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## Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture:

Insights drawn from the experience of the Sami of northern Norway and the Maori of New Zealand in terms of the development of cultural resilience

James Daniel Short

### 1. Contextual background

As the beginning of the third decade of the new millennium approaches, the international community faces a number of very serious challenges. Among these it can be argued that three issues in particular are causing considerable concern in public discourse. The first is a terrorist threat which seems to have the potential to cause havoc even in the heart of what were seen as ostensibly peaceful societies. The second is what is being referred to as an imminent climate crisis which could inflict severe damage on both natural ecosystems and human livelihoods in many parts of the globe in the not too distant future. The third is a seemingly ever-widening wealth gap between the haves and the have nots, often referred to as 'the one percent versus the rest', which is fuelling resentment against the top strata of society, large-scale migration from poorer to richer countries, and a dramatic decline in trust in traditional socio-economic systems in several countries. This latter phenomenon has been coupled with a marked rise in support for right-wing populist and nationalist political parties. The discussion in this paper addresses an issue which is related in many respects to the second and third of these, the preservation of unique indigenous culture.

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In a comprehensive report produced by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in 2017, the global population of indigenous people was estimated to be approximately 370 million people which amounts to five percent of the total human population. These people, who are also often referred to as *tribal peoples*, *first peoples* and *native peoples*, live in 90 countries around the world and speak more than 4000 different languages. A significant proportion of indigenous people trace their ancestry back over several millennia and they follow ways of life that are intimately related to the lands in which they live. The UN report states that these people “represent a significant part of the world’s vast cultural and linguistic diversity and heritage.”<sup>(1)</sup> “[They] are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live.”<sup>(2)</sup>

At the same time as illustrating the rich diversity of the global human family, as is widely recognised indigenous people have also consistently found themselves in inferior circumstances in terms of levels of socio-economic development, education, political representation and access to key environmental resources in comparison to the more numerous peoples who make up the populations of the dominant cultures in the lands that they inhabit. Due to the fact that cultural traditions handed down over many generations have led them to live in a distinctly different way from mainstream cultures, in a manner which is often not only culturally but also linguistically and

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(1) Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations (2017), *State of the World's Indigenous Peoples*, Education, 3rd Volume, p.6, retrieved April 2019; available at: [https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2017/12/State-of-Worlds-Indigenous-Peoples\\_III\\_WEB2018.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2017/12/State-of-Worlds-Indigenous-Peoples_III_WEB2018.pdf)

(2) United Nations - Indigenous Peoples, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d., retrieved April 2019; available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>

geographically separate, indigenous people have commonly lacked or been denied access to channels of decision-making which could potentially endow them with a more influential voice regarding decisions affecting their lives. “Indigenous peoples have sought recognition of their identities, way of life and their right to traditional lands, territories and natural resources for many years, yet throughout history, their rights have always been violated. Indigenous peoples today are arguably among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable groups of people in the world.”<sup>(3)</sup> Numerous cases document how they have been the repeated targets of oppressive and discriminatory policies and practices on the part of both governmental and private sector actors in many parts of the world. Such activities have included efforts to denigrate and undermine cultural traditions in order to subsume indigenous people into surrounding dominant cultures, forced expulsions from areas of traditional habitation which are frequently followed by seizures of environmental assets especially land, and in extreme cases concerted campaigns to eradicate groups of indigenous people altogether.

With regard to this serious predicament, in the early decades of the twentieth century a number of efforts were made to draw the attention of the international community towards the privations facing millions of the world’s indigenous people; however, for much of the century these efforts produced little in the way of tangible results. This situation was to change in the early 1980s when a special working group was established within the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in order to investigate the issue. Drawing upon over a decade of research carried out by the Ecuadorian UN Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, José Martínez Cobo<sup>(4)</sup>, this working

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(3) Ibid, n.d., retrieved April 2019. The author holds it significant that it is stated unequivocally by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs that throughout history indigenous peoples’ rights have *always* been violated. Document available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html>

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture (James Daniel Short) group took upon the challenge of establishing a set of minimum living standards which could be utilised to help protect indigenous people worldwide. This development instigated a protracted series of consultations involving a number of UN bodies including the Commission on Human Rights and also several non-governmental organisations, a process which culminated in the drafting of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 1994. Subsequently, following an additional period of detailed consultations undertaken with representatives of several UN member states, this Declaration was passed by the United Nations General Assembly over a decade later on September 13<sup>th</sup> 2007<sup>(5)</sup>.

