Chapter 13

Tasty *tonoto* and not-so-tasty *tonoto*: fostering traditional food culture among the Ainu people in the Saru River region, Japan

MASAMI IWASAKI-GOODMAN[1]

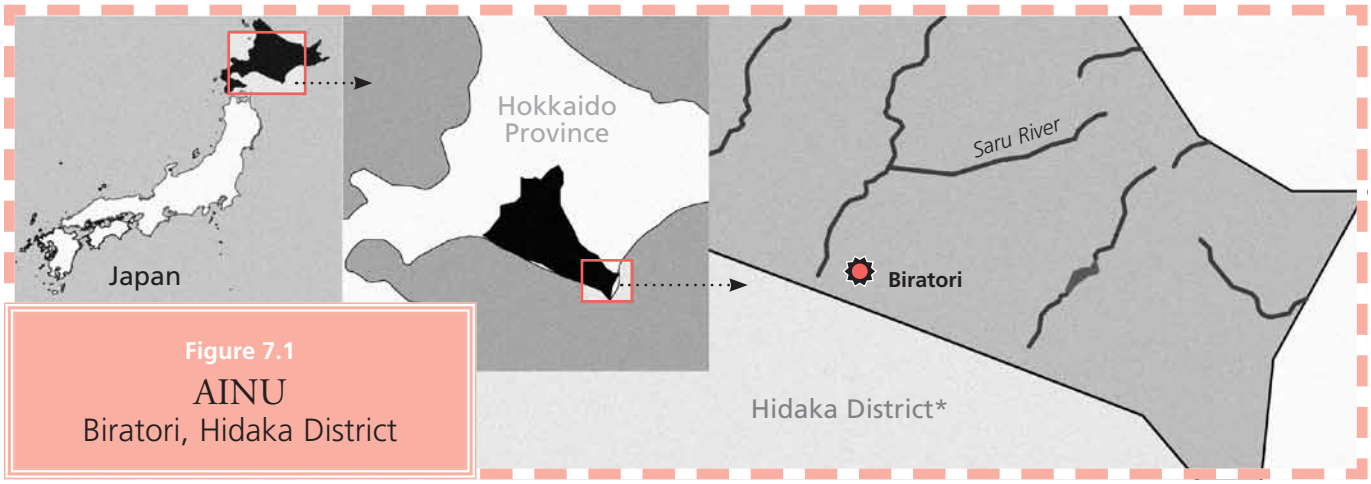

Figure 7.1
AINU
Biratori, Hidaka District

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Faculty of Humanities,
Hokkai-Gakuen University,
Sapporo, Japan

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"I would like to see Ainu dishes served as school lunch at the local schools. When the local people accept Ainu food as a part of local food, there will be no social discrimination against Ainu people."

Miwako Kaizawa

"Restoring natural environment is the key issue for preserving Ainu food culture. People should be able to go out the door and pick wild vegetables in their backyard, as they did in old days."

Koichi Kaizawa

Abstract

The Ainu community in the Saru River region of Hokkaido has the highest concentration of Ainu population in Japan. In 2004, an Ainu research group led by community leader, Mr Koichi Kaizawa, started the project described in this chapter as part of the international comparative research of the Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems for Health Program coordinated by the Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment. The ultimate goal of the project's research and intervention activities was to improve the social and cultural health of Ainu people in the community, by promoting Ainu food culture. The research group conducted four kinds of intervention activities: i) publishing a local community newsletter; ii) holding Ainu cooking lessons; iii) preparing Ainu dishes for ceremonial occasions; and iv) conducting an Ainu cooking project with university students. Over the years since the research began, the research group has observed changes in the community's perception and use of Ainu food. The intervention activities continue, and the researchers anticipate that the Ainu people will integrate their local food culture further into daily life.

Introduction

At the invitation of Dr Harriet Kuhnlein, Founding Director of the Centre for Indigenous Peoples' Nutrition and Environment (CINE), an Ainu research group[1] led by community leader Mr Koichi Kaizawa joined CINE's Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems for Health Program in the spring of 2004. The CINE-Ainu research group spent the first three years interviewing elders to gather information on traditional food uses, and conducting composition analyses of those food items that the elders identified as being important in their food culture. A summary and the results of this research were published (Iwasaki-Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009). During the research period, the group also undertook various intervention activities to promote uses of Ainu food within and outside the community. This chapter summarizes these intervention activities and provides an analysis of their social and cultural implications in the Ainu community of Saru River region.

