringing together the perspectives of the Ainu, Batchelor, and himself into conversation about Ainu faith in the statement above. From a decolonial and Indigenizing perspective, Munro's claim

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[400] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 11.

[401] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 325

[402] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*.
John Batchelor, *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary (Including a Grammar of the Ainu Language)*, second edition (Tokyo, Japan: Methodist Publishing House, 1905).

may seem like an unnecessary imposition of Western modernity, but at that time it was also an attempt to temper those same ideologies. Munro places various perspectives back-to-back, allowing his readers to understand the conversation happening on the ground in Hokkaido during the Meiji era, anticipating the metamodern push for dialogue. Moreover, Munro continues the conversation:

> In presenting Pase-Kamui as the 'one true God' of Ainu belief, Batchelor has, it seems to me, in all sincerity adapted Ainu beliefs to his own, and it is probable that some Ainu, wishing to please him, echoed some of his religious teaching.[403]

Here, Munro's own criticisms of colonialism are implied. Batchelor is characterized as an overbearing religious colonizer, and Munro openly challenges him, invalidating Batchelor's efforts of conversion. Munro's language is not hostile, maintaining the voice of a passive observer, but the construction of Batchelor's efforts as an "adapt[ion]" being "echoed" by the Ainu illustrates the superficial nature of Batchelor's colonization.[404] Although Batchelor's efforts may have had some long-term impact, Munro's observations reveal the informal yet dynamic dialogue between Indigenous culture and Western colonization.

In addition to engaging in dialogue with other Westerners, and in line with the acknowledgements made in *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*, Munro cites Ainu informants throughout *Ainu Creed and Cult*. While it may be noted that Munro did not have the final say as to the contents and construction of this volume, the inclusion of

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[403] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 13.
[404] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 13.

named Ainu informants speaks to Munro's "written down" notes and Mrs Seligman's

respect for Munro's work. In this case, Munro's notes and Mrs Seligman's respect come

together to produce a decolonial and Indigenizing framework for *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

In fact, on the second page of *Ainu Creed and Cult*, Munro states, "I will quote the

explanations given me by some of my informants, all learned elders (*ekashi*)."[405] Munro

goes on to name three of said ekashi, Rennuikesh, Nisukrek, and Uesanash, and

establishes the first chapter as an introduction to important Ainu terminology and

spirituality.[406] For a scholar trained in the university system of Victorian England,

Munro's reliance on local Ainu speaks to Munro's own compassion and beliefs that

align with the themes of decolonization and Indigenization.[407] Munro goes so far as to

praise his Ainu informants as "learned" and uses direct quotes throughout the

monograph.[408] Hence Munro actively recenters the Ainu in their own history during a

time when Ainu culture was being suppressed by the Japanese government.[409] Munro

even cites a female ekashi, Tekatte Fuchi, during a discussion of household rites.[410] In

this instance, Tekatte Fuchi is cited to provide comparative material to Munro's

discussion of household rituals.[411] Munro brings together experiences gathered from

Nisukrek and Tekatte Fuchi to exemplify not only regional differences but familial and

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[405] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 8.

[406] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 7-15.

[407] Consider for example the discussion of responsibility in Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, xi-xii.

[408] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 8.

[409] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 172-174.

[410] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 57.

[411] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 57-58.

personal differences among the Ainu. In this way, Munro continues to validate the experiences of diverse Ainu and their own personal, local knowledge of their culture. A final example of Munro's appreciation of conversation and diverse acknowledgement takes place in chapter nine, "Exorcism (*Uepotara*)," when Munro brings together Batchelor, Kotanpira Ekashi, and Isonoash Ekashi.[412] Here Munro draws upon Batchelor, as a well-known scholar of the Ainu language. By placing Batchelor at the starting point of this discussion, Munro establishes a familiar foundation for his Western-trained audience before adding supportive evidence provided by ekashi.[413] Bringing together Batchelor and *ekashi* creates a transnational dialogue that "writes across" Western linguistic studies and local, Indigenous knowledge, contributing to the decolonization and Indigenization of Ainu Studies. This methodology also reinforces the idea that knowledge is local and had to be gathered from members of the culture. In other words, Munro was reinforcing the idea that no matter how well educated, one must consider the limitations of outside academics in light of Indigenous knowledge and experience. Compared to scholars like Bird and Landor, Munro's obvious decentering of Western education gives readers a better understanding and appreciation of the Ainu themselves.

Another source of evidence that Munro pulls from regularly in *Ainu Creed and Cult* is the Ainu language itself. This can be seen in Munro's conversation about the

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[412] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 100.

[413] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 99-111.

term *uepotara*, discussed above.[414] Rather than regurgitate Batchelor's definition,

Munro provides nuance and cultural understanding of the word throughout chapter

nine. Moreover, chapter eight, "The Feast of All Souls or Falling Tears (*Shinurapa*)"

provides another example: "*Kamui nomi teksam a more* — 'At service to the gods

respectful calm'."[415] The Ainu phrase presented here is used to describe the calm of a

feast held in honor of the Kamuy. It is noteworthy because it describes an Ainu custom

in their own Indigenous language. Munro did not go through Japanese to translate,

nor did he go out of his way to rearrange the English into a more elegant translation,

thereby highlighting the Ainu-ness of the phrase.[416] In this process is an element of

respect for the Ainu and their language that aligns with the metamodern practices of

decolonization and Indigenization decades prior to the popularization of those

methodologies. Furthermore, throughout the work, Munro lists terms and short

sentences like the above, in Romanized Ainu. On one hand, the romanization of

Indigenous languages may be viewed as a colonial practice as the phonetics of the

Roman alphabet cannot account for the intricacies of non-Latin languages. However,

on the other, using a widely understood phonetics system ensures accessibility to the

research being presented. Putting aside the colonialism inherent in the process of

transliteration, Munro's romanization of Ainu exposes a wider audience to the Ainu

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[414] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 99-111.

[415] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 88.

[416] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Translating into English," in *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, edited by Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood (Princeton, NJ and Oxford, UK: Princeton University Press, 2005) 93, 100.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 40-41.

and Indigenous languages more broadly, thereby advocating for widespread recognition of the Ainu. Moreover, Munro did not rely on Japanese transliteration of Ainu, allowing the Ainu language to reach European audiences with less corruption. Alongside works like Batchelor's and Chiri Mashiho's Ainu dictionaries, more and more people were exposed to the Ainu language, contributing to the growth and understanding of Ainu Studies and, by extension, Indigenous Studies.

A cornerstone of *Ainu Creed and Cult* is Munro's own experience. From his initial visit to Hokkaido in 1898 to his death in 1942, Munro collected numerous experiences among the Ainu, providing insights into Ainu culture as it was at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is most clearly represented in chapters six through ten, in which Munro wrote about his observations of several Ainu rituals. Here the focus will be on chapter seven: The House-Warming Ceremony (*Chisei nomi*).[417] Munro begins the chapter with: "I have selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations."[418] Not only is Munro's reasoning robust, but it also reminds readers how integral spirituality and faith are to everyday life, providing a point of connection between reader and research. Munro suggests that homes are considered sacred among the Ainu, an idea that is easy to relate to for many readers around the world. In addition to reminding his audience of the importance of spirituality in Ainu lives, Munro also displaces unnecessary attention from the iyomante. By the time Munro

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[417] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 74-86.
[418] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 74.

first arrive in Hokkaido, the iyomante had become a calling card of Ainu culture for both Japanese and Western scholars, exemplified by Kindaichi in the previous chapter.[419] Munro undermines this to highlight new insights and instill a sense of relatability in his description of Ainu spirituality. With this Munro characterizes the Ainu as a people who place value in the everyday spirituality of their lives rather than as prehistoric hunters focusing on hunting magics. With that said, Munro was unable to remain silent on the iyomante and he did state: "It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu ceremonies."[420] This statement may have been a product of Mrs Seligman's "writing up" of *Ainu Creed and Cult* or it may be Munro's own words. It is particularly revealing that Seligman footnoted Munro's statement about the iyomante: "Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933."[421] Seligman's footnote is more suggestive of Western modernity's ingrained orientalism than Munro's writing. Here Seligman speaks directly to Western audiences and assures them that their curiosities had been noted and would be addressed to the best of her abilities. Whether or not Munro meant to include an account of the iyomante in *Ainu Creed and Cult* will never be known, but the fact that he purposely centered the *Chisei*

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[419] Kindaichi, "The Concepts behind the Ainu Bear Festival," 345-350.
[420] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 84.
[421] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 84.

Nomi in his "written down" work speaks to a scholar who cared for the Ainu as wholistic people rather than as anthropological curiosities.

In addition to acknowledgements and diverse source material, Munro continues his prolific use of photographic evidence in *Ainu Creed and Cult*. This monograph contains the fewest photographs of Munro's three main publications with just thirty-two plates containing one to ten photographs each.[422] The photographs not only give incredible insight into the Ainu of this period for future readers, but also provide readers with an understanding rooted in the physicality of the Ainu and their culture. Readers are not required to rely on their imagination to understand the foreign shape of the inau or the intricate carvings of an ikupasuy, Munro provides the images necessary. Munro also includes many pictures of the Ainu themselves, giving names and faces to an underrepresented group of people. For audiences thousands of miles away, this was paramount in creating connections, supporting the relatability discussed above. Additionally, unlike the human remains pictured in *Prehistoric Japan*, the pictures of *Ainu Creed and Cult* are contextualized by writings that advocate for Ainu culture rather than being dismissed as a side story of the Yamato peoples. In line with his use of photography and his interest in Ainu spirituality, Munro's film recording of the iyomante, *The Ainu Bear Ceremony* (1931) has become one of the most notable contributions to the field of Ainu Studies.[423] As highlighted in the preceding discussion,

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[422] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 30-31 and 78-79.
[423] Marcos Pablo Centeno Martin, "Contextualising N. G. Munro's filming of the Ainu Bear Ceremony," *Japan Society Proceedings*, 154 (2017), 2.

Munro's passion for photography marked him as an innovator among his contemporaries. His film, *The Ainu Bear Ceremony*, further reflects this innovation. When considered alongside Munro's objectives of educating the public and advocating for the Ainu in the face of Japanese colonialism, it is clear that Munro meant to humanize the Ainu. In *Ainu Creed and Cult*, Munro challenges the entrenched orientalism of Western modernity and works for the survival of the Ainu and their ways of knowing.

Munro passed away from cancer in 1942 in Nibutani, Hokkaido, at the age of 79.[424] For twelve years, Munro had lived in Nibutani, proving medical care and friendly companionship to the Ainu of the Saru river valley. During this time, Munro had collected and recorded information about the Ainu "that was not available to other researchers."[425] Both the artifacts and data collected eventually made their way back to the UK where much of it was deposited at the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, now the National Museum Scotland. Today, Munro's written and material collection "accounts for approximately two thirds of the whole of [National Museum Scotland's] Ainu collections."[426] It is unfortunate that Munro passed away before he could finish *Ainu Creed and Cult*, thus leaving contemporary scholars with an incomplete monograph. Between Munro's own inherent prejudices and those imposed upon the work by Seligman, *Ainu Creed and Cult* has become not only a source of

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[424] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 22.
[425] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu material," 60.
[426] Wilkinson, "The Return of Ainu material," 59.

information about early twentieth century Ainu, but a primary source of modern colonialisms. The systems that governed Munro's life were restrictive and prejudices, but, through his curiosity, patience, and respect, Munro broke from the traditions of Western modernity to produce a valuable resource that centers the Ainu in their own story.

4.2 Contemporary Scholarship

Influenced by social movements such as the Civil Rights Movement and exemplified by Mrs Seligman and her publication of Munro's work, the latter half of the twentieth century was a time of change across society and academia. With the Cold War in the background, Western nations and their citizens were increasingly concerned with "third-world" nations. Globalization and media innovations gave the world unprecedented access to international issues without the need to travel.[427] People outside of the wealthy upper class are increasing exposed to outdated ways of knowing and colonialism through the increased profusion of higher education and international media. Concepts of interdisciplinary studies, poststructuralism, decolonization, and feminism are changing the ways in which scholars study and interact with the world.[428] While the shift has not been all-consuming and some old traditions continue to hold power into the twenty-first century, between the 1960s and the 2020s scholarship has been transformed. This is especially noticeable in disciplines like Ainu and Indigenous Studies, with the growth of decolonizing and Indigenizing methodologies.[429] Social and political movements for equality drive change within

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[427] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 211.

Zhong, *Social Media Communication*, xi.

[428] Hitchcock and Hughes, *Research and the Teacher*, 335-337.

[429] See for example:

Clifford, *Returns*.

Dussault et al., "Widening the circle."

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture.*

Mark James Hudson, ann-elise lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (eds). *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives*. (University of Hawaii Press, 2014).

Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History.*

scholarly circles and inspire projects like this one in which Indigenous voices are recentered and given authority. The foundations for projects like mine were first laid by scholars like Munro and those in the latter half of the twentieth century, thus this chapter expands upon the shifts seen in *Ainu Creed and Cult*, further dissecting the innovations and shortcomings of postmodern scholarship beginning in the 1960s as seen in the continued use of pseudoscientific assumptions, the growth of scientific studies, and contemporary developments of transnationalism.

PSEUDOSCIENCE AND SCIENCE

The transition characterized by the Civil Rights Movement and the shift toward postcolonialism was fertile ground for the deconstruction of Western modernity's (pseudo)scientific structures and taxonomies. Both within academia and beyond, the methodologies and assumptions of modern (pseudo)scientific assumptions, such as those developed by and for Social Darwinism, are challenged and proven obsolete by an ever-increasing awareness of ethical science and non-Western understandings.[430] Nevertheless, the practices of physical anthropology and archaeology continue to uphold some practices established by the European Enlightenment and Scientific Revolutions. That is not to say that contemporary anthropology and archaeology have

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Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies.*

Ziomek, *Lost Histories.*

[430] Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 184.

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 273-283.

not evolved in response to postcolonialism, merely that some practices throughout the fields are intrinsically harder to detangle and decolonize because "the history of research as exploitation was already embedded in European imperialism in the lead-up to the twentieth century."[431] With the decolonizing and Indigenizing practices of contemporary postcolonialism in mind, this section will address the echoes of Western modernity's pseudoscience and science in Ainu studies since the middle of the twentieth century.

To start, Edward Said's *Orientalism* may be one of the most quintessential academic treatises challenging Western modernity, shifting academic thought away from modern hierarchies and taxonomies toward postmodernism. Said was a Palestinian American academic during the second half of the twentieth century most famous for his 1978 publication, *Orientalism*, in which he addressed and challenged the long tradition of orientalist thought in Western academic spaces.[432] In the work, Said "writes back" to Western colonialism, breaking down the prejudices and exoticization created by and for Western modernity.[433] While the work is primarily a critique of Western academics and politics, it is also a prime example of the post-Civil Rights Movement challenge of Social Darwinism—or at least a call to that end. Said and his methodologies have been so impactful in academic spaces that both his name and theory are common parlance in scholarship today. In fact, a 25th anniversary

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[431] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 263.

[432] Said, *Orientalism*.

[433] For comparison in Indigenous Studies, consider Makereti's revisionist work on Māori history as discussed in Gattey (2024).

edition of Said's original work was published in 2003 with a new preface written by

Said himself, indicating the lasting effects Said has had amongst academic spaces. In

this 2003 introduction Said states: "It is quite common to hear high officials in

Washington and elsewhere speak of changing the map of the Middle East, as if ancient

societies and myriad peoples can be shaken up like so many peanuts in a jar."[434]

Moving further into the twenty-first century and complementing Said's work, Linda

Tuhiwai Smith, in the 2021 edition of her *Decolonizing Methodologies*, wrote, "The

globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view

of itself as the center of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge

and the source of 'civilized' knowledge."[435] Both Said and Smith, writing in the twenty-

first century, are speaking to the ongoing systemic issues of inequality being

experienced by huge swathes of the global population. They are speaking to the

contemporary iterations of Social Darwinism and the aftermath of Western modernity

which continues to historicize and categorize non-Western peoples, though to a lesser

extent than previously done.[436] Taken together, Said and Smith remind contemporary

scholars that the echoes of Social Darwinism are still loud around the world and

neocolonialism continues to color politics, social systems, and academia. Because of

this it is important to remain vigilant against Western modernity's assumptions and to

deconstruct stereotypes, detangling biased theories that are often based more in

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[434] Edward Said, "Orientalism Once More," *Institute of Social Studies*, lecture presented at the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Social Studies, 21 May 2003.

[435] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 72.

[436] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

pseudoscience than actual science. There are many sides of this conversation that have

been on-going since the Civil Rights Movement. In specific reference to Indigenous

Studies these lines of inquiry can roughly be condensed into two broad categories:

archaeology and the history of humankind, and Indigenous genetics.

The hierarchies and taxonomies of Western modernity are most apparent in

pre-War studies, such as those considered in chapter three with the von Siebolds and

Sternberg, and the postmodern shift has inspired significant change in the quest for

human origins. Nevertheless, the advancements from Darwin's Theory of Evolution

continue to push scholars to seek the origins of humankind, resulting in studies that

consider Indigenous peoples and their histories in a way that emulates modern

Western methodologies. For example, postmodern and contemporary studies are still

measuring skeletons and mapping DNA.[437] This is not to say that biological studies are

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[437] Ishida Hajime, "Morphological Studies of Okhotsk Crania from Ōmisaki, Hokkaido," *Japanese Anthropological Society of Nippon*, vol 96, no 1 (1988) 17-45.

Ishida Hajime, and Kida Masahiko, "An Anthropological Investigation of the Sakhalin Ainu with Special Reference to Nonmetric Cranial Traits," *Japanese Anthropological Society of Nippon*, vol 99, no 1 (1991) 23-32.

Hanihara Kazuro, "Reanalysis of Local Variations in the Ainu Crania," *Anthropological Science*, vol 106 (supplement) (1998) 1-15.

Matsumura Hirofumi, Mark J. Hudson, Koshida Kenichiro, and Minakawa Yoichi, "Embodying Okhotsk Ethnicity: Human Skeletal Remains from the Aonae Dune Site, Okushiri Island, Hokkaido," *Asian Perspectives*, vol 45, no 1 (Spring 2006) 1-23.

Komesu Atsuko, Hanihara Tsunehiko, Amano Tetsuya, Ono Hiroko, Yoneda Minoru, Dodo Yukio, Fukumine Tadahiko, and Ishida Hajime, "Nonmetric cranial variations in human skeletal remains associated with Okhotsk culture," *Anthropological Science*, vol 116, no 1 (2008) 33-47.

Matsumura Hirofumi, Ishida Hajime, Amano Tetsuya, Ono Hiroko, and Yoneda Minoru, "Biological affinities of Okhotsk-culture people with East Siberians and Arctic people based on dental characteristics," *Anthropological Science*, vol 117, no 2 (2009) 121-132.

Sato Takehiro, Amano Tetsuya, Ono Hiroko, Ishida Hajime, Kodera Haruto, Matsumura Hirofumi, Yoneda Minoru, and Masuda Ryuichi, "Mitochondrial DNA haplogrouping of the Okhotsk people

inherently bad, but issues arise when those studies are sponsored by non-Indigenous entities and carried out by non-Indigenous peoples. Many of these studies add to the ongoing denial of the existence of living Indigenous cultures, because of the focus on human remains without consideration of the ongoing cultural development in much the same way as previous scholars like Linnaeus, Darwin, and their contemporaries.[438] From a one standpoint, the study of human remains provides modern science and medicine with a huge wealth of information about the evolution of humans and their cultures. It is a way to contribute to the overall narrative of human history. However, the ideals and methodologies used in these studies maintain a harmful history best summarized by Smith:

> From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricable linked to European imperialism and colonialism. [...] When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. The ways in which scientific research is

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based on analysis of ancient DNA: an intermediate of gene flow from the continental Sakhalin people to the Ainu," *Anthropological Science*, vol 117, no 3 (2009) 171-180.

Matsumura Hirofumi, Mark J. Hudson, Kawamura Kentaro, Kashiwa Takashi, "Morphometric Features of Femurs in the Okhotsk People," *Anthropological Science (Japanese Series)*, vol 118, no 2 (2010) 69-82.

Kazuta Hisako, Sato Takehiro, Dodo Yukio, Matsumura Hirofumi, Amano Tetsuya, Ishida Hajime, and Masuda Ryuichi, "Genotype frequencies of the ABCC11 gene in 2000-3000-year-old human bones from the Epi-Jōmon and Jōmon sites in Hokkaido, Japan," *Anthropological Science*, vol 119, no 1 (2011) 81-86.

Dodo Yukio, Kawakubo Yoshinori, Sawada Junmei, and Ishida Hajime, "The Ainu and their neighbors as seen from the perspective of nonmetric cranial trait variation," *Anthropological Science (Japanese Series)*, vol 121, no 1 (2013) 1-17.

Sato Takehiro, Adachi Noboru, Kimura Ryosuke, Hosomichi Kazuyoshi, Yoneda Minoru, Ōta Hiroki, Tajima Atsushi et al., "Whole-Genome Sequencing of a 900-Year-Old Human Skeleton Supports Two Past Migration Events from the Russian Far East to Northern Japan," *GENOME BIOLOGY AND EVOLUTION*, vol 13, no 9 (2021) 1-18.

[438] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 247-270.

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 10 and 12.

implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonized peoples. [...] It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of Indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments.[439]

It is the fact that skulls are still being measured and DNA is being mapped that these types of studies need to be interrogated through decolonizing and Indigenizing paradigms. Interdisciplinarity is necessary when approaching biological topics of study because the hard sciences need to be tempered with the humanities to maintain ethical, wholistic understandings of humanity. Without pluralistic methodologies, studies like those cited above become one-side and exploitative.

On the other end of contemporary archaeological and anthropological studies, scholars are moving away from the fascination with the human body. Instead, they look to subjects like environmentalism, discussing topics like geography and climate that may or may not have influenced the local populations or how archaeological knowledge may help contemporary populations. The impetus is moved away from human remains providing the "missing link," instead "writing across" environmental studies to consider the interactions of people and nature.[440] In 2001, Brett Walker, a

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[439] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1.

[440] Okada Mayumi, Fujisawa Takashi, and Kato Hirofumi, "Archaeological education program for the primary and secondary schools using ongoing excavation site at the Rebun island in 2013," *Anthropological Science (Japanese Series)*, vol 122 (2014) 94-97.
Müller, Stefanie, Mareike Schmidt, Annette Kossler, Christian Leipe, Tomohisa Irino, Yamamoto Masanobu, Yonenobu Hitoshi, Tomasz Goslar, Kato Hirofumi, Mayke Wagner, Andrzej W Weber, and Pavel E Tarasov, "Palaeobotanical records from Rebun Island and their potential for improving the

prominent postmodern scholar of Ainu Studies, "wrote up" his monograph, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800*. In line with the archaeological shift away from human remains, this study takes a broader view of Hokkaido, "writing between" Ainu Studies and environmental history. Walker "writes across" ecology and geography to Ainu Studies and the colonization of Hokkaido, emphasizing "human-animal relations, disease, medicine, inter-Ainu conflict, market growth, subsistence practices, shared ritual experiences, and environmental degradation," alongside Ainu-Japanese relations. [441] *The Conquest of Ainu Lands* compounds Walker's other scholarship, to be discussed in the transnational section below, acknowledging and expanding upon the multifaceted relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese, mirroring it with the relationships between land and people. Walker reconceptualizes the Ainu-Japanese relationship as one of both culture and ecology, reminding readers that the Ainu-Japanese relationship was not a simple colonizer-colonized conversation.

Compounding this, the ever-evolving give and take of the colonization of Ainu Mosir was powered by Japanese and Western modernity—a fact that lends itself to both metamodern scientific history and transnationalism. Both academic disciplines rely on interdisciplinary studies in that they require inclusive, nuanced approaches to

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chronological control and understanding human-environment interactions in the Hokkaido Region, Japan," *Sage journals: The Holocene*, vol 26, no 10 (October 2016) 1646-1660.

Leipe, Christian, Stefanie Müller, Konrad Hille, Kato Hirofumi, Franziska Kobe, Mareike Schmidt, Konrad Seyffert, Robert Spengler III, Mayke Wagner, Andrzej W. Weber, Pavel E. Tarasov, "Vegetation change and human impacts on Rebun Island (Northwest Pacific) over the last 6000 years," *Quaternary Science Reviews*, vol 193 (2018) 129-144.

[441] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 6.

their subject matter, a feat Walker manages in his monograph. For example, in alignment with environmental studies and transnational methodologies, Walker addresses the evolution of Hokkaido maps in the introduction to *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*. By doing this this, Walker illustrates the evolution of geographical understanding in Japanese history and provides readers with an understanding of Ainu Mosir as it is situated in the southern Okhotsk. Here, Walker "writes across" Ainu, Japan, and geographical studies to provide pluralistic foundational knowledge. This is further supported by Walker's opening sentences:

> In the course of Japan's long history, its borders and its ethnic configuration have undergone some surprisingly dramatic changes. Illustrating this point, maps drawn before the mid-nineteenth century identify Matsu and Dewa provinces, on the main island of Honshu, as the northernmost territories of the Japanese. These maps are missing the island now known as Hokkaido, "Northern Sea Circuit," a resource-rich, spacious piece of land that constitutes about 21 percent of the total land of Japan today.[442]

Walker effectively sets up a conversation of the geopolitics of the region and follows up with a discussion of historic Japanese maps and their evolution through the Tokugawa era. Through this explanation and the maps provided, Walker orients his readers within the historical timeline of Japanese geopolitics which is recognizable for a twenty-first century audience.

Later in his introduction, Walker explores the parallels between Indigenous American scholarship with that of Ainu Studies citing, "Frederick Jackson Turner's now famous thesis on the role of the frontier in forging American political and cultural life"

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[442] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 1.

and going so far as to align the studies of Takakura with Turner.[443] The application and comparison of Indigenous American Studies reminds readers that Indigenous Studies and its accompanying methodologies, though dependent on the local, is a global field of study that should not be isolated. At the other end of the monograph, Walker's concluding sentences offer a bookend to the Tokugawa-Ainu relationship:

> Neither side was interested in "caring" for or "tending" to the other, because they were competing in a life-and-death struggle for the right to exist in Ezo. By the nineteenth century, however, [...] the battle cries of Ainu fighters and their defiant leader echoed only as the distant memory of a past age, replaced by Japan's benign present.[444]

Walker implies the fact that the Ainu-Japanese relationship was a conversation rather than the one-sided story of imperialism portrayed in earlier historiography. Again, Walker's narrative mirrors US history narratives of Manifest Destiny and the conflict between US settlers and Indigenous Americans. Comparative studies are scaffolded throughout Walker's work, contributing an underlying metamodern dialogue. Furthermore, the nuance provided by both transnationalism and Walker's use of ecological history, speaks to the complexities of Ainu-Japanese relations, contextualizing the conversation between geography, culture, and politics. Ultimately, Walker's monograph stands as an interdisciplinary work that "writes across" several branches of academia, reflecting the pluralism and movement of metamodernity.

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[443] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 6-7.
[444] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 234-235.

Another application of contemporary science onto Ainu and Indigenous Studies may be seen in the growth of Indigenous genetics. Blood quantum is one of the most prominent topics in this field and is a direct result of Western modernity, colonialism, and Darwin's Theory of Evolution. In her 2017 publication, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy*, Katherine Ellinghaus states, "blood had long been used by many cultures as a measure and metaphor for pollution and purity."[445] In this instance, Ellinghaus addresses the issue of blood quantum in North American Indigenous history, but her analysis holds true across Indigenous Studies into Ainu Studies. The ideas of validity and Indigenous-ness pervade across national and cultural borders, influencing both Japan and Ainu Studies.[446] In the Japanese context, these ideas are most easily seen in the concepts of *nihonjinron*, a nationalist social discourse that has permeated Japanese culture since the Tokugawa era. Rotem Kowner and Harumi Befu, writing in 2015, state:

> Biological commonality among the Japanese people has been another recurrent theme in *Nihonjinron* writings. While promoting extensive research on the genetic markers of the Japanese population throughout history and stirring up tremendous interest in 'Japanese' bodily, facial and general appearances, a number of *Nihonjinron* theorists have frequently referred to Japanese 'blood' (*chi*). In using this racially-charged term, they denoted a shared biological heritage and immutable features that characterize the Japanese as a group. A related sub-discourse of even greater racial connotations focuses on the purity of blood (*junketsu shugi*). This is obviously not an Indigenous Japanese invention but it is nonetheless a concept that seems to have flourished in postwar Japan. As the ultimate

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[445] Katherine Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell: Native Americans and Assimilation Policy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2017) xiii.

[446] ann-elise lewallen, ""Clamoring Blood": The Materiality of Belonging in Modern Ainu Identity," *Critical Asian Studies*, vol 48, no 1 (2016) 51-53.

manifestation of homogeneity, the biological 'purity' among modern Japanese is supposed to have stemmed from the absence of invaders and from generations of excessive endogamy.[447]

This detailed description of the biological aspect of *nihonjinron* is but one thread of a larger concept that addresses several aspects of Japanese culture including, but not limited to, social structure, foreign policy, and minority politics and law. [448] The pervasiveness of such a concept is akin to the increasingly hyper-nationalistic politics seen around the world in the twenty-first century.[449] It also holds significant similarities with the ideals that support the policies of blood quantum in the United States. Considering both Ellinghaus and Kowner and Befu, it is no wonder why Japan did not acknowledge the Indigenous status of the Ainu until June 2008.[450] ann-elise lewallen's 2016 article, "Clamoring Blood": The Materiality of Belonging in Modern Ainu Identity," builds from this conversation about blood and identity politics:

> This article examines the evolution of ideas about Ainu identity and the historical emergence of Ainu as subjects of the Japanese nation, rather than as Indigenous sovereigns in Hokkaido. My aim is to grapple with the slippery substance of blood and Ainu claims around identity to assess how blood has become normalized to the exclusion of alternative modes of recognizing belonging.[451]

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[447] Kowner and Befu, "Ethnic Nationalism in Postwar Japan," 396.

[448] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 307-308.
Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.

[449] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 374.

[450] ann-elise lewallen, *The Fabric of Indigeneity: Ainu Identity, Gender, and Settler Colonialism in Japan* (Santa Fe, AZ: University of New Mexico Press, 2016) ix-xii.

[451] lewallen, ""Clamoring Blood," 51-52.

