What is the fluidity of identity?—Global movement and local life‑world for Ainu people in Japan—

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Abstract

This paper examines a combination of globalism and localism, and the consequent "fluidity" in glocal movement of the Ainu as indigenous people in Japan. This paper tries to discuss ethnic identity in the context of the minority's social movement. An easygoing constructionism used only to criticize essentialism consequently undermines the basis of solidarity for social movements, and then generates a dispersion of individuals. However, if we can't return to essentialism and strategic essentialism, we have to imagine an alternative identity and community. A new form of identity and solidarity without a representation category based on strategic essentialism must be formed to truly combat oppression.

Keywords: Ethnic identity, Intersectional discrimination, Life‑world, Ainu

1. Introduction

This paper examines a combination of globalism and localism, and the consequent "fluidity" in glocal movement of the Ainu as indigenous people in Japan. This paper gives attention to the ethnic identity of being Ainu. In the discussions of ethnicity, the essentialism which regards ethnicity as substantial, fixed and homogenous has been criticized for many years. However, these criticisms haven't been able to produce an alternative form of ethnic identity, so we have to say that critical discussion about essentialism is not over. We must discuss it rather than merely offer criticism. This paper tries to discuss ethnic identity in the context of the minority's social movement. Since the

end of the 20th century, identity politics that presupposes the essential classification of race and ethnicity has expanded. Politics uses the category strategically as a foothold for liberation from oppression, but it can, paradoxically, cause oppression. That is to say, minorities themselves have used such exclusive dichotomy, which has caused discrimination against minorities, for the purpose of dissolving discrimination, converting the negative meanings of minorities to positive ones. Academic researchers confronted with minorities' social movement have also maintained the position that strategically agrees with using essentialism for dissolving discrimination, rather than criticizing essentialistic representations of minorities. This position is called strategic essentialism. This position has been cautious about interfering with minorities' social movements and retaining the present condition around the minorities by carrying out a lighthearted constructionist criticism against essentialism.

Such strategic essentialism, however, is approaching its limit. There is a growing critique of the paradox wherein social movements that seek to liberate minorities actually preserve essentialistic human classification such as "race" and "ethnicity" as well as accompanying power relationships. In these present conditions, what recognition of identity for solidarity can we think about? An easygoing constructionism used only to criticize essentialism consequently undermines the basis of solidarity for social movements, and then generates a dispersion of individuals. However, if we can't return to essentialism and strategic essentialism, we have to imagine an alternative identity and community. Considering "racism" and "discrimination" strictly presents a dilemma in that an undermining strategic essentialism for resistance brings about dispersion of individuals and thereby weakens their ability to overcome oppression. A new form of identity and solidarity without a representation category based on strategic essentialism must be formed to truly combat oppression.

Based on these perspectives, this paper argues, in the first place, that substantial and political categories have reformed under the present conditions of global social movements (2-1). Next, we discuss multiple identities replacing the homogenous and fixed categories that have emerged in global social movements (2-2). However, this paper evaluates the positive aspect of such categories in changing society, and then insists that these categories contain the problem of essentialism. So, this paper changes the viewpoint of identity deeply embedded in the life-world. The complexity of such identity in daily life is precisely different from the multiplicity of those identities asserted in social movements. This complexity generates the fluidity of categories by the existence of the particularity for both oneself and others through face-to-face relationships (3-1). This fluidity in the life-world is not the plurality of identity subdivided by combining plural

categories, and is not the superficial novelty which was intentionally made. It derives from the particularity engendered by living in a specific relationship with others in daily life. Furthermore, such fluid identity has the potential to change in many directions. This theme is explored by investigating the life-story of one woman (3-2). The fluid identity found in her life-story can barely be found by detailed ethnographic research and thick description. Thus, it is quite important to understand the difference from the plurality of identity in social movements and the novelty in the spotlight. Based on these differences of the identities, this paper presents two forms of solidarity, one is the community within global social movements and the other is the community in local daily life. Finally, I will present a hypothesis that skillful use of "glocal" practices by these communities could have significant impact on their efforts to advocate for their rights.