The passing of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (hereafter referred to as UNDRIP) represented a significant development on a number of levels. In its form as a UN General Assembly resolution, the UNDRIP exists as 'an aspirational document' which means that it does not contain provisions that are legally binding; rather it describes desirable future conditions relating to the lives of indigenous people which the states of the international community commit themselves to bringing about. In spite of this, for the very first time the UNDRIP sets down in a comprehensive international agreement a number of key principles which indigenous communities have been struggling to have recognised for several generations. These principles include the recognition that indigenous people have the right:

- to enjoy all of the rights laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

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(4) Cobo, José Martínez (1981, 1982, 1983), *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations: Final report submitted by the Special Rapporteur*, United Nations Economic and Social Council, retrieved April 2019; available at: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/publications/2014/09/martinez-cobo-study/#more-7242>

(5) *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (A/RES/61/295), September 2007, retrieved April 2019; available at: [https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP\\_E\\_web.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf)

- to follow their own unique cultures and speak their own languages, free from discrimination and oppression;
- to self-determination and autonomy with respect to their own social, economic and cultural affairs;
- to inhabit lands that they have traditionally occupied and utilise the resources of these lands in the manner that they see fit<sup>(6)</sup>.

Essentially, the UNDRIP establishes a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of indigenous people, at the same time as expanding upon existing human rights standards as they apply to the specific circumstances of their lives in different parts of the world.

## 2. Cultural resilience

It goes without saying that there is great diversity in the lifestyles of the world's indigenous people which has come about as a result of a variety of factors, significant among which are the specific features of the environments in which they live and the level of engagement they have with modern society. Exemplifying this, in a number of western countries there are large numbers of indigenous people who live lives which are in many ways indistinguishable from their non-indigenous counterparts. Conversely, in other parts of the world such as in regions of South America and Africa, there are other large groups of indigenous people who pursue traditional hunter-gatherer or agrarian lifestyles in the same manner as generations of their ancestors, and who have little or no interaction with the modern world. This latter phenomenon was clearly illustrated in a recent report produced by Brazil's National Indian Foundation *Funai* which described an expedition into a remote region of the Amazonian rainforest close to the Peruvian border in 2017 during which discovery was made of an Indian

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(6) Ibid, (2007), Articles 1, 3, 4, 5, 26; *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, What is the UNDRIP?*, n.d., retrieved April 2019; available at: [https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/un\\_declaration\\_on\\_the\\_rights\\_of\\_indigenous\\_peoples/](https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/un_declaration_on_the_rights_of_indigenous_peoples/)

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture [James Daniel Short] tribe that had hitherto had no contact at all with the outside world<sup>(7)</sup>. In spite of the existence of this great diversity however, it is likely that in the vast majority of cases indigenous people find themselves loath to see their unique traditions and ways of life undermined and possibly in a worst case scenario disappear altogether as a result of succumbing to external pressures from modern society - in all likelihood the opposite is the case. Therefore, it can be posited that something of a commonality of will can be discerned among them regarding the importance of identifying effective strategies which can contribute towards the preservation of their unique culture<sup>(8)</sup>. In this regard, it is held that one factor which strongly mitigates in favour of the achievement of this broader goal is the development of *cultural resilience*.

Cultural resilience represents one of a number of conceptualizations of the broader concept of *resilience* which is utilised in a variety of different fields. Short (2015) discusses the various conceptualizations of resilience which are utilised in fields as diverse as Engineering, Psychology, Economics and Ecology, and the specific phenomena that are the objects of resilience analysis<sup>(9)</sup>. To summarise the nature of this concept, resilience describes the degree to which a specific system or a material (in

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(7) Katz, Brigit, August 24<sup>th</sup> 2018, *Drone captures first images of an uncontacted Amazon tribe*, Smithsonian.com, retrieved May 2019; available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/drone-captures-first-images-uncontacted-amazon-tribe-180970135/>

Pérez-Peña, Richard, August 23<sup>rd</sup> 2018, *Amazon tribe never seen by outsiders is spotted by drone*, The New York Times, retrieved May 2019; available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/23/world/americas/brazil-amazon-tribe.html?action=click&module=In%20Other%20News&pgtype=Homepage&action=click&module=Latest&pgtype=Homepage>

(8) Among a variety of phenomena, clear evidence for this commonality of will can be discerned in the dedicated two and a half decade-long campaign which culminated in the passing of the UNIDRIP at the UN General Assembly in September 2007.