Lewallen's statement of intent deals directly with the Ainu and their place in Japan, but also places the article in the broader conversations of blood quantum. The idea of identity being tied to blood speaks to the same ideals that drive the study of human remains and gene mapping. It calls back to the ideals of Social Darwinism, in which ancestry determines a person's or a culture's worth. Further supporting this discussion is lewallen's 2007 article, "Bones of Contention: Negotiating Anthropological Ethics within Fields of Ainu Refusal," in which she discusses the issues of being a scholar attempting to do fieldwork among the Ainu.[452] Lewallen's discussion mirrors that of Smith, in its advocacy for relationship-building and communication between researcher and Indigenous peoples. The shift away from the idealized "unbiased point of view" has become apparent in contemporary scholarship as scholars become increasingly aware of the impact of personal relationships inherent in research. A healthy self-awareness forces scholars away from impersonal scientific research that disregards lived experiences, toward the processes of "writing across" and "writing in between" that celebrate connection and communication.

The desire to use hard sciences in conjunction with history and anthropology has continued into the twenty-first century and is problematic in its use of human remains and DNA studies. Oftentimes, skeletal remains and biological sampling is done under the banner of Indigenous Studies without thought for Indigenous peoples themselves, leading to a disconnect between subject and researcher which results in

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[452] lewallen, "Bones of Contention," 509-540.

miscommunication and disrespect. This echoes Western modernity's taxonomies regarding Indigenous peoples and indicates the continued need for decolonization and Indigenization as promoted by Said and Smith. Still, the hard sciences can be used to support academic fields like Ainu and Indigenous Studies if they are used ethically and conscientiously. Under the direction of scholars like Walker and lewallen, the hard and soft sciences can work in concert to positively contribute to contemporary Indigenous and Ainu Studies.

TRANSNATIONALISM AND BORDERLAND STUDIES

Founded in 1976, the Association for Borderland Studies (ABS), defines Borderland Studies as "the systematic study and exchange of ideas, information and analysis of international border[s], and the processes and communities engendered by such borders."[453] Borderland Studies is a subfield of transnationalism, focusing on human interactions at international borders. Expanding upon the theory and methodology suggested by Randolph Borne in the early twentieth century the ABS concentrates on the cross-cultural communication at contemporary national borders.[454] The idea of studying national borders may be critiqued by anti-colonialists and de-colonialists in that contemporary borders are often the result of Western modernity and its history of colonization. That said, Borderland Studies is a valuable evolution of transnationalism that aims to address cultural relationships at a crossroads

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[453] Association for Borderland Studies, "About: Association for Borderland Studies."
[454] Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-264.

of Western modernity and contemporary neocolonialism. As such, Borderland Studies is a postcolonial system of study that provides space to confront old and new systems of colonialism. While the ABS was founded "with the original impetus for the study of the United States-Mexico borderlands," the methodology may be applied to Ainu Studies as well. [455] Historically, the Ainu were powerful middlemen along the Northern Silk Road connecting the Japanese archipelago with the Asian mainland via the Amur River valley.[456] Since the Meiji Restoration at the end of the nineteen century, the Ainu have had their territory divided and redivided by the competition between Russia and Japan in the Okhotsk region.[457] Thus, Borderland Studies provides an appropriate, contemporary methodology to be overlaid onto Ainu Studies.

Building from the foundations laid by the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, Sternberg, and Takakura, John A. Harrison became one of the most prominent scholars in mid- to late-twentieth century Ainu Studies. In fact, after establishing himself in the field with works like "Notes on the Discovery of Yezo" and "The Saghalien Trade," he worked with Takakura to translate the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1960, effectively placing himself among the founders of modern Ainu Studies. Harrison's works highlight the shift that took place in the middle of the twentieth century, still relying on Japanese and Western sources, but beginning to "writing across" to the Ainu, thereby "writing back" against grand narratives established by dominant powers. In "The Saghalien Trade," Harrison

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[455] Association for Borderland Studies, "About: Association for Borderland Studies."
[456] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 131.
[457] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 186-193.

goes so far as to critique Batchelor, saying, "even men of Batchelor's caliber treated the Ainu as an isolated people when actually they were a vital part of the life of the Maritime Northeast."[458] This statement stands out from pre-1960 literature because it overtly shifts the conversation surrounding Ainu history to one of transnationalism and Borderland Studies. Previously, scholars contributed to this conversation but mostly in relation to the most immediate neighbors of the Ainu, namely the Japanese, with little to no acknowledgement of Ainu Mosir's other inhabitants and neighbors. Harrison's presentation of the Ainu as a "vital part" of the greater Okhotsk region, recenters to the Ainu in their own history and communication systems.[459] In consideration of both decolonialization and Indigenization, Harrison provides a progressive step forward that prioritizes and validates the Ainu and acknowledges their historic, international power amid the transnational systems of the southern Okhotsk Sea.

Also writing in the 1950s and 60s, Joseph M. Kitagawa continues the work of scholars like Kindaichi Kyōsuke and Moses Osamu Baba. In his 1961 article, "Ainu bear Festival (Iyomante)," Kitagawa expands his source base beyond that of either Kindaichi or Baba. From the onset, with a title that uses the Ainu term "iyomante," Kitagawa's argument acknowledges the authority of Ainu ways of knowing in their own culture by using the Indigenous language. Like Munro and Baba, Kitagawa's use of linguistics creates a more inclusive article that centers Ainu source material in anticipation of

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[458] John A. Harrison, "The Saghalien Trade: A Contribution to Ainu Studies," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol 10, no 3 (Autumn 1954) 279.

[459] Harrison, "The Saghalien Trade," 279.

metamodernity's respect and equity. While Kitagawa still references biased scholars

like Chamberlain and Katakura, unlike Kindaichi and Baba, Kitagawa includes Chiri

Mashiho's *The Ainu Dictionary*.[460] Chiri was "an Ainu and an eminent professor of

linguistics at Hokkaido University." [461] By including an Ainu scholar in his article,

Kitagawa recognizes the importance of both local knowledge and specifically Ainu

scholarship within Ainu Studies, undermining previous scholarship that had relied on

Western modernity and Western scholars. This speaks to the postmodern shift away

from Western and Japanese authority in Ainu Studies source material, re-centering and

validating the voices of the Ainu themselves. Beyond source material, Kitagawa's

language does continue to hold onto some modern racial themes, undermining his

efforts to bring the Ainu into a more pluralistic conversation. For example, Kitagawa

states:

> scholars of various disciplines, especially history of religions and ethnology,
> have been fascinated by the fact that the Ainus have preserved to this day
> a bear ceremonial (*Iyomante*) of an archaic religious type practiced widely
> among arctic and subarctic peoples scattered from Finland to North
> America.[462]

With this statement, Kitagawa affirms the role of Ainu Studies in the broader realm of

academia, but words like "fascinated" and "archaic" harken back to the marginalizing

systems of Social Darwinism and Western systems of ordering and hierarchy.

Additionally, not capitalizing "arctic" and "subarctic" when referring to the Indigenous

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[460] Joseph M. Kitagawa, "Ainu bear Festival (Iyomante)," *History of Religions*, vol 1, no 1 (Summer 1961): 124, 129, 132, 135, 143, 146, and 151.

[461] Kitagawa, "Ainu bear Festival," 96.

[462] Kitagawa, "Ainu bear Festival," 97.

peoples of the regions may be labelled as a type of microaggression, in that it re-enforces a dismissal or disregard for cultures that labelled "lesser than" in Western modernity. Put succinctly the words and Kitagawa's tone imply that the role of the Ainu was that of an Indigenous subject matter, still ranked low in the hierarchy of humanity. Despite Kitagawa's use of traditional, Western scholarship and language, his article does center the Ainu in their history using Ainu source material and language, thereby contributing to the de-marginalization of Ainu studies.

Continuing into and beyond the 1960s, scholars continue to push further into decolonization, dismantling theories and methodologies of Western modernity. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, for example, entered the field of Ainu Studies with her publication "Concepts of Time among the Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Sakhalin" at the end of the 1960s.[463] With the first-hand account of a Sakhalin Ainu woman named Husko as her centerpiece, Ohnuki-Tierney went on to publish several articles throughout the 1970s, contributing to a postmodern foundation for the study of Sakhalin Ainu in the twenty-first century. From illness and healing to time and space, Ohnuki-Tierney's articles span a wide breadth of cultural topics, providing scholars with a diverse understanding of Sakhalin Ainu history and culture.[464] Ohnuki-Tierney's work was

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[463] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Concepts of Time among the Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Sakhalin," *American Anthropologist*, vol 71, no 3 (June 1969) 488-492.

[464] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Ainu Illness and Healings: A Symbolic Interpretation," *American Ethnologist*, vol 7, no 1 (February 1980) 132-151.
Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "An Octopus Headache? A Lamprey Boil? Multisensory Perception of 'Habitual Illness' and World View of the Ainu," *Journal of Anthropological Research*, vol 33, no 3 (Autumn 1977).
Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "The Classification of the 'Habitual Illnesses' of the Sakhalin Ainu," *Arctic Anthropology*, vol 14, no 2 (1977) 9-34.
Ohnuki-Tierney, "Concepts of Time," 488-492.

ground-breaking because of her reliance on the first-hand accounts of an Ainu woman as well as her focus on Sakhalin Ainu. It is not that scholars before her did not use first-hand accounts, consider, for example, Baba, but Ohnuki-Tierney purposely sought out a primary source that relied on the Ainu, their cultural language and ways of knowing.

Hokkaido Ainu were, and to a certain degree still are, the most prominent Ainu group, often overshadowing Sakhalin and Kuril Ainu. Highlighting non-Hokkaido Ainu sets Ohnuki-Tierney apart from her contemporaries, promoting wholistic understandings of underappreciated cultures. Ohnuki-Tierney does not question the validity of Husko, rather presenting the woman's knowledge in a clear manner that promotes respect for Indigenous ways of knowing as valid primary source material. Using knowledge gained from a Sakhalin Ainu also reminds readers of the multiplicity of Ainu culture.[465] In light of Ohnuki-Tierney's work, pluralistic understandings can be applied to individual culture groups, not just large national populations, adding nuance to Ainu Studies and echoing Bourne's use of transnationalism.[466] Moreover, Ohnuki-Tierney advocates for the consideration of contemporary Ainu, aligning herself and her work with civil rights activism and Indigenous advocacy.[467] As a whole, Ohnuki-

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Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Sakhalin Ainu Time Reckoning," *Man*, vol 8, no 2 (June 1973) 285-299.
Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Spatial Concepts of the Ainu of the Northwest Coast of Southern Sakhalin," *American Anthropologist*, vol 74, no. 3 (June 1972) 426-457.

[465] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193.
Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.

[466] Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-249.

[467] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Another Look at the Ainu—A Preliminary Report," *Arctic Anthropology*, vol 11 (1974) 189-195.
Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney and George Simeon, "On the Present-Day Ainu," *Current Anthropology*, vol 16, no 2 (June 1975) 287-288.

Tierney's work validates multi-vocal understandings of Ainu ways of knowing, diversifying the field to better understand both Ainu history and contemporary cultural development. Following the precedent set by Baba in the early twentieth century, Ohnuki-Tierney may be regarded as a cornerstone of contemporary Sakhalin Ainu studies. Her commitment to Ainu ways of knowing and a thorough examination of cultural knowledge, particularly through the inclusion of firsthand accounts in her work, has been instrumental in advancing the decolonization and Indigenization of the field.

Moving to the end of the twentieth century, Richard Siddle's 1996 publication, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, examines the conflicting "narratives of identity, history, and contemporary reality" between the Japanese and Ainu, spanning the Tokugawa period to the end of the twentieth century.[468] The monograph offers a comprehensive consideration of Ainu-Japanese relations and their impact on Ainu culture throughout the colonization process. Building on the foundational work of the von Siebolds and Takakura, Siddle engages with identity politics in Japan before, during, and after its emergence as a modern nation-state. The first two chapters of the monograph address the Ainu, not only during the Tokugawa period but also prior to the establishment of the Tokugawa Bakufu and the Matsumae Daimyo.[469] This approach reflects the broader trend toward expansive historical narratives that address marginalized histories, incorporating both transnational and Borderland Studies methodologies. Chapters three through six focus on the Ainu during the Meiji era and

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[468] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 2.

[469] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, chapters one and two, 6-50.

up to the late twentieth century. [470] Finally, the last chapter shifts to the Ainu

contemporary to Siddle and the Ainu activism of the 1990s.[471]

Through a comprehensive examination of Ainu identity politics under both

modern and postmodern Japanese governments, Siddle provides readers with an

essential background understanding of Ainu-Japanese political dynamics at the turn

of the twenty-first century. This aligns with the goals of the ABS, emphasizing that the

complexities of contemporary borders can only be understood through an analysis of

historical processes. Furthermore, Siddle is comprehensive and diverse in his source

material, considering sources beyond those written by English and Japanese scholars,

thereby highlighting his commitment to wholistic and pluralistic scholarship.[472] His

inclusion of subaltern perspectives is an enactment of decolonial and Indigenizing

techniques, challenging the parameters set Western and Japanese modernities.

Interestingly, Siddle anticipates metamodernity's plurality and equity, pushing Ainu

Studies into and beyond postmodernity.

Siddle continues to employ transnational and Borderland Studies methodology,

challenging colonial worldviews, with perhaps the clearest example being his use of

maps in the monograph. All three of the maps that appear in the volume centralize

Hokkaido, a region often seen as peripheral to both Japan and Russia. The first map,

titled "The northern regions before 1868," illustrates the southern Okhotsk region

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[470] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, chapters three through six, 51-170.

[471] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, chapter seven, 171-189.

[472] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, 240-258.

including most of Sakhalin, the Kurils, Hokkaido, and northern Honshu.[473] The second

map depicts the same region but is labelled, "Hokkaidō and surrounding areas, 1869-

1945."[474] Providing these two maps back to back, one without modern borders and the

other with, aligns with Borderland Studies by emphasizing the contested nature of this

region, underscoring the political forces that have divided and redivided it. The final

map, focusing on contemporary Hokkaido, illustrates the impact of the Russo-

Japanese conflict and the narrowing of Ainu Mosir.[475] By combining these maps with

his discussion of Ainu identity politics since the Tokugawa era, Siddle provides concrete

evidence of transnationalism and border disputes, offering a nuanced perspective on

Ainu-Japanese relationships that aligns with the pluralism of metamodernity.

Also utilizing postcolonial methodology, Mark Hudson is another prolific author

in Ainu Studies. With publications like "Ainu Ethnogenesis and the Northern Fujiwara"

(1999) and "Okhotsk and Sushen: history and diversity in Iron Age Maritime hunter-

gathers of northern Japan" (2017), Hudson's work bridges the transition from post- to

metamodern methodology and is marked by interdisciplinarity in the way Hudson

"writes across" history and archaeology.[476] Throughout his career, Hudson considers

not only the Ainu, but the context from which Ainu culture developed, adhering to

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[473] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, xi.

[474] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, xii.

[475] Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, xiii.

[476] Mark J. Hudson, "Ainu Ethnogenesis and the Northern Fujiwara," *Arctic Anthropology*, vol 36, no 1/2 (1999) 73-83.

Mark J. Hudson, "Okhotsk and Sushen: history and diversity in Iron Age Maritime hunter-gathers of northern Japan," in *The Diversity of Hunter Gatherer Pasts*, edited by Bill Finlayson and Graeme Warren (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 2017) 68-78.

both transnationalism and Borderland Studies. In his 1999 work, Hudson addresses

how the Northern Fujiwara's trade relationships with Hokkaido may have influenced

the shift from the Satsumon culture to that of the Ainu.[477] Hudson's conclusions are

well supported by archaeological and historical evidence and promote the idea of the

Ainu as a culture group rooted in cross-cultural communication, in alignment with the

goals of transnationalism and Borderland Studies. With the knowledge accumulated

by early scholarship and a reconsideration of old records, Hudson pushes

transnationalism further than it had previously been done in Ainu Studies, producing

interesting conclusions about the Ainu being agents of trade and communication

throughout a long and diverse history.[478] Additionally, his chapter in the 2017

publication, *The Diversity of Hunter Gatherer Pasts*, considers the Okhotsk culture and

the potential transitions from Epi-Jōmon to Satsumon.[479] In this chapter, Hudson

"writes across" archaeological evidence and written source material, namely the *Nihon*

Shoki, to uncover the diversity and plurality of hunter-gatherers in Hokkaido and

northern Tohoku before the establishment of the Satsumon culture. By comparing the

Nihon Shoki with archaeological evidence, Hudson relies on the increasing popularity

of interdisciplinary studies to reach a more complete conclusion that is rooted in

transnationalism and cross-cultural communication, anticipating metamodernity's

concern for cross-discipline dialogues.[480] With both publications, Hudson seeks

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[477] Hudson, "Ainu Ethnogenesis," 73-83.

[478] Hudson, "Ainu Ethnogenesis," 73-83.

[479] Hudson, "Okhotsk and Sushen," 68-78.

[480] Hitchcock and Hughes, *Research and the Teacher*, 335-337.

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.

answers about the evolution of Ainu culture through outside source material, using

transnational methodology to support the internationality of Ainu history and culture.

Decolonizing and Indigenizing his research through interdisciplinarity, Hudson pursues

more complete answers about the Indigenous history of Hokkaido, challenging

readers to think critically about the traditional narratives of Ainu Studies research.

Brett Walker, in addition to "writing across" environmental studies, "between"

history and science, also contributes to the conversation initiated by Takakura's

evaluation of Ainu-Japanese relations under the Tokugawa Shogunate. In his 1996

publication, "Reappraising the 'Sakoku' Paradigm: The Ezo Trade and the Extension of

Tokugawa Political Space into Hokkaidō," Walker reconsiders the isolationism of Japan

during the early modern era. In this re-evaluation of Tokugawa trade relationships with

the Ainu, Walker turns to the economic side of the relationship, rather than the political

narratives explored by Siddle and Takakura or the cultural evolution addressed by

Hudson. In his introduction Walker states:

> This paper argues that the political nature of the Japanese participation in
> the Ezo trade, and the cultural and economic function it served in Ezo, make
> it a valuable addition to the historical discourse which seeks to reinterpret
> the role that foreign diplomacy and trade played during the Tokugawa
> period.[481]

This thesis statement not only renegotiates the idea of Japanese isolationism but calls

attention to the Ainu within that system. Walker contributes a pluralistic perspective to

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[481] Brett Walker, "Reappraising the "Sakoku" Paradigm: The Ezo Trade and the Extension of Tokugawa Political Space into Hokkaidō," *Journal of Asian History*, vol 30, no 2 (1996) 169-170.

the historiography, looking beyond the stereotypical role of the Ainu as passive members of the story, rather redressing them as agents of the economic system. This new outlook reframes Japan's position in the Northern Silk Road, shifting the historic economic power of the region in a way that favors the Ainu over the Japanese in the southern Okhotsk world system. In doing so, Walker reconceptualizes and Indigenizes the historic and modern borders of the region, using Borderland Studies methodology in a way that provides readers with new insights.

Walker continues to re-evaluate the Ainu-Japanese relationship in his 1999 article, titled "The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations: Redefining the Body Politic 1799-1868." [482] Through an analysis of the Tokugawa vaccination program, Walker continues to engage with a highly nuanced conversation of the day-to-day relationship between the Japanese government and its Indigenous subjects, re-dressing old scholarship that favored the Japanese perspective, thereby continuing to decolonize and Indigenize Ainu history. Walker's publications during the 1990s continue the conversation started by Takakura, Mrs Seligman, and Siddle, pushing the conversation further into postcolonial decolonization and Indigenization. He contributes to the deconstruction of Western modernity's limits that had been placed on Ainu Studies in the early twentieth century, thus encouraging readers to consider the Ainu through the wide-framed lenses of postmodern transnationalism and Borderland Studies.

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[482] Brett Walker, "The Early Modern Japanese State and Ainu Vaccinations: Redefining the Body Politic 1799-1868," *Past and Present*, no 163 (May 1999) 121-160.

Another scholar that exemplifies postmodern and metamodern Ainu Studies is David Howell. Howell "writes across" a broad perspective, considering Japanese history through identity politics and geography. Like Walker, Howell concentrates specifically on the Ainu, "writing in between" and "back" to "de-marginalize" Ainu history and culture. This is illustrated in his 1994 article, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," in which Howell focuses on "the ethnic identity of the Ainu during the Tokugawa era."[483] This discussion "writes between" the mutual relationships between the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Ainu similarly to Munro and Takakura. However, Howell goes a step further than Takakura by "highlight[ing] the role of state institutions in, on the one hand, giving meaning to ethnic identity and, on the other hand, locating that identity within the political structure of the state."[484] Utilizing this perspective Howell gives agency to Ainu leadership amongst the Japanese system whereas Takakura had portrayed the Ainu as largely passive subjects of the Tokugawa and Matsumae systems. In this way, Howell Indigenizes the narrative, supporting Ainu-centric history.

Then, in 1996 Howell publishes "Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary Japan," expanding upon the 1994 article by "provid[ing] a brief overview of the current situation of Japanese minority groups, with an emphasis on the ideological denudation of non-Japanese identities by the state and society."[485] Unlike the previous article,

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[483] David L. Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," *Past and Present*, no 142 (February 1994) 69.

[484] Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity," 92.

[485] David L. Howell, "Ethnicity and Culture in Contemporary Japan," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol 31, no 1 (January 1996) 171.

Howell steps out of Ainu Studies to consider minorities in Japan more broadly.

Consequently, the 1996 article contextualizes the Ainu and Ainu Studies amid a

pluralistic context of Japanese modernity in a way that undermines the tradition of

ethnic homogeneity. Howell "writes across" minorities in Japan, reminding readers that

specific histories, like Ainu and Indigenous histories, do not exist in a vacuum; these

marginalized narratives contribute to the larger structures and world systems at work

throughout history and contemporary politics. By taking a step back to consider the

broader context, Howell's work contributes to the decolonization of Japanese history

in his use of metamodern and post structural ideas of transnationalism of cross-cultural

influences that impact all peoples in a system built from modern stratification.[486]

   In the following decade, Howell returns to Ainu Studies with his 2004 article,

"Making "Useful Citizens" of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan."[487] Here

Howell sets out his intentions:

> My aims are, first, to see who 'counted' as Ainu and, second, to demonstrate
> that the goal of assimilation was to transform the Ainu into 'useful citizens'
> of Japan by bringing their everyday lives and livelihoods into line with
> normative patterns.[488]

Alongside the rest of the introduction in which Howell introduces the Hokkaido Former

Aborigines Protection Act, this article is set up as a critical exploration of the Ainu

during the early Meiji period. Howell contributes to a postmodern understanding of

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[486] Hitchcock and Hughes, *Research and the Teacher*, 335-337.
[487] David L. Howell, "Making "Useful Citizens" of Ainu Subjects in the Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol 63, no 1 (February 2004) 5-29.
[488] Howell, "Making "Useful Citizens,"" 6.

the Ainu while remaining critical of the Japanese government and its historic colonialism. In this balancing act, Howell provides a nuanced and pluralistic understanding of twentieth century Ainu-Japanese politics in a similar fashion to that seen in Siddle's work in 1994.

Finally, in his 2005 monograph, *Geography of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Howell "examines the ways social groups were constituted and reconstituted over the course of the nineteenth century."[489] In this monograph, Howell returns to the themes presented in his 1996 article by considering minorities more broadly throughout Japanese Studies and adhering to the methodology behind studying marginalized histories. Despite this study stepping back from Ainu Studies into the larger context of Japan Studies, the Ainu play pivotal role in the research, being mentioned throughout the volume. From an exploration of Ainu identity under the Tokugawa Shogunate to Ainu identity under the Meiji Emperor, Howell uses Ainu Studies as a measuring stick within the identity politics of Japanese history.[490] In addition to using a wide variety of sources, Howell's content provides readers with a comprehensive exploration of identity politics in the early modern period, aligning with the work of Hudson, reminding readers to consider the broader view of history, while also providing an excellent jumping-off point for Ainu Studies. With this, Howell engages in the decolonization of Japan Studies, reminding his readers of the diversity

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[489] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 2.

[490] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, chapters five (110-130) and eight (172-196).

of Japan. In the end, Howell's work, in its political focus, is an important contribution to the decolonization of Japan Studies in its use of Ainu and Minority Studies.

A contemporary of Siddle, Walker, and Howell, Tessa Morris-Suzuki "writes across" transnationalism and Borderland Studies, "writing back" in support of decolonization and Indigenization throughout her writing career. From the early 1990s into the 2020s, Morris-Suzuki has published on a variety of topics ranging from civilization theory in Japan in her 1993 publication "Rewriting History: Civilization Theory in Contemporary Japan" to the ideas of race and belonging in *Exodus to North Korea* (2007) and "Beyond Racism" (2015).[491] In addition to her diverse scholarship, Morris-Suzuki is a product of colonization and globalization in that she "come[s] from a family of border-crossers," thus giving her particular insight into "writing across" borders.[492] Using this inspiration, Morris-Suzuki has dedicated much of her career to the Okhotsk region, a place of diversity and cross-cultural communication, overlayed with contemporary Russo-Japanese relations and conflicts. Her personal background and "written up" works characterize Morris-Suzuki as a metamodern scholar who "writes back" to the colonial systems to decenter dominant narratives in favor of subaltern pluralism.

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[491] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Rewriting History: Civilization Theory in Contemporary Japan," *positions: asia critique*, vol 1, no 2 (Fall 1993) 526-549.
Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Exodus to North Korea: Shadows from Japan's Cold War* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007).
Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Beyond Racism: Semi-Citizenship and Marginality in Modern Japan," *Japanese Studies*, vol 35, no 1 (2015) 67-84.
[492] Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*, 2.

Considering the parameters of the current study, only a small part of Morris-Suzuki's work will be considered. Her most recent publication, *On the Frontiers of History: Rethinking East Asian Borders*, contains "a number of the chapters published [...] in the past quarter of a century." [493] This collection provides a relevant representation of Morris-Suzuki's work. True to the contemporary fields of transnational and Borderland Studies, Morris-Suzuki uses this work to look "at history from the vantage point of frontiers," "writing between" and "back to" imperial and national borders to uplift marginalized, subaltern voices. [494] She uses the term Area Studies, an interdisciplinary field that zooms in on geographically or culturally defined areas in a similar fashion to transnationalism and Borderland Studies. While the term is less specific than Borderland Studies in that it does not have to focus on the in-betweens or frontiers of nations, it does have a longer history than Borderland Studies having "[come] into its own" "in the middle of the twentieth century." [495] In using Area Studies, Morris-Suzuki pulls on the longer heritage of transnationalism, rooting her work in postmodern methodology. Moreover, Morris-Suzuki's heavy introspection throughout the volume sets her apart from earlier scholars working with transnationalism such as Sternberg. Rather than focusing on the Okhotsk region and its people as simply subject matter, Morris-Suzuki emulates Munro's *Ainu Creed and Cult*, contributing her personal, "written down" voice to the "written up" volume. This

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[493] Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*, 3.
[494] Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*, 3.
[495] Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*, 7.

strategy of autoethnography creates a connection between the author and subject

matter as well as between the author and audience, drawing readers into the work. In

this manner, Morris-Suzuki grounds her research in first-hand experience, "writing

across" the gap between subject and audience. In some ways this is a product of the

postmodern world—increased globalization brings people together across borders

and cultures—though Munro adhered to a similar technique in his early-twentieth

century work. Rather than study the Ainu through objectifying techniques informed by

pseudoscientific studies, Morris-Suzuki, and Munro before her, speak with and connect

to people on a human level, creating cross-cultural alliances.[496] As a result, Morris-

Suzuki's 2020 publication probes the boundaries between people, "writing across" to

create connection and understanding. One of Morris-Suzuki's concluding sentences

speaks to this:

> Small histories teach us to question reifying generalisations about national
> and civilisational pasts. [...] I hope, then, that the ideas offered here can
> provide some pointers for further learning, both from the remarkable
> histories of the Okhotsk Sea and surrounding regions, and from the stories
> of small frontier societies worldwide.[497]

Morris-Suzuki calls for the continued study and understanding of marginalized

histories, encouraging her audience to keep questioning and learning. Within the fields

of Indigenous and Ainu Studies, this statement reminds readers that history happens

at the smallest of scales and those small details matter when considering human

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[496] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 7-15.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 123-124.
[497] Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*, 236.

history. Morris-Suzuki's encouraging statement pulls on traditions used by Munro, inspiring further research and cross-cultural communication.

The post-war period of postmodern deconstruction challenged the assumptions of Western modernity resulting in significant shifts in Indigenous and Ainu Studies, but concepts like transnationalism persisted, evolving with societal shifts into a metamodern methodology. Borderland Studies is one manifestation of this evolution in is application of transnational analysis on contemporary border regions like that between Mexico and the United States and between Japan and Russia. Postmodern scholars like Harrison, Kitagawa, and Ohnuki-Tierney took the transnational themes established by the von Siebolds, Chamberlain, and Takakura into the late twentieth century, developing the field in line with decolonization and, later, Indigenization. Under the guidance of these scholars Ainu Studies shifts from isolated narratives to a broader understanding of the Ainu as transnational peoples. Siddle, Hudson, Walker, Howell, and Suzuki-Morris see this shift into the twenty-first century, utilizing postcolonial, transnational methodologies to emphasize Ainu agency. In developing more nuanced understandings of the Okhotsk region and its many culture groups, these contemporary scholars set the stage for metamodern techniques and innovations like decolonization and Indigenization.

4.3 Conclusion

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka* was a landmark moment that challenged segregation in US schools, marking the decentering of Western modernity.[498] The ruling was a key part of the US Civil Rights Movement, which, alongside global decolonization efforts, encouraged a shift towards postcolonial frameworks in academic and social spaces. Social groups were demanding change and educational spaces, like museums and academia, responded with pluralism to break down the ways of knowing left over from the old-world order. Postmodernity enabled scholars and the public alike to question, deconstruct, and subvert outdated, nationalistic grand narratives. The 1954 ruling is a manifestation of the early changes that took place across academia and public, a firm step into postmodernity and the dismantling of Western modernity. These changes influenced academic philosophies, particularly in Indigenous Studies, empowering scholars, like Said, Smith, Ohnuki-Tierney, and Howell to critique and dismantle pseudoscientific and colonial biases.[499]

Post-war Ainu Studies embodies this intellectual shift. Particularly evidenced by the work of Munro, compiled and published by Seligman in the 1960s under the title *Ainu Creed and Cult*, postmodern and metamodern Ainu studies is marked by the emphasis of Ainu agency.[500] Through his acknowledgement of Ainu informants, use of

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[498] National Parks Service, "Brown v. Board of Education."