[1] The original members of the research group are Koichi Kaizawa (community leader), Miwako Kaizawa (community researcher), Masami Iwasaki-Goodman (anthropologist), Taichi Kaizawa (ethnologist), Satomi Ishii (nutritionist), Hidetomo Iwano (microbiologist) and Hiroki Inoue (microbiologist).

Improving socio-cultural health among the Ainu in the Saru River region

The research in the Ainu community was expected to generate results on which to base clear project goals. However, during the planning phase in 2004, the research group identified problems with and limitations to conducting this kind of research in the Ainu community. The group identified elements that make this community different from other communities of Indigenous Peoples included in the CINE joint research programme.

First, the Ainu community in Saru River region has consisted of a mixture of Ainu and non-Ainu people since the late nineteenth century, when Japanese people settled in the area and established a township under the Japanese Government (Iwasaki-Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009) (Figure 13.1). Following a strong assimilation policy, under which the Government issued numerous laws that affected the Ainu way of life, most Ainu people eventually gave up their traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle and took up farming. Poverty and racial discrimination seriously affected the Ainu, pushing them to the margins of a society that treated them as second-class members. Facing serious social discrimination, many Ainu people suppressed their ethnic identity and adopted the mainstream Japanese way of life. It is only recently that improved social conditions have given Ainu people the confidence to disclose their ethnic identity, but not all of them have done so. Following this history of distress, the project community in Saru River region is a multi-ethnic community with complex issues of racial discrimination and stigmatized ethnic identity.

The second difference between the Ainu community and the other indigenous communities in CINE's programme is that Ainu people resent academic research, especially when it involves physical and medical examinations. This is mainly because earlier research was conducted unethically (see Lewallen, 2007 for details), and many Ainu people remember their experience of invasive examinations and the accompanying sense of humiliation.

Given that local people had not identified the improvement of physical and medical conditions as a pressing need, and to avoid subjecting them to medical examinations, the research group decided that the CINE global research aim of improving the health of Indigenous Peoples could best be met by focusing on improving Ainu people's social and cultural conditions, rather than their physical and medical ones.

Efforts to improve the Ainu's social and cultural health in Saru River region aimed eventually to resolve social prejudices against Ainu people. The researchers believed that reintroducing traditional Ainu foods and recognizing their nutritional value would promote positive attitudes towards Ainu foods, people and culture, inside and outside the community. This in turn would help create a community in which Ainu people could freely express their ethnic identity with pride. The ultimate aim was for Ainu people to live with dignity as an ethnically distinct group, while maintaining the same social status as non-Ainu members of the community.

A third issue that the research group took into consideration when planning the research is that different age groups of Ainu people hold different levels of cultural knowledge (Iwasaki-Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009). Social discrimination following the intensive assimilation policy created negative attitudes towards Ainu ethnicity, including among Ainu people themselves. As a result, many decided not to teach the Ainu language and culture to their children, encouraging them instead to live as their mainstream Japanese neighbours did, speaking Japanese and following Japanese customs. This period of cultural discontinuity created a group of Ainu people with limited understanding of their language and cultural traditions. Starting in the 1980s, however, cultural revitalization among the Ainu led to increasing efforts to reintroduce cultural elements such as language, dance, song and rituals. In the Saru River community, Ainu language classes were held, giving young Ainu an opportunity to learn their language. Rituals that had not been held since before the assimilation period were resumed, as were the prayers, dances, songs and cooking preparations associated with these rituals. Young Ainu people growing up during this period were exposed to various aspects of their own culture. As a result of these

developments, the Saru River Ainu community now includes three main age groups of Ainu people: i) a few elders whose first language is Ainu and who have had first-hand experience of Ainu culture; ii) middle-aged people and elders who have had minimum exposure to Ainu culture and who were taught to follow Japanese ways by their parents; and iii) young people who grew up during the cultural revitalization and have learned some aspects of Ainu culture.

A significant difference between the diet changes imposed on Ainu people during the Meiji-Taisho Era (late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries) and those imposed on other Indigenous Peoples, such as in Canada, is that the adoption of Japanese food culture did not result in drastic drops in the nutritional value of the Ainu diet, so there was no major deterioration in health.[2] During the contact period (before the Second World War), the daily diet of Japanese people was almost as simple as the Ainu diet (Ishige, 1979; Iwasaki-Goodman *et al.*, 2005) and contained mainly vegetables with modest amounts of white rice and animal meat. Therefore, the diet shift from Ainu food – salmon, deer and wild vegetables with grains – to Japanese food, such as white rice, pork, chicken and vegetables, did not cause serious negative effects on the health of Ainu people.