2. Ainu and globalism
2-1. Ainu and movement of indigenous peoples

Let me start with a general overview of the global movement of indigenous peoples and the Ainu people associated with it in Japan. In 1981, José Martines Cobo, a specialist of human rights in Ecuador and a member of a Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in the United Nations (UN in the following), wrote "Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations" in which he offered to establish a UN institution that would aim to reduce discrimination against Indigenous peoples and preserve their rights. Consequently, in 1982, the UN established the Working Group on Indigenous Populations [WGIP] where indigenous peoples have taken great initiative because it was unprecedentedly ensured that indigenous peoples' groups and those individuals themselves would participate. The Hokkaido Ainu Association has sent their representatives to WGIP since 1987, and they have stated that they are indigenous people in Japan. As a result, in 1989, the Japanese Government declared that the Ainu are a minority ethnic group. This declaration changed the government's policy toward Ainu people that had previously been a policy of assimilation. But at that time the Japanese government avoided making a statement that recognized Ainu people as indigenous people. The government insisted that there was no precise definition of "indigenous peoples" in international society. In 1989, the International Labor Organization (ILO) adopted "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (No. 169)" at its general assembly, which respects the principle of "self-determination." In 1993, the UN declared the 'International Year of the World's Indigenous People', and the WGIP adopted a draft of the 'Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples'. In the previous year, Giichi Nomura, the chief director of the

Hokkaido Ainu Association, gave a speech during the opening ceremony for International Year of the World's Indigenous People. The UN also decided that the years from 1995 to 2004 would be the 'International Decade of the World's Indigenous People'.

In 1997, the Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture was enacted and enforced in Japan. This Act has the central purpose of realizing a society where the ethnic pride of Ainu people is respected. At the same time, the Hokkaido Former Native Protection Act, which systemized assimilation policies, was abolished. However, this Cultural Promotion Act avoids holding the Japanese Government responsible for the modern assimilation policy that effectively destroyed Ainu culture. It also does not mention the rights of indigenous peoples, so this Act only leans toward promoting Ainu culture, Ainu language, music, dance, and crafts. However, in the same year, an epoch-making judgment was handed down in the Nibutani dam trial. This trial recognized the injustice of building Nibutani dam which had submerged places of significance in Ainu culture, where Ainu people have lived on the basis of their original culture. This judgement declared that the Ainu are indigenous people who retain their unique culture and identity. Namely, the judgment, accepting the testimony of the plaintiff, made the following definition of indigenous people: "Indigenous peoples are the social groups which hadn't lost the continuity of their original culture and identity in spite of being ruled by a majority ethnic group. And the minority ethnic group, with its own culture and identity different from the majority ethnic group who was mainstream of the nation-state, had resided in a region which the state did not yet legally govern." Furthermore, the judgment asserted that Ainu people corresponded to this definition of "indigenous people" because they have maintained their original culture and identity even though they have suffered from social and economic damage under Japanese assimilation policy and domination. Furthermore, because this judgement has legally depended on the International Covenants on Human Rights, Ainu people now recognize the importance of insisting on their rights as indigenous people in international society.

In 2007, the 'Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' was adopted in the General Assembly of the UN, and the Japanese Government voted in favor of the bill. That declaration clarified a minimal standard of the rights of "indigenous peoples" which has to be ensured universally. The significance of the declaration is that "indigenous peoples" are made to be subjects of international law, and that those rights are made to be universal [Uemura 2008: 53-54]. To become a subject in the international law for indigenous peoples is to restore the rights deprived in the process of colonization, and it is the first step towards a solution of the problem of colonialism. In 2008, under the influence of that declaration, the Upper and Lower Houses in Japan adopted a 'resolution

to demand the identification of the Ainu as indigenous people', and requested the Japanese Government to formulate a comprehensive policy for the Ainu as indigenous people based on the UN's 'Declaration'. However, though the Japanese Government identified the Ainu as indigenous people, they also stated that the phrase 'indigenous people' doesn't correspond with what the UN's 'Declaration' implies because there isn't any common definition of 'indigenous peoples' in international society.

Even now, Ainu people have insisted that they are indigenous people in Japan, and they have worked to make ties with other indigenous peoples. For example, they held an 'indigenous peoples' summit' in Hokkaido in 2008[1].