[499] See for example:

Said, *Orientalism*.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[500] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

the Ainu language, and highlighting lesser-known Ainu rituals, Munro's research elevated Ainu knowledge, presenting a more compassionate and respectful approach to Indigenous Studies, indicative of the twenty-first century metamodern shift.

Despite these advancements, Western modernity's legacy persists in biological studies of the Ainu, perpetuate systems like blood quantum.[501] Rooted in ideas like Social Darwinism blood quantum and other biological studies disadvantage living cultures, deprioritizing local authority and knowledge. Metamodern studies, which prioritize respect and compassion for local knowledge, encourage scholars like Ellinghaus and lewallen to critique the continued use of one-sided biological studies and blood quantum.

In the final decades of the twentieth century into the twenty-first century, the continued development of metamodern methodologies, informed by systems like Borderland Studies, emphasizes the importance of marginalized histories and ways of knowing.[502] Scholars like Ohnuki-Tierney, Walker, Howell, and Morris-Suzuki contribute to this trend by focusing on Ainu agency and challenging dominant national narratives, encouraging readers to critically engage with the complexities of established national narratives.[503]

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[501] Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell*, xiii.
lewallen, ""Clamoring Blood", 51-53.
[502] Association for Borderland Studies, "About: Association for Borderland Studies."
[503] See for example works like:
Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*.
Hudson, lewallen, and Watson (eds). *Beyond Ainu Studies*.

Alongside the evolution of Ainu Studies, Museum Studies underwent a similar transformation in the last quarter of the twentieth century. With the support of ICOM and under the guidance of scholars like Vergo and Hooper-Greenhill, metamodernity took root in Museum Studies, encouraging decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies. [504] Contextualized by the preceding historiography, the following chapters return to Museum Studies to consider museum Ethics and Best Practice and address the emergence of metamodernity among museological spaces.

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[504] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*.
Vergo, "Introduction."

Intermission II: Arriving at the Crossroads of History and Contemporary Ethics

In March 2024, I visited Japan House London to see their Ainu exhibit, titled *Ainu Stories: Contemporary Lives by the Saru River*.[505] The display was an excellent illustration of a contemporary approach to decolonization. From the organization of the space to the acknowledgements of the guidebook, *Ainu Stories* may be considered a metamodern exhibition which aligns with the decolonizing and Indigenizing work of contemporary scholarship and museum ethics.

Japan House London calls itself "the cultural home of Japan in London," and, consequently, largely reflects Japanese narratives, meaning that the institution often showcases and celebrates Japanese culture and history, side-lining minority narratives.[506] Considered in the context and methodologies of the current research, this may be seen as a failure of Japan House, however, rather than being a negative of the institution, Japan House provides a microcosmic example of contemporary Japan. The Ainu and other minorities in Japan are often overlooked in society, having been written into the background by authorities, thus they receive minimal recognition at Japan House.[507] Still, those minorities continue to speak up, advocating for themselves

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[505] *Ainu Stories: Contemporary Lives by the Saru River,* Japan House London, November 2023-April 2024, visited March 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/ainu-stories-contemporary-lives-by-the-saru-river/.

[506] "Home page," Japan House London, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/.

[507] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 358.
Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 22-23.

and preserving their histories as exemplified by the work of Joy Hendry and Linda Tuhiwai Smith.[508] Japan House's 2024 showcase is proof of this resilience and revitalization, as well as the growth of metamodernity and accompanying decolonial and Indigenizing practices across society, academia, and museum spaces. Prior to the 2024 exhibition, Japan House hosted events that celebrated Ainu culture in conjunction with the opening of Upopoy and the Native Spirit Festival, both in 2020.[509] Then in 2022, Japan House hosted the Ainu musician OKI and his family.[510] These events, coupled with a few events celebrating the Ryukyuans, illustrate the contemporary push for decolonization and Indigenization of politics and society. Expositions like *Ainu*

Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 201-204.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 104-106.

[508] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 123-143.

[509] "Upopoy—A New National Centre for Ainu History and Culture: Talk by Tone Toshiya," *Japan House London*, 23 January 2020, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/upopoy-a-new-national-centre-for-ainu-history-culture-talk-by-tone-toshiya/.

"The Beauty and Power of Ainu Patterns: Talk by Igarashi Satomi," *Japan House London*, 31 January 2020, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/the-beauty-power-of-ainu-patterns-talk-by-igarashi-satomi/.

"Ainu Patterns: Embroidery Workshop," *Japan House London*, 1-2 February 2020, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/ainu-patterns-embroidery-workshop/.

"An Evening of Ainu Song: Performance by Toyokawa Yoko," *Japan House London*, 14-15 February 2020, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/an-evening-of-ainu-song-performance-by-toyokawa-yoko/.

"The Making of "Ainu: Indigenous People of Japan,"" *Japan House London*, 15 October 2020, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/the-making-of-ainu-Indigenous-people-of-japan/.

[510] "Ainu Roots: Words and Music from OKI, Rekpo and Kanō Manaw," *Japan House London*, 15 November 2022, accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.japanhouselondon.uk/whats-on/ainu-roots-words-and-music-from-oki-rekpo-and-kano-manaw/.

Stories should be celebrated as positive turning points toward equitable representation as discussed by Giblin, et al, and Christina Kreps.

The gallery in Japan House is a large room on the lower level. Constructed in a similar fashion to a black box theatre, the space is purposefully neutral so that it may be used and re-used for diverse temporary exhibits. In the background of Figures 9 to 14 the black walls and floor of the space can be seen. For *Ainu Stories* it was set up in a square and, when viewed from the top down, a pattern reminiscent of traditional Ainu textile motifs can be made out from the designs on the floor and the construction of the exposition furniture (note the curvature visible in display furniture in Figures 9, 11, 12, and 14). On each of the four walls, three screens played interviews with various Ainu on a loop (see background of Figures 10 and 11). Each video was a self-contained interview of an Ainu individual from Nibutani explaining their role amid contemporary Ainu culture, from woodcarvers to textile production to language revitalization. Throughout the gallery, each individual display was just as inclusive and diverse as the videos with sections about traditional foods, spiritual beliefs, and cross-cultural communication. The whole space was beautifully put together, emphasizing contemporary Ainu voices through interviews, the prominence of the Ainu language,

and traditional Ainu crafts, both historic and revitalized (see the diversity of
woodcarvings present in Figures 9-11).

Figure 9: Photo of Ainu carvings displayed in Ainu Stories *exhibition. Included to show diversity of exhibition. Photo by author.*

Figure 11: Picture of Ainu carvings displayed in Ainu Stories *exhibition. Photo included to show diversity in exhibition and curvature of exhibition furniture. Photo by author.*

Figure 10: Picture of Ainu tray carvings displayed in Ainu Stories *exhibition with recorded interview in the background. Photo included to illustrate the diversity in exhibition. Photo by author.*
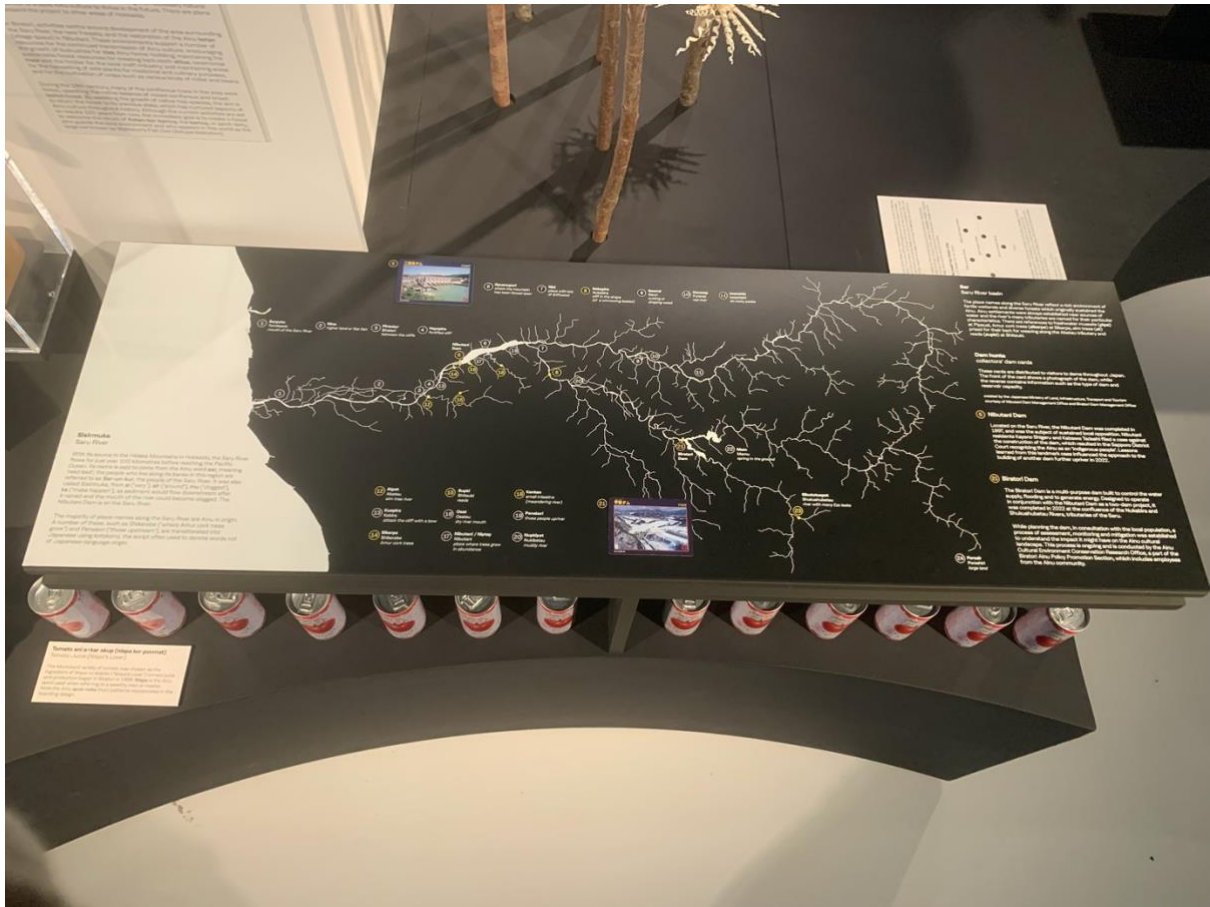
Figure 12: Map displayed in Ainu Stories exhibition. Photo included to illustrate the diversity in exhibition and curvature of display furniture. Photo by author.

Figure 13: Photo of Ainu Kamuy *display at* Ainu Stories *exhibition. Photo included to show diversity in exhibition. Photo by author.*

Figure 14: Photo of Ainu Stories exhibition. Note the diversity of material on display, layered together so that everything is visible and interconnected. Photo by author.

All of this was on my mind as I exited Japan House, however, it was not until a month later that I was able to return to my notes and read the small guidebook provided by Japan House. Coming back to my notes and the guide booklet, the detail

that strikes me lies in the final section of the book, titled *Credits*. Taking up three pages

at the end, several groups are listed in thanks for their contribution to the production,

as is standard for these projects. Then, on the final page, next to the prestigious *curated*

by, the booklet reads, "Japan House London and the people of Biratori." It is a simple

and routine listing in line with exhibition standards—i.e., it is normal. That is what struck

me about it. I have been to countless Indigenous-based events that probably used

similar systems of co-curation and acknowledgement, but this was the first one that

forced me to see the mechanisms of contemporary decolonization and Indigenization

at work.

I think the reason this one was different for me is due to three main reasons: (1)

I have been surrounded by my research for so long that I have both lost sight of the

everyday and I have gained insight into these inner workings of exhibition construction

and curation; (2) the presentation was in London, an imperial capital; and (3) my sister

was with me. The first point speaks to my growth as a researcher and the blinders

sometimes acquired during arduous research projects. It is hard at times to separate

the self from the research, having gotten lost in the work. Next, the exhibit being held

in London is evocative of the complex, layered history of colonialisms. London hosted

Great Exhibitions and is home to institutions with colonial histories, such as the British

Museum. Nevertheless, the Ainu of Biratori, being curators of the showcase, retain

control of their culture. At this convergence of cultures and colonialisms, the Ainu of

Biratori were, in a way, reclaiming their culture from the exploitation of the Great

Exhibitions. Finally, the third point contextualized my experience in a way that had not

been done before. During my fieldwork in Japan in the fall of 2022, I visited many museums that had some level of co-curation and Indigenous acknowledgement. Before my fieldwork, I had done the same in the United States and Peru. Indigenous acknowledgement and co-curation *should* be normal, but it took me visiting an Indigenous-curated event in a famously imperialist capital with someone outside of my research to remember that idea and its accompanying feelings. My sister provided me with the questions I had forgotten to ask, pointing out details I took for granted. She reminded me what it was like to visit museum spaces without the context of years of research, exemplifying how these spaces are integral to learning and sharing across cultures—how these spaces are vital to contemporary decolonization and Indigenization.

This project sits at a crossroads alongside Japan House's *Ainu Stories*. The long history of Western modernity, postmodernity, and metamodernity laid out in chapters two through four is the product of diverse narratives and actors vying for power and dominance. Using unfair expectations and philosophies, dominant regimes have overwritten local, subaltern—Indigenous—voices.[511] Despite violent erasure and state-sponsored forgetfulness, Indigenous peoples have persevered to the present and are revitalizing their cultures.[512] As noted in chapter one, I am a product of Western

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[511] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*.
[512] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 215-220.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 104-106.

modernity in both my heritage and my position as a scholar and it is a privilege which

I do not take lightly to stand at this crossroads between history written by Western

modernity and contemporary decolonization and Indigenization. Bringing English-

language Ainu Studies historiography, as mapped in chapters three and four, together

with the National Museum of Scotland's (NMS) permanent Ainu exhibit is my

contribution to the changing narrative. It is not that Ainu historiography has not been

addressed before, nor that the NMS has never been studied, rather it is the application

and enactment of metamodern methodology onto these topics. It is my hope that this

research *adds to* the incredible work being done by institutions like ICOM and the NMS

as well as scholars like Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ann-elise lewallen, Christina Kreps, Kirsten

Ziomek, and Amy Lonetree.

     With the foundation laid by theory and historiography previously, and inspired

by contemporary scholarship, I now turn directly to the museum sector. In the second

half of this project, I first consider museum Ethics and Best Practice, applying them

onto industry leaders of the museum sector. In doing this, a baseline will be established,

accounting for contemporary museum standards, which then highlight post- and

metamodern museum methodologies. Then, the final chapter revisits the NMS's Ainu

display as described in the second half of chapter one. By applying the paradigms and

context outlined in chapter five, chapter six will provide a better understanding of the

NMS's Ainu collections as it stands at the crossroads between Western modernity and

metamodern decolonization and Indigenization.

Chapter Five: Systemic Revision, Contemporary Museum Ethics and Best Practice

As alluded to in chapter two, museums have a long history and play an important role in the contemporary world as purveyors and preservers of knowledge outside of the structures of academia. [513] This places museums at an interesting crossroads of education—they are accessible institutions that must cater to a diverse public while also providing accurate and impartial educational experiences.[514] They are products of both their time and their community, but they are also teachers that must account for a huge variety of visitors with various goals and expectations.[515] In the words of scholar Carol Duncan: "[museums], *whatever* their stated aims and potentials, must function within existing political and ideological limits."[516] Today this, ideally, means being accessible and inclusive spaces of learning and preservation. It means adhering to increasingly standardized and critical expectations and guidance provided by constituents, such as their communities, boards, politicians, and even global entities like the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and UNESCO's World Heritage Centre.[517]

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[513] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 7.

[514] Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 5.
Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 131.
John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *Learning from Museums*, second edition (Lanham, MD and London, UK: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018) 220.

[515] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.

[516] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals,* 4.

[517] Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 4.
Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 297.

However, in the nineteenth century, when many of the standard-setting institutions were founded, this meant collecting and showcasing the "unusual" and "disappearing" parts of humanity that were thought to be endangered in the face of Western expansion and modernization.[518] Western "explorers" and scholars travelled the world to collect artefacts and stories from peoples projected to go extinct in the wake of European colonialism, populating institutions of preservation and research with non-Western "curiosities."[519] This led

> to a systematic rape of Aboriginal sacred sites – by the representatives of British, European, and American as well as Australian museums – for materials to provide a representational foundation for the story of evolution within, tellingly enough, natural history displays.[520]

The Ainu were one amongst many Indigenous cultures that were a part of this systematic robbery and exploitation. The idea at the time was the munificent preservation and ordering of human history in the name of Enlightenment ideals of science and modernization akin to the "writing up" process. From the perspective of Western elites—the "arbiters" of knowledge at that time—this was a noble quest that would allow the world to enter a modern era of Western civilization. [521] The Enlightenment-based, Western model of knowledge and its accumulation led to

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Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 22.
[518] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 10-11.
[519] Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*. 64-68.
[520] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 79.
[521] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 2.

massive growth in museums like the National Museum of Scotland (NMS), the British Museum (BM), the Smithsonian, and the Tokyo National Museum (TNM). Consequently, at their historic cores, these institutions are products of Western modernity and the desire for control and order through preservation, categorization, and education.[522]

Altering the narrative, post-War decolonization and the Civil Rights Movement—both massive catalysts and reflections of change across academia, society, and politics—sparked a type of revolution in educational arenas, museological and academic. In response to postcolonial shifts the contemporary museum is attempting to evolve out of the oppressive colonial system of the past, moving beyond the modern, Victorian ideals of the "noble savage" and the "white man's burden." As previously cited, scholar Christina Kreps addresses this postmodern transition in a 2009 publication:

> Fifteen to 20 years ago, few curators working in an American museum housing Native American collections would have questioned their right to open and handle the contents of a sacred medicine bundle, to put an Iroquois false face mask on display, or to mount an exhibition without consulting representatives from the source community. These were the taken-for-granted, exclusive roles and responsibilities of curators working within professional guidelines and ethics of the time. However, as museums have been making efforts to become responsive to the needs and interests of their diverse constituencies, especially minority and Indigenous communities, they have become more inclusive of diverse perspectives and sensitive to the rights of people to have a voice in how their cultures are represented and their heritage curated. Today, collaboration between

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[522] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471-474.
Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 73-76

museums and source communities and the co-curation of collections and exhibitions has become commonplace in many museums (see Peers and Brown 2003). These activities have also inspired the development of more culturally relative and appropriate approaches to curatorial work (see Kreps 2008).[523]

Kreps wrote her article over a decade ago, and her praise of the changing practices of museums remains applicable today. The processes of "writing across," "in between," and "back" inherent in collaborative exhibitions brings museums and source communities together to produce effective, engaging, pluralistic experiences. As such, this strategy of collaboration is becoming a prime example of Best Practice in the museum sector. Still, many of the museums that exist today are products of colonialism and are unable to fully divorce themselves from the history of colonialism and the traditions exemplified by the "writing up" process. Even when museums attempt to present balanced histories, they must also maintain their funding and admission levels leading to expositions which may be "toned down" for the public or use neutral language that is meant to be inoffensive to all.[524] Museums exist at the crossroads of multiple social systems that demand flexibility and creativity. To survive in the twenty-first century, museums must appease their constituents, adhere to their own missions, and still be consumable for the public and its ever-changing ideals and perspectives.

With all of this in mind, ICOM stands as an exemplar of the post-war institutional change inside the museum industry, providing a model for the methodology and

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[523] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193.

[524] Efram Sera-Shriar, "From museumization to decolonization: fostering critical dialogues in the history of science with a Haida eagle Mask," *The British Journal for the History of Science*, vol 56 (2023) 318-319.

analysis used in this project. In the mid-twentieth century, the evolution of museums and museum spaces culminated in the founding of ICOM over the course of two meetings held between 1946 and 1947.[525] In their own words, ICOM

> is an international organization of museums and museum professionals which is committed to the research, conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible.[526]

Founded on the heels of the Second World War, during the same time as the United Nations, ICOM speaks to the international, postmodern petitions for peace and cooperation that mark the immediate aftermath of the war. Comparable to the ideals of "writing across," both ICOM and the UN were created as collaborative spaces meant to promote and facilitate communication. As a result, today, the policies and negotiations maintained by ICOM uphold the shared desire to preserve heritage and knowledge, and it is through these ongoing efforts and shared values, that ICOM continues to hold authority amid the museum industry. As a centralizing voice of global museum standards, ICOM's definition of "museum" is an important pillar of this project. It posits:

> A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically,

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[525] ICOM, "History of ICOM."

[526] "Missions and Objectives," ICOM: International Council of Museums, accessed 30 May 2024, https://icom.museum/en/about-us/missions-and-objectives/.

professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.[527]

This definition was revised and published in August of 2022, indicating ICOM's ongoing conversation and willingness evolve in response to changing expectations. The revision process is also indicative of the continuing developments and flexibility of museum spaces, reflective of the shift from post- to metamodernity. Museums are not, and should not, be spaces of stagnant information; rather they are spaces of knowledge preservation, development, and sharing, as indicated by the 2022 definition.[528] In order to provide a framework with which to evaluate contemporary museum practices, this chapter builds from ICOM's 2022 definition through an exploration of contemporary museum Codes of Ethics and Best Practices. The paradigm created will then be applied to large, industry-leading museums to contextualize the NMS and local museums to be discussed in chapter six.

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[527] "Museum Definition," ICOM: International Council of Museums, accessed 5 June 2023, https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/.

[528] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 479-481.

5.1 Codes of Ethics and Best Practices

Best Practice, according to Merriam-Webster, is "a procedure that has been shown by research and experience to produce optimal results and that is established or proposed as a standard suitable for widespread adoption." [529] It is a set of procedures which are considered correct and most efficient, aligned with the highest industry standard available for institutions to strive toward. Complementing Best Practice, Merriam-Webster defines a Code of Ethics as "a set of rules about good and bad behavior." [530] Considered in relation to one another, these concepts are complementary and reflexive, two parts of the same goal. Where a Code of Ethics may include goals and missions of the institution, Best Practices are the actionable steps that reflect the code's standards.

As guiding principles, the concepts are somewhat synonymous through the goals and ideals they embody, providing standards for museum staff and affiliates to act in accordance with the goals and expectations of the industry. To better understand museum Codes of Ethics and Best Practices, this chapter will consider guidance provided by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the UK's Museum Association (MA), the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), and Minpaku, Japan's National Museum of Ethnology. Each of these institutions stand as industry leaders regarding metamodernity and contemporary concerns of decolonization and

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[529] "Best Practice," Merriam-Webster, accessed 1 October 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/best%20practice.

[530] "Code of Ethics," Merriam-Webster, accessed 2 October 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/code%20of%20ethics.

Indigenization. Moreover, apart from Minpaku, these institutions are not museums themselves, rather they are larger organizations that unite museum professionals across industry lines and act as objective purveyors of Ethics and Best Practices. Taken together, the various guiding frameworks address the concern presented in the 1980 edition of *Museological Working Papers*: "a simple common museology does not exist."[531] It is impossible to account for each and every museum and museological technique because the institutions are inherently particular to their environment and community. To achieve a far-reaching framework, this study pulls together a diverse group of museological guidance to create a basis for far-reaching dialogue. Still, a singular framework cannot be wholly inclusive. The following guidance is meant to be considered alongside local ways of knowing which account for internal, regional, and national rules, regulations, and experiences. Upon consideration of the codes of ethics published by the above institutions, five overarching themes emerge:

1. **Heritage Management**: Museums are responsible for the preservation, management, research, and promotion of tangible and intangible heritage, including the collection, documentation, and preservation of said heritage.

2. **Stewardship**: Museums have a responsibility of stewardship for collections are held in trust of and for the benefit of society, now and in the future. They embody a collective sense of knowledge preservation, development, and sharing for the good of society, not the individual.

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[531] V. T. Jensen, "Museological points of view—Europe 1975," edited by V. Sofka, *MUWOP: Museological Working Papers*, vol 2 (1981) 9.

3. **Integrity**: Museums must act lawfully and professionally. They are expected to act in accordance with local, regional, national, and international laws and maintain the highest standards. This includes incorporating measures of sustainability throughout the museum processes.

4. **Community**: Museums should be responsive and respectful of all communities that they serve, including source communities, local communities, and the museum's internal, workplace community.

5. **Equity**: Museums foster accessibility, inclusivity, and diversity. As places of knowledge preservation, development, and sharing, museums must be accessible and inclusive of all people.

From the baseline established by these five principles, contemporary museums can create valuable spaces for all individuals involved in the running and appreciation of museum spaces. Each concept aligns with the standards of contemporary decolonization and Indigenization, building off the metamodern evolutions of New Museology and the Post Museum, and aligning with scholars like Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Christina Kreps, and Amy Lonetree. [532] The themes speak to and guide the development of metamodern Best Practices, enabling museum professionals, scholars, and the public to better appreciate museum missions and spaces.

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[532] See for example:

Kreps, "Indigenous curation."

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*.

Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide.*

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies.*

Heritage Management:

> Museums are responsible for the preservation, management, research, and promotion of tangible and intangible heritage, including the collection, documentation, and preservation of said heritage.

In the setting of this project, heritage is an inclusive term referring to the cultural, historical, and natural materials that represent humanity and its history.[533] For instance, Stonehenge may be considered heritage because it was built by people of the past and can be studied and appreciated today as a sample of historic human culture.[534] Language is an example of intangible heritage in its representative nature of culture and lifeways.[535] Demonstrating the preservation of intangible heritage, the Ainu language is undergoing efforts of preservation championed by the Ainu people, Ainu-run organization, universities, and scholars. The publication of the *Handbook of the Ainu Language* and ongoing Ainu language schools in Hokkaido are examples of intangible heritage management outside of a museum setting.[536] At its core, heritage is important to the human experience because of its ability to support and ground

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[533] Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, "Introduction," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 6-7.

[534] Smith and Akagawa, "Introduction," 3.

[535] Denis Byrne, "A critique of unfeeling heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 230.

[536] Anna Bugaeva, *Handbook of the Ainu Language* (Berlin, Germany and Boston, MA: De Gruyter Mouton, 2022) https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501502859.

"Asahikawa Ainu Language School," The Foundation for Ainu Culture, accessed 7 October 2024, https://www.ff-ainu.or.jp/web/english/details/asahikawa-ainu-language-school.html.

"Biratori-cho Nibutani Ainu Language School," The Foundation for Ainu Culture, accessed 7 October 2024, https://www.ff-ainu.or.jp/web/english/details/asahikawa-ainu-language-school.html.

Maeda and Okano, "Connecting Indigenous Ainu," 55.

culture and ways of knowing. Preserving that heritage is an indispensable part of museological and academic spaces.

Heritage management may be the most obvious principle of museum Ethics and Best Practice. Embodied by museum collection management systems and oversight, heritage management includes, but is not limited to, cataloging systems, preservation techniques, and display regulations—it is the mechanical workings of caring for and studying heritage from acquisition to deaccession as outlined in museum handbooks like *Museum Basics* by Tim Ambrose and Crispin Paine as well as Nicola Pickering's *Museum Curator's Guide: understanding, managing, and presenting objects*.[537] ICOM addresses heritage management in the first item of their "Code of Ethics": "Museums preserve, interpret and promote the natural and cultural inheritance of humanity."[538] Here ICOM addresses the precedent of museums as arbiters of human knowledge and history, setting the industry standard as an international organization for museums and museum professionals. The statement itself defines the role of a museum as a responsible keeper of knowledge, thus implying Best Practice is predicated on the ethical preservation, interpretation, and promotion of "the natural and cultural inheritance of humanity."[539]

Addressing one part of heritage management, Minpaku's "Ethical Guidelines" state: "Researchers and staff must endeavor to clarify basic information about the

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[537] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*.
Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*.
[538] ICOM: International Council of Museums, *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*, (2017) 1.
[539] ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics*, 1.

materials, such as their historical and cultural background and production techniques, as well as the user and method of use." [540] This statement indicates the rigorous research and documentation that is demanded by metamodern decolonial Best Practices, processes that should be done for each museum object. According to Minpaku's rules, the information gathered must then be entered into the institute's secure database so that all details concerning an object are preserved for future employees, researchers, and visitors.[541] Ensuring proper research and documentation are Best Practices under heritage management, ensuring the ethical use and preservation of the object and all that it may represent. Similarly, the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) addresses the same concepts in their "Code of Ethics for Museums." The AAM code states: "collections in [a museum's] custody are accounted for and documented."[542] Here the AAM calls upon its member museums to ensure the safety and management of collections to ensure the survival of those collections into the future, aligning with ICOM's advise. Through systems of accounting, both Minpaku and the AAM remind museum professionals that comprehensive, rigorous documentation as a Best Practice can ensure the indefinite survival of heritage.

Returning to Minpaku, their "Ethical Guidelines" go a step further and touch on the physical and environmental safety of their collections:

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[540] "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities of the National Museum of Ethnology," National Museum of Ethnology (24 November 2020) accessed 25 September 2024, https://www.minpaku.ac.jp/assets/pages/aboutus/policy/h_shihyou/h_shihyou_01e.pdf.

[541] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

[542] "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums," American Alliance of Museums, accessed 26 September 2024, https://www.aam-us.org/programs/ethics-standards-and-professional-practices/code-of-ethics-for-museums/.

> To safely preserve and manage materials, researchers and staff should exercise utmost care when performing any duties that involve the handling of materials. Disaster prevention and mitigation measures should be implemented for collected materials, and researchers and staff should be constantly alert to the possibility of natural disasters.[543]

The above statement encompasses the "preservation" element of heritage management, calling upon museum staff to ensure the survival of Minpaku's collection and research for future generations. Because Minpaku is a discrete institution, its regulations must touch on Best Practices which concern the physical safety of its collections, whereas the AAM provides guidance for the whole United States and, therefore, cannot accurately predict the environmental and climatic concerns of each individual museum. This difference represents the complementary but divergent nature between Ethics and Best Practice. The AAM provides advice for museum ethics—the large themes and building blocks that go into museum development and management. Minpaku, on the other hand, must address the finite details of ethics, providing concrete instruction for the Best Practices to be enacted inside their institution and by their employees and affiliates.