However, although the diet change had an insignificant impact on the health and nutrition of Ainu people, it had a serious cultural impact in the minds of both Ainu and non-Ainu people in Saru River region. Mainstream Japanese culture dominated the community, affecting local people's views regarding every aspect of life. Needless to say, the dominant culture was seen as superior, while Ainu culture was regarded as inferior and therefore undesirable. The Government of Japan's powerful assimilation policy added force to social discrimination, pushing Ainu people and their culture to the margins of society.

Many Ainu food items became symbols of the inferiority of Ainu culture. For example, the strong taste and smell of wild onion/garlic (*pukusa* or *kitopiro*)[3] became a target of discrimination; when the rest of the community renamed the onion Ainu *negi* (Ainu onion), Ainu people started to avoid use of both the onion and its new derogatory name, and eventually it became a taboo food. Other traditional food items were classified as undesirable, mainly because of their associations with Ainu people and culture. At the same time, other Ainu food items were gradually integrated into Japanese food because they were not identifiable as distinct Ainu food items. Many Ainu people use Ainu traditional food items without knowing them as such.

This oppression is not unique to the Ainu community of Saru River region and is a feature of the histories of many Indigenous Peoples throughout the world. However, the research group felt that focusing on the historical and current situation of the Ainu community would help identify the social and cultural aspects to consider when revitalizing Ainu food culture. This approach was also adopted by earlier research (Iwasaki-Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009).

Interventions

With strong leadership from the community leader, the research group discussed diverse ways of providing people in the community with information and experience of Ainu traditional food, thus reintroducing the food into the local food culture. Intervention activities had four components: i) a community newsletter providing information about traditional food items; ii) a series of cooking lessons; iii) preparation of Ainu dishes for ceremonial occasions; and iv) other activities conducted outside the community.

Ianpero:[4] the local community newsletter

Most Ainu people were unaware of their own use of traditional foods, mainly because these foods had been integrated into mainstream Japanese cuisine. At the start of the research, local people told the research group

[2] However, there are records of health problems among Ainu people during the Meiji Era. For example, a United Kingdom doctor living in Saru region reported that Ainu people were becoming ill because they no longer ate wild game (Biratori Town, 1974).

[3] *Pukusa* is often referred to as *kitopiro* (*kito* is another Ainu word for *pukusa*).

[4] "Let us eat" in the Ainu language.

Box 13.1
Pukusakina
(*Anemone flaccida*, anemone)

Pukusakina is not well known, but it is an important wild vegetable that Ainu people have been eating for a long time. They dry it and cook it in a soup, called *ohau* or *ruru*, all year round. Because of its frequent use in soup, it is also called *ohau kina* meaning "leaves in soup". When magnolia is in bloom, mothers take their children into the mountains to pick enough *pukusakina* to fill an *icha saranip* (a bag made from the bark of the *shinano-ki*, a Japanese lime), which mothers carry on their backs when harvesting wild vegetables.

Pukusakina has a mild taste and goes well with other ingredients. It is therefore used in many dishes. Its nutritional value is high, and it contains more potassium and phosphorus than *pukusa* (wild garlic). *Pukusakina* is best in *yuku ohau* (deer soup), but is also good in pork soup as deer meat is difficult to get. Fortunately, *pukusakina* is found in many places. It is so abundant that even elders and children can find it easily. Although there are concerns about resource depletion resulting from the booming interest in harvesting wild vegetables, *pukusakina* is abundant and will become popular in the future.

that they no longer ate Ainu food because they had adopted the Japanese way of life. However, it did not take long to discover that they were using traditional Ainu food items in their daily diets, without realizing it. Looking closer at what they eat every day, Ainu people noticed that there are important differences between their food culture and that of non-Ainu people. The most noticeable of these differences is the Ainu's extensive use of various wild vegetables, continuing their ancestral tradition of using wild plants. When planning the intervention activities, the research group decided to focus on creating awareness of traditional food use among Ainu people, and providing information to non-Ainu members of the community. To this end, the group contributed an article on Ainu food use to the community's *Saru unkr newsletter*, for people living in Saru River region.

This monthly newsletter is issued by the Biratori regional branch of the Hokkaido Association of Ainu, and is distributed to all 2 500 households in Biratori. Ms Miwako Kaizawa, a local researcher in the CINE-Ainu research group, was responsible for writing articles on traditional Ainu foods and their uses, based on information gathered by the research group. Her contributions, each of 700 to 800 words with two or three illustrations, began in April 2005, providing an introduction to the food items and information on harvesting, processing, preservation and cooking methods (Annex 13.1 gives a list of her articles). She took particular care to write in a way that is easy for readers to understand, so that they could harvest the food items and cook the dishes themselves. Box 13.1 gives an example of an article introducing the wild vegetable, *pukusakina*.