2-2. Ainu and intersectional discrimination

Next, let me discuss a concept of 'intersectional discrimination' which has been asserted recently in the international society. Since around 2000, a concept of 'intersectional discrimination' has been clarified in the movement against discrimination[2]. In 2003, the UN urged the Japanese Government to develop perspectives and policies for 'women belonging to minorities', citing subdivided multiple categories, such as women belonging to 'outcast groups (Burakumin)', 'Ainu', 'Koreans (Zainichi)', 'Okinawans', and 'foreign workers'. Then, the Sapporo branch of Utari (Ainu) association submitted an NGO report (whose title is "From the position of women belonging to Ainu as indigenous people") to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in the UN. Within the country, a questionnaire by women belonging to 'Ainu', 'outcast groups (Burakumin)', 'Koreans (Zainichi)' was conducted from 2004 to 2005 based on comments by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women because there had not been any survey about the current situation of women belonging to minorities [Sapporo branch of Utari association et al. 2007]. By using the concept of "intersectional discrimination", it has been revealed that different kinds of discrimination exist simultaneously, and that discrimination has been embedded in the discriminated groups. More precisely, this concept was classified from two viewpoints; 1. accumulation of discrimination, and 2. discrimination within a discriminated group. Accumulation of discrimination means that discrimination has occurred based on more than two categories. And discrimination within a discriminated group is self-explanatory. 'Intersectional discrimination' is a concept that combines multiple categories such as 'class', 'gender', 'ethnicity', or 'disability' to understand the dynamics that discrimination based on different categories complicatedly combine with one another. More subdivided plural categories have been constructed such as women belonging to 'outcast groups (Burakumin)', 'Ainu', 'Koreans (Zainichi)', 'Okinawans', and 'foreign workers.' These

categories emphasize the plurality of discrimination, but these discriminations are understood as violence founded on rigid categorization. Furthermore, there is an argument to recognize such combinations of categories as "plural identity" and to superpose this identity on lived experiences of the participants in social movements. However, can we understand the plurality of lived experiences in daily life as such combinations of these categories? The combination of these categories doesn't fluidize the categories themselves, but it causes more subdivided categories to arise.

This movement makes clear that identities may depend on subdivided categories. This means the category of 'indigenous people' may also be crossed with other categories. Consequently, related to Ainu people, categories of 'women belonging to the Ainu' and 'women belonging to the Ainu in Tokyo' have appeared recently. Tahara points out the following situation of current women belonging to Ainu people [Tahara 2003]. They are the weakest in the stratum of the economically weak. They have few chances of getting an education. They suffer discrimination in marriage. They tend to marry a person who is in the socially lowest class. They are made to be an outlet for discriminated men's resentment. They think strongly that they want to make their "blood less thick" (marry outside their traditional constraints). Their suffering as mothers is stronger than what men suffer as fathers when their children are discriminated against as Ainu. With these new categories and identities, the women concerned now recognize their unique problems as general problems of 'women belonging to the Ainu'. Thus, such recognition helps them to identify as 'women belonging to the Ainu'. This is also the precise process that the people concerned have perceived as an effective outcome of global social movements. It is a reality that the category of "women belonging to a minority" as a victim of intersectional discrimination has been generated by the movements that aim to understand the current situation of violence in the complicated combination of plural categories, and to overcome it. This must be fully appreciated. The creation of these categories reveals the existence of problems surrounding the women belonging to Ainu people and enables Ainu women themselves to express their minds and problems. It is very important to develop the vocabulary which can be used to express the problems of the people concerned. Their identities based on subdivided categories have emerged in such a process. Conversely, it must also be necessary to turn our eyes to the reality that they cannot understand by the category of "women belonging to Ainu." I want to discuss the following question here. Is it possible for these combinations of subdivided categories to precisely grasp the complexity of their identities in everyday life?

As a consequence of these international movements, a definition of how Ainu are identified has become increasingly problematic. The Hokkaido Ainu Association fixing

their membership is a local example of this.

3. Ainu and Localism

3-1. Cultural transmission with the fluidity in daily life

Though global movements of indigenous peoples have made us aware of how dynamic multiple identities can be, those movements have resulted in giving the people concerned subdivided static identities, and then an identity of essentialism on the basis of the recognition of subdivided categories becomes dominant. In relation to this essentialism, I want to examine the features of Ainu cultural transmission in daily life influenced by global movements. We can see a kind of fluidity in their cultural transmission. My previous studies have revealed that the fluidity of their ethnic identity is derived from face-to-face relationships deeply embedded in everyday life in local places. I think that such relationships themselves have generated fluidity in their identity, with solidarity crossing conventional boundaries, thus forming connections between local places.