Stewardship:

> Museums have a responsibility of stewardship for collections, holding in trust of and for the benefit of society, now and in the future. They embody a collective sense of knowledge preservation, development, and sharing for the good of society, not the individual.

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[543] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

The role of steward is akin to caretaker in that museum Best Practice should: (1)
ensure the survival of tangible and intangible heritage for future generations; and (2)
be objective in the management of that heritage, serving the public rather than the
individual. Overlapping with heritage management, the principle of stewardship
promotes rigorous documentation, preservation methods, and systems of safety for
museum collections. [544] Systems of documentation and management must be
maintained to ensure the long-term preservation of museum collections. Stewardship
also speaks to the Best Practice of ethical caretaking in service of society. For example,
the UK's Museum Association (MA) acknowledges this in their "Code of Ethics for
Museums," under subsection two, "stewardship of collections," proclaiming:

> Museums and those who work in and with them should: [1] maintain and
> develop collections for current and future generations; [2] acquire, care for,
> exhibit and loan collections with transparency and competency in order to
> generate knowledge and engage the public with collections; [3] treat
> museum collections as cultural, scientific or historic assets, not financial
> assets.[545]

The MA's statement advances the fact that museum collections should "not [be]
financial assets," aligning with ICOM's museum definition in that museums are "not-
for-profit" institutions.[546] Rather than collecting for personal gain, the metamodern
museum must maintain Best Practices that ensure impartial, well-documented

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[544] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 41-80.

[545] "Code of Ethics for Museums," Museum Association (2007) accessed 25 September 2024, 13,
https://www.museumsassociation.org/campaigns/ethics/code-of-ethics/.

[546] ICOM, "Museum Definition."

acquisition and appropriate, ethical deaccession.[547] Additionally, the MA's guidelines

illustrate the industry Ethics and Best Practices expected in UK institutions. This is most

obvious in point two: "acquire, care for, exhibit and loan." Each of these words are

actionable, exemplifying the everyday activities of museum staff. Adding the cue, "with

transparency and competency," enforces an expectation upon the action words,

reminding museum professions of the standards they embody and uphold. Ending the

point with "in order to generate knowledge and engage the public with collections"

provides a mission and end goal for museums; it gives a purpose to the actionable

steps.

ICOM's "Code of Ethics" also contributes to the topic of stewardship with two

statements: (1) "Museums that maintain collections hold them in trust for the benefit

of society and its development;" and (2) "Museums hold resources that provide

opportunities for other public services and benefits."[548] The first statement speaks

directly to the MA's "Code of Ethics," with mirroring language focusing on societal

benefits rather than individual advancement. The second, however, takes a slightly

different emphasis in that it accounts for "public services and benefits." The implication

in these words goes beyond an individualized view of the public, pointing out that

museum collections may be used for the benefit of society. This aligns with the third

point of the MA's guideline, in that museum collections are assets that can be used to

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[547] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 29-39.
[548] ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics*, 7.
ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics*, 27.

better society. They exist for the benefit of people, but also society as a collective entity.

For example, archaeology sites like Ofune and Moroyo in Hokkaido, Japan, are

maintained and open for the public in a way that facilitates learning and the

preservation of human history.[549] In this way, both sites exemplify Best Practice under

the principle of stewardship. They both exist and are maintained for public

appreciation, societal advancement, and scholarly examination as opposed to personal

gain for the staff. Stewardship, in its standard of care, urges museums and their staff

to work for the betterment of society in the preservation and presentation of culture

and diverse ways of knowing.

Integrity:

> Museums should act according to laws from local to international
> levels, for both them and their source communities. They should also
> be held to the highest standards professionally and academically. This
> is inclusive of the institution and their staff both within the museum
> and in the field. It is also inclusive of contemporary sustainability
> measures, which should be incorporated throughout all museum
> processes as applicable.

Integrity may be the most straightforward of the principles considered because

of its application outside of the museum sector. This principle encompasses the

necessity of museums to act lawfully and professionally in all that they do. While the

concept is forthright, it is far-reaching, going far beyond the walls of individual

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[549] "大船遺跡," Jōmon Japan: Jōmon Prehistoric Sites in Northern Japan, accessed 7 October 2024, https://Jōmon-japan.jp/learn/Jōmon-sites/ofune.
"Top Page," モロヨ貝塚館, Moroyo Shell Mound, accessed 7 October 2024, http://moyoro.jp/.

museums, applying to staff inside and outside the institutions. The AAM provides an example if integrity-based Ethics and Best Practice: "acquisition, disposal, and loan activities are conducted in a manner that respects the protection and preservation of natural and cultural resources and discourages illicit trade in such materials."[550] This provision may be listed under the principle of heritage management, but it is also essential in the development of integrity-based Best Practices. In terms of integrity, two important points stick out from the above guidance: (1) "conducted in a manner that respects the protection and preservation of natural and cultural resources;" and (2) "discourages illicit trade in such materials."[551] In the first point, the AAM recognizes the environmental impacts of museum collecting policies, promoting sustainability as a Best Practice of integrity. Moreover, it highlights the AAM's awareness of metamodern, interdisciplinary understandings that connect museum practices and the environment. Thus, the AAM's guidelines acknowledge the Climate Crisis and the need for museums to acknowledge and work with Best Practices that ensure the preservation of both natural and cultural resources. The second point recognizes the existence of illicit trade of heritage, thereby nodding to the long history of problematic collecting practices that filled the halls of museums in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By doing this, the AAM commits itself to ending the on-going illegal trade of heritage that continues to take place into the twenty-first century. By including this measure in their "Code of Ethics," the AAM pressures its member

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[550] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."

[551] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."

institutions to enact Best Practices that ensures responsible collecting and research, promoting integrity and transparency.

Minpaku also addresses the guiding principles of integrity in its regulations. Under the final section of Minpaku's document, "Compliance with Laws and Regulations," it is stated:

> In addition to domestic laws and guidelines, as well as regulations set by Minpaku and the Inter-University Research Institute Corporation National Institutes for the Humanities, researchers and staff must abide by the regional laws and regulations of the countries or nations that are the subject of the museum's activities, and the ethical guidelines of any related academic societies.[552]

Here the whole range of ethical accountability to which museums and their staff are subjected is addressed. Best Practice is not just about abiding by the law, it is also about working ethically and honestly. Governmental laws are products of political theory and public engagement, powerful components to be sure, but the ethical foundations that underpin museums and academia have become more rigorous under the pressure of metamodern decolonization and Indigenization. While systemic changes are slow in both museums and academia, it is still a place of reflection that encourages, and in many instances demands, integrity and transparency. By including these regulations in their "Ethical Guidelines," Minpaku upholds Ethics and Best Practices which enforce integrity, ensuring lawful and professional workspaces. Ultimately, integrity must be a

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[552] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

guiding principle of the Ethics and Best Practices of museums because of the way

it ensures lawful and ethical preservation and presentation of museum collections.

Community:

> Museums should be responsive and respectful of all communities that
> they serve, including local, tourist, source, and internal communities.

Community is the foundation from which museums are built—they are a

museum's direct audience and source of income. Without a supportive local

community, a museum will go largely unused, left to gather dust, the museum's worst

nightmare. It is up to individual museums to contend with this issue and create systems

that not only draw in visitors but also strengthens the local community generally.[553]

Ethics and Best Practice dictates that the relationship between a museum and its most

local community should be one of give and take.[554] The museum should provide value

to its community through heritage management and stewardship, providing

opportunities for community members to learn and explore in a safe space.

Complementing the local community, museums also have a responsibility to

source communities. Both populations contribute to the museum's community and,

thereby, income and influence. Source communities are the communities from which

museum collections originate. [555] Celebrating and extending respect to source

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[553] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 297-300.

[554] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 308.

[555] Laura Peers and Alison Brown, "Introduction," in *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2003) 1-2.

communities, is a vital Best Practice for contemporary museums. Without source communities, museums would not have a collection. Moreover, working with source communities assists museums in staying up-to-date. Best Practices that contribute to this include maintaining lines of communication with source community leaders and promoting research partnerships.

Finally, a museum's internal community is comprised of museum staff and affiliates. From the maintenance and cleaning crews to the freelance researchers, everyone on the museum's payroll, even if only for a short time, have significant relationships with the institution and its collection. They provide manpower, space, and ideas with which museums survive and connect to the museum's other communities. In bringing together the principles of integrity and community, contemporary museums have a responsibility to provide safe, respectful environments for all museum staff and affiliates. This includes, for example, things like adequate security, safe, hygienic working spaces, pastoral care, and compensation for work and research travel.[556] These examples of Best Practice look much the same as other industries, illustrating just how imperative they are to safe, healthy workspaces.

In the case of institutional Codes of Ethics, the MA exemplifies community, proposing that museums should "actively engage and work in partnership with existing audiences and reach out to new and diverse audiences."[557] As a guiding concept, the MA's statement is a reminder of the diversity inherent in museum work. By pushing

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[556] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 314.
[557] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums," 9.

museums under their purview to "reach out to new and diverse audiences," the MA

reminds those who follow their guidance to enact Best Practices which acknowledge

and celebrate the internationality of the world as it exists today.[558] The AAM does

something similar in their advisory documents, using phrases like "pluralistic values"

and "the pluralism of society" in their "Code of Ethics."[559] Stating and restating the idea

of pluralism aligns the AAM with the same standards behind the MA's statement that

calls upon museums to both embrace their communities, local and source, and to

welcome in further diversity through transient communities.

Yet another insightful demonstration of community is outlined by Minpaku.

Under article six of Minpaku's published guidelines the institution provides their

internal community with rules and regulations of Best Practice regarding source

community.[560] Unlike the other codes explored here, Minpaku dedicates an entire

section to the role of source communities, championing the Best Practices encouraged

by metamodern decolonization and Indigenization. The section, titled "Relations with

Source Communities," includes important points such as:

- "utmost importance must be given to the wishes of the source communities"
- "the exhibitions and publications of materials and their information should be done with respect for the dignity, traditions, and culture of the source community"
- "Researchers and staff should strive to share knowledge and information about the collection materials derived through research with museums and cultural institutes of the relevant source communities."

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[558] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums."

[559] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."

[560] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

- "Requests from the source community for the repatriation of materials in Minpaku's collection should be responded to swiftly."[561]

Respect, transparency, and communication are driving principles, fostering relationships between Minpaku and source communities. These statements govern Minpaku's Best Practices regarding activities that involve source communities. Speaking directly to Minpaku's internal community of "researchers and staff," the guidelines lay out Best Practices which advocate for communication and collaboration "with museums and cultural institutions of the relevant source community."[562] The goals outlined above encourage integrity and transparency, aligning Minpaku's Best Practice guidelines with metamodern decolonization and Indigenization, situating Minpaku in the same philosophical sphere with New Museology and the Post Museum.

Illustrating the concept of community further, the Hokkaido Museum in Sapporo, Japan, offers an interesting illustration of community on a small scale. In this example, the source and local communities are somewhat synonymous for the Hokkaido Museum showcases the local archeological record, historical narrative since the Tokugawa era, and Ainu community.[563] Not only are the local Ainu still present, but the Sapporo museum also celebrates the non-Indigenous community. From a metamodern perspective, this is slightly problematic in that the museum may be perceived as upholding colonizing attitudes, however, under the principle of community, the museum integrates local and source communities. Furthermore, as

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[561] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."
[562] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."
[563] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館, Hokkaido Museum).

noted in chapter two, the Hokkaido Museum is somewhat critical of Japanese colonialism, acknowledging the hardships of historic Ainu and the need for cultural revitalization today.[564] This illustrates the growing role of decolonization and other contemporary methodologies in museum spaces. It is through these diverse processes like area studies, feminism, decolonization, and Indigenization, that museum spaces, like the Hokkaido Museum, are able to maintain Best Practices rooted in research that promotes diverse representation and critical research.[565]

On the other end of the spectrum are museums like the Smithsonian, British Museum (BM), and the Tokyo National Museum (TNM), all of which boast global collections. These institutions should, in theory, work with a host of source communities from around the world. For instance, on the ground floor of the BM there are rooms labelled "Egyptian sculpture," "North America," "Mexico," and several Grecian rooms.[566] Each of these galleries represents the history of contemporary living cultures, indicating that the BM has the potential to be in contact with each as a source community. Museum Ethics and Best Practice indicates that the BM should be in contact with the communities from which the collections origin, such as Egypt and Indigenous American groups across both North and South America. A Best Practice that may be implemented in these departments is the inclusion of quotations and

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[564] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).

[565] Marstine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice,* 17-18.
Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 22-31.

[566] "Gallery information: List of available galleries," The British Museum, accessed 7 October 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/visit#gallery-information.

insights supplied by source communities as is done in the Hokkaido Museum's Ainu exhibit.[567] Nevertheless, large museums like the BM are often slow to change resulting in the maintenance of modern, didactic, mono-vocal presentations as is seen in many of the BM's exhibitions.

Equity:

> Museums are institutions of accessibility, inclusivity, and diversity. As places of knowledge preservation, development, and sharing, museums must be accessible and inclusive of all people and cultures.

The principle of equity overlaps with all four previously explored, in that all of them are predicated on a museum's ability to act with equity in mind. heritage management and stewardship call upon museums to care for all their collections to the utmost of their abilities in service of society as a whole. Integrity demands transparency and respect across museum activities. Community reminds museums of their responsibility to the people they serve, locally and abroad. In each of these aspects there is a reliance on equity, on the understanding that accessibility and inclusivity of diversity fuel museums and their activities. Graham Black acknowledges this in his 2005 publication, *The Engaging Museum: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement*, stating that "by their very nature, museum exhibitions must cater for a mass audience."[568] That "mass audience" is what keeps a museum going and it is up

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[567] *Main Exhibit* (北海道博物館 Hokkaido Museum).

[568] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 131.

to individual museums to strive for excellence to ensure the growth and return of said

audience. Further supporting this, scholar Gail Anderson writes:

> The positioning of the visitor, education, and public service as the central
> focus embodies the most significant shift in institutional priorities for
> museums. Collections historically viewed as the center of museum
> activities-have moved toward a supporting role that advances the
> educational impact of the museum. The collection holdings are no longer
> viewed as the primary measure of value for a museum; rather, the relevant
> and effective role of the museum in service to its public has become the
> core measuring stick.[569]

Anderson writes in support and reflection of the metamodern shift toward compassion

and inclusivity. Rather than continuing to uphold modern traditions that rely on

didacticism and "show and tell," contemporary museums are becoming increasingly

decolonized and Indigenized in line with contemporary expectations.

In terms of industry advice, the MA's "Code of Ethics" offers straightforward

guidance stating that museums should "treat everyone equally, with honesty and

respect."[570] Merriam-Webster defines equity as "freedom from disparities in the way

people of different races, genders, etc. are treated."[571] The alignment of the MA's

guideline and the dictionary definition underpin equity in terms of Best Practices. The

dictionary reflect equity as a principle and museum Ethic, while the MA spells out Best

Practice as museum rules and regulations which "treat everyone equally."[572] On the

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[569] Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 4.

[570] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums," 9.

[571] "Equity," Merriam-Webster, accessed 7 October 2024, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/equity.

[572] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums."

other side of the Atlantic, the AAM "Code of Ethics" agrees that "[museum] programs are accessible and encourage participation of the widest possible audience consistent with its mission and resources." [573] The format of the AAM's statement makes it actionable and, thereby encouraging the examples of Best Practice outlined by the MA above. Museums that follow the AAM's guidance and create a system of programs that "are accessible and encourage participation of the widest possible audience," commit to the ethical principle of equity through Best Practices that encourage diversity and community participation in museum events. Further maintaining equity, the AAM's "Code of Ethics" states that museum programs should "respect pluralistic values, traditions and concerns."[574] Here the AAM supports its previous statement, reminding its employees and member institutions to acknowledge diversity and commit to inclusivity and accessibility.

When viewed through a metamodern lens, guidance provided by leading institutions like ICOM, the MA, the AAM, and Minpaku reveals five key principles: heritage management, stewardship, integrity, community and equity. These themes emphasize the preservation of tangible and intangible heritage, responsible collection management, lawfulness, transparency, respect for diverse communities, and inclusivity. Taken together they lay the groundwork for contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice which are responsive to and reflective of decolonization and

[573] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."
[574] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."

Indigenization. Moreover, the principles provide a rubric with which contemporary museums may be evaluated. As such, the following section does just this, applying the principles to the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM and exemplifying their real-world application. In doing so, the section exemplifies how contemporary museums may be constructively criticized, promoting a better understanding of how and why metamodern decolonization and Indigenization are important for the contemporary museum sector.

5.2 The Contemporary Museum Sector

The British Museum (BM), Smithsonian, and Tokyo National Museum (TNM) are all characterized by their authority as large, national museums, in that they often receive funding from national governments and they are celebrated as idealized museum spaces.[575] They act as centers of knowledge, as institutions from which "an ideal and ordered world unfolds before and emanates from a controlling position of knowledge and vision."[576] They are the arbiters and preservers of their nation's history, locally and globally.[577] Each museum is a product of modernity and colonialism in their attempts to provide a "space of representation [...] of general human universality."[578] Despite being finite spaces, they attempt to sort and present vast swaths of knowledge in a representative order just as Western scholars did during the modern era.[579] In fact, because they are finite spaces, they often fall short of respectful and accurate Indigenous representation. Each of these institutions impart a system of knowledge onto their audiences in a way that aligns with their constituents, including local players and the international museum community represented by institutions like ICOM. In

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[575] Concerning funding, seeing for example:

The Trustees of the British Museum, "The British Museum Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 March 2023" (2023) 2.

"Reports and Plans," Smithsonian Institution, accessed 27 August 2024, https://www.si.edu/about/policies#:~:text=The%20Smithsonian%20receives%20funding%20from,governmental%20entities%2C%20and%20private%20sources.

[576] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum,* 97.

[577] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland,* 3.

[578] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 97.

[579] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

other words, they are "mediating institutions, situated between academic and critical communities on one side, and, on the other, trustees, the museum-going public, and on occasion, state officials, all of whom expect museums to confirm their own beliefs."[580] With all of this in mind, these museums provide authoritative examples of the contemporary museum industry, and may be used to further explore and elucidate the idea set out in previous chapters by scholars like Vergo, Hooper-Greenhill, Pickering, Kreps, Dubreuil, and Wilkinson, as well as ICOM and other museum organizations. All three museums will be considered specifically in relation to their Ainu collections, using a brief, practical exploration of the museums' online collections. The online collections are being used to address the full collections held by the institutions, rather than just looking at what is on display. This is done in part due to logistics and the limitations of this PhD research. Moreover, interrogating museums' Indigenous collections is important in the process of positive change because of decolonization and Indigenization. Using the five principles laid out in the previous section, each museum will be evaluated, providing examples of the Ethics and Best Practices of metamodern decolonization and Indigenization intrinsic to this study.

A brief comparative experiment was run on all three museums: a simple search of the term "Ainu" was done for each of the museums' online databases. As with any experiment there are limitations and benefits. The broad limitations of this survey are: (1) the physical presentation of items will not be address; (2) travelling exhibitions

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[580] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 102.

cannot be accounted for; and (3) search engines are not intuitive. The first two limitations are inherent in a purely electronic experiment and, while seeing physical expositions is beneficial, it is not necessary for the parameters of this experiment. This discussion is meant to consider the potential of the museums considered to encourage decolonization and Indigenization in exhibits moving forward. The third limitation is the most detrimental in this survey. While contemporary internet tools, such as museum catalogues and search engines, are powerful, useful tools, the ability to choose the most correct language for the search engine can be complicated. In the case of this experiment, "Ainu" or "アイヌ" was chosen specifically for its simplicity across institutions, grounding the study in simplicity and consistency across international borders. Further site-specific limitations and concerns will be addressed with each institution's results. Some benefits of this experiment include: (1) simplicity; (2) accessibility; and (3) internationality. Keeping the study simple means that both the results and the analysis will stay succinct, easy to work with, and replicable. The accessibility of the information is also important in that anyone with access to the internet can replicate the procedures, ensuring the ability to recreate and critique the results. Working across borders exemplifies the diversity of museum expectations and catalogues. Taken together, these benefits ensure a constructive experiment and analysis that can speak to and be recreated by diverse academics.

Overall, the results are somewhat surprising considering the status of each of these museums as industry leaders, rather characterizing them as colonial constructions rooted in modernity. The Smithsonian search returns 2,024 results, the

BM: 326 results, and the TNM: zero.[581] Considering these base, numeric results though the paradigm established above, the Ainu collections of these institutions are not reflective of metamodern museum Ethics and Best Practice. The results are somewhat surprising considering the geographic relations of each museum to *Ainu Mosir*, with the TNM being the closest, and therefore the most local to contemporary Ainu and their culture. At face value, the collections are not representative of the institutions' local communities. On the other hand, as national institutions, each museum is expected "to gather a collection of artifacts that is broad enough to tell the story of an entire nation."[582] In the case of these three institutions, the goal is to be representative of the world, not just isolated nations. Considering this, the Smithsonian and BM adhere to the principles of stewardship and equity in that they both maintain diverse collections for the benefit of their communities. The TNM's database, however, appears to fall short of the Best Practices that encourage diversity and equitable representation.

Zooming in on the institutions' collections, in the following paragraphs each museum's collection will be considered in more detail via the search results. To begin, the Smithsonian's results are as follows: one photo, taken of Ainu on show at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, kept in the American History Museum; one Showa era print and four photos, all picturing at least one Ainu individual, are housed

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[581] "Collections," Smithsonian Institution, accessed 6 February 2024, https://www.si.edu/collections.
"Explore the Collection," British Museum, accessed 6 February 2024,
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection.
"The TNM Collection," 東京国立博物館 Tokyo National Museum Collections, accessed 6 February 2024, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_collection/?controller=top.
[582] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 3.

in the Asian Art Museum; one Ainu coat, added to the Smithsonian collection in 1994, is housed in the Cooper Hewitt design museum; one cyanotype photograph of a display case labelled "Asiatic Peoples/Japanese Empire/Aino Aborigines of Yezo," from the United States National Museum circa 1910s is kept in the Smithsonian Libraries and Archives; and 463 Ainu items from Hokkaido are housed at the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum.[583] The most telling of these results are the 463 items housed at the Natural History Museum. Museum Studies scholar, Janet Marstine, speaks to this: "as colonizing spaces, museums naturalize the category of 'primitive,'" thus marginalizing the Ainu and other Indigenous peoples as "dying races."[584] Taking these results in isolation, it is easy to see the Ainu, as Hiwasaki puts it, "as an integral 'prop' in the Hokkaidô landscape."[585] In her 2000 article, Hiwasaki was explaining how the Japanese tourism industries sees the Ainu, but the sentiment applies to the Smithsonian as well. Under the auspices of White Saviorism and the "White Man's Burden," the Ainu were not people to the earliest researchers and collectors that visited Hokkaido.[586] When considered in relation to the Great Exhibitions and museum history in chapter two as well as chapter three's historiography these colonial sentiments were normal during the long nineteenth century and only began being dismantled after the

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[583] Smithsonian Institution, "Collections."
[584] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
Marstine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice*, 14.
[585] Hiwasaki, "Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido," 398.
[586] Merriam-Webster, "White Man's Burden Definitions and Meaning."
Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

Second World War.[587] When placed into the framework of the five principles, the Smithsonian's documentation and categorization of their Ainu collection falls short of metamodern standards of heritage management, integrity, community, and equity. By maintaining the labelling of plant specimens as "Ainu," the Smithsonian is relying on outdated research conducted under prejudiced, modern understandings of the world. Collection research is difficult and time-consuming, making change slow, but it is a violation of contemporary Best Practices to maintain prejudiced labels that directly reflect Western modernity. The Smithsonian's Ainu collection deserves a re-evaluation in line with Indigenizing Best Practices, which call for systemic changes in the labelling and cataloguing procedures that ensure each object's labels are kept up to date and respectfully reflective of the object and its source community.

Next, the BM's online collection database contains 326 objects with the label of "Ainu." The BM's database is not organized in the same way as the Smithsonian, and, as such, does not offer the same straightforward categorization. After a brief consideration of the search results, the BM offers a less "natural history" perspective of the Ainu with the bulk of the objects held by the BM appearing to be Ainu-made items such as tools and clothing. Nevertheless, the BM's collection is interesting because of its donors. Brenda Seligman, Dr Neil Gordon Munro, Harry Geoffrey and Irene Marguerite Beasley, and Dr John Anderson are all listed as donors across the collection. Each of these individuals are products of English colonialism, educated

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[587] Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 24-25.
Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 1-3.

under the pressure of Western modernity's ways of knowing. Both Seligman and

Munro have been addressed previously, their history within Ainu Studies considered

in detail. As for the Beasleys and Anderson, the BM offers brief biographies that

contextualize their donations to the institution. H. G. Beasley "was a wealthy brewery

owner," who maintained contacts with both the Royal Anthropological Institute and

the BM throughout his life.[588] Together with his wife, I. M. Beasley, they "established

the Cranmore Ethnographic Museum in Chislehurst, Kent, compiling the Cranmore

Index of Pacific Material Culture based on James Edge-Partington's Index for the British

Museum and forming a considerable library."[589] Anderson was a "zoologist, physician

and curator; born at Edinburgh" in 1833.[590] During his life he travelled throughout the

British Empire, as well as throughout East Asia and North Africa. His collections can be

found "in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the Natural

History Museum, London, […] the Manchester Museum", the BM and the National

Museum of Scotland.[591] Taken alongside the biographies of Seligman and Munro, all

these collectors are examples of British colonialism during the long nineteenth century.

They studied in Western institutions and worked with systems of anthropology and

ethnography that reflected Social Darwinism. As a result, the collections donated by

these individuals are inherently reflective of Western modernity. For example, a

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[588] "Harry Geoffrey Beasley," British Museum, accessed 27 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG134762.

[589] "Irene Marguerite Beasley," British Museum, accessed 27 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collections/term/BIOG8351.

[590] "Dr John Anderson," British Museum, accessed 27 August 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG120681.

[591] British Museum, "Dr John Anderson."

museumgoer or researcher looking at these objects can see, based on the labelling systems used by the BM, that the objects were donated by people with Western names. While this is a common detail among objects in the BM, the long history of the objects—its maker, who it was made for, who sold it to the collector—is not known. In consideration of contemporary Ethics and Best Practice, the lack of details and reliance on the Western collector does not align with the principles of heritage management, integrity, community or equity. Just like with the Smithsonian, this is not necessarily the fault of the contemporary museum as details are often lost to history, but it does speak to the historical systems of provenance practiced by the museum that favored the Western collector rather than the Indigenous source community. Rather than implementing Best Practices such as vigorous research and collection re-evaluation as called for by heritage management and integrity, the BM's catalogue continues to maintain systemic prejudices that echo Western modernity. Moreover, the historic provenance systems go against the principles of community and equity in their disregard of the source community. Much like the Smithsonian, the BM would benefit from a re-evaluation of their collection to improve collection research and labelling. Further, if these issues are evident in the Ainu collection, what of other Indigenous collections? How are non-Indigenous collections treated? These questions reach beyond the limits of the present research, but they remain relevant in contemporary Museum Studies, providing topics of discussion and study available to these museological institutions.

Finally, the TNM in Ueno Park, Tokyo is part of a system of national museums, like the Smithsonian. The other museums in the Japanese system are the Kyoto National Museum, the Nara National Museum, the Kyushu National Museum, and the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties. As previously noted, when searching the TNM database with the terms "Ainu" and "アイヌ," the Japanese term for Ainu, and no results were returned. Instead, ColBase, the collections database for all institutions within Japan's national museum system, was consulted and returned 417 results.[592] ColBase is structured in much the same way at the BM's catalogue, making general analysis tricky, but the search results were also similar in the fact that the search returned mostly Ainu-made artefacts like tools and clothing items. Compiling museum databases into a centralized system is not problematic, but the case of the TNM is more complicated than merely not listing Indigenous collections in specific museum catalogues. An interesting thing about the ColBase search is that under the "Advanced Search" options, the "Holder" of the artefacts can be chosen. When the TNM is selected as "Holder" in the "Ainu" search, 412 results are returned. In other words, 412 of 417 Ainu objects collected by Japan's national museum system are housed at the TNM, but they are not listed in the TNM's database. This detail is reminiscent of segregation policies that divide history along racial and ethnic lines. Additionally, all of Japan's Indigenous peoples are given one display case to share in the back of their main history building in room 16 (Figure 15). Taken together, these details reflect a disregard of the

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[592] "ColBase 国立博物館所蔵品統合検索システム," ColBase, accessed 6 February 2024, https://colbase.nich.go.jp/?locale=ja.

TNM's community. Despite having a large Ainu collection, the TNM does not utilize their collection to present an accurate, wholistic picture of historic or contemporary Japan.