The articles also introduced many dishes unique to Ainu food culture. Box 13.2 gives the example of *tonoto*, which is a sacred fermented beverage offered to kamuy (spirits) during rituals.

Although the newsletter reaches every household every month, it is difficult to know how many people read the articles. The research group has to rely on local people's comments as feedback on the intervention. Ms Kaizawa (who writes the articles) has heard that local people enjoy reading them. Some readers have told her that they would like to learn about a greater variety of dishes using Ainu food items, and she has been working on the modification of traditional dishes to meet the tastes of today's local people.

In the first four years of publishing articles in the community newsletter *Ianper*, about 50 articles were written, reaching 2 500 households a month. Ms Kaizawa feels that there have been clear changes in local people's perception of Ainu food. Recently, local non-Ainu women expressed an interest in learning more about Ainu food and culture, and asked her for Ainu cooking lessons. This shows a clearly positive change in attitudes towards Ainu people and their culture.

Cooking lessons

Ainu cooking lessons have been very effective in promoting local people's understanding of Ainu food culture. Since 1996, the local elementary school has regularly held a programme, *Hararaki Time*, to teach children various aspects of Ainu culture (Iwasaki-

Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009). Learning how to prepare Ainu dishes is an important and fun part of the programme; the most common recipe learned is the one for *sito* (dumplings). In autumn 2008, the children were given experience of harvesting egg millet, the main ingredient for *sito*, following their Ainu ancestors' traditional method of using *pipa* (freshwater pearly mussel) shells. Including a programme on Ainu culture in the school curriculum is a new approach, demonstrating an interest in sharing Ainu culture and history among both Ainu and non-Ainu community members.

Ainu cooking lessons have also been provided, on request, to other groups. The local CINE-Ainu researcher Ms Kaizawa has taught all of these lessons. In June 2004, about 30 elementary school teachers from Hidaka district gathered at the Biratori community centre to learn how to cook Ainu dishes. Cooking lessons were also held in September 2005, at Rakuno-Gakuen University in Sapporo for about 40 students; in October of the same year for elementary school teachers in Furenai, the neighbouring community; on three occasions in 2006 for Hidaka district school teachers and students; and in 2007, when a new programme of Ainu cooking lessons was combined with a tour of Biratori community for a group of high school students from Hiroshima prefecture in southern Japan, who visited places with Ainu names, learning about the history and diet of Ainu people in the past.

In 2008, a group of local young home-makers – mostly non-Ainu – expressed a keen interest in learning about Ainu food culture and requested a cooking lesson. Ms Kaizawa was the instructor, and she asked other local Ainu women to be her assistants. There were about 16 participants, all in their twenties and thirties, some of whom were born and grew up in Biratori, while others had moved there from outside. They learned how to prepare *kosayo* (bean porridge), *ratashikep* (cooked pumpkin with beans), *yuk ohaw* (deer soup) and *inakibi gohan* (rice cooked with egg millet). They were divided into four groups, with a local Ainu person working with each group to assist with the cooking. The lesson began with explanations of the recipes using printed hand-outs; all the necessary ingredients were provided. The cooking went well, and the young home-makers and local Ainu assistants worked together in a friendly atmosphere. When all the dishes were ready, the participants moved to the dining room and ate them together.

Box 13.2
Tonoto

Tonoto is an indispensable offering to *kamuy* (spirits) at Ainu ceremonies, and is always prepared a few days in advance of the ceremony. In the old days, *piyapa* (barnyard millet) was the main ingredient for making *tonoto*, but recently rice has been used instead. Ainu people used to cultivate various kinds of millet, of which barnyard millet was the most common. People grew it to eat in daily meals, and also for making *tonoto*. However, as rice cultivation became more popular, people grew less millet. Nowadays it is not easy to reproduce the taste of traditional *tonoto*. *Piyapa* (barnyard millet), *sipsilep* (egg millet) or *munciro* (foxtail millet) is added to the rice to get the flavour of the *tonoto* of the past. *Ritensipuskep* (sticky egg millet) is usually used in making *tonoto*, because it is the easiest kind of millet to get.

To make *tonoto*, first mix equal amounts of rice and egg millet, and cook them with water to make rice porridge. Cool the porridge until it is about skin temperature. Put the rice porridge into a keg and mix in malted rice until it is smooth. Place a piece of hot charcoal on top of the mixture, asking *Apefuchi Kamuy* (a god of fire) to protect the *tonoto* during fermentation. This takes about two to three days in summer, and a week in winter. Once the *tonoto* is ready, the first drop is offered to the god of fire, with thanks, and then people enjoy it themselves.