The examples taken up in section 3 are a result of my participatory fieldwork that has been conducted in activities done for the purpose of maintaining Ainu culture in a part of Tokyo and in life-story interviews with the people concerned. My participatory fieldwork was started in 2000 and is now continuing. In this fieldwork, the life-story interviews were conducted in 2005, from May to December. An account of these life-stories of 13 persons was published in 2007. Through my participatory fieldwork over 16 years, my relationship with Ainu people has been deepened and my positions as a Japanese and as a researcher have been changed. In the early stages of this process, I carried out only observation and questioning about their activities, but, at the present time, I've become a member of an Ainu group and have practiced the cultural activities with them beyond the limits of my academic research. Now, I try to master the Ainu arts and crafts and participate in traditional rites. I couldn't imagine participating in such behaviors several years ago. In the analysis of life-stories, we must understand the cooperative construction of the life-story by speaker and listener, and the problem of reality effected by the interpretation of the listener. My interpretations have repeatedly led to discoveries of new meaning, through the deepening of face-to-face relationships over many years. Through my experience of standing at the boundary between Ainu and Japanese, what is meant by the fluidity of categories has become a target of my research and interpretation. Therefore, the following discussion is my interpretation of the life-stories at the present time.

It must be said that the Ainu are situated in a kind of periphery in terms of cultural,

social and economic dimensions. As mentioned above, the Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture enacted in 1997 was not intended for the compensation for oppression of Ainu people. Therefore, this Act inclining to promotion of culture didn't achieve the restoration of subjectivity of the Ainu and improvement of their social position [Siddle 2002]. Consequently, even more policy for the Ainu as indigenous people is discussed in the Japanese government. In this situation, it must be confirmed that Ainu people in Tokyo have been situated in a "periphery of periphery." To begin with, economic and educational gaps between the Japanese public and the Ainu in Hokkaido still remain to this day [Onai 2010]. Regarding Ainu people in Tokyo and adjacent prefectures, there have been serious gaps about standard of living, education, and employment in comparison to the average Tokyo Prefecture resident. Most of the Ainu in Tokyo came there because of poverty and discrimination. [Tokyo Metropolitan Government Office of Policy Planning 1989]. In this situation, several policies for improvement in living standards of the Ainu have been conducted in Hokkaido. But there are no policies for Ainu people in Tokyo. Consequently, in Tokyo, there are many more obstacles for them to participating in cultural activities confidently and positively.

Ainu people think that it is necessary to retain authenticity in cultural transmission by being mindful of 'the heart of Ainu'. In this part, we want to pay attention to cultural transmission movements by the people who don't deliberately aim at creation of new culture through such activities as artwork. They don't try to create new Ainu culture, but try to inherit "authentic" culture. However, this authenticity ['heart'] carries a kind of fluidity, because such 'heart', embedded in their daily lives, generates unexchangeable particularity in face-to-face relationships with others.

An Ainu woman (whom we call Mrs. A in the following) said that what she wanted to hand down to the next generation was not general 'Ainu culture', but traditional dances with her mother's 'heart'. For Mrs. A, inheriting traditional Ainu dance is also to be convinced of the connection between her mother and herself through their "blood." Mrs. A represents her motive for having conducted traditional Ainu dance in spite of "disliking Ainu" because of her experience of discrimination as an Ainu during her schooling. "My blood pushed myself." She said, "I was walking on air," with no suffering when she danced. She thinks that her mother also has forgotten the suffering by discrimination and the distress by disease when she danced and sang. Mrs. A has felt that they have blood in common, based on their common experiences. Blood is not the basis of an abstract category but something interpreted by her through their specific experiences. She has conducted contradictory practices due to the fact that she disliked her identity as an Ainu and she inherited Ainu culture because she was spurred by the "blood" that tied her and

her mother. There are both sentiments of confirming and denying the category of Ainu in Mrs. A's feeling. Without being conscious that "the dance is important for Ainu people," Mrs. A has been stimulated by the "blood" and she has been "walking on air", and so she has deviated from the general representation of "Ainu people who inherit Ainu culture." When she was dancing, she forgot her sufferings and even her identity as an Ainu who has to inherit traditional Ainu culture.