Outside of the database, official literature describes the TNM as "Japan's foremost museum in the humanities field [that] collects, preserves, manages, and displays cultural properties from across Japan and other Asian regions."[593] This statement presents the TNM as "a national museum [that] has to gather a collection of artifacts that is broad enough to tell the story of an entire nation."[594] However, the TNM falls short of this ideal by not providing adequately representative space to Japan's Indigenous peoples. Rather, a statement made by Carol Duncan, in her 1995 publication comes to mind: "What we see and do not see in [museums] – and on what terms and by whose authority we do or do not see it – is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who defines its identity."[595] In this example, it is possible to clearly see the power dynamics in play. The TNM has direct access to just over four hundred Ainu objects but chooses to isolate Japan's Indigenous history to a minuscule fragment of their national museum. As a result, the Ainu and Ryukyuans are pushed to the periphery of Japanese history, reminiscent of modernity's "dying race" mythology. [596] An argument in favor of this system gives the responsibility

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[593] "Outline of the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage," National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, 2024, accessed 17 September 2024, https://www.nich.go.jp/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/2-3_Outline-of-the-National-Institutes-for-Cultural-Heritage_gaiyo2024.pdf.
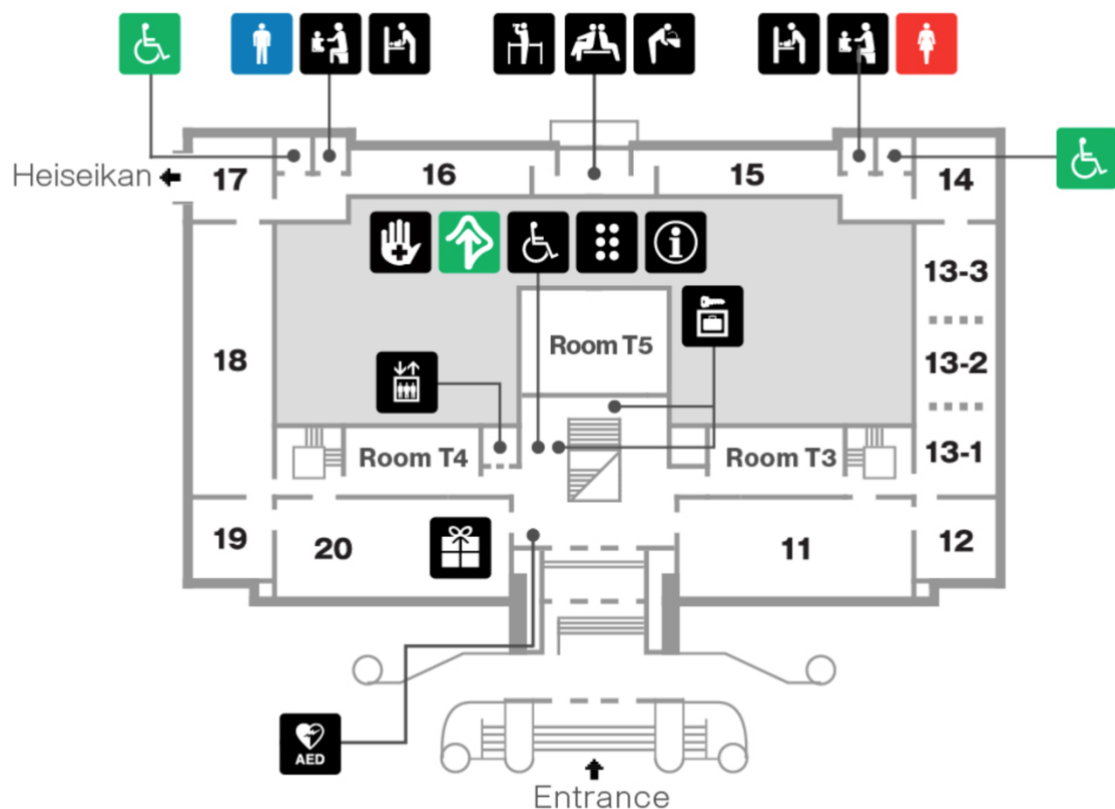
[594] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 3.

[595] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 8-9.

[596] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

of Indigenous representation to Minpaku, Japan's leading ethnology institution in Osaka. However, this argument displaces responsibility from an institution that claims to represent culture "from across Japan and other Asian regions."[597] The Ainu and, for that matter, the Ryukyuans are part of both Japan's contemporary society and Asian history more broadly but are minimized within the walls of the TNM. By minimizing

Figure 15: Tokyo National Museum, Honkan (Japanese Gallery) floorplan and key, https://www.tnm.jp/modules/r_free_page/index.php?id=115.

11：Sculpture

12：Lacquerware

13-1：Metalwork

13-2：Swords

13-3：Ceramics

14：Thematic Exhibition

15：Records of History

16：Ainu and Ryūkyū

17：Conservation and Restoration

18：Art of the Modern Era | Late 19th–first half of 20th century

19：Education Space

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[597] National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, "Outline of the National Institutes."

Indigenous history, the TNM goes against the principles of integrity, community, and equity by not presenting a wholistic history of the Japanese archipelago.

The Smithsonian, BM, and TNM all fall short of metamodern decolonial and Indigenizing practices, each betraying their status as modern institutions in their outdated records and resistance to change. The question becomes not only *how* but *can* they do better? As noted at the beginning of this section, each institution must serve its constituents to remain relevant and funded—per the principles of Ethics and Best Practice, they must serve their community faithfully. In some ways, this community aspect becomes a double-edged sword because of the points made by contemporary scholars Duncan and Bucciantini. Duncan writes, "What we see and do not see in [museums] – and on what terms and by whose authority we do or do not see it – is closely linked to larger questions about who constitutes the community and who defines its identity." [598] Bucciantini adds, "Museums are spaces where national narratives are produced and consumed."[599] Both scholars recognize the necessity for museums to adhere to the status quo, which, in the case of the industry leaders addressed here, is rooted in Western and Japanese modernity.[600] In light of this, the *can* becomes complicated because the museums' community aspect is also rooted in these modernities, exemplified in the previous chapters and the prevalence of

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[598] Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*, 8-9.

[599] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 3.

[600] Robert R. Janes, *Museums and the Paradox of Change* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013) xix-xx.

modernity across history and society. Nevertheless, the other principles challenge the status quo, supporting the *how* of the question.

In terms of heritage management, the museums have a duty to maintain accurate, up to date information about their holdings.[601] An example of Best Practice that may be implemented by museums is the establishment and upkeep of a Collections Development Policy (CDP) which "will help museums to recognise what they have, identify any gaps, and state what they will collect in the future, with reference to the available resources of the organisation."[602] Not only a Best Practice in and of itself, a CDP encourages the maintenance of Best Practices that ensure the continued care and research of museum collections in line with stewardship and integrity. Moreover, understanding the collection housed in a particular institution paves the way for collaborative curatorship, a distinctly metamodern Best Practice. In the case of Indigenization, contemporary museums have more and more utilized co-curatorship to share authority with source communities.[603] Both the Smithsonian and the TNM have access to these types of Best Practices because of the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) and Minpaku, respectfully. Through the NMAI, the Smithsonian has made strides in decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies, while the

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[601] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 171-210.

[602] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 32-33.

[603] Kreps, "Indigenous Curation," 193.

Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 3-4.

Peers and Brown, "Introduction," 1-2.

Ruth B. Phillips, "Community Collaboration in Exhibitions: Introduction," in *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, edited by Laura Peers and Alison Brown (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2003) 157-158.

TNM remains mostly divorced from Minpaku. Collaborating with institutions like the

NMAI and Minpaku, organizations built on subaltern histories, contributes to the

principle of equity, encouraging the detangling of modern prejudices. In practice this

may include joint exhibitions or co-funding Indigenizing research. In fact, it would be

interesting to see the TNM work with Minpaku to re-dress the TNM's Ainu collection,

bringing the historic collection up to date and potentially re-organizing the permanent

display exhibited in the Honkan to be more accurate and representative of the diversity

of Ainu culture.

A final example of Best Practices aligned with stewardship and integrity is

repatriation. In the case of the Smithsonian, the National Museum of the American

Indian Act, passed in 1989, "not only established the NMAI but also provided for the

repatriation of human remains held by other Smithsonian museums."[604] Following this

"the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed

by congress in 1990."[605] In a similar fashion, in Japan "the Office of the Prime Minister

established the Committee on the Promotion of Ainu Policies (CPAP) in July 2011,

which took on the responsibility for finding a feasible means to confirm the identity of

the human remains housed by Japanese universities, to finalize the procedures and

legal recourse for the return of identifiable remains to lineal descendants, and to define

the functions of the memorial hall" at Upopoy.[606] While CPAP is not directly related to

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[604] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 87.
[605] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 87.
[606] Naohiro, "Redressing injustice of the past," 368.

the TNM in the same way that the NMAI Act and NAGPRA are to the Smithsonian, the same pressures of repatriation as a museum Best Practice are at work in Japan. Unfortunately, the BM does not enter into the conversation of repatriation, because, due to a myriad of legislative red tape and the nature of the BM's founding, repatriation from the BM is uniquely complicated.[607] Thus, the BM, through its Board of Trustees and ties to Parliament, uphold outdated modes of museum oversight that favor the arbiters of Western modernity—i.e., Western elites.

The Smithsonian, BM, and TNM all stand as authorities of their respective national narratives, acting as centers of knowledge and preservation. Each one strives for some level of diversity and global representation, but each one also struggles with Indigenous representation and decolonial themes. Through a comparison of the institutions' Ainu collections, all three institutions would benefit from a re-evaluation of their collection to update their research and ensure respectful representation of Indigenous communities.

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[607] Hannah R. Godwin, "Legal Complications of Repatriation at the British Museum," *Washington International Law Journal*, vol 30, no 1 (December 2020) 145-170.

5.3 Conclusion

Ethics and Best Practices work in tandem to guide museum operations, ensuring high standards across the museum sector. By establishing rules and promoting effective methodologies, these frameworks help align museums with industry goals and leaders. Evaluating leading institutions like ICOM, the MA, the AAM, and Minpaku through a metamodern lens that prioritizes decolonization and Indigenization reveals five guiding principles: heritage management, stewardship, integrity, community, and equity. [608] These principles emphasize the importance of responsible collection management, adherence to international, national, and local law, diverse community interaction, transparency, and accessibility in contemporary museums.

The second section of the preceding chapter applies these five principles to three industry-leading, national museums: the Smithsonian, the BM, and the TNM. As national institutions, each museum is viewed as a historical authority—an arbiter of ways of knowing. An evaluation of their respective Ainu collections reveals that all three lack adequate Indigenous representation. All three adhere to outdated research shaped by Western modernity and require rigorous updates to bring to align with contemporary, metamodern decolonial and Indigenizing expectations. However, divorcing museums from their founding principles is a difficult and time-consuming task. While the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM stand as industry leaders in the museum

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[608] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."
ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics*.
Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums."
National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

sector, they are but a few among many museum spaces that serve as authoritative centers of historical narrative and legitimacy for their respective nations. [609] These institutions provide a limited, biased view of the international museum sector, yet their status as industry leaders and their reflections of Western and Japanese modernity makes their evaluation valuable. By applying the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practices—heritage management, stewardship, integrity, community, and equity—this study has briefly explored the advantages and disadvantages of industry leaders. This analysis establishes a baseline from which the next chapter will be built.

Looking forward to chapter six, both the principles and the context developed in this chapter will be used to analyze the National Museum of Scotland and its Ainu collection and display. Expanding upon the exhibit introduced in chapter 1.2, chapter six will demonstrate the positive changes currently taking place in the contemporary museum sector.

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[609] Marstine (ed.), *New Museum Theory and Practice*.

Chapter Six: Case Study Revisited, The National Museum of Scotland's Ainu Exhibit

Set in the heart of Edinburgh, Scotland, the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) is an expansive, historical museum that exemplifies the transition from Euro-centric academics and methodology rooted in the European Enlightenment to the twenty-first century call for decolonization and Indigenization. At its origin, the NMS was an embodiment of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European philosophies and its evolution into the twenty-first century has been molded by the same Western trends explored in the preceding chapters.[610] When the five-principal framework presented in chapter five is overlaid onto the NMS, a superb example of institutional change emerges. With roots in modernist philosophies like Social Darwinism and Orientalism, the NMS has since embraced postcolonial methodologies, evolving into a metamodern institution which engages in critical decolonization and Indigenization.[611]

The following chapter tracks the trajectory of systemic change, beginning with the history of the NMS as an organization alongside the history of the Munro collection, before exploring the institution's programs and policies, and concluding with a re-

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[610] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 270.
Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, xi-xii and 6.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-147.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.
Pickstone, *Ways of Knowing*, 60-82.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.
[611] National Museums Scotland, "Colonial Histories and Legacies in Our Museums."

examination of the Ainu exhibit and collection. Scottish institutions offer a lens through which to observe the evolution from modernity, to postmodernity, and ultimately to metamodernity, particularly in their role at the crossroads between Scotland and England, between colonized and colonizer.[612] Through a detailed analysis of the museum and its history, this chapter provides an opportunity to better appreciate the institution as it stands today. Despite a few shortcomings, the NMS is an exemplar of contemporary, metamodern decolonial and Indigenizing approaches in the international museum sector. By expanding upon and critically engaging with the NMS's history, current policies, and the Ainu display through the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practice, this chapter contributes to the ongoing, metamodern discourse on the significance of decolonization and Indigenization in museum spaces.

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[612] Miles Greenwood, "Addressing the legacies of empire and slavery," Glasgow Museum (23 September 2020) https://glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk/2020/09/23/1042/.
National Museums Scotland, "Colonial Histories and Legacies in Our Museums."

6.1 Vallance and Munro to Wilkinson and Giblin, the Origins of the NMS

Where the previous chapters laid out the history of Ainu and Museum Studies, this chapter zooms in on the NMS and their Ainu collection and exhibit. To begin the following section charts the development of the NMS as an organization since the eighteenth century, with particular emphasis on the early twentieth century and Munro's contributions to the NMS's collection.

The trajectory of theory and practice outlined in chapters two through four is reflected in the historical arc of the NMS. Scholar Alima Bucciantini notes this in her 2018 publication, describing the NMS as

> at once both old and new. Its founding collection and founding curators date back to 1780, when the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland began. However, the building itself, and the first government recognition for a museum of Scottish national history, did not come until 1997.[613]

Bridging modernity to metamodernity, the NMS's historical record illustrates how museum spaces are "the result of dynamic choices and shifting social, political and economic circumstances both within and outside the museum walls."[614] The earliest version of the NMS dates back to the founding of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland in 1780, a group grounded in Western modernity and Enlightenment ways of knowing.[615] Supporting this, also in 1780, the Society opened a museum and began "the conversation about collecting and displaying a national heritage" in Scotland.[616]

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[613] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 4.
[614] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.
[615] National Museums Scotland, "History."
[616] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, x-xi.

Similar to the Smithsonian, British Museum (BM), and the Tokyo National Museum (TNM), the Society sought to accumulate historical evidence to support a Scottish national narrative, a manifestation of the need to organize and categorize knowledge inherent in Western modernity.[617] In this manner, the Society laid the groundwork for the construction of a Scottish national narrative that reinforced Scotland's validity and sovereignty, much like the Meiji government's efforts to do the same in Japan around the turn of the twentieth century.[618]

Then, in 1851, the collection accumulated by the Society "passed into public ownership [...] as the original collection of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland" (NMAS), which opened in 1858.[619] The transition into public ownership coincides with the Great Exhibitions. In fact, the passing of the collection of the Society of Antiquities of Scotland into public ownership and the 1851 Great Exhibition are contemporaneous, reflecting the shift in the collective understanding of public education that began, in Britain, with the founding of the BM in 1753.[620] Taken together, these events demonstrate the spread of public education from a national

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[617] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 270.

Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 2.

Buccantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 3.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Marstine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice*.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

[618] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 154.

[619] National Museums Scotland, "History."

Buccantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, x-xi.

[620] Gail Anderson, (ed), *Reinventing the Museum* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2004) 10.

Godwin, "Legal Complications of Repatriation," 158-159.

center, London, to a local periphery, Edinburgh. Moreover, in 1854, "reflect[ing] the

impetus of Victorian ideals of education, the Industrial Museum of Scotland was

founded," which would eventually become the Royal Scottish Museum (RSM), the

NMS's other parent organization.[621] Bucciantini offers further support and insight into

the founding of the RSM and its part in the spread of Western modernity's

understanding of public education:

> Many new Scottish industrial products had been shown at the Great
> Exhibition of 1851 in London. Once the initial excitement over the exhibition
> waned, thoughts turned to creating a permanent, similar institution in
> Edinburgh to continue educating working-class Scots about the industrial
> arts. It opened in 1864 and was initially called the Industrial Museum of
> Scotland.[622]

The Industrial Museum exemplifies with the growing trend of accessible museum

spaces that were affordable with extended working hours to accommodate the

working classes.[623] Consistent with Western modernity, the goal of educating the

working classes through the industrial arts perpetuated Western understandings and

celebration of modernization. During the following decades, the Industrial Museum

continued to evolve accumulating "artifacts from natural history, ethnography, and

many other disciplines" until 1904 when it became the Royal Scottish Museum

(RSM).[624] From the founding of the BM in 1753 to the Great Exhibitions and the

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[621] National Museums Scotland, "History."
Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, x-xi.
[622] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 4.
[623] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 72-73.
[624] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting* Scotland, 4.

development of industrial museums, the parent organizations of the NMS owe their founding and success to Western modernity and its accompanying demand for accessible national narratives which support the West's hierarchy and taxonomies.

Empowered by the same ideology that built the NMAS and the RSM, Neil Gordon Munro set out around the world to study diverse cultures and collect materials to send back to the imperial center.[625] Munro was one among many who donated to the institutions that would become the NMS and, therefore, only represents a small percentage of modern researchers who contributed to the development of museums like the NMS. Nevertheless, much like the NMS's parent institutions, Munro represents a unique interpretation of Western modernity and its prejudices. As explored with *Ainu Creed and Cult* in chapter 4.1, Munro's position among the Ainu, while still reflective of modernity's elitisms, was also one of compassion and respect akin to metamodernity and the methodologies of decolonization and Indigenization.[626] This section addresses the first two questions presented in chapter 1.2: (1) How did we get here? And (2) How and why did an Ainu exhibit develop in a Scottish national museum? Munro, his collection, and his correspondences represent a small yet significant chapter in the history of the NMS. Expanding upon the summary of the museum's

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[625] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 143-144.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 3.
[626] Tim Chamberlain, "The Museum of Other People: From Colonial Acquisitions to Cosmopolitan Exhibitions – review," *LSE Review of Books* (11 September 2023) https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsereviewofbooks/2023/09/11/book-review-the-museum-of-other-people-from-colonial-acquisitions-to-cosmopolitan-exhibitions-adam-kuper/.

history presented above, this analysis will explore these elements to better understand

how and why contemporary collections exist in their current state.

Munro's donations to the RMS began in 1909, with further donations taking

place in 1912 and 1914. According to current NMS records, at least 228 objects

donated by Munro are currently held in the Ainu collection.[627] Furthermore, the NMS

archives contain several boxes of correspondence between Munro and his

contemporaries, with the earliest available letter in this repository, dated 17 April 1910,

catalogued as MUNSUP1.8. [628] This letter, addressed to "Vallance," most likely refers to

David J. Vallance, the acting director of the RSM between 1909 and 1911.[629] In this

letter, Munro mentions gathering materials for the museum "so that [he] can present

it with at least 2000 [specimens] including some ancient coins of [China]."[630] This letter

is interesting as it highlights Munro's diverse interests. As discussed in previous

chapters, Munro spent many years in Yokohama, Japan before moving to Nibutani. In

fact, this 1910 letter predates his move to Hokkaido and, therefore, serves as a primary

source documenting Munro's work around the same time as the publication of

Prehistoric Japan.[631] The notion of amassing 2000 objects reflects the broad and

somewhat indiscriminate approach to collecting—an approach that speaks to the

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[627] N G Munro Ainu collection, National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[628] MUNSUP1.8, Munro supplemental materials, National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[629] National Museums Scotland, MUNSUP1.8.

"About Us: History: Directors of National Museums Scotland," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/history.

[630] National Museums Scotland, MUNSUP1.8.

[631] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*.

collecting practices fostered by Western modernity.[632] Munro focus on accumulation

rather than deliberate research and targeted collection mirrors the practices of large

institutions like those of the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM, all of which hold millions of

objects. These vast repositories, though invaluable, present the challenge of keeping

collections updated and organized. Echoing "modern enthusiasm," Munro's frenzied

collecting practices also reflect Orientalism and Social Darwinism. In these frameworks,

Westerners saw themselves as benevolent preservers of history, reinforcing the

hierarchical view that position Japan beneath the West.[633] Because it is dated to the

same time as *Prehistoric Japan*, MUNSUP1.8 places Munro squarely within the context

of Western modernity, which ranked Japan below the West in its arbitrary hierarchy.

This reinforces the prejudices evident in Munro's early work, as discussed in chapter

3.1 with *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*.

    Another example of Western modernity seen in Munro's correspondences is the

echo chamber created by Western researchers in the long nineteenth century. Briefly

touched on in chapter 3.1, Munro's letters also illustrate the confined mingling of

Western scholarship which colors modern anthropology and ethnography. In

MUNSUP1.13, a prime example of the close-knit nature of modern Western

scholarship, Munro writes to Vallance about a request from Basil Hall Chamberlain.[634]

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[632] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 220-221.

[633] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

[634] MUNSUP1.13, Munro supplemental materials, National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

The correspondence includes a copy of Chamberlain's letter, MUNSUP1.12, in which

Chamberlain requests that Munro rewrite an article originally written by W.G. Aston.[635]

While the context of these letters is not wholly known without a consideration of both

Chamberlain's and Vallance's histories, Munro's letters do illustrate a tightknit

community of Western scholars. In this, there is a distinct lack of Japanese scholarship,

rather the scholars are looking to the West for both their audience and their co-authors.

This is not to say that Chamberlain never wrote to Japanese scholars, but there is an

overwhelming reliance on the Western, white, male gaze in these letters.

Finally, in yet another letter to Vallance, dated 7 April 1912, Munro writes about

the discovery of crania in shell mounds, claiming "you can truthfully say that I

discovered the first crania in the shellmounds of Japan, or even in the stone age sites,

for the crania were found beneath the shellmounds, and in the soil." The tone of the

letter gives ownership to Munro, undermining Japanese authority over their own

history and land. To be sure, Munro probably led and funded the archeological survey,

but the power inherent in that position and self-assurance in the letter is reflective of

the West's modernist hierarchy. Further along in the letter, Munro also claims that he

"was the first to identify these crania and skeletons with the Ainu."[636] Munro's

assurance that he "was the first" to connect Japanese archeological remains with the

Ainu peoples, dismisses any previous scholarship which may have connected the

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[635] MUNSUP1.12, Munro supplemental materials, National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[636] MUNSUP1.15, Munro supplemental materials, National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

prehistoric Japanese archipelago with the Ainu. No consideration is given to Japanese or Ainu sources that may have been able to make those connections, despite a tradition of study and research having a long history in Japanese society.[637] There is an erasure of Ainu-Japanese history inherent in Munro's letters that aligns with the hierarchies of Western modernity. Munro's excavation of human remains in Japan directly reflects Western modernity because, not only does Munro link the archeological remains with living Ainu, creating connections, he places himself at the top of the hierarchy. Coupled with his self-praise in the letter to Vallance, Munro embraces "modern enthusiasm," positioning himself as a supporter of Western-led modernization.[638] Munro claimed responsibility, thereby giving himself authority to make decisions concerning Japanese history and archaeology.

Taking a step back from Munro's letters, the context in which he worked in must be noted. Writing in the twenty-first century, metamodern scholars Amy Lonetree and Sylvia Cockburn point out that studying, collecting, and donating Indigenous cultural material was a common pursuit for wealthy scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[639] Alongside scholars like John Anderson and Isabella Bird, both significant contributors to the NMS's Ainu collection, Munro exemplifies the standards noted by Lonetree and Cockburn. Taken together, Munro and his contemporaries are

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[637] Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture," 339.

[638] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 4.

[639] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 9.
Sylvia Cockburn, "Seeking a Lost Collection at Museums Victoria: George Thomas Rice's 'Museum of Island Curios," *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol 58, no 1 (2023) 4.

products of Western modernity, not just perpetuators of biased ways of knowing.[640]

Western modernity is a self-serving cycle, built to perpetuate Western elitism and

power. It is important to acknowledge that Munro did break from Western modernity's

cycle later in life, becoming a moderate and compassionate researcher. During and

especially after *Prehistoric Japan*, Munro's research began to shift, exemplifying more

and more attitudes that would eventually be seen in the contemporary movement of

decolonization. Two published examples of Munro's work reflect this transformative

arc in Munro's life: the final chapter of *Prehistoric Japan* and an anecdote included in

Ainu Creed and Cult. These examples not only contribute to Munro's "written up" work,

but also align with the conversation surrounding museum collecting practices.

To begin, preceding the final chapter of *Prehistoric Japan* are a series of

photographs, figures 411 to 419.[641] In order, these images are labelled:

●Figure 411: "Group of Ainu Women and Children. With Household Utensils"
●Figure 412: "Group of Ainu."
●Figure 413: "An [Aged] Ainu."
●Figure 414: "An Ainu. (Photograph By H. G. Ponting.)"
●Figure 415: "Skulls from Shell-mounds (*Norma Verticalis*)."
●Figures 416 and 417: "Skull from the Author's Excavations at Mitsusawa."
●Figure 418: "Ainu Skull. Imperial University Collections."
●Figure 419: "Malar Bones from the Author's excavations at Mitsusawa."

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[640] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.
Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 5-7 and 29-31.
[641] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 653-660.

These pictures lead the reader into the chapter titled, "The Prehistoric Races." While this small portion of the monograph cannot be taken as representative of the whole, the collection of images is indicative of the archaeology of Western modernity. Distilling Ainu culture into a series of photographs, leading into a discussion of "The Prehistoric Races" of Japan, speaks to the modern trend of labelling Indigenous peoples as "prehistoric" and, by extension, "primitive."[642] Though Munro's work is a "written up" monograph, this section of the book aligns with "the diorama—a popular display technique used in natural history museums—[that] tended to [...] [depict] Indians as frozen in time and by displaying them near dinosaurs and other extinct animals."[643] Rather than engage with the living culture of the Ainu, Western modernity labelled them as a race of peoples dying under the pressure of modernization.[644] To this extent, Munro's early published work directly reflects the categorizing methodologies of Western modernity, contextualizing the Ainu amongst a stratifying world system with Westerners and Japanese at the top.

The latter five photos are interesting, with Figure 418 being particularly striking. In his research, Munro pulled from a variety of sources, an admirable quality to be sure,

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[642] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.

Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.

Marstine (ed), *New Museum Theory and Practice*, 14.

Ziomek, "The 1903 Human Pavilion," 494.

[643] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 16.

[644] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3 and 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

and the citation of Figure 418 is important to note: "Imperial University Collections."[645]

The Imperial University being referred to here is the direct predecessor of the University of Tokyo.[646] Munro's inclusion of a picture depicting an Ainu skull housed at a university in Tokyo holds a different meaning today than it did at the beginning of the twentieth century. Writing in 2007, scholar ann-elise lewallen addresses and contextualizes this issue from a metamodern perspective in her "Bones of Contention: Negotiating Anthropological Ethics within Fields of Ainu Refusal":

> The Ainu represented an anthropological enigma for European and American visitors to Ezo, officially colonized as Hokkaido in 1869. Reflecting this proto-anthropological curiosity, the earliest known Ainu skulls to be removed from Hokkaido were first pilfered not by Japanese scientists, but by the British consul, Captain Vyse, in 1865. Vyse illegally excavated Ainu burial sites in the village of Mori in Hakodate, and his actions incited the wrath of Ainu villagers who demanded that these skeletons be reburied. However, the same skulls were later re-excavated by Japanese researcher Kodama Sakuzaemon and today these skulls are housed in Hokkaido University's collection.[647]

lewallen's critical consideration of the theft of Ainu remains speaks to the traditions Munro adhered to in the writing and composition of *Prehistoric Japan*. Munro's work, and the theft that enabled it, speaks to the fervor of modern archaeology that was apparent in Munro's correspondences above. Rather than work with living Indigenous peoples to understand their living culture, stolen goods and human remains were viewed and analyzed for a Western audience. From the works of Munro and lewallen,

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[645] Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*, 659.
[646] The University of Tokyo, "Chronology."
[647] lewallen, "Bones of Contention," 514.

the dark history of collecting is obvious. The pilfering of grave sites has largely been justified for its contribution to modern science. The frenzied nature of modern archaeology and the demanding growth of early museum and university collections also encouraged this systematic theft of Indigenous cultures. What is important in this discussion is not just the stealing of human remains a century ago that enabled scholars like Munro and his contemporaries, but the fact that these remains are still held by institutions built from Western modernity. It is the fact that

> In the past, remains of deceased Ainu people and related burial items were excavated, collected, and stored at universities all over Japan. While efforts have been made to return these remains to the Ainu, those that cannot currently be returned are collected at Upopoy. The Memorial Site [at Upopoy] was established to provide a dignified memorial and to ensure that remains are handled appropriately until such time as arrangements for their return to the Ainu are established.[648]

Upopoy is a contemporary development, resulting from a 2019 decision by the Japanese Diet that is meant to preserve and empower Ainu culture.[649] While neither the Japanese political campaign nor Upopoy itself are without controversy, the Memorial Site is an example of the changing expectations that have resulted in metamodern strategies of decolonization and Indigenization.

Bookending *Prehistoric Japan's* modern methodologies, *Ainu Creed and Cult* reflects a significant change in Munro's methodologies and worldviews. After publishing *Prehistoric Japan*, Munro moved to Hokkaido by 1923 and made a home

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[648] "Facility Information – Memorial Site," Upopoy National Ainu Museum and Park, accessed 16 November 2023, https://ainu-upopoy.jp/en/facility/cenotaph/.

[649] Umeda, "Japan: New Ainu Law Becomes Effective."

for himself among the Ainu of Nibutani as a community doctor.[650] Between 1923 and

his death in 1942, Munro worked on the research that would eventually be compiled

into *Ainu Creed and Cult*. Noted in chapter 4.1, Munro's personal shift is evident in his

extensive use of Ainu elders as named informants throughout *Ainu Creed and Cult*.[651]

This detail speaks to Munro's changing outlook—a hybridization of ways of knowing—

potentially as a result of living among the Ainu. Munro also included local informants

in the form of Japanese scholarship in *Prehistoric Japan*, therefore this detail is not

surprising, however it is interesting to note that Munro's informants were Indigenous.

Uplifting Indigenous voices is a strategy of Indigenization not often seen in modern

practices, despite how "colonial knowledge was "profoundly hybridized" and

"dependent on [I]ndigenous expertise.""[652] Munro committed himself to integrating

into Ainu living culture, validating both his citation of first-hand Ainu information and

Ainu ways of knowing. In his own way, Munro "wrote back" to the Japanese and British

empires, encouraging collaboration and shared learning, techniques implemented and

celebrated in metamodern methodologies like decolonization and Indigenization.[653]

Turning more directly to the collection and production of items for museums

and display, Munro's story balances respect and research during his time among the

Ainu. A particularly interesting illustration of collecting practices that rely on the

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[650] Turner, "Medicine in Japan and Scotland," 22.

[651] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xiv-xv.

[652] Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 168.

[653] See for example:

Dussault et al., "Widening the circle."