(9) Short, J. (2015). *Towards the Enhancement of Resilience in Diverse Communities Under Threat: A Synthesis of the Multi-disciplinary Theoretical Conceptualizations of Resilience and its Applicability in Three Distinct and Contrasting Cases*, Toyo University Law Journal, 59 (1), 77-111.

the case of the field of Engineering) can absorb a disturbance emanating from the outside without being permanently damaged or changed. Fleming and Ledogar (2008) elucidate the theoretical development of the concept thus:

Resilience has been most frequently defined as positive adaptation despite adversity. Over the past 40 years, resilience research has gone through several stages. From an initial focus on the invulnerable or invincible child, psychologists began to recognize that much of what seems to promote resilience originates outside of the individual. This led to a search for resilience factors at the individual, family, community - and, most recently, cultural - levels. In addition to the effects that community and culture have on resilience in individuals, there is growing interest in resilience as a feature of entire communities and cultural groups<sup>(10)</sup>.

Regarding the general application of the concept, in a more recent examination Holtorf (2018) opines:

Resilience may be defined as the capability of a system or process to absorb disturbance (Folke et al. 2010). Recent conceptions of resilience de-emphasize notions of 'bouncing back' to a previous state and place more emphasis on processes of 'bouncing forward' involving absorption, learning, adaptation and transformation than on specific outcomes in relation to a previous status quo. Resilient systems and processes can be said to be sustainable in the sense that they have the capacity to persist over long time periods, i.e. without undermining their own preconditions. Arguably, all sustainable systems or processes are characterized by their capability to absorb adversity and continue to develop. An easier, alternative definition of resilience is, therefore, 'the capacity to deal with change and continue to develop' (Stockholm Resilience Centre, n.d.)<sup>(11)</sup>.

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(10) Fleming, J., & Ledogar, R. J. (2008), *Resilience, an Evolving Concept: A Review of Literature Relevant to Aboriginal Research*, Pimatisiwin, 6 (2), p.1.

(11) Holtorf, Cornelius (2018), *Embracing change: how cultural resilience is increased through cultural heritage*, World Archaeology, DOI, p.1.

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With regard to the application of this concept to particular cultures, especially those which are facing various external pressures such as in the context of this discussion *indigenous cultures*, it is held that the sub-category of cultural resilience is highly relevant. In relation to this issue Fleming and Ledogar (2008) state:

The term “cultural resilience” is frequently used to denote the role that culture may play as a resource for resilience in the individual. [...] we consider the term as it applies to whole communities or entire cultural systems. For this, a useful definition is that supplied by Healy (2006): community or cultural resilience is the capacity of a distinct community or cultural system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to retain key elements of structure and identity that preserve its distinctness<sup>(12)</sup>.

Holtorf (2018) expands upon this thinking thus:

I define cultural resilience as the capability of a cultural system (consisting of cultural processes in relevant communities) to absorb adversity, deal with change and continue to develop. Cultural resilience thus implies both continuity and change: disturbances that can be absorbed are not an enemy to be avoided but a partner in the dance of cultural sustainability (adapted from Thiele [2016, 36])<sup>(13)</sup>.

With respect to the central argument put forward in this paper, it is held that an effective strategy which can contribute towards the preservation of indigenous culture in various contexts around the world is the development of cultural resilience within them. With that said, in full cognisance of the aforementioned diversity of lifestyles pursued by indigenous people, regarding the achievement of this broad, multi-generational goal it would be logically unsound to suggest that the sole pursuance of one strategy would have the potential to bring tangible benefit in a great variety of

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(12) Fleming & Ledogar, (2008), op. cit.