Ainu dishes in ceremonial occasions

The Hokkaido Ainu Association has branch organizations in 48 districts throughout Hokkaido. The branch in Biratori is active in various issues concerning the lives of Ainu people. About ten years ago, as part of efforts to preserve Ainu food culture, a small group of branch members interviewed elders to collect information concerning their memories of traditional food, and prepared a booklet, *Aep* ("What we eat"), which formed the basis for the CINE research when it started in 2005.

As part of the CINE project, the community leader, Mr Koichi Kaizawa, and the local researcher, Ms Kaizawa, as leading members of the Ainu Food Culture

Box 13.3
Two *sito* dishes

Traditional *sito*

Ingredients: Rice flour, egg millet flour, water.

- Mix the rice and egg millet flours with water and knead until the dough is as soft as an earlobe.
- Take a portion of this well-mixed, soft dough and roll it into a pancake shape. (The size of the pancake depends on the use of the *sito*. For example, large *sito* [20 cm in diameter] are for offerings, and smaller ones are eaten with other things by the participants of gatherings.)
- Boil the water, and put the dough into the boiling water. Cook until the dough rises to the surface of the boiling water, and wait for another five minutes. Make sure that the *sito* is cooked through in the middle and remove it from the boiling water.
- At the final stage, rinse the *sito* in cold water to get rid of excess flour.

Sito with minced deer meat

Ingredients: Rice flour, egg millet flour, water, deer meat, soy sauce, sugar.

- Chop the deer meat finely, cook it with sugar and soy sauce and set it aside.
- Make the sito dough following the *sito* recipe.
- Mix the cooked deer meat into the *sito* dough and spread the dough on to a flat surface.
- Take a deer-shaped cookie cutter and cut out the *sito* in the shape of deer.
- Put the deer-shaped *sito* into boiling water until they are cooked.
- Take them out of the water to cool.
- Brown both sides of the *sito* in a frying pan, and eat with salt and pepper.

Preservation Group, started the initiative of serving Ainu traditional dishes at ceremonial occasions. In August 2006, *Chipsanke*, the boat launching ceremony, was celebrated with *tonoto* prepared by the group, and gradually the group started to receive requests to prepare Ainu dishes for other local gatherings and ceremonies, and for gatherings in other towns. The group also held cooking lessons for Biratori residents and visitors. As a result, group members have become knowledgeable about Ainu foods and recipes, and are developing an understanding of the cultural aspects of food preparation. For example, preparation of *tonoto* requires an understanding of the role of kamuy (spirits), as guardians of the *tonoto* fermentation process. When *tonoto* has fermented, women are responsible for straining it, and praying to the kamuy to thank them for protecting the *tonoto* during the fermentation is an indispensable part of the straining process. Members of the team making *tonoto* take turns to strain it and learn the prayer, which gives them an important introduction to the spiritual side of *tonoto* making.

Through the Ainu Food Culture Preservation Group's efforts, various Ainu rituals held in Saru River region now include the serving of *tonoto* and other Ainu dishes. Ainu foods have therefore become an indispensable part of local rituals.

Interventions outside the community

Ms Masami Iwasaki-Goodman, the author of this chapter, conducted an Ainu cooking project after she and her students worked as volunteers at the International Forum for Indigenous People in 2005, when they tasted Ainu dishes for the first time. The students found *sito* in its original form too filling and too high in calories compared with the snack dishes they are used to eating. They wanted to eat *sito* in smaller portions and with flavours that they like. Since then, the students have developed various *sito* dishes, including with minced deer meat, cheese filling, tomato sauce and various sweet sauces. Box 13.3 gives the original *sito* recipe and the students' recipe for deer *sito*.

Every autumn, during the university festival, the students set up a booth to promote their versions of *sito*, which they cook themselves and sell to friends and festival visitors. Over the three days of the festival, about 300 people buy *sito*. For most of these people, this is their first experience of Ainu food and culture.

The students' *sito* booth provided them with their first experience of introducing an Ainu food. They promote the *sito* enthusiastically, calling it "a tasty dish that you will like at the first bite". The students' positive attitude to making and selling *sito* generates positive feelings about Ainu culture and people; many students have become interested in learning more about Ainu culture, and some have chosen this as the topic for their graduation theses. The students' vociferous promotion of Ainu food at the university festival often

provokes unexpected reactions from visitors, who express negative feelings towards Ainu people and their culture. This gives the students direct experience of the social prejudices confronting Ainu people, and an opportunity to think about ethnic issues in their society.