Kreps, "Indigenous curation."

commissioned production of goods is the case of Munro's "sacred girdles," or upshoro

kut.[654] These are clothing items, woven and worn by women, that are imbued with a

sacred quality directly tied to *Kamuy Fuchi*, a type of mother goddess for the Ainu.[655]

Munro credits his discovery and understanding of upshoro kut to an incident recorded

in *Ainu Creed and Cult* in which he came into conflict with a few Ainu elders over the

treatment of a sick child. "This incident turned out happily, for it was the gratitude of

the boy's mother which led her to reveal the secret of the women's girdles."[656] Munro's

account and his subsequent studies of upshoro kut, came about because of his close

relationship with the Ainu, a development reflective of his transition from modern

Prehistoric Japan to metamodern *Ainu Creed and Cult*. Few scholars have ever

mentioned or studied upshoro kut and few specimens have been collected. The fact

that Munro was able to commission upshoro kut replicas speaks to Munro's personal

relationships with the Ainu. There is a sense in this story that Munro did not use undue

authority over the Ainu, rather he relied on communication and understanding,

predictive of metamodern methodology.

It is interesting to note that it was from Munro's collection that the BM obtained

its example of Ainu upshoro kut. Emphasizing the unique and special position of these

items, the museum's online catalogue includes "Curator's comments" on these items:

> The style and length of these girdles was transmitted from mother to
> daughter. They were worn under the clothes and hidden from men and from
> most other women. Unusually, N.G. Munro was able to have copies of such

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[654] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, xiv.

[655] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 17, 40.

[656] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 53.

belts made by Ainu women in the 1930s, as well as collect originals. Later displays of these belts in Japan (e.g., in 2002 at the Hokkaido Historical Museum in Sapporo) has led to a debate both within the Ainu community and in museums on the suitability of their display in public spaces, given their secret nature.[657]

Because the upshoro kut were donated by Mrs Seligman in 1963, rather than by Munro himself, Munro's thoughts on the donation and presentation of the upshoro kut is unknown. However, photographs of two upshoro kut by Munro are included in *Ainu Creed and Cult*, indicating Munro's willingness to show the items for research.[658] Two opposing dialogues emerge from this narrative regarding modern and contemporary academia and museum practices. Firstly, the commissioning of copies to be studied, and their donation to a museum, facilitates preservation, inclusivity, and education in line with the museum principles of heritage management and stewardship. The fact that the BM does not exhibit the objects does limit accessibility and, therefore, community-wide education, but the objects are being stored and preserved for scholarly research, nevertheless. On the other hand, from a decolonial and Indigenizing perspective, the presence of the upshoro kut in the BM is problematic. As noted by the Curator's comment about "a debate […] on the suitability of [the upshoro kuts'] display," the sacred nature of the items makes their acquisition and exhibition complicated.[659] This brings the conversation back to the biases that accompany overzealous collecting

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[657] As1963.07.7, belt, religious/ritual equipment, collected early twentieth century by Dr Neil Gordon Munro, Ainu Collection, British Museum, London, UK, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_As1963-07-7.

[658] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, Plate XXVIII.

[659] British Museum, As1963.07.7.

and Western authority seen in Munro's correspondences and *Prehistoric Japan* above. Where is the line between robbery and ethical collection? And how does this impact contemporary museums and their policies of Best Practice? The detail that sets Munro apart from Western modernity lies in the story about the sick boy. Rather than commissioning a set of upshoro kut and discussing his findings, Munro humanizes his research and subject matter, telling the story of learning that took place between Munro and the Ainu mother. Moreover, Munro commissions replicas rather than buying already existing examples. In this way, Munro prioritizes Ainu personhood and beliefs, honoring the mother and respecting the sacred nature of upshoro kut.

From the echo chamber of Western scholars seen in Munro's letters to the diorama-like collection of pictures in *Prehistoric Japan* to personal relationships with the Ainu seen in *Ainu Creed and Cult*, Munro's research reflects a similar narrative arc as Ainu historiography. Both evolve out of Western modernity towards metamodern ways of knowing, couched in decolonization and Indigenization. The story of Munro, seen through his surviving research, is one of a compassionate researcher who, in the latter half of his life, "wrote in-between" more often than he "wrote up." Complementing and growing out of this, a little over two decades after Brenda Seligman wrote her introduction to Munro's *Ainu Creed and Cult*, the NMAS and the RSM came together to form the NMS, "with 12 million items in its collection and the largest body of curatorial and conservation expertise in the country."[660] After some

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[660] National Museums Scotland, "History."

rearranging in the 1990s, the NMS as it is known today was opened on Chambers Street in Edinburgh in 2006. [661] In the following sections of this chapter, the contemporary policies of the NMS will be addressed according to the five principles set out in chapter five, thereby illustrating the transformation of the NMS from its modern origins to its places as a twenty-first century, metamodern institutions.

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[661] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 5.

6.2 Museum Policies and Programs

Museum policies and programs encompass much of the outward-facing Best Practices of a museum. Included under this umbrella are topics like mission statements, strategic plans, impact reports, and the like. They define the purpose of the museum amongst the various levels of community and social expectations in which the museum operates. Regarding the five principles, museum policies and programs align most significantly with stewardship, integrity, community, and equity. The way in which a museum defines itself, its mission statement, plans, and reports, must be lawful and profession, and for the benefit of their immediate surroundings, thereby maintaining stewardship and integrity. They must also be accessible and in service of their communities, maintaining Best Practices which align with community and equity. In the case of the NMS, much of this material that addresses these principles can be found on the NMS website, making it accessible for all to evaluate and critique. This section will explore the relevant online materials to understand and evaluate the NMS as a postcolonial institution, relying primarily on the homepage and their "Our Impact" pages.[662]

Upon entering the NMS's digital space, viewers are met with a picture of the museum's entrance hall and a catchy title banner reading, "National Museum of Scotland: With thousands of amazing objects across multiple galleries, the Museum

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[662] "National Museum of Scotland," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/.
"Our impact," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/our-impact.

offers you a world of discovery all under one roof."[663] Below this, the website lists

admission, location, opening hours, current special exhibitions, events, materials to

plan visits, membership information, and collections information. The goal of this page

is accessibility and transparency. While not all have access to the internet, it is still one

of the more accessible elements of contemporary society. By effectively utilizing the

digital space, the NMS aligns with the principles of community and equity. Looking

outward and providing an engaging digital space with abundant user-friendly

information, the NMS metaphorically opens its doors to the world. In many ways, a

museum website like that of the NMS is a culmination of "the evolving dialogue and

general acceptance of the new ideology [...] [indicating] the paradigm shift from

collection-driven institutions to visitor-centered museums."[664] The goal is to reach

broad audiences, from the local to the international, providing spaces to learn and

observe. The spotlight turns to the user through a digital space that complements the

physical space. It also aligns, in principle, with Vergo's 1989 assurance that if museums

do not meet the expectations of their community they may "find themselves dubbed

'living fossils.'"[665] In the original context, Vergo was referring to the need for museums

to re-evaluate their position of power in society, urging museums to move away from

the "written up," "show and tell" methodologies inherent in modern museum spaces.

In the twenty-first century, this idea applies to the use of technology. Adhering to and

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[663] National Museums Scotland, "National Museum of Scotland."
[664] Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 1.
[665] Vergo, "Introduction," 3-4.

evolving with changing expectations requires museums to stay up to date. Continuing the metaphor above, opening its digital doors to communities near and far ensures a long life for a museum.

Digging deeper into the NMS's website, their "Our Impact" page provides a wealth of information regarding the macrocosmic structures of the museum. This page opens with the following:

> Scotland's National Collection is an important resource and we use it to create wide-reaching cultural, social, educational and economic impact. National Museums Scotland is a charity and Non-Departmental Public Body which cares for Scotland's outstanding National Collection of natural and material culture.
>
> The Collection is an important resource historically, culturally, and scientifically. Through our work we seek to share it as widely as possible, and to create impact to make a positive contribution to society.
> As well as running public museums, we do this in a range of ways: being environmentally responsible; working across Scotland and internationally; reaching out to communities; generating new knowledge through research; and supporting Scotland's visitor economy.[666]

This statement addresses each of the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practice, aligning the NMS with leaders of the international museum industry like the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the United Kingdom's Museum Association (MA), and the United States' American Alliance of Museums (AAM). Heritage management and stewardship is addressed in the assurance that the NMS "cares for Scotland's outstanding National Collection of natural and material culture." [667]

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[666] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact."
[667] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact."

Stewardship and integrity apply to the final paragraph that touches on the purpose of the NMS. Community and equity are seen in the assurance "to create wide-reaching cultural, social, educational and economic impact."[668] Embodying these five principles and aligning with industry leaders, the NMS stands as a metamodern museum at a macrocosmic level.

Also listed on the "Our Impact" page, the NMS provides links to the following pages: "National work," "International work," "Sustainability," "Community and access," and "Strategic Plan."[669] Each of these topics aligns with the introductory statement, providing further reading and context. The "National work," "International work," and "Community and access" pages most closely align with the principles of integrity and community. "National work" is summarized thusly, "sharing our knowledge and expertise strengthens the museum sector in Scotland and deepens our relationships with other organizations."[670] This page outlines the NMS's "Delivering Across Scotland: National Strategy 2023-2027," and offers training, funding, and access to the NMS's collection in accordance with collection management strategies.[671] The "national work" outlined here may be considered Best Practice in that the NMS commits itself and its resources to helping and promoting its larger community across Scotland. By looking beyond the boundaries of Edinburgh and working alongside the other institutions within the National Museums Scotland network, the NMS promotes a sense of

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[668] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact."

[669] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact."

[670] "Our Impact: National Work," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/our-impact/national-work.

[671] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact: National Work."

community for the public and museum professionals involved. In taking such an all-encompassing stance the NMS adheres to the principle of community at multiple levels, acknowledging and honoring the plurality of museum work. Furthermore, the NMS specifies how it "[takes] a community-centered approach [that] focuses [...] on achieving strategic impact for the community rather than operational impact for the institution."[672] In this manner, the NMS takes ownership of its position as a public institution, aligning with the ideals of New Museology, the Post Museum, and metamodernity in its service to its community.

Reaffirming a strong sense of community and equity, the "Community and access" page begins, "our community engagement and outreach work encourages greater access to our museums and engages communities across Scotland with the National Collection."[673] This page includes links to programs, projects, community groups, and currently scheduled events. Here, the NMS provides action-based examples of community engagement Best Practices. The ideals behind the principle of community are enacted in a metamodern system of Best Practices that is transparent and actionable.

Finally, the "International work" page states, "beyond Scotland, international collaborations allow us to share knowledge, learn from others and make our treasures available to the widest possible audience."[674] The page provides details about touring

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[672] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 297.

[673] "Our Impact: Community and access," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/our-impact/community-and-access.

[674] "Our Impact: International work," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/our-impact/international-work.

exhibits, loans, and international research projects. Looking beyond the Scottish borders, the NMS puts into place Best Practices which promote international community-building. In accordance with Ethics and Best Practices encouraged by ICOM and other related organizations, the NMS engages in international dialogues through loans, repatriation, and international research.[675] This international element of community pushes the NMS to the highest industry standards, aligning with the principle of integrity and industry leaders like the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM. In a practical sense, through their commitment to community at multiple levels, the NMS both supports itself and holds itself accountable, consistent with the principles of integrity, community, and equity. The internal, policy-based infrastructure necessary to nourish community as the lifeblood of museum work is obvious in the NMS's online presence, reflecting the metamodernity of the NMS as a public institution in the twenty-first century.

Heritage management and integrity are also addressed by the "Sustainability" webpage. The opening statement of the "Sustainability" page characterizes the NMS as a proponent of environment activism: "The global environmental emergency – not only the climate crisis but also large-scale biodiversity loss – is the biggest challenge facing the world." [676] The page goes on to outline the NMS's commitment to sustainability through their "Strategic Plan 2022-2027" and their "Organisational

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[675] ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*, (2017) 20-21.
National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact: International Work."
[676] "Our Impact: Sustainability," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/our-impact/sustainability.

Strategy for Sustainability 2023-2030." Sustainability is a significant concern of the twenty-first century, and it is important for museums to address this to stay relevant into the coming decades. In their approach to sustainability and climate awareness, the NMS upholds the idea put forward by Vergo in the 1980s that museums must evolve with their communities or "find themselves dubbed 'living fossils.'"[677] The NMS's documentation illustrates proactive and forward-thinking methodology which align with the principles of heritage management, stewardship, and integrity in the way climate awareness is necessary for the long-term preservation and study of historic collections. In line with community and equity, the NMS's climate strategies reflect a cognizant institution that cares about the same things which concern its community. Beyond relevancy, the NMS loosely aligns with the ideas put forward by scholar Robert R. Janes in the introduction of his 2013 publication, *Museums and the Paradox of Change*:

> Museums, unwittingly or not, are embracing the values of relentless consumption that underlie our planetary difficulties. [...] By disregarding these environmental and social issues which, in effect, are ethical issues, most museums have indirectly opted to serve the prevailing corporate structure[.] [...] The heart of the matter is actually the widespread corporate violation of public interest, and the corresponding erosion of individual and community sovereignty as a result of hyper-capitalism and corporate malfeasance.[678]

The NMS's stance on sustainability and its willingness as an institutional entity to promote sustainable systems illustrates the role museums have in issues regarding the

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[677] Vergo, "Introduction," 3-4.
[678] Janes, *Museums and the Paradox of Change*, xxi.

planet and its global population. The NMS does not disregard environmental issues, instead creating a plan to promote and enforce sustainability aligning with the Ethics and Best Practices promoted by ICOM and the MA. Additionally, in line with guidelines presented by Minpaku, the NMS's sustainability guidelines complement the idea behind "disaster prevention and mitigation measures." [679] Minpaku's guidelines are referencing the potential harm caused by natural disasters, while the NMS cites the reduction of carbon and increase in biodiversity, however both are environmental statements that promote the safety and longevity of collections.[680] Both strategies address the long-term survival of both the institutions and the collections.

Museum policies and programs represent key Best Practices, defining a museum's mission, strategic plans, and impact. In providing an "open door" into its policies and programs, the NMS's digital space exemplifies a commitment to inclusivity, transparency, and community-centered work, aligning with the five principles of Ethics and Best Practice. Through national and international collaboration, community engagement, and sustainability efforts, the NMS commits to metamodern methodologies that prioritize community-centered work, shifting away from traditional collection-driven approaches rooted in Western modernity. As a result, the NMS's digital presence provides microcosmic examples of the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practices, fostering global conversation and positive change in the museum sector.

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[679] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."
[680] National Museums of Scotland,"Our Impact: Sustainability."

6.3 Collections Database and Storage

A museum's collection sits at the center of museum operations, often providing the foundation from which it grows and develops. As such, the collection database and storage are fundamental to the ongoing use and life of the museum. The collection and its catalogue system are most directly impacted by heritage management Best Practices, but museums must also draw on the other four principles to create effective systems of documentation, preservation, research, and education. This next section explores the NMS's collection database and storage, illustrating the interplay of the five principles of museum work in action.

As explained in chapter five, heritage management refers to the systems put in place by museums to preserve, manage, research, and promote tangible and intangible heritage. This principle includes Best Practices like digital documentation, physical conservation, display, research—the stereotypical nuts and bolts of museum spaces. In chapter five, heritage management was addressed through a quantitative experiment run on the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM. In keeping consistent, the same experiment has been overlaid onto the NMS's online collection database. As a reminder, the quantitative results were gleaned from a simple search of the institutions' publicly-accessible collection search engines using the words "Ainu" or "アイヌ." When enacted upon the NMS's database, "Ainu" returned 357 results.[681] According to the

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[681] "Search our collections," National Museums Scotland, accessed 15 October 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections?description=Ainu&showImages=false&showDisplay=false&page=1.

NMS database, at least 228 of these items were sold to the museum by Munro between 1909 and 1914, indicating that the majority of the NMS's Ainu collection was provided by Munro over a century ago. [682] As addressed above, the Munro collection is inherently colonial because it was assembled by Munro at a time when Ainu power and agency was being disrupted by Japanese and Western systems of colonialism. Nevertheless, much of Munro's collection made it to the NMS and have been maintained and preserved for contemporary research and display, exemplifying best practice regarding heritage management.

One of the most notable aspects of the search results is the fact that the NMS catalogue incorporates the Ainu language throughout. This aligns with metamodern practices of decolonization and Indigenization. The inclusion of Ainu terminology in labelling objects—the "Ainu-ization" of the database language—may, in part, be attributed to Munro's research and early correspondence with the NMS as well as positive, ongoing research done by the institution staff. For instance, object A.1909.499.12D, a ceremonial, model quiver, is labelled *pons ikayop* in the catalogue (Figure 16: REDACTED), while item A.1909.499.53A is labelled *ikupasuy* (Figure 17: REDACTED).[683] Both objects are catalogued using Ainu vocabulary, reflecting the same approach that scholars like Baba and Munro attempted in the early twentieth century.

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[682] National Museums Scotland, N G Munro Ainu collection.

[683] A.1909.499.12D, "Pons ikayop," model quiver (pons ikayop), wood carved with abstract designs, used as charms or place into burials (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK). A.1909.499.53A "Ikupasuy," prayer stick (ikupasuy), carved wooden stick with pointed end and serpentine pattern, used in Ainu ceremonies to deliver prayers (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

By labelling objects with the language of their source communities, the NMS adheres to community-based Best Practices that prioritize and celebrate these communities. Additionally, the use of an Indigenous language in this context represents an Indigenizing practice aligned with metamodern museum methodologies.[684]In contrast, items A.1882.22.1 and A.1909.499.48 are both labelled "robe" in the catalogue (Figures 18 and 19).[685] Rather than using the Ainu terms for these types of outerwear garments, like attush, chikarkarpe, kaparamip, or mour, which would have provided more a more concise understanding of the clothing, an English word is used.[686] It is interesting that the NMS would choose to not use the Ainu language in labelling these garments, when so many other Ainu objects use the Indigenous language. The inconsistency in the NMS database may be a product of the time and place of donation. Munro's letters to Vallance indicate that Munro donated huge collections of materials to the NMS meaning that the curators may have been overwhelmed during the intake process.[687] Processing hundreds of diverse objects may have led to the inconsistencies in titling the objects, but research is still apparent in the descriptions:

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[684] National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

[685] A.1882.22.1 "Robe," man's robe of buff-coloured cloth woven of the inner bark of the mountain elm, ornamented with applied pieces of dark blue cotton cloth (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).
A.1909.499.48 "Robe," robe, striped elm-bark cloth (attush) with abstract designs in blue cotton calico applique and embroidery around hem, cuffs and collar, worn by a man (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[686] Nishida Kayoko, *Tekekarpe: Ainu Embroidery*, (Sapporo, Japan: クルーズ 2013) 61-62.

[687] National Museums Scotland, MUNSUP1.8.

A.1882.22.1: "Man's robe of buff-coloured cloth woven of the inner bark of the mountain elm, ornamented with applied pieces of dark blue cotton cloth: Japan, Hokkaido, Ainu."[688]

A.1909.499.48: "Robe, striped elm-bark cloth (attush) with abstract designs in blue cotton calico applique and embroidery around hems, cuffs and collar, worn by a man: Japan, Hokkaido, Ainu, 19th to early 20th century."[689]

Item A.1882.22.1 was donated by Isabella Bird, while the latter by Munro. Both descriptions are detailed, noting the Indigenous processes that contribute to the production of the garments, but it is Munro's object that mentions specifically attush. If the item descriptions were produced by the donor, Munro's knowledge and appreciation of Ainu culture is apparent in the use of Ainu terminology as well as the inclusion of a date. However, if the description is based in curator research, having more detail in the 1909 object makes sense as there would have been more information available to the curator. Nevertheless, it is poignant that Munro's objects are consistently labeled or described using the Ainu language, reflecting his commitment to early processes of Indigenization.

Returning to the NMS's collection database, the diversity of the Ainu collection speaks to the metamodernity of the NMS as a postcolonial institution. Two groups of objects stick out in the conversation of metamodern integrity: (1) the handful of objects attributed to Sakhalin Ainu, accounting for the diversity of Ainu peoples, and

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[688] ""Attush" amip (Man's coat or man's robe made of elm bark cloth)," National Museums Scotland, accessed 25 March 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=309041.

[689] "Robe," National Museums Scotland, accessed 25 March 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=309055.

(2) the contemporary objects, exemplifying the living culture of the Ainu. The Sakhalin Ainu objects defy old exposition techniques in which there was "a sense that all tribes were the same or at least the same in one particular region."[690] While the Ainu of the southern Okhotsk region were united by a common language and similar traditions, the distinction between subregions is important because homogenizing a culture group invalidates its diversity and variability.[691] Relating it to Western standards, homogenizing Hokkaido and Sakhalin Ainu is like conflating a Cornish person and a Londoner or a Kansan and a New Yorker; they may share the same language and national borders, but their traditions and worldviews are slightly different due to geographical differences. It is reductionist to homogenize cultural groups due to shared languages or borders because it discounts local ways of knowing and regional variance which impact cultural development. Honoring the diversity within regional groups honors the diversity of humanity and human history. Including both Hokkaido and Sakhalin Ainu objects is a Best Practice which celebrates diversity in line with the principles of community and equity. Also following the five principles, the contemporary objects in the NMS display illustrate the evolution and on-going traditions of the Ainu into the twenty-first century. These items directly refute the extinction myths perpetuated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, demonstrating the continued existence of Indigenous peoples and reflecting present-

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[690] Lonetree, *Decolonizing* Museums, 14.

[691] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*, 8.

Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Regional Variations in Ainu Culture," *American Ethnologist*, vol 3, no 2 (May 1976) 297-329.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 112.

day revitalization efforts.[692] Further, contemporary objects are also a form of co-curation, a contemporary Best Practice, in the that they illustrate the ongoing evolution of Indigenous cultures. As noted by contemporary scholar, Gail Anderson, both the Sakhalin Ainu and contemporary objects "[symbolize] the general movement of dismantling the museum as an ivory tower of exclusivity and toward the construction of a more socially responsive cultural institution in service to the public."[693] As demonstrated here, metamodern museum Ethics and Best Practices push twenty-first century museums to detangle outdated assumptions and established practices that honor diversity, transparency, and communication. The NMS engages in the deconstruction of outdated, modern methodologies through their inclusion of diverse and present-day Ainu objects.

The information collected and safeguarded by online databases and storage facilities ensures a long life for the collections under the stewardship of the NMS. They hold and protect their collection in line with heritage management and stewardship; they try to engage in adequate research aligned with postcolonial methodologies inherent in the principle of integrity; and they promote decolonial education and research, honoring the ideals of community and equity. While much like the other, larger museums discussed previously, the information presented in the online database could be updated, however, with the collection being so large, researching

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[692] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 14.
Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 215-220.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 104-106.
[693] Anderson, "Introduction," 1.

and updating the information for each item is a herculean task. As such, regarding the

five principles set out in this project, the NMS's work is reflective of a postcolonial,

metamodern institution which suffers from research constraints.

6.4 Living Lands Hall and the Ainu Exhibit

The previous sections of this chapter have explored the structures put in place by the NMS to ensure that the institution is both sustainable and ethical in the collection and presentation of heritage—the macrocosmic details. However, just as important are the microcosmic 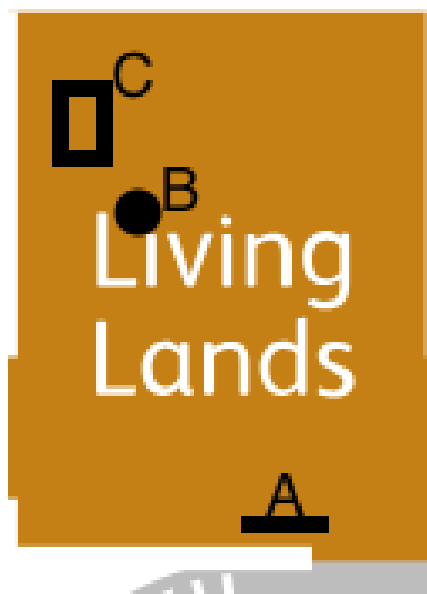vignettes that draw in visitors and enable critical thinking. The following section revisits chapter 1.2, expanding upon the brief tour of the Ainu exposition done previously. In doing this, the following section turns a critical eye to the physical enactments of the NMS's metamodern methodologies, applying the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practice to the permanent Ainu exhibit and contributing to the metamodern conversation of Indigenous representation in the international museum industry.

The Ainu display at the NMS is housed in the Living Lands Hall. Located on the first floor of the

Figure 16: Approximate floor plan of NMS Living Lands Hall in relation to the Ainu exhibit. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/museum-map.
Point A: Living Lands introductory panel.
Point B: Small Arctic Cultures introductory display.
Point C: Permanent Ainu display.

Figure 17: Floor plan of the first floor of the NMS. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-museum-of-scotland/plan-your-visit/museum-map.

museum, the Living Lands gallery begins with an introductory statement:

> Landscapes shape us as much as we shape them. They influence what we
> believe in, what we make and what we own. From the North American arctic
> to the deserts of Australia, the peoples in this gallery lead contemporary
> lives, but their traditional values are based on a deep connection to the land
> – lands mapped, known and even created by their ancestors.[694]

Signposts with bold statements, such as this one, play several roles in the construction

and organization of museum spaces. As noted in chapter 1.2, at its most basic function,

the sign operates as an introductory statement that distinguishes the Living Lands Hall

from its neighboring galleries.[695] It acts as a "written up" introduction in a way that

encompasses the goal of the gallery and regulates foot traffic, while, spatially, it sits at

a physical crossroads in the museum, allowing visitors to enter and exit the gallery in

multiple directions. Because of this, the sign must attempt to "hook" museumgoers,

inspiring them to explore the hall. On a deeper level, the sign subverts colonialism,

undermining the ideologies of Western modernity. The curator creates an engaging

narrative that subtly "provincialize[s] Europe and foreground[s] multi-vocal"

experiences of life and culture.[696] Consequently, the sign positions the NMS's Living

Lands Hall amidst ongoing decolonial dialogues, centering non-Western cultures

within global conversations, thus acting on Indigenizing Best Practices which prioritize

subaltern voices. Moreover, the opening line of the sign engages the viewer in a

personal conversation in its use of the pronouns "us" and "we."[697] This may "hook" the

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[694] *Living Lands Hall*, introductory panel.
[695] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 148-149.
[696] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 475.
[697] *Living Lands Hall*, introductory panel.

visitor by encouraging conversation and self-reflection; rather than an "us versus them" narrative, the curator couches the Living Lands Hall in a collective dialogue. This exemplifies Best Practices associated with stewardship, community, and equity in that all museum-goers are welcomed to relate to the subject matter and engage in critical thinking. Furthermore, the sign names two of the most ubiquitous regions in Indigenous and decolonial conversations: North America and Australia. In doing so, the curator speaks to contemporary decolonial conversations, positioning the NMS alongside leading advocates for Indigenous rights and representation. It informs museumgoers, in a non-obtrusive way, of the colonial legacies that still impact society today. Rather than engaging in surface-level, didactic education about Indigenous cultures, the Living Lands Hall presents active, ongoing dialogues that refute the modern "dying race" myth.[698] From the onset, the gallery attempts to promote understanding and cross-cultural conversation reflective of contemporary strategies of Indigenization.[699] As a result, the Living Lands Hall encompasses the principles of integrity, community, and equity, utilizing Best Practices which center ongoing, decolonial, and Indigenizing narratives.

In the construction and organization of the Living Lands gallery, the NMS employs contemporary museum Best Practices in its inclusivity and creativity, creating a contact zone between colonialism, inherent in a Scottish and UK setting, and

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[698] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
[699] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle."

Indigeneity in its adaption and exchange.[700] Moving into the gallery from the entrance,

audience members are met with a variety of Indigenous cultures including Alaskan,

Australian, and Tibetan. Including diverse Indigenous cultures from around the world

meets the standards described under the principle of equity, reflecting that crossroads

between dominant power and Indigenous ways of knowing . The MA's "Code of Ethics"

speaks to this when it states: "treat everyone equally, with honesty and respect."[701]

Applying to both visitors and subject matter, the MA's Code situations honesty and

respect as museum Best Practices. By including such diversity of culture in the Living

Lands Hall, the NMS commits to far-reaching equality and respect. Turning from

subject to visitor, the NMS commits to visitor equity through the construction of

diverse exhibits in the gallery. The entire space is large and colorful, inviting visitors to

participate in "active discovery, free-choice learning, interactivity and participation,"

allowing them to engage in personal dialogues with individual or multiple displays and

consider the larger issues of colonialism and colonial legacies.[702] In this way, the gallery

adheres to the idea that

> whether alone or in a group, the typical museum visit represents a strategy
> on the part of the person or group to use the physical context of the
> museum as a vehicle for satisfying one or more personal and/or
> sociocultural needs.[703]

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[700] James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* edited by James Clifford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) 192. Gattey, "Writing Back from the Academy," 171. Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2011) 3-7.

[701] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums," 9.

[702] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 98.

[703] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 31.

While the space may seem overwhelming to some, the variety invites discovery and interaction for all, using text panels, videos, and interactive elements throughout. For example, there is a Tibetan structure that is designed to allow museumgoers to spin its components, replicating a Tibetan prayer practice.[704] Additionally, as noted in chapter 1.2, the Ainu exhibit includes a video element. Diversifying the media available in the hall reflects metamodern methodologies as noted by contemporary scholar John H. Falk:

> In the twenty-first century museums no longer have the "luxury" of dictating top-down what the public should receive; no longer can the museum expect that one approach, one label, one type of experience will satisfy all. Successful museums will be those that figure out how to develop long-lasting, meaningful relationships with their audiences; that means thinking of those they serve as assemblages of individuals and not as some undefined mass "public."[705]

Rather than maintaining a top-down, didactic approach commonly used in modern museum spaces, the NMS works with Best Practices which encourage museumgoers to explore and do rather than learn and read.

The Ainu exhibition is situated in the back corner of the Living Lands Hall, alongside other Arctic Indigenous peoples. The space dedicated to the Ainu features a variety of experiences, including a small introductory display, a large double-sided case, and a video presentation. As mentioned in chapter 1.2, the initial cabinet presents a collection of objects that reflect the diversity of Arctic Cultures, while the larger

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[704] *Living Lands Hall*, permanent display.