(13) Holtorf, (2018), op. cit.



circumstances, let alone all of them. Utilising slightly different terminology to the analyses cited above<sup>(14)</sup>, Tousignant and Sioui (2009) caution against this thinking in the following manner:

Within the Aboriginal perspective, Healy proposed a general definition of community resilience as the capacity of a distinct community or cultural system to absorb disturbances, reorganize while undergoing change, retain key elements of structure and identity that preserve its distinctness (as cited in Ledogar & Fleming, 2008). One of the challenges of applying universal literature on resilience to Aboriginal people is to keep in mind that resilience may be viewed differently in these cultures. There are certainly universal, cross-cultural elements, but resilience should at the same time correspond to what these cultures recognize as familiar. There is a culture specific ethos supporting this concept in the social sciences literature which should not be uncritically transplanted to Aboriginal peoples<sup>(15)</sup>.

The author agrees with Tousignant and Sioui's contention that something of a blanket application of the concept of cultural resilience to the lives of the world's indigenous people is not an approach that is to be recommended. Nevertheless, at the same time he is of the opinion that there are valuable insights which can be gained from an examination of the specific initiatives and activities of certain indigenous societies from which indigenous people living in other contexts may potentially be able to benefit.

The positive examples cited in this regard in the following sections of this paper are drawn from the cases of the Sami of northern Scandinavia - in particular the Sami of northern Norway, and the Maori of New Zealand. These cases are cited in full

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(14) Regarding the term 'cultural resilience', Tousignant and Sioui utilise the term *community resilience*; regarding the term 'indigenous people' they utilise the term *Aboriginal people*.

(15) Tousignant, Michel & Sioui, N. (2009), *Resilience and Aboriginal Communities in Crisis: Theory and Interventions*, Journal of Aboriginal Health. 5, p.46.

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recognition of the fact that no one, all-encompassing group of either Sami or Maori exists, and that there are important sub-groups within these peoples whose historical experiences, living environments and contemporary lifestyles exhibit considerable variance. However, with regard to a number of discernible commonalities which can be identified within them, the author holds that drawing attention to these phenomena may highlight recommendable approaches for the development of cultural resilience which could be of benefit to indigenous people living in other parts of the world. The discussion that follows the description of the cases focuses on specific phenomena which reveal how the Sami and the Maori now represent integral parts of the national fabric of the modern nations of Norway and New Zealand. The first case described is that of the Sami of northern Norway<sup>(16)</sup>.

### 3. The Sami of northern Norway

As has been widely documented, despite having inhabited the Arctic regions of Scandinavia for several millennia, during the period from 1850-1980 the Sami of northern Norway were subjected to harsh discriminatory treatment at the hands of the Norwegian state under its policy of assimilation or '*norwegianization*'<sup>(17)</sup>. Under this policy a variety of measures were implemented which had the explicit intention of systematically undermining the culture and language of the Sami. For example, Sami children were forced to attend schools which were often far from their homes and in which the use of their native language was forbidden; large tracts of land which had traditionally been utilised by the Sami for reindeer herding were appropriated by the government for other purposes; in addition, large numbers of inhabitants from southern Norway were provided with financial incentives to relocate to the north of the country

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(16) Henceforth in this paper the phrase 'the Sami' will be used on numerous occasions. Throughout the paper the implied meaning of this phrase is 'the Sami of northern Norway'.

(17) Minde, H. (2003), *Assimilation of the Sami - Implementation and Consequences* 1, Acto Borealia, 20:2, 121-146.

in order to populate areas where the Sami had formerly been in the majority<sup>(18)</sup>. In the decades following the Second World War these policies were gradually scaled back and eventually rescinded; however, significant damage had already been inflicted on Sami culture across large parts of Norway.