The CINE-Ainu research group is continuing with its interventions in and outside the Ainu community. Group members hope that many more people will learn about the food culture their Ainu ancestors fostered, thus changing attitudes towards Ainu people and their culture.

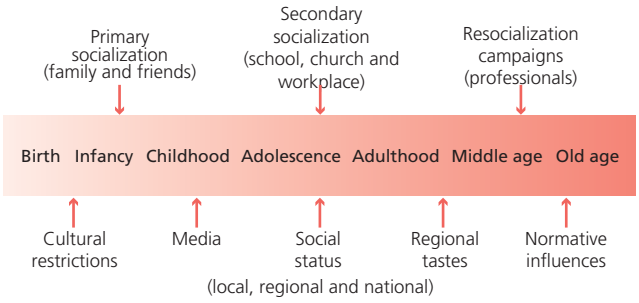
Cultural implications of intervention activities

Knowledge concerning food is a significant part of culture, similar to language and religion, which people need for their daily lives. People grow up learning the kinds of food and ways of processing them that are culturally acceptable in their community. Intervention activities therefore seek to change the cultural knowledge of people in the community. For the Ainu community in Saru River region the processes of change are complex and difficult to identify because of the multi-cultural nature of the community. However, it is necessary to try to understand these processes, to evaluate the effectiveness of the intervention activities. As cultural changes cannot be examined quantitatively, anthropological analysis is used to examine the change process and current situation in the Ainu community.

Intervention activities as resocialization

Children learn to eat what their family members eat, and gain understanding of various factors surrounding their food, including taste, value and preference, along with the historical and societal relationships of food within the community. Food habits are cultural, in that people eat according to rules that are shared by other members of their group. To understand the implications of the intervention activities that the CINE-Ainu research group conducted, it is necessary to examine the dynamics involved in the acquisition of food habits.

Figure 13.2 Socialization and the acquisition of food habits



Source: Adapted from Fieldhouse, 1996.

First, people gain knowledge of their food culture through socialization. Figure 13.2 illustrates the process of socialization and acquisition of food habits, based on work by Fieldhouse (1996).

From birth, children learn appropriate food habits through socializing with family and friends. They are fed with locally acceptable foods prepared in ways that are appropriate in the community. Along with food habits, children also learn the attitudes and values associated with food items and their preparation through interactions with family members and friends. Fieldhouse (1996) states that primary socialization is more influential than socialization at later stages in life, because the food habits that people acquire when they are young tend to persist throughout their lives. Individual food habits are established during childhood.

The food habits learned in early childhood undergo changes under the influence of the people who are met in later stages in life. Fieldhouse (1996) calls this secondary socialization, and states that individuals alter their food habits by learning from the people they meet in school and the workplace. Through secondary socialization, people are exposed to different ways of fulfilling their food needs; in some cases, they expand their repertoire of food habits and/or make drastic changes in the food they eat.

Resocialization can occur at any time of life, and is often the result of an organized effort to encourage people to adopt new food habits (Fieldhouse, 1996). Resocialization efforts usually take the form of

educational campaigns and interventions, introducing various kinds of information concerning food habits, such as the nutritional values of food, and healthy eating habits.

Other important factors that influence people's food habits are cultural restrictions, the media, social status and regional tastes (Figure 13.2). These factors reflect the normative influences in a specific region; food habits are greatly determined by the social, cultural and historical repertoire of the regional food culture.

The processes of socialization and resocialization described by Fieldhouse refer to normal conditions where no drastic social change is occurring. People live their lives in fairly stable social conditions over generations, and normative influences usually arise at the local, regional and national levels. However, this is often not the case for indigenous communities. For example, for the Ainu, the assimilation policy of the Meiji Era (1868 to 1912) created social conditions in which Ainu food habits were viewed as being less desirable, and in some cases were rejected. To avoid being subject to social prejudice, Ainu adopted Japanese food habits. Although some households appreciated and maintained Ainu food habits, negative social influences generally drove these habits underground and integrated them into Japanese food habits. For example, the many kinds of wild vegetable that continued to be eaten in Ainu households were called by their Japanese names, and were no longer recognized as Ainu food. Some foods were replaced with others; for example deer meat was replaced with pork in many dishes, as the government restricted deer hunting, and pig farming became a common means of livelihood for Ainu people when hunting and fishing were no longer possible. Popular Ainu dishes prepared with deer meat were therefore no longer distinct from pork-based Japanese dishes.