[705] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 298.

exhibit highlights Ainu culture through tangible and intangible heritage. The video further enriches the experience by offering firsthand Ainu testimony, bringing their living culture to life. [706]

To begin, the introductory case is situated near the middle of the room in such a way that it presents Arctic Culture generally. In this position, the introduction acts as an anchor from which museumgoers may create connection between the diverse Arctic Cultures present in the Living Lands Hall. By doing this, NMS curators acknowledge the ongoing research concerning the interconnectivity of Arctic Cultures, as illustrated by the paradigms of transnationalism, Borderland Studies, and Area Studies explored in chapters three and four.[707] Randolph Bourne, mentioned in chapter 3.2, cited the term "melting pot" in the early twentieth century, and while Bourne was writing about the United State in the early twentieth century, the idea of a "melting pot" also applies here.[708] The introductory case's interpretive material does not directly relate each culture to one another, but the inclusion of several cultures within one arrangement case subtly reminds museumgoers that cultures who are unrelated socially may still have commonalities due to their shared geography. Moreover, Area Studies scholar, Mark R. Beissinger notes, "Area Studies is not about knowledge of culture and space for its own sake, but rather about knowledge of 'context' – the set of circumstances or

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[706] *Living Lands Hall*, permanent display.
[707] Association for Borderland Studies, "About: Association for Borderland Studies."
Beissinger, "Disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and the plurality of Area Studies," 134.
Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-264.
[708] Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-264.

facts that surround a particular situation." [709] In creating a microcosmic "melting pot"

among Arctic Cultures in the Living Lands Hall, NMS curators acknowledge the

arbitrary nature of contemporary borders, aligning with decolonial understandings of

context and cross-cultural communication. Furthermore, rather than positioning the

Ainu in Japanese Studies, as was commonly done in the historiography, the NMS firmly

places the Ainu among Indigenous Studies. In consideration of metamodern

methodologies, the NMS employs Best Practices which prioritize the Indigenous-ness

of the Ainu and their neighbors, rather than adhering to modern narratives. By doing

this, the NMS creates a space aligned with postcolonial Indigenization, subverting

colonial borders and power structures. Finally, the case is situated between Arctic

Cultures in a way that when museumgoers look up from the artefacts, they are able to

look between several different cultures' larger exhibits. Rather than use labels to tie

Arctic Cultures together, the space is used to create connection for visitors. Placing an

opening presentation in such a way positions visitors at a crossroads of cultures, thus

creating a special embodiment of "writing in between" which erases national and

cultural divides. Borders become irrelevant and connection is celebrated by the gallery

in a way that enables visitors to stand at the crossroads between cultures.

Approaching the Ainu exposition from the introduction described above,

museumgoers are met with a panel labelled "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*." [710] The

opening signpost mirrors the hall's introductory panel, drawing on the themes of land

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[709] Beissinger, "Disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and the plurality of Area Studies," 134.
[710] "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*," *Living Lands Hall*.

and cultural connection, thereby creating throughlines across the Ainu display and the rest of the hall. By doing this, the curators create a sense of continuity and connection in line with Best Practices of heritage management, stewardship, and equity. Creating a framework that encompasses the entire gallery enables visitors to trace connections across individual showcases and makes the space digestible. Additionally, the sign uses Ainu language, complementing the use of Ainu terminology in the NMS's catalogue, as described above. Utilizing the Ainu language throughout the NMS's records system and the Ainu exhibit "[privileges] Indigenous voices and perspectives," an important part of decolonial and Indigenizing Best Practices.[711] Another example of this type of Best Practice can be found in the Kawamura Kaneto Museum in Asahikawa, Hokkaido, Japan. This museum is an Ainu-owned and operated facility which provides spaces for learning and gathering for the community. Many of the labels in the exhibition space contain multiple languages. For example, one panel is titled "okkay iki p, オッカイ　イキプ, 男性の仕事, Men's work" and the information is presented in Japanese, Ainu, and English (see Figure 22).[712] Formatting the sign with Romanized Ainu, katakana Ainu, Japanese, and English brings together Indigenous and widely understood languages in a way that promotes both understanding and learning for diverse audiences. The NMS's "Land of People, *Ainu mosir*" sign, while the bulk of the text is in English, is attempting to implement the same Best Practices behind the Kawamura museum's

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[711] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 162-167.

[712] *Permanent Exhibit*, "Women's work" label, (Asahikawa, Hokkaido, Japan: Kawamura Kaneto Museum, visited September 2022).
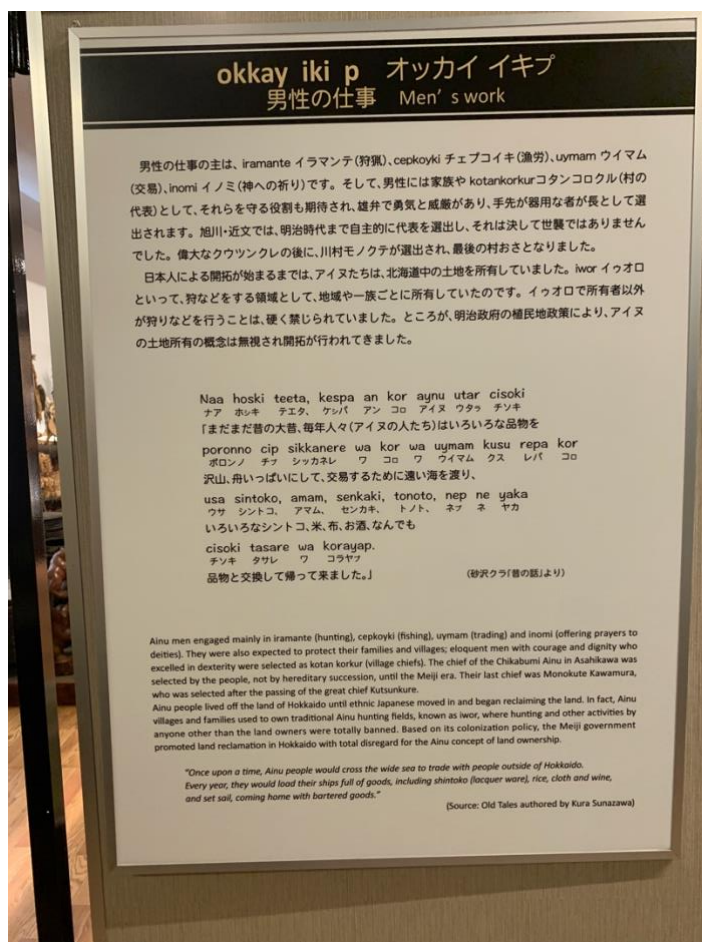
Figure 18: Men's Work exhibit label from Kawamura Kaneto Memorial Museum, Asahikawa, Japan. Photo by author.

techniques that uplifts Indigenous voices. To elevate the exhibit to the next level, the NMS could incorporate more Ainu language. Starting with mapping the language used in the catalogue onto the physical display space is an accessible first step toward Indigenizing the exposition. Another option would be incorporating the Ainu terminology found in the glossary of this project. By doing this, the NMS would commit to a detailed Indigenization—or Ainu-ization—of the exposition. Stepping back from the resources used here, Ainu terminology and language is becoming increasingly accessible, as noted in chapter 5.1 in reference to Indigenous language revitalization.[713] Using the Indigenous language is not only a decolonial and Indigenizing practice, but it also reaffirms and supports Indigenous revitalization efforts. In incorporating more precise, local language, the NMS would be engaging in

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[713] See for example:

Bugaeva, *Handbook of the Ainu Language*.

The Foundation for Ainu Culture, "Asahikawa Ainu Language School."

The Foundation for Ainu Culture, "Biratori-cho Nibutani Ainu Language School."

metamodern dialogues that encourage compassionate, respectful, and empowering representation, similar to that used in the Ainu-owned and operated Kawamura museum.

In the presentation of material culture, effective heritage management may be seen in the physical construction and organization of the space. The basic structure of the exhibit is clean, well-structured, and easy to consume. While the space can be approached and interpreted from any direction, it is structured in such a way to be read from right to left and front to back, providing an approachable organization that aligns with English reading standards— "an appealing, logical and accessible" construction, per common museum guidance.[714] The objects on display are each accompanied by a number that corresponds to a label, providing context and explanations for the viewer. Most of the labels are on a long panel that runs the length of the cabinet in the bottom quarter of both sides of the case. Using small, numbered cubes placed near each object, viewers can intuit the connection between object and label, without blocks of text obscuring the objects or cluttering the space. The numbers are place in order from left to right, continuing to guide viewers through the arrangement of material culture from the introductory panel moving right. Providing labels written in clear and concise English, provides visitors with the information needed to appreciate and understand the artefacts housed in the case, as is customary in contemporary museum practice.[715] The written information provided acts as a

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[714] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 90.
[715] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 129.

framework for the artefacts presented, allowing visitors to learn in their own way and at their own pace. This method appeals to a wide variety of museum goers and encourages visitors to engage in a personal dialogue with the information. [716] Additionally, the space is kept minimal, providing room for each piece to be viewed easily as both separate objects and a whole.

The above description, while generally positive, also exposes the NMS's shortcomings in the construction of the Ainu display. Insight from Graham Black's 2005 publication addresses the issues existing in the Ainu exhibit:

> By their very nature, museum exhibitions must cater for a mass audience. Didacticism works best in circumstances where the audience members share a similar level of background interest, knowledge and understanding. The more that visitors seek individual experiences, and the opportunity to participate directly in that experience – and the more that museums seek to diversify their audience base and must therefore respond to different learning needs and different levels of understanding – the less suitable a strictly didactic approach becomes. The time for switching from purely didactic exhibitions to alternative approaches more suited to the needs of the full range of targeted museum visitors is long overdue. This is not to deny a place for didacticism within the new order – many visitors will still seek that approach, and their needs should still be catered for as part of the palette of approaches within an exhibition.[717]

In this, Black argues for change in museum practices, challenging museums to move away from the didactic "show and tell," "top down," strategies that characterize the modern museum.[718] Positioned here, Black argues against the current Ainu showcase

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[716] Pickering, *Museum Curator's Guide*, 98.
[717] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 131.
[718] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 6.
Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 14.

at the NMS, for the exhibit is largely didactic in is technique. The objects are static,

historical representations of Ainu traditions kept in a sterile environment, behind glass.

On the one hand, this arrangement is in line with heritage management Best Practices,

as noted above, however, the display is largely outdated, focusing on the historical

nature of the collection. Because of the reliance on the Munro collection, the NMS's

outward-facing presentation of Ainu culture dates to the late nineteenth and early

twentieth century. Mentioned previously, Chisato Dubreuil, an Ainu scholar, notes the

ongoing nature of Ainu culture, stating that "the spiritual beliefs of the Ainu are

complex and often misunderstood, with interpretations debated even among today's

Ainu."[719] While Dubreuil is speaking in reference to Ainu faith, her statement also calls

into question the static nature of museological spaces. If Ainu culture and tradition is

debated among the Ainu themselves, how can a static museum presentation accurately

reflect that culture? Reflecting back onto Black's critique, museums have a duty of care

for both their collection and communities. Metamodernity calls upon the NMS to

recognize that while their material is historic, it is important to acknowledge and

incorporate the ongoing, living culture from which the material was collected, thus

promoting Ainu personhood and self-determination in line with the principles of

integrity, community, and equity.[720] Decolonial and Indigenizing strategies provide a

means to do this, encouraging collaboration which can bring Ainu voices into the

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[719] Dubreuil, "Ainu Art on the Backs of Gods," 7.
[720] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 132-134.

NMS's historic collection, thereby honoring the source community.[721] For example, integrating contemporary, ongoing research in line with the principle of integrity or including quotation from living Ainu, such as suggested in the principle of community, would balance the historic nature of the NMS's Ainu collection. These procedures could create opportunities which may engage more museumgoers who seek marginalized histories, thus honoring the local community by providing desired and diverse understandings.[722] Extending these suggestions, adding an updated video would inject new insights into the exposition, engaging with those who seek contemporary perspectives. Another idea, in line with Dubreuil's work, is to speak to contemporary Ainu artisans and incorporate their current understandings of traditional Ainu crafts, thereby centering Ainu voices. All these techniques are meant to contextualize the NMS's historic collection in a way that promotes understanding across cultures and between visitors and subject. Doing so will increase visitor involvement, enables education, and honors the Ainu as Indigenous peoples.

Moving onto the cabinet's written material, despite the attempts at multilingualism discussed above, the Ainu display, as a whole, falls short of contemporary, metamodern standards. See, for example, the labels pictured in Figure 23. Although the introductory panel uses Ainu in the title, the labels do not continue the practice. Concerning the principle of community, the NMS is serving its local

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[721] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture,* 81-82, 102-103, and 123-130.
Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 43-46.
[722] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 259-265.

community which may be assumed to speak mostly English considering the geographic location of the museum, but the source community is easily forgotten in the written material. An Indigenizing Best Practice that can remedy this would be to enact similar strategies to those seen in the Kawamura Museum described above. Including the Ainu language throughout the exhibit would signal to visitors that the NMS is dedicated to the accurate presentation of subaltern culture, aligning with integrity, and providing a multi-vocal exhibition. No matter how intentional or unintentional, not using Ainu terminology marginalizes Ainu culture and self-determination, promoting techniques couched in Western modernity.[723] Especially considering the use of Indigenous terminology in the collections database, the written resources accompanying Ainu material culture could incorporate more precise language that privileges Ainu traditions and language.

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[723] Davis, "Resisting rhetorics of language endangerment," 54.
Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 475.
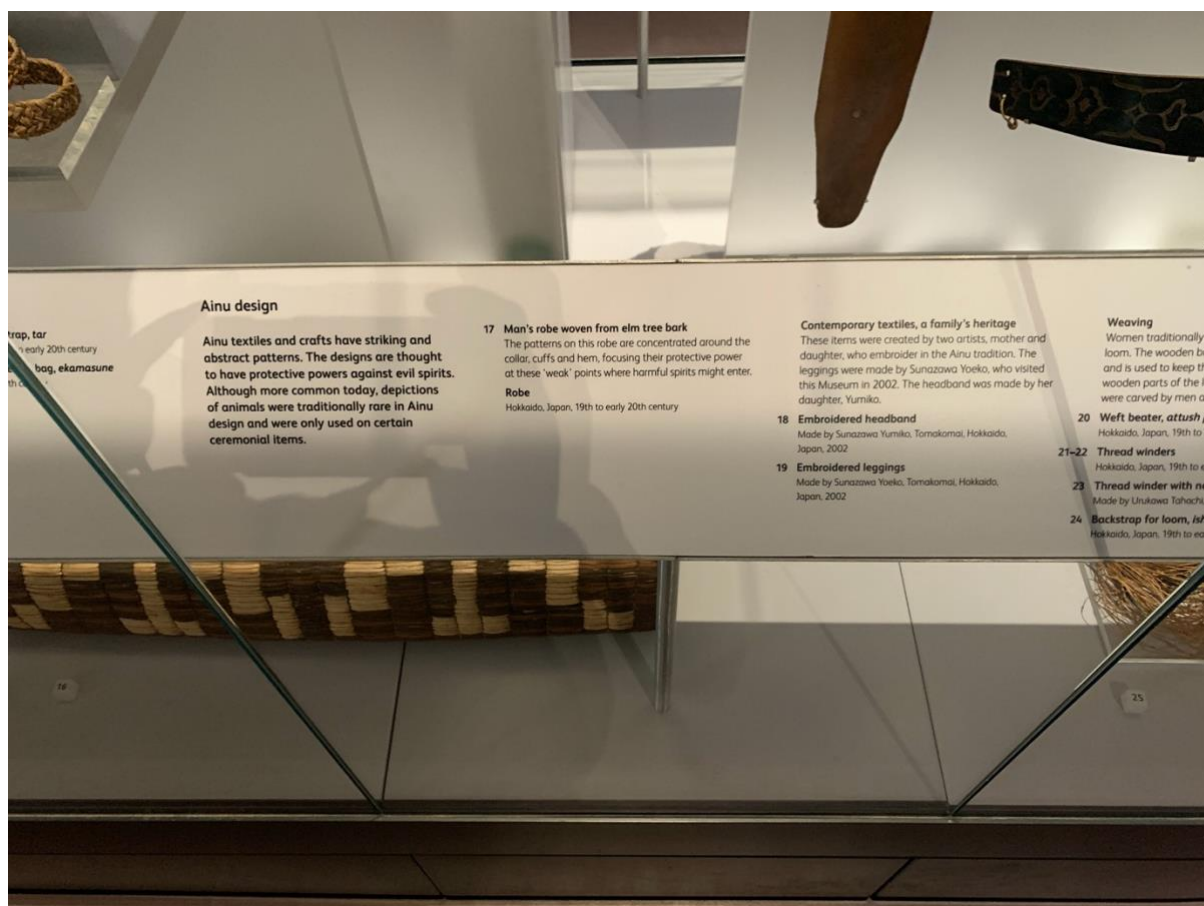
Figure 19: Example of NMS labels from permanent Ainu exhibit. Photo by author.

It may be argued that the inclusion of an A/V element helps to temper the didacticism employed by the NMS, and while this is true, there are flaws in this argument. A/V elements lend themselves to Black's advice, providing museums with "alternative approaches more suited to the needs of the full range of targeted museum visitors."[724] So much so, in fact, that A/V elements have become commonplace in museum spaces and are often used to account for diverse learning styles and attention spans among museum visitors.[725] A/V elements act as educational pausing points which engage multiple sensory inputs for audience members in a way consistent with

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[724] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 131.
[725] Black, *The Engaging Museum*, 135.

"edutainment," the convergence of education and entertainment. The issue in the case of the NMS's Ainu display is that the video played on loop is dated. That is not to say that the video does not have a place in the exhibit, merely that it is an example of historic Ainu voices. What may be done in line with the principles of integrity and community, would be to include contemporary Ainu voices. The exposition already includes contemporary objects, to be discussed next, thus including testimonies of the artists responsible would add Indigenizing elements to the current arrangement. Going a step further, the NMS could look to exhibitions like Japan House's 2024 *Ainu Stories*, which used interviews conducted with living Ainu. By doing this, the NMS would commit to contemporary Indigenizing Best Practices which honor current research standards, in line with integrity, as well as acknowledge the ongoing nature of Ainu culture, per the principle of community.

Figure 20: **Top**: *Front of the NMS permanent Ainu exhibit. Photo by author.*
Bottom: *Back of NMS permanent Ainu exhibit. Screen grab from https://www.nms.ac.uk/streetview, accessed 14 November 2023.*

Balancing the shortcomings, the NMS has attempted to create a narrative that incorporates contemporary and historical Ainu materials in a way that "shar[es] curatorial authority by emphasizing the central role of local communities and the 'cultural bearers' themselves in safeguarding their own cultural heritage."[726] While the exhibit is not a product of co-curation, including contemporary Ainu objects is an attempt to engage with living Ainu culture, a part of co-curation. Moreover, the inclusion of living culture and contemporary material culture is a decolonial and Indigenizing Best Practice, even if it falls short of active co-curation. These objects illustrate that beyond merely existing, Ainu culture continues to grow and evolve in the twenty-first century.[727] Contemporary objects presented include:

- Seen in Figure 24 (top)
  - K.2002.104, a threadwinder carved by Urakawa Tahachi and donated in 2002[728]
  - K.2002.108 A, a headband made by Sunazawa Yumiko and donated in 2002[729]
  - K.2002.108 D, leggings made by Sunazawa Yoeko and donated in 2002[730]
- Seen in Figure 24 (bottom)
  - K.2002.102, a *nima*, or bowl carved by Kaizawa Tōru and donated in 2002[731]

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[726] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 203.

[727] Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, x-xi.

[728] K.2002.104, "Thread winder," thread winder with compartment for storing needles, chestnut wood carved with abstract designs (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[729] K.2002.108 A, "Headband," headband, indigo cotton embroidered with abstract designs in green, pink and white (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[730] K.2002.108 D, "Legging," leggings, pair, indigo cotton embroidered with abstract designs in green, pink and white with indigo ties, lined with mustard fabric (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[731] K.2002.102, "*Nima,*" nima (bowl) of enju wood, oval with curved sides and pointed end, flattened carved handle (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

- o V.2006.276, a carved wood wall hanging carved by Kaizawa Tōru and donated in 2006[732]
- o V.2009.124, a tray carved by Kaizawa Tōru in 2002 and donated in 2009[733]
- o V.2009.125, a bowl carved by Kaizawa Kōichi in 2000 and donated in 2009[734]

Each object includes the maker, place and date of production, and date of donation in the museum collection database. These contemporary items are scattered throughout the arrangement so that they complement the structure of the exhibit. For example, the leggings and headband are placed alongside the weaving tools, providing an example of a completed, modern Ainu textile work to contrast the historical works. The significance of including modern materials in the Ainu display cannot be overstated. In this way, the NMS echoes the call of scholars like Chisato O. Dubreuil, Lisa Hiwasaki, David Howell, Christina Kreps, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, and Brett Walker, among others, who call for the acknowledgement of the ongoing development of Indigenous cultures.[735] Kreps offers a concise statement on this point:

> To most Indigenous people, objects are not just scientific specimens or works of art. They are also family heirlooms, symbols of rank and status, sacred materials necessary for the perpetuation of religious beliefs and practices, or documents of a community's history and heritage.[736]

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[732] V.2006.276, "Hanging," diamond-shaped wall hanging of maple wood, form carved to suggest a textile with abstract designs in low relief on surface, uppermost corner carved as if bent over to hold cord loop (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[733] V.2009.124, "Tray," tray, wood, square shape with raised lip, carved abstract designs (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[734] V.2009.125, "Bowl," bowl, oval with curved sides and pointed ends (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, Scotland, UK).

[735] Dubreuil 1999 and 2002. Hiwasaki 2000. Howell 1994, 1996, 2004, and 2005. Kreps 2009. Morris-Suzuki 2001. Walker 2001.

[736] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 197.

While most of the scholars listed above rely on institutions like the NMS to collect, preserve, research, and present cultural objects, it is important to remember Kreps' statement. Incorporating modern materials alongside historical objects, is a physical reminder of Kreps' point and the idea behind the Living Lands Hall: the Ainu and their fellow Indigenous cultures are alive and developing in our postcolonial world.[737]

Moreover, the use of contemporary objects in the main exhibition cabinets speaks to one of the NMS's goals:

> We [the NMS and its staff] continue to undertake work to better understand the imperial and colonial histories and legacies associated with our collections, their importance for contemporary communities and to share this information with our audience.[738]

Because the NMS houses such a large Ainu collection from the nineteenth century, it has the potential to become a focal point of Ainu Studies in Europe. By actively seeking to keep their collection updated with contemporary Ainu material culture, the NMS adheres to high standards which embody the principles of museum Ethics and Best Practice.

Yet again stepping back from the showcase, the NMS's timeline is important to consider in the conversation of decolonization and Indigenization. Contemporaneously to the most recent Ainu acquisition, the NMS underwent a re-branding that combined "the Royal Museum and the Museum of Scotland to create

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[737] Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 215-220.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 104-106.
[738] National Museums Scotland, "Colonial Histories and Legacies in Our Museums."

the NMS."[739] Prior to 2011, the NMS, as a group of interconnected museums, had

contained disparate elements with multiple mission statements, creating a confusing

mix of institutions and ideals.[740] Scholar Alima Bucciantini describes the change:

> The rebranding of the Royal Museum and the Museum of Scotland to create
> the NMS was an exercise in critical analysis, to look at what and who the
> nation is today and what the role of national history and national
> institutions within it should be. It called for the creation of new icons to
> support new narratives and new, larger ideas.[741]

Bucciantini's description speaks to the metamodern changes that have been discussed

throughout this project, best summarized by Vergo's New Museology described in 2.2

as a dissatisfaction with the "old."[742] The mid-2000 modifications characterizes the

NMS, in its role as umbrella organization, as a forward-thinking, metamodern

institution capable of decolonization and Indigenization. For example, in December

2022 it was announced that "a memorial pole brought to Scotland nearly a century

ago will be returned to its place of origin in what is now British Columbia, Canada."[743]

Following the growing trend in the museum sector to engage with and honor source

communities, the contemporary NMS is seen adhering to the principle of integrity and

community in its repatriation procedures.

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[739] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 189-190.

[740] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 166-167.

[741] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 189-190.

[742] Vergo, "Introduction," 3.

[743] "National Museums Scotland to transfer memorial pole to Nisga'a Nation," National Museums
Scotland (1 December 2022) https://media.nms.ac.uk/news/national-museums-scotland-to-transfer-
memorial-pole-to-nisgaa-nation.

Alongside institutional restructuring, the rebrand also employed the tagline: "real things…revealing stories." Bucciantini notes,

> The objects were still there as icons—meant to represent ideas larger than themselves—but they were also being used as hooks to engage an audience in their story, or whatever version of their story the museum wanted to tell.[744]

The museum's objects were reconsidered, reordered, and relabeled "to serve the museum."[745] No different from its contemporaries, the NMS sought to set the standard as a national institution that acted as a crossroads exhibiting Scotland to the world and showing Scotland the world.[746] Thus, collections like the Ainu collection were arranged to benefit the NMS's immediate community, in accordance with the principles of community and equity. To do this, Munro is used in the permanent exposition as the connecting thread between Scotland and the Ainu. From a different perspective, Munro is a national icon having travelled abroad, become a doctor among the Ainu, and returned Ainu material culture and knowledge to Scotland. Western modernity's colonialism is apparent in this perspective with Munro as a Western explorer seeking curiosities to be sent back to the UK. The Ainu display is made consumable for visitors to the NMS through connection, a strategy that holds merit in the way that it creates personable ties between visitor and collector, but the connection feeds Western nostalgia. As such, the NMS could go a step further in terms of decolonization and Indigenization by going beyond Munro, the white, Western man, and engage with the

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[744] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 175.
[745] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 175.
[746] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 170.

Ainu themselves. Having contemporary Ainu objects, the NMS has the precedent to engage directly with Ainu individuals, instead of focusing so heavily on the middleman. That is not to say do not celebrate Munro and his work as a point of connection, merely expand upon the persons present in the arrangement. Creating a conversation between Munro and his historical collection with contemporary relationships between the NMS and the Ainu would not only build upon the current showcase, but also highlight living Ainu culture and voices. Moreover, the NMS has the policy-based infrastructure necessary to engage in these dialogues, as discussed in chapter 6.2. The NMS actively commits to fostering international collaboration; thus, it is reasonable for them to maintain relationships with source communities like the Ainu.[747] Rather than relegate the Ainu collection to the past, the NMS has the resources and precedent to engage in and maintain metamodern conversations, thereby directly contributing to decolonization and Indigenization as contemporary museological Ethics and Best Practice.

The NMS's permanent Ainu exhibit is an impressive display of Indigenous culture in a European context. Strategically positioned in the Living Lands Hall, grouped with other Arctic peoples, the arrangement underscores the transnationalism of Indigenous cultures, undermining and, thereby, decentering contemporary national powers. With clear labels and a mix of historical and present-day objects, the Ainu case

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[747] National Museums Scotland, "Our Impact: International work."

prioritizes contemporary Ainu agency and cultural identity in an accessible and digestible way. Yet, while the cabinet offers valuable insights into Ainu culture, the NMS's most recent acquisition dates to 2009 which limits the expositions ongoing, contemporary relevancy. The inclusion of twenty-first century objects is important, and the NMS should be celebrated for attempting to present up-to-date information. However, it is equally vital to maintain contemporality through continued collaboration with source communities, like the Ainu. This may be done through maintaining contact with the Nibutani community where much of the Munro collection originated. Another option would be to acquire more contemporary objects to provides further evidence of living Ainu culture. In conclusion, the NMS has made significant strides in implementing metamodern Ethics and Best Practice regarding decolonization and Indigenization, but ongoing improvements are necessary to maintain the highest standard possible and provide accurate and dynamic portrayals of Indigenous cultures.

6.5 Conclusion

From the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Industrial Museum of Scotland to the Royal Scottish Museum and finally the National Museum of Scotland, the NMS has undergone many transformations since the eighteenth century, reflecting the evolution of philosophical thought from modernity to metamodernity. [748] Particularly resonant of this shift, Munro's collecting practices in the early twentieth century were rooted in imperialistic traditions, but his later work, including *Ainu Creed and Cult*, reveals a shift toward more ethical and compassionate engagement with Indigenous cultures.[749] His legacy highlights the transition from exploitative practices to more collaborative and inclusive Indigenous Studies.

The second and third sections of this chapter focus more directly on the NMS as a contemporary institution. By examining the NMS's digital presence and Ainu collection through the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practice laid out in chapter five, it becomes evident that the museum is forward-thinking, although it could benefit from more rigorous research in the future. Nevertheless, the NMS stands as a metamodern museum in the way that it has evolved to respond to its social, political, and economic environment. [750] Decolonizing and Indigenizing heritage management and integrity can be seen in the way that NMS curators advocate for

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[748] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, xi-xii.
[749] Munro, *Coins of Japan*.
Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*.
Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*.
[750] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 4, 6.

contemporary Indigenous culture throughout the Living Lands Hall. The Ainu exhibit embodies these ideals by clearly presenting historic Ainu culture, while integrating examples of contemporary Ainu culture.[751] Stewardship, community, and equity are reflected not only in the care of the historical collection but also in the recognition of ongoing, living culture.[752] Intertwining historic and modern narratives in the display directly challenges the colonial narrative of "dying cultures" that was imposed upon the Ainu during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries through European colonialist practices, instead acknowledging the Ainu as contemporary "cultural bearers."

In conclusion, while the NMS has made notable progress in implementing decolonial and Indigenizing museum practices, there is still room for improvement in ensuring a dynamic and accurate portrayal of living Ainu culture, particularly in the inclusion of contemporary Ainu voices and artifacts.