The "blood" that Mrs. A mentioned is not a concept which means the racial homogeneity of Ainu people. She has not said that she and her mother have "blood" in common because of belonging to the same race, but she conversely tried to give a meaning to "blood" on the basis of the concrete relationship between them. For Mrs. A, her mother has become the face-to-face other based on the particular relationship which has deviated from the category of Ainu as a general representation, which derives from a real feeling of living the same experience. It can be said that Mrs. A has been spurred to do Ainu dance in a face-to-face relationship with her mother as a flesh-and-blood person who deviates from a general category of Ainu and gives that category a divergence. The particularity generated by their face-to-face relationship is piled upon the transmitted culture. Mrs. A has refused to accept Japanese members in the Ainu group before, but she has admitted Japanese members into their group now. The reason is that she has not recognized the category as homogenous and substantial and has continually made new meanings for categories such as Ainu through her denying and confirming to be Ainu in the relationship with her mother as the specific other.

A musician (whom we call Mr. B in the following) of a traditional instrument said that he didn't want to play according to the score, and that he wanted to diffuse the traditional Ainu music with his 'heart' by playing extemporaneously. Tonkori, a traditional instrument, is a means for him to spread the "Ainu spirit" linked with each person's "heart." He said that Tonkori is played "at will" and extemporaneously because it has to be played with the body resonating the vibration and overtones of Tonkori and by making good use of a sensitive body each time. Articulating "Ainu spirit" is inseparable from the particularity of the circumstances of each occasion which generate extemporaneousness. It is said that extemporaneous playing is what constitutes cultural transmission. Conversely, he said that representing musical sounds by notes never becomes transmission of tradition. Representing musical sounds by notes is to exclude the particularity of the circumstances of each occasion. For Mr. B, people ought to play Tonkori with all one's "heart" based on the particular circumstances of each occasion. Therefore, he questions playing from any score which excludes this consideration. The "heart" which he mentioned has been constructed each time by feeling a connection with

an "old woman" who left the recordings of sound and audiences who heard his performance and then "immersed themselves in it." His performance with his "heart" resonates in the "hearts" of the audience and vibrates them mutually, then audience members "immerse themselves in his performance." It extemporaneously generates Mr. B's performance to grasp others as lived humans with complicated "hearts", and to feel the existence of an "old woman" and fellows in a lively way. At that time, Mr. B did not play Tonkori; rather he "was played" by Tonkori, in much the same way as Mrs. A described when she said she was "walking on air" impelled by her "blood." These relationships supporting his performance fundamentally make him deviate from any general category, regardless of whether he is conscious of creating new Ainu culture as a Tonkori player.

Another person not constrained by essentialist definitions is an Ainu woodcarver (whom we call Mr. C in the following) who hasn't been obsessive about traditional materials. He 'revives' discarded wood by carving traditional Ainu patterns. According to him, in the "thought of Ainu", it is "inappropriate" to use strictly the so-called traditional kinds of wood as materials for carving. In short, there is no need to be obsessive about having traditional materials for carving. This is a notable contrast with so-called "traditional Ainu culture," which overwhelmed his "thought of Ainu". Such Ainu artistic "traditions" are the opposite, tending to emphasize correct ways and correct materials for everything. He said that it sometimes happens that he cuts the things which he picked up on the road into small pieces and makes pendants from them. Furthermore, he never distinguishes the ways of carving strictly between the "Ainu way" and other ways. Though he also aims to inherit the "thought of Ainu", he reconsiders and fluidizes "Ainu way of carving" in the particular context of his daily life.

Though we examined only a few examples in this part, we have been able to illustrate the sense of inheriting the "heart of Ainu" and the "thought of Ainu" and the sense of not being concerned about inheriting the "traditional culture" precisely. Though they are not creating a new culture consciously and they aim to inherit their ancestor's "hearts" and "thoughts" precisely, they generate fluidity in their cultural transmission activities because their activities are practiced in daily life. The divergence has been generated inevitably through their activities which draw on authentic and traditional Ainu culture, so they haven't tried to show the intentional creativity and superficial novelty. That is the essence of fluidity in the life-world.

The basis for these fluid cultural transmissions is face-to-face relationships and flexibility of identity in their daily life [Sekiguchi 2015a, 2015b]. These fluid cultural transmissions have been hidden paradoxically by focusing on the formal transmission of

the 'traditional Ainu culture' which is based on fixed categories. Furthermore, it cannot be viewed by paying attention to works which are made by arranging traditional culture. The so-called traditional culture and its intentional arrangement have attracted increasing attention from mainstream society. Consequently, fluidity in the life-world has been hidden. Delicate fluidity in the life-world has certainly existed behind the novelty of being in the spotlight. It is important for anthropological and ethnographic research to provide in-depth analysis of fluidity in daily life, rather than a description of superficial novelties.