A particularly complicated situation can be observed among middle-aged Ainu people in Saru River region, as described previously. During their primary socialization, these people acquired complex food habits, which were primarily Japanese with some Ainu food incorporated. One of the complexities of these food habits is that they make no reference to the cultural knowledge associated with Ainu food traditions. Ainu people in this generation pick and eat wild vegetables for their daily meals, but are not familiar with the vegetables' Ainu names. In addition, they have not acquired cultural knowledge regarding the important prayers to and attitudes towards the spiritual beings involved in harvesting and processing certain foods. The normative influences during the adolescence of these people prevented Ainu food habits from being reinforced through secondary socialization. Instead, negative social conditions influenced attitudes to Ainu food habits, making people more willing to shift towards the Japanese way of life.

The younger generation of Ainu also underwent primary socialization without acquiring Ainu food habits. However, in the 1980s, one Ainu elder, Mr Shigeru Kayano, started to teach the Ainu language to small children from both Ainu and non-Ainu families in the community. He took the children into the forest to share his knowledge about trees, plants and aspects of Ainu culture, including the preparation of wild vegetables and other Ainu dishes. Unlike the previous generation, the young Ainu who attended Mr Kayano's classes were exposed to Ainu food habits and resocialized with these (Anderson and Iwasaki-Goodman, 2001). This is consistent with Fieldhouse's explanation that resocialization can occur at any time of life, although he himself focuses on resocialization in middle and old age (Fieldhouse, 1996). Mr Kayano's efforts were especially effective and helped to trigger the revitalization of Ainu culture throughout Hokkaido.

The CINE-Ainu research group results (Iwasaki-Goodman, Ishii and Kaizawa, 2009), together with the intervention activities described in this chapter demonstrate that effective intervention activities in the Ainu community of Saru River region need to be based on resocialization that creates not only changes in individual households, schools and workplaces, but also normative influences at the local, regional and national levels. It is clear that such changes involve people outside the Ainu community even more than people within it. By reintroducing Ainu food culture, the intervention therefore aims to re-establish Ainu people and culture in Japanese society, creating changes at multiple levels, such as households, schools, communities and the nation.

Cultural implications of "good food" and "bad food"

The Ainu people interviewed for the research reported that their attitudes and feelings towards Ainu food and dishes had changed at various points in their lives. Ainu elders recalled the old days when they had felt embarrassed about eating certain Ainu foods, because they were considered tasteless and were less favoured than Japanese foods. For example, the various kinds of millet that Ainu people grew in their backyards as an important part of their daily diet were regarded as being less tasty than the white rice that was part of Japanese food habits, even though millet is nutritionally rich. As Ainu people began to be employed and earn money, they began to buy white rice. Elders recall those days and say "White rice was tasty, and we bought rice when we had money". Eventually, they shifted from growing and eating millet to buying rice for daily meals.

The CINE-Ainu research group was publicizing the nutritional value of millet at the same time as a nationwide healthy food campaign was highlighting millet as an ideal food because of its high fibre content. Scientific knowledge regarding millet was therefore disseminated to both local people in the project area and the general public nationwide. In Saru River region, both Ainu and non-Ainu people have changed their attitudes to millet. One elderly woman informant stated "Strange that my daughters who live in Sapporo now want me to grow millet. I hear that eating millet is healthier than eating rice". This change in attitude extends beyond the food itself, as local people are starting to appreciate the cultural knowledge their Ainu ancestors fostered.

Pukusa (wild onion/garlic) is a symbolic Ainu food that has undergone drastic change from being a "bad" to becoming a "good" food. Most of the Ainu people interviewed by the CINE-Ainu research group reported that they avoided eating *pukusa* because its strong flavour made it a target for social discrimination. However, attitudes changed when recent scientific research revealed the health value of *pukusa*. Initial changes occurred at the national level, with books on *pukusa* and its health value being published and companies starting to manufacture various health products using *pukusa*. These positive changes eventually reached the local level, and Ainu people in Saru River region began to appreciate *pukusa* again. Every spring, they now go into the forest to harvest it, and cook it for meals. Ainu people do not hesitate to say that they like *pukusa*, and they look forward to the season when they can harvest and enjoy it. They have changed from avoiding *pukusa* to claiming it as one of their foods. The Ainu name (*pukusa*) is now used alongside the Japanese name (g*youjya ninniku*) and the common nickname (*kitopiro*). A restaurant in Nibutani, Saru River region serves a special noodle dish, *kitopiro ramen* (ramen noodles topped with *pukusa*), which is very popular among local Ainu people and tourists.

The feelings and attitudes associated with food are affected by the experiences of the people who prepare and consume it. When these experiences are positive, the feelings and attitudes are good, while people tend to have negative feelings towards a food if their experience of dealing with it is negative. The increasing popularity of Ainu cooking classes in the community indicates positive changes in people's attitude towards Ainu food culture. In one cooking class, members of the Ainu Food Culture Preservation Group assisted 16 young non-Ainu home-makers while they cooked Ainu dishes. The conversation between the two groups created a friendly atmosphere, and the good experience of the class led to positive changes in the community.