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[751] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."
National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."
[752] Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums," 13.
National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

Chapter Seven: One of Many and Moving Forward in a Diversifying Field, a Conclusion

In the summer of 2015, I had the privilege of travelling to Peru, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and Washington D.C. During this time, I saw the disparities between Indigenous-majority spaces in Peru and New Mexico versus the highly colonized region of New England. The stark contrast between Indigenous ruins and the meticulous preservation of US history was eye-opening and I became interested in the relationships between colonized and colonizer. I had always known about this relationship, having grown up visiting historical spaces across the US's Midwestern region, but it took being an undergraduate history student to understand and begin asking questions, interrogating both my education and the spaces I inhabit more broadly. That summer initiated my journey as a Western scholar researching Indigenous histories. From Peru to Hokkaido to Scotland, from Washington D.C. to Tokyo to Edinburgh, the mythologizing of colonizer histories and "ignorances" of Indigenous peoples to create national narratives has led me to the current research, to "writing back" against modern ways of knowing.[753]

When I began my PhD journey in 2021, my goal had to been to better understand the prehistory of Ainu culture, having come to understand how my knowledge was largely a product of Japanese colonialism and *nihonjinron*. Inspired by

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[753] Clifford, *Returns*, 13.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

the curiosity ignited by my 2015 travels, I wanted to develop a deeper appreciation of Indigenous histories, particularly that of the Ainu, as compared to my understanding of US history, having been raised in the US education system. Unfortunately, the lack of accurate Ainu representation in academic and museological spaces overshadowed that initial inquiry, resulting in the present study. Throughout the research and analysis presented in this dissertation, I have developed a rubric with which to evaluate museums as preservers of history and ways of knowing and applied that framework onto contemporary educational spaces. Rather than adding another interpretation of Ainu history, I chose to contribute to the ongoing dialogues concerning Indigenous representation in the educational areas of museums and academia, contributing to the ongoing critique of outdated paradigms. Rather than writing a survey, I have developed a version of directional writing that is based on the principles of Ethics and Best Practice: heritage management, stewardship, integrity, community, and equity. It is not that these ideas have not been address in Museum Studies before, rather it is that these principles need to be applied more readily, more arduously, regarding modes Indigenous representation in educational spaces previously defined by Western modernity. Metamodern conversations, which prioritize compassion, respect, and equity, can thereby be used to enrich ongoing decolonizing and Indigenizing strategies across both within and beyond sites of museum educational. The five principles explored in the current work alongside metamodern methodologies can improve what I saw in 2015 as shortcomings among our preservers of history and ways of knowing.

Although there exists a small but growing corpus of writing about the Ainu, their history, and their representation in museums, the Ainu remain frequently overshadowed in Japanese and Western discourses.[754] This project is a response to that and now exists as a call to learn from Indigenous ways of knowing through enhanced representation and conversation. The project has collected a range of suggestions, recommendations, and insights of how, where, and why that can be done. Applying the five principles of museum Ethics and Best Practices suggested here will help to shed light on contemporary museums, providing a lens with which to re-evaluate and promote collaboration alongside the local ways of knowing which inform day-to-day activities in museums. With this, I hope that systemic ignorances will continue to be unpacked, paving the way for decolonization and Indigenization across educational spheres.

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[754] Nakamura, "The Representation of Ainu Culture," 334.

7.1 Findings and Reflections

A century after the exploitation of Indigenous peoples during the Great Exhibitions, the museological and academic fields are being called upon to reassess their role as preservers of history and ways of knowing to better support the revitalization of living cultures.[755] Building on postcolonial expectations, initiated through catalysts of social change like the Civil Rights Movement and regulatory developments under the International Council of Museums (ICOM), museum and academic policies and methodologies have undergone significant positive changes since the mid-twentieth century.[756] Under the label of postmodern, educational strategies have been progressively broadened through methodologies like decolonization, transnationalism, and Subaltern Studies.[757] These frameworks, which advocate for and uplift minority voices, have not only grown in popularity but have become standard in many contemporary educational spheres. The present project, for example, builds upon postmodern developments, such as New Museology and the Post Museum, utilizing metamodern techniques of interdisciplinarity which prioritize respect, compassion, and pluralism to continue decolonizing and Indigenizing

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[755] Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 193-208.

Ziomek, "The 1903 Human Pavilion," 494.

[756] Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 22.

ICOM, "Missions and Objectives."

[757] Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism*, 1-2.

Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 254-256, 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

educational spaces.[758] Overlaid onto Ainu historiography and the National Museum of Scotland's (NMS) Ainu exhibit, metamodern paradigms offer a next step in the decentering of Western modernity and its prejudices.

METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

Alongside a new framework for the analysis of museological spaces, the current work contributes a new theoretical paradigm to understand contemporary ways of knowing. Metamodernity is a mediating force between traditional education and the twenty-first century need for compassion and hope. It takes the modern need for logic and knowledge along with the postmodern deconstruction of dominant, Western-centric narratives and looks to fields like anthropology and history with compassion and respect.[759] With the parameters of this new way of knowing, decolonization and Indigenization provide a means by which dominant and minority pluralism may be reconciled. As a metamodern scholar, I stand at a crossroads to uplift diverse ways of knowing, promoting cross-cultural and interdisciplinary dialogues. The same crossroads which enable multiple views and experiences of modernity to coexist, thus contributing new, wholistic, and pluralistic understandings of our collective ways of knowing. Whether one chooses to "write between", "for", or "back" concerning these perspectives, metamodernity levels the field, bringing all into ongoing dialogues.

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[758] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 12.
[759] Vermeulen and van den Akker, "Notes on metamodernism," 12.

Decolonization and Indigenization are cornerstones of my project and of metamodernity, broadly considered. Decolonization specifically describes processes which "provincialise Europe and foreground multi-vocal, affective experiences of empire, including traumatic histories and the recovery of instances of cultural erasure, in contrast to narratives that reproduce narrow official histories."[760] As "a widespread cultural development," decolonization anticipates deconstruction, subversion, and distancing of outdated ways of knowing. [761] Indigenization, a more specific method, is "a process of inclusion, restoration, and promotion of Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous knowledge systems, land teachings, languages which must come with critical engagement, and serious commitment from the institution [notably higher education institutions]." [762] Both decolonization and Indigenization can be described as metamodern in the way they foreground minority voices across borders and disciplines, decentering Western perspectives. Strategies like transnationalism, Borderland Studies, interdisciplinarity, and directional writing lend themselves to metamodernity in the way they focus on marginalized voices and history, closing the gap between colonized and colonizer, between minority and majority. Today, Indigenous and Ainu Studies are epicenters for these strategies, creating space for scholars to work together, uncover

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[760] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 475.
[761] Giblin et al., "Dismantling the Master's House," 471.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 5-7, 29-31.
Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 270.
Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.
Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.
Mercadal, "Decolonization."
[762] Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 420.

hidden histories, and celebrate diversity. For me, the multiplicity of Ainu culture, whether in term of geographical or gender diversity, represents an opportunity to contribute to this dialogue. In a similar fashion to the techniques present in transnationalism and Borderland Studies, my work "writes across" and "in between" in an effort to "back" against homogenizing grand narratives, thereby highlighting both the problem and prospect of Indigenous representation in educational fields.

AT THE CROSSROADS OF SCOTLAND AND AINU MOSIR

The Ainu, a diverse community that emerged at the intersection of trade routes connecting northern Japan and the Asian mainland, were key players in the Northern Silk Road, minimized by Japan's colonial pursuits beginning in the seventeenth century.[763] The complexity and depth of Ainu history inherently requires a multi-vocal approach that "writes between" and "across" cultures and borders.[764] In addition to the intricacy of Ainu Studies, per se, there are also the questions of how and why this field is absorbed into Japanese Studies, an equally diverse discipline. Pragmatically, this is done because of the proximity of the Ainu to the Japanese historically and the long-term colonization of Ainu Mosir, the Ainu homeland, by the Japanese during the Tokugawa Bakufu.[765] But, in an attempt to detangle the subjects, this research has

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[763] Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 26-27.
[764] Association for Borderland Studies, "About: Association for Borderland Studies."
Beissinger, "Disciplinarity, interdisciplinarity and the plurality of Area Studies," 134.
Bourne, *The Radical Will*, 248-249.
[765] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*.
Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-53

focused on the Ainu, recentering and validating Indigenous history outside of the dominant narratives.

Between the Convention of Kanagawa (1854) and the end of the second world war (1945), Japan transformed from an isolationist, feudal society into a modern, industrialized world power, claiming Hokkaido as its *terra nullius*.[766] While the Bakufu established colonial connections with the Ainu in Hokkaido, tying the Ainu to the Japanese narrative, it was under the Meiji government that Ainu Studies developed as a modern discipline and subsect of Japanese Studies. Early Ainu Studies emerged in the nineteenth century through the work of Western explorers and missionaries, such as Isabella Bird and John Batchelor, and was later formalized by scholars like the von Siebolds, and Basil Hall Chamberlain.[767] These early works were shaped by both Western and Japanese modernities, which often labeled the Ainu as "primitive," ignoring Ainu agency and reflecting the colonial mindsets of the time.[768] In contrast, the work of Neil Gordon Munro defies the expectations of this period, incorporating language and methodologies which reflect metamodernity's respect and compassion,

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Refsing, "From Collecting Words to Writing Grammars," 186.

[766] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 133.

Pietersma, "From Crafts to Agency," 24.

Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 52-60.

[767] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan.*

Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan.*

Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales.*

Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult.*

[768] Bethencourt, *Racisms*, 2-3, 270.

Clifford, *Returns*, 21-22.

Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 146-147.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, xv.

thereby "writing back" to the dominant regimes. Citing non-Western sources, especially local Ainu ways of knowing, Indigenous language, and celebrating Ainu culture, Munro's work set him apart from his contemporaries.[769] Yet, it was not until later in the twentieth century when Ainu Studies shifted more fully toward decolonial methodologies, encouraged by human rights movements and events like the passage of the United Nation's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP).

The 1954 Brown v. Board of Education Supreme Court ruling was a pivotal moment in challenging segregation, marking a key part of the Civil Rights Movement and the deconstruction of Western modernity.[770] While this social movement took place in the US, the Civil Rights Movement coincides with post-war decolonization and a shift away from Western centrism. Scholars like Edward Said and Linda Tuhiwai Smith respond to and were empowered by the postmodern and metamodern shifts, embodied by movements like the US's Civil Rights Movement, producing work that interrogated Western scholarship and encouraged minority scholarship.[771] In Ainu Studies, Munro's work especially represents this shift, despite living and working long before the movement. Munro's *Ainu Creed and Cult*, compiled and published by Brenda Seligman in the 1960s, emphasizes Ainu agency, respecting Indigenous ways of knowing.[772] The monograph, through its use of Ainu language, acknowledgment of

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[769] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

[770] National Parks Service, Brown v. Board of Education."

[771] Said, *Orientalism*.
Said, "Orientalism Once More."
Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[772] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

Ainu informants, and exploration of Ainu culture beyond the exotic curiosity

characterizing Western modernity, represents a more compassionate and respectful

approach to Indigenous Studies. Particularly when viewed in comparison to Munro's

early works, *Coins of Japan* and *Prehistoric Japan*, which marginalize the Ainu, *Ainu*

Creed and Cult signals a change in perspective which prioritizes minority voices.[773]

Contemporary scholars like Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, Brett Walker, David Howell, and

Tessa Morris-Suzuki, as well as myself, continue to build on the precedent set by

Munro, prioritizing Ainu voices and ways of knowing.[774] Moreover, non-Western

academics, like Indigenous scholars Chisato O. Dubreuil and Kayano Shigeru, have

increasingly become a part of the conversations. Yet, despite these advancements, the

legacy of Western modernity continues to influence Ainu studies, as reflected in

contemporary biological studies which dismiss living Ainu agency, culture, and

tradition.[775] Metamodern studies challenge these outdated approaches and

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[773] Munro, *Coins of Japan*.
Munro, *Prehistoric Japan*.
[774] See for example:
Howell, *Geographies of Identity*.
Morris-Suzuki, *On the Frontiers of History*.
Ohnuki-Tierney, "Another Look at the Ainu,"189-195.
Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, "Regional Variations in Ainu Culture," *American Ethnologist*, vol 3, no 2 (May 1976) 297-329.
Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*.
[775] See for example:
Sato Takehiro, Amano Tetsuya, Ono Hiroko, Ishida Hajime, Kodera Haruto, Matsumura Hirofumi, Yoneda Minoru, and Masuda Ryuichi, "Mitochondrial DNA haplogrouping of the Okhotsk people based on analysis of ancient DNA: an intermediate of gene flow from the continental Sakhalin people to the Ainu," *Anthropological Science*, vol. 117, no. 3 (2009) 171-180.
Dodo Yukio, Kawakubo Yoshinori, Sawada Junmei, and Ishida Hajime, "The Ainu and their neighbors as seen from the perspective of nonmetric cranial trait variation," *Anthropological Science (Japanese Series)*, vol. 121, no. 1 (2013) 1-17.

encourage scholars like Katherine Ellinghaus, ann-elise lewallen, and other Indigenous scholars to "write back" against one-sided biological studies.[776]

From the von Siebolds and Chamberlain to Walker and Morris-Suzuki, the study of Ainu history and culture as a transnational and interdisciplinary topic has evolved dramatically since its founding. The historiography laid out in chapters three and four establishes a baseline from which contemporary scholars may better understand the development of Ainu Studies. By concentrating on the English-language historiography, the analysis of this research remains concise and digestible. Furthermore, the historiography sets the stage for the analysis of Ainu representation in Western museums through the case study of the NMS in comparison to other dominant institutions like the Smithsonian, British Museum (BM), and the Tokyo National Museum (TNM).

Nearly simultaneous to the development of postmodernity and the metamodern shift, Museum Studies developed as a formal discipline in the latter half of the twentieth century. Particularly influenced by works like Peter Vergo's *New Museology* and Eileen Hooper-Greenhill's *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, Museum Studies is also fertile ground for contemporary scholars.[777] As "keepers of the collective memory," it is the job of museums to preserve and deliver the knowledge to the public.[778] This idea is idealized, but it holds merit as a collective

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[776] Ellinghaus, *Blood Will Tell*.
lewallen, ""Clamoring Blood," 50-76.
[777] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*.
Peter Vergo (ed), *New Museology* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1989).
[778] Ambrose and Paine, 7.

understanding of the role of museums. In a metamodern system that encourages self-reflection and collaboration, the ever-growing implementation of decolonial and Indigenizing methodologies calls upon museums to deconstruct their prejudices, promote collaboration, and empower subaltern voices.[779] Within the context provided in this project's methodology and historiography, the role of the contemporary museum becomes something more complex than a "[keeper] of the collective memory," morphing into an institution of critical but accessible education. In line with this, the present research contributes to the conversation surrounding systemic decolonization of educational spaces, museological and academic, illustrating contemporary progress and shortfalls as seen through a case study of the Ainu and the NMS.

ANALYTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

When evaluating museum Ethics and Best Practice through a metamodern lens focused on decolonization and Indigenization, five guiding principles emerge: heritage management, stewardship, integrity, community, and equity. Inspired by guidance published by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), the UK's Museum Association (MA), the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), and Japan's Museum of Ethnology, Minpaku, these principles stress the importance of responsible collection management, legal adherence, diverse community engagement, transparency, and accessibility in museums.[780] These five key terms, explored in detail in chapter five, act

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[779] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.
[780] American Alliance of Museums, "AAM Code of Ethics for Museums."

as lenses for museums to re-evaluate their collection and display techniques. When overlaid onto institutional leaders like the Smithsonian, BM, and TNM, a distinct lack of contemporary representation and progressive research can be seen regarding Indigenous peoples. Museums are not always held accountable for contemporary ways of knowing because of their role as authoritative historical preservers, however it is vital for museums to maintain up-to-date information regarding their collections. Balancing historical and contemporary information which accurately represents source communities and serves local communities is paramount for the continued importance of museums.[781] Positive changes are happening in the museum sector, just as they are in academia, however, there is also a need for updated, rigorous research in Indigenous Studies so that museums may continue to productively serve their communities. The five principles suggested in this research is meant to provide a foundation from which positive change may be explored and enacted in museum spaces, challenging them to grow and do better in the future.

As the centerpiece of this research, the NMS exemplifies a metamodern approach through its evolution in response to its social, political, and economic context.[782] The museum's history and online presence illustrate a metamodern awareness of diverse community and collaboration as well as transparency, integrity,

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Museum Association, "Code of Ethics for Museums."

National Museum of Ethnology, "Ethical Guidelines for Museum Activities."

ICOM, *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*, (2017).

[781] Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, 298.

Nakamura, "Indigenous Methodologies, 99-100.

Vergo, "Introduction," 3-4.

[782] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, 6.

and equity.[783] Additionally, efforts to decolonize and indigenize heritage management and integrity are evident in how curators champion contemporary Indigenous cultures throughout the Living Lands Hall.[784] The Ainu exhibit itself reflects these principles by presenting historical Ainu culture while also incorporating examples of contemporary Ainu craftsmanship.[785] Stewardship, community, and equity are demonstrated not only in the care given to the historical collection but also in recognizing the ongoing, living nature of Ainu culture. By blending historical and modern narratives, the display attempts to challenges the colonial notion of "dying cultures" that was imposed on the Ainu in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and affirms their role as active "cultural bearers."[786] The NMS still has room for improvement, but its current collection reflects the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present which empowers decolonization and Indigenization.

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[783] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, xi-xii and 6.
National Museums Scotland, "Colonial Histories and Legacies in Our Museums."
National Museums Scotland, "History."
"National Museum of Scotland," National Museums Scotland, accessed 20 February 2024, https://www.nms.ac.uk/.
[784] *Living Lands Hall*, permanent display.
[785] *Living Lands Hall*, main Ainu display case.
[786] Clifford, *Returns*, 22-23.
Hendry, *Reclaiming Culture*, 1-2.
Kreps, "Indigenous curation," 203.

7.2 Looking Forward

In 1990, the US congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), changing how the US museum industry interacts with Indigenous peoples and materials. "[T]he Act required all federally funded museums to make inventories of Native American and Hawaiian human remains, funerary, sacred, and ceremonial objects and provide these inventories to federally recognized tribes."[787] This led to a domino effect, empowering Indigenous communities to pursue repatriation and "increasing [the] presence of Native American curators, traditional scholars, and advisors in museums." [788] While NAGPRA is specific to the US, it contributed to a global precedent set by institutions like ICOM and Minpaku, encouraging museums around the world to re-evaluate their relationships with source communities that continues today. [789] For example, Adam Kuper, in his 2023 monograph, states:

> in recent years, many museums have sought to engage and interact with both source and diaspora communities to better understand their own holdings, to collaborate in research programmes and to inform more sensitive modes of display and interpretation.[790]

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[787] Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 3.

[788] Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 3.

[789] Anderson, "Introduction: Reinventing the Museum," 1-3.

Crampton, "book reviews," 315.

Miriam Kahn, "Not Really Pacific Voices: Politics of Representation in Collaborative Museum Exhibits," *Museum Anthropology* vol 24, no 1 (2000) 58.

Naohiro Nakamura, "Cultural affiliation is not enough: the repatriation of Ainu human remains," *Polar Record*, vol 53, no 269 (2017) 220-221.

Reilly, *Curatorial Activism*, 24-25.

Vergo, "Introduction," 3.

[790] Chamberlain, "The Museum of Other People."

The NMS is one among many museums that are spearheading these contemporary efforts to reconcile problematic colonial pasts with progressive policies that look toward a future based on enhanced levels of compassion and respect.[791] Interestingly, I have found that these futures tend to be primarily educational futures. Prompted by these futures, this project has been built on the principles of decolonization and indigenization to achieve a new, metamodern understanding of contemporary education and ways of knowing. Promoting and empowering museological and academic re-evaluation and cross-cultural communication, the current project is one among many advocating for a theoretical movement beyond postmodern critique and deconstruction to facilitate collaborative, systemic change.

Inspired by contemporary scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith, this project set out to explore "the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented."[792] As a result, Ainu Studies historiography and contemporary museum Ethics and Best Practice were evaluated to develop a metamodern framework which centers and utilizes decolonization and Indigenization. This paradigm challenges historical prejudices which have held authority in educational institutions, like museums and universities, for centuries. The resultant framework can be overlaid onto museum spaces to interrogate the diverse forms and multiple contexts of Indigenous representation that are present. Insights from this evaluation may also be incorporated into academic spaces, used to consider how

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[791] Willow, "The World We (Re)Build," 8.

[792] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 17.

minority voices are or are not represented in a variety of educational curriculums. In accumulating these ideals and ways of knowing, the current project contributes to postcolonial techniques of deconstruction. Moreover, the research presented here is not meant to denounce the idea of museums as "keepers of the collective memory," rather it is meant to encourage positive change through dialogue and compassion.[793] Calling upon museums to deconstruct their prejudices, promote collaboration, and empower subaltern voices adds to the ongoing detangling of systemic biases and erasure put in place by Western modernity in the past.[794]

Projects like this are necessary in spaces of academic and social critique because of the overshadowing presence of Western modernity, both historically and contemporarily. As mentioned in chapter 2.2, scholar Sumaya Kassim, "wrote back" to dominant regimes that gained power though Western modernity, stating, "to many white people, the [museum] collections are an enjoyable diversion, a nostalgic visit which conjures up a romanticized version of Empire."[795] Aligning with Smith, Kassim's statement speaks to the ongoing concerns of systemic Western modernity and empowers non-Western research and representation in museum spaces. Going a step further, contemporary Ainu Studies scholar, Naohiro Nakamura wrote in 2010:

> Not all institutions are effective in teaching Indigenous methodologies. In countries like Japan, where even the existence of Indigenous peoples is not widely recognised, either domestically or internationally, there is almost no teaching on Indigenous issues at the post-secondary level. In such

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[793] Ambrose and Paine, *Museum Basics*, 7.

[794] Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 1-6.

[795] Kassim, "The museum will not be decolonized."

circumstances, students must learn everything by themselves if they wish to pursue Indigenous research topics.[796]

Academic expectations have shifted in the fifteen years since Nakamura wrote his advice to junior researchers, but much systemic, ongoing change remains to be seen.[797] Nakamura's advice remains relevant today, calling upon researchers to seek out experience, remain actively open-minded, and learn from Indigenous peoples themselves.[798] This project carries the torch presented by Nakamura into analysis of educational spaces to critique the institutions which are meant to preserve and pass on accurate accounts of human history and ways of knowing. It is the job of high-level academics to maintain the highest standards possible and hold the preservers of our history accountable.

To 2015 me, and all those out there who are curious about the *whole* human experience, it is time to demand accountability of all historic preservers and to question who writes our stories. Ways of knowing are not static things which can be presented in a singular museum exhibition; rather they are colorful, diverse, pluralistic dialogues which allow for growth and change. Museums and academia have a duty to account for and impart the variety of human history, Indigenous and otherwise, as encouraged by metamodernity. My project is not the end of this dialogue, but it is another step toward equity, compassion, and respect for all. It is one part of the continued

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[796] Nakamura, "Indigenous Methodologies," 98.

[797] See for example:

Dussault et al., "Widening the circle," 419-427.

Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

[798] Nakamura, "Indigenous Methodologies," 98-102.

movement forward into pluralistic truths that account for and celebrate the diversity

of the human experience.

Appendix A: Timeline of the Okhotsk Region

I. Stone Age - 3.3 million to 5000 years ago

- c. 40,000 to 30,000: The Japanese archipelago was connected to the Asian mainland via land bridges between Hokkaido and Sakhalin and Sakhalin and the Asian mainland. It is probable that during this time the Jōmon migrated into modern day Japan, and the ancestors of the Nivkh and Ainu migrated into modern day Sakhalin and Hokkaido.

- c. 10,000 BCE: Jōmon period begins in Japan[799]

II. Bronze Age - 5000 to 1400 years ago

III. Iron Age - 1200 BCE to 500 BCE

IV. Classical Era - 500 BCE to 500 CE

- c. 340 BCE: The Epi-Jōmon culture develops in northern Tohoku and Hokkaido[800]

- c. 300 BCE to 250 CE: Yayoi period in Japan[801]

- c. 250 CE: Yamato period begins in Japan[802]

V. Medieval Era - 500 CE to 1500 CE

- c. 600 CE: The Okhotsk culture develops in Sakhalin and northern Hokkaido[803]

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[799] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations, accessed 18 June 2024, https://www.japanpitt.pitt.edu/timeline#12.

[800] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20.

[801] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[802] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[803] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20.

- c. 700 CE: The Satsumon culture develops in northern Honshu and Hokkaido, probably from cultural exchange between the Epi-Jōmon and Japanese cultures[804]

- 710 CE to 784 CE: Nara period in Japan[805]

- 794 CE to 1185 CE: Heian period in Japan[806]

- 1185 CE to 1333 CE: Kamakura period in Japan[807]

- c. 1200 CE: The Ainu culture develops in Hokkaido, probably from cultural exchange between the Okhotsk, Satsumon, and Japanese cultures[808]

- 1263 CE: Mongols invade Sakhalin to aid the Nivkh against encroachment from the Ainu

- 1336 CE: Ashikaga period begins in Japan[809]

VI.   **Early Modern Era - 1500 CE to 1800 CE**

- 1568 CE to 1600 CE: Azuchi-Momoyama period in Japan[810]

- 1603 CE: Takugawa period begins in Japan[811]

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[804] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20.

[805] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[806] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[807] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[808] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 20.

[809] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[810] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[811] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

- 1689 CE: The Treaty of Nerchinsk is signed between Russia and China, "ced[ing] the Qing Dynasty almost all lands along the upper Amur and dismantle[ing] Russian settlements there."[812]

VII. **Modern Era – 1800 CE to present**

- 1855 CE: Rev John Batchelor born in Sussex, England

- 1863 CE: Dr Neil Gordon Munro born Edinburgh, Scotland

- 1868 CE: The Meiji Restoration ends the Tokugawa period in Japan, restoring the emperor to the throne[813]

- 1880 CE: Rev John Batchelor visits Hokkaido for the first time "and began studying the Ainu Language."[814]

- 1892 CE: *The Ainu of Japan* is published by Rev John Batchelor[815]

- 1899 CE: "Modelled on the *Dawes Act* 1887 used to regulate and assimilate Native Americans in the United States," the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act is passed by the Meiji government in an "[attempt] to provide basic welfare measures to the Ainu and convert them into farmers and educate them in Japanese ways."[816]

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[812] "The Treaty of Nerchinsk, the First Treaty between Russia and China, Was Concluded, 6 September 1689," Presidential Library, 2024, https://www.prlib.ru/en/history/619514.

[813] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[814] John Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (London, UK: The Religious Tract Society, 1892) 325.

[815] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*.

[816] Georgina Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant: The Ainu, Law, and Legal Mobilization," *Indigenous Law Journal*, vol 7, issue 1 (2008) 132-133.

- 1904: Dr Neil Gordon Munro publishes his first monograph, *Coins of Japan*[817]

- 1904 CE to 1905 CE: Russo-Japanese War

- 1905 CE: Rev John Batchelor's *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* is published[818]

- 1908 CE: *Prehistoric Japan* by Dr Neil Gordon Munro is published[819]

- 1912 CE to 1926 CE: Taishō period in Japan[820]

- 1914 CE to 1918: World War I

- 1926 CE to 1989 CE: Shōwa period in Japan[821]

- 1926 CE: Kayano Shigeru born in Nibutani, Japan[822]

- 1939 CE to 1945 CE: World War II

- 1942 CE: Neil Gordon Munro dies in Nibutani, Japan

- 1944 CE: John Batchelor dies in Hertfordshire, England

- 1954 CE to 1968 CE: Civil Rights Movement in the United States

- 1962 CE: Dr Neil Gordon Munro's *Ainu Creed and Cult* compiled, edited, and published by Brenda Z. Seligman[823]

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[817] Neil Gordon Munro, *Coins of Japan* (Yokohama, Japan: Box of Curios Printing and Publishing Company, 1904).

[818] John Batchelor, *Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary (Including a Grammar of the Ainu Language*, second edition (Tokyo, Japan: Methodist Publishing House, 1905).

[819] Neil Gordon Munro, *Prehistoric Japan* (Yokohama, Japan, 1908).

[820] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[821] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[822] Kayano, *The Ainu*, 33.

[823] Munro, *Ainu Creed and Cult*.

- 1980 CE: "[T]he [Japanese] government openly declared that national minority groups requiring protection of their right to practise their own culture and speak their own language "do not exist in Japan.""[824]

- 1989 CE to 2019 CE: Heisei period in Japan[825]

- 1993 to 1997 CE: "The Nibutani Dam Case was brought by two Ainu plaintiffs, Tadashi Kaizawa (succeeded following his death by his son Koichi) and Kayano Shigeru, to oppose the forcible expropriation of their land to be used to build a dam on the Saru River without any measures to ameliorate or compensate for the impact on local Ainu culture."[826] In the resolution of this court case, the Sapporo District Court ruled "the Nibutani dam construction and forcibly expropriate the plaintiffs' land to be illegal [...] [and] found that the Ainu were an Indigenous people (*senjyū menzoku*)."[827] The ruling "contributed to the creation of a cultural impact assessment process for the Biratori Dam", creating precedent in the Japanese system to consult Ainu communities before projects in Hokkaido take place.[828]

- 1994 CE to 1998 CE: Kayano Shigeru's term in Japanese Diet

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[824] Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant," 133.

[825] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

[826] Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant," 141.

[827] Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant," 141.

[828] Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant," 142-144.

- 1997 CE: "[T]he Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture and Dissemination and Enlightenment of Knowledge about Ainu Tradition, etc. abolish[es] the [Protection Act of 1899]."[829]

- 2006 CE: Kayano Shigeru dies

- 2007 CE: "[T]he United Nation adopt[s] the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples."[830]

- 2008 CE: "[T]he Japanese government support[s] the adoption of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (DRIP) at the United Nations and [...] recognize[s] the Ainu as an Indigenous people."[831]

- June 2018 CE: The Japanese Diet recognizes the Ainu as Indigenous people[832]

- 2019 CE to present: Reiwa period in Japan[833]

- 2019 CE: The Ainu Promotion Act is passed, dissolving the 1997 Ainu Law. "Under the Act, the government is to open a national Ainu museum and park in Hokkaido in April 2020 [...]. The Ainu Promotion Act obligates the government to adopt policies to facilitate people's understanding of the traditions of the Ainu and the importance of the diversity that ethnic groups contribute to society. In addition, the government must adopt measures to ban

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[829] Umeda Sayuri, "Japan: New Ainu Law Becomes Effective," Library of Congress, 5 August 2019, https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2019-08-05/japan-new-ainu-law-becomes-effective/#:~:text=In%201997%2C%20the%20Diet%20(Japan's,to%20Protect%20Aborigines%20in%20Hokkaido.

[830] Umeda, "Japan: New Ainu Law Becomes Effective."

[831] Stevens, "Subject, Object and Active Participant," 131.

[832] Umeda, "Japan: New Ainu Law Becomes Effective."

[833] "Timeline," Japan: Places, Images, Time and Transformations.

discrimination against the Ainu. The Act provides that the national government is to subsidize local government efforts to preserve the traditional culture of the Ainu. According to the Act, the Ainu people may apply for special rights over national lands, rivers, and trademarks to preserve Ainu traditions and culture."[834]

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[834] Umeda, "Japan: New Ainu Law Becomes Effective."

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Material Culture

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