3-2. Life-story: 'To become just a girl'

In this part, I investigate fluid categories in daily life by examining life-stories.

Mrs. D. was born in Hokkaido in 1949 and knew that she was an Ainu naturally in her childhood. She disliked being Ainu because she experienced discrimination at school by reason of being Ainu. After she graduated from junior high school, she came to Tokyo to live and work on the premises of a bookstore through the introduction of an acquaintance. She told me that she became good friends with colleagues who were young Japanese women of her age from Hokkaido, and that she really enjoyed every day. It was a pleasure to be 'just a girl'. Though she disliked being Ainu from the beginning, it was the thought of being both an Ainu and 'just a girl' that changed the meaning of her identity as Ainu in her relationship with her colleagues. Her Ainu identity wasn't hidden, and its meaning was changed by intersecting with another category in her relationship to others.

Though she disliked being Ainu, she knew and joined the Association of Peure Utari [young comrades], which had the central purpose of studying Ainu culture and promoting mutual friendship. This association included Ainu and Wajin [majority Japanese] members. She participated in the association because she was "glad to see Wajin men and to be dealt with naturally", without paying much attention to the purpose of the association. When she was in the association, she could be both an Ainu and 'just a girl'. That encouraged her, even though she disliked being Ainu, to participate in the activities of Ainu culture.

During the period when the association ceased activities, she thought that she was "unconcerned about Ainu culture". In short, she concealed being Ainu and confined herself to being a woman[3]. Conversely, when she returned home to Hokkaido, she was strongly aware of being Ainu by being conscious of people's gaze, and once again "she became an Ainu". Therefore, though for her the category of Ainu changed its meaning positively by intersecting with another category, "just a girl", depending on the situation,

the category of Ainu was concealed then later reappeared as a negative and static one.

It is important that "pleasure" has been brought to her by changing the meaning of the Ainu category in the concrete relationship with her colleagues in daily life. I want to point out the existence of "pleasure" brought by the "process" in which fixed categories are changed by intersecting other categories in face-to-face relationships deeply embedded in everyday life. In everyday life, there is neither the need to conceal such identity nor the need to be proud of it. What is important is the "process" in which intersectional categories change in relationships with others.

4. Conclusion

This paper has tried to reveal the complicated processes of cultural and social movements of Ainu people in Tokyo, referring to an Ainu woman's life-story. In the above discussion about such complicated processes, it becomes clear that the concept of intersectional discrimination cannot grasp the complicatedness of their lived experiences sufficiently. Though the concept of intersectional discrimination has tried to elaborate the combinations and the mutual relationships of categories, we have to say that such a concept generates the subdivision of categories, neither more nor less than that. Instead of that, we have considered how those participants of movements have internalized the categories such as "Ainu" which are given from outside, and how they recognize and fluidize those categories. As a result, it is revealed that such categories and identities have been given a fluidity by situating the meanings of "Ainu culture" and "being Ainu" in the context of face-to-face relationships in their daily life.

On the other hand, as discussed in section 2, it must be evaluated positively that political movements of indigenous peoples in international society have made indigenous peoples become subjects protected under international law. Furthermore, the upsurge of an international movement about "intersectional discrimination" has revealed several problems of "women belonging to minorities" and has made it possible for them to express their thoughts and problems.

In future discussions, it will become important to observe the "glocal" conditions that the minorities have lived through to combine two kinds of identities and communities which have been found in global social movements and in local daily life. Correspondingly, this paper presents a hypothesis that a quite important factor in this work is the precise "glocal" practice of developing the social movements of minorities.

Notes

1. There was the awareness that "all Ainu people spoke of their true intention to each other beyond their

different positions," because "there was a certain difference in their opinions between the people who could go to the UN and speak about human rights and general Ainu people (Yuki 2009: 40-41)."

2. The description of an outline of international movements of "intersectional discrimination" in this section is based on IMADR-JC (2001, 2003) and Sapporo branch of Hokkaido Ainu association (2007).

3. She seemed to have not determined to assimilate into Japanese culture. After all, her identity was not accompanied by her conscious determination to be someone or not.

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