Analysis of changes in food habits shows that they occur through communal experiences. To recognize a food as good or tasty, people need to have shared a similar experience of it, and to have agreed that it has a favourable taste. Lupton (1996) defines taste as "an aesthetic and a moral category", in that "good taste ... is acquired through acculturation into a certain subculture". People recognize a food as good or tasty because it is aesthetically and morally acceptable for their group. Ainu food is accepted as good when the people in the community accept it and incorporate it into their food habits. Such changes are occurring in the Ainu community in Saru River region. One interesting comment was "Now local people can tell

the difference between tasty *tonoto* and not-so-tasty *tonoto*. When the *tonoto* is successfully made and tastes good, everyone wants to take home the leftovers from the ceremony. But if it is not so good, no-one wants to take it home". Local people have acquired a taste for *tonoto* and have developed a communally shared way of evaluating its flavour.

Conclusion

The CINE-Ainu research group decided that the project's goal was to improve the socio-cultural health of Ainu people in Saru River region, to create a community where Ainu people are proud of their ethnic background. Four kinds of intervention activity were planned and carried out. The intended cultural changes are a slow and complex process, but positive changes are occurring in the community. The local researcher, Ms Miwako Kaizawa, often says that the ultimate goal is to have Ainu dishes served for lunch in local schools, indicating that Ainu food culture has been integrated into the local food culture. This would demonstrate that the intervention has been effective in creating normative changes. The CINE-Ainu research group is confident that the day is near when this will be the case

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> Comments to: iwasaki@jin.hokkai-s-u.ac.jp

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Annex 13.1 Articles in *Ianpero*, the community newsletter (April 2005 to May 2008)

Apr. 2005	*Pukusa*, *Allium victorialis* var. *platyphyllum* (wild onion/garlic)
May 2005	*Pukusakina*, *Anemone flaccida* (anemone)
June 2005	*Cimakina*, *Aralia cordata* (*udo*, spikenard)
July 2005	*Turep*, *Lilium cordatum* var. *glehnii* (perennial lily)
Aug. 2005	Traditional dishes of Indigenous Peoples around the world (Report of the Nibutani Forum, 2005)
Sept. 2005	*Amam* (grains)
Oct. 2005	Aha, *Amphicarpa bracteata Edgeworthii* var. *japonica* (aha bean)
Nov. 2005	*Kosayo* (porridge with beans)
Dec. 2005	*Citatap* (chopped pork brain with wild onion)
Jan. 2006	*Sito* (dumplings)
Feb. 2006	*Yuk ohaw* (deer soup)
Mar. 2006	*Peneemo* (potato pancakes using frozen potatoes)
Apr. 2006	*Makayo* (a butterbur scape)
May 2006	*Sorma*, *Matteuccia struthiopteris* (ostrich fern, fiddle head fern)
June 2006	*Korkoni*, *Petasites japonicus* (Japanese butterbur, coltsfoot)
July 2006	*Nupe* (*veratrum*)
Aug. 2006	Summer fruits: *emauri, turepni* (wild berries)
Sept. 2006	*Chitatapu* (chopped salmon milt with wild onion)
Oct. 2006	Autumn fruits: *matatanpu* (*Actinidia polygama*) and others
Nov. 2006	*Kikuimo*
Dec. 2006	*Ciporusi emo* (potato mixed with salmon roe)
Jan. 2007	*Tonoto* (beverage)
Feb. 2007	Ento, *Elsholtzia ciliata*
Mar. 2007	*Haykina*, *Urtica platyphylla*
Apr. 2007	*Sito* (adapted *sito* dishes)
May 2007	*Pukusa*, Part 2
June 2007	*Turep*, Part 2
July 2007	*Noya* (mugwort)
Aug. 2007	*Kene* (alder)
Sept. 2007	*Yukkarus* (maitake)
Oct. 2007	*Atane* (turnip)
Nov. 2007	*Sakkabocya* (dried pumpkin), *ratashikepu* (cooked pumpkin)
Dec. 2007	*Huipe* (raw food, liver)
Jan. 2008	*Kankan* (intestines)
Feb. 2008	*Cepohaw* (fish soup)
Mar. 2008	*Nitope* (tree sap)
Apr. 2008	Pickled *pukusa* (pickled wild onion)
May 2008	*Pukusakina* mixed with sesame, vinegared *sorma*