Subsequent to this period, national and then international attention was drawn to the plight of the Sami as a result of a large scale controversy which arose around the construction of a dam on the Alta River in Norway's northernmost county of Finnmark between 1979-1982. This controversy ultimately led to a fundamental shift on the part of the Norwegian state with regard to its policies concerning the Sami<sup>(19)</sup>. As a consequence of this, in formal recognition for the first time that the Sami represent an integral part of the ethnic make-up of Norway, and also in part recompense for the considerable suffering caused by the policy of assimilation pursued for over a century, in 1987 the Norwegian parliament the *Storting* passed the Sami Act which established a parliament in Finnmark to oversee Sami affairs. Located in the municipality of Karasjok close to the border with Finland, this parliament named the *Samediggi* was officially opened by King Olav V of Norway on October 9<sup>th</sup> 1989. In the same year, the Sami University of Applied Sciences was opened in the municipality of Kautokeino, Finnmark with a curriculum focusing on the teaching of the Sami language and Sami handicrafts called *duodji*, and the fields of teacher education and journalism<sup>(20)</sup>. In

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(18) Many of the privations and indignities inflicted upon the Sami of northern Norway during this period also occurred to some extent in the northern regions of Sweden and Finland. It is a matter of some debate as to whether the Norwegian case, that is to say the degree to which the assimilation policy was pursued by the Norwegian state, represents the most egregious in this regard. In the current paper the author limits the scope of the discussion to events that occurred in the Norwegian case.

(19) Solbakk, J.T., *The Damming of the Alta-Kautokeino Watercourse (The Alta Case)*, 2006, retrieved May 2019; available at: [http://www.galdu.org/govat/doc/eng\\_damning.pdf](http://www.galdu.org/govat/doc/eng_damning.pdf)

(20) Sami University of Applied Sciences, Kautokeino municipality Finnmark; n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://www.samas.no/en>

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture [James Daniel Short] addition, in 1990 an amendment was added to the Norwegian constitution stating that henceforth the Norwegian state has responsibility for the protection of the language, culture and way of life of the Sami: "It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sami people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life."<sup>(21)</sup>

In the years following these significant developments, Sami culture received a number of important boosts which had an impact that was felt nationwide. On February 6<sup>th</sup> 1993 the Norwegian state recognised that henceforth that day of the year would become the Sami National Day and that various events celebrating Sami culture would be held on or around it. The date of February 6<sup>th</sup> had been chosen by Sami from across Scandinavia at the 15<sup>th</sup> Sami Congress held in Helsinki during the previous year due to the fact that it marked the anniversary of the first ever Sami Congress held in the city of Trondheim in 1917<sup>(22)</sup>. Subsequently, in 2003 the Norwegian state granted official status to the flag of the Sami people; originally designed in 1986, this flag had hitherto been flown at a variety of Sami gatherings which took place across Scandinavia. As a result of this decision, municipalities across Norway were required to fly the Sami flag above official buildings alongside the Norwegian flag every year on the Sami National Day of February 6<sup>th</sup>.

In addition to these developments which had an impact that was felt across the country, in what could be described as something of a cultural renaissance for the Sami, a number of events began taking place in various locations in northern Norway which celebrated other aspects of Sami culture. For example, in the Kåfjord municipality in

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(21) The Norwegian Constitution, Article 110 a; 2014, retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://www.stortinget.no/en/Grunnlovsjubileet/In-English/The-Constitution---Complete-text/>

(22) February 6<sup>th</sup> is celebrated as the Sami National Day by Sami from the countries of Norway, Sweden and Finland.

Troms county, pre-dating the 2011 opening of a Sami information and language centre on the site - The Centre for Northern Peoples, in 1991 the Riddu Riđđu Sami music and culture festival took place for the first time. Starting out as a relatively small gathering, this annual event steadily grew in size and has now developed into a large scale summer festival which celebrates indigenous music and culture from around the world<sup>(23)</sup>. Another example can be found in the events that take place in the city of Tromsø during its annual Sami Week which occurs around the time of the Sami National Day at the beginning of February. Including a number of cultural and educational events which take place at the Tromsø campus of the Arctic University of Norway, during this week the city hosts a variety of Sami music and drama performances, an outdoor market selling Sami handicrafts, and also the Norwegian national championships of lassoing and reindeer racing<sup>(24)</sup>.

#### 4. The Maori of New Zealand

The second case cited here is that of the Maori of New Zealand. The historical experience of the Maori exhibits some similarities to that of the Sami in the sense that for a significant period of time, particularly during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Maori culture came under considerable pressure from external forces; however, in recent decades it has experienced an undoubted renaissance.

The Maori were the first people to settle in the land which would later become the

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(23) The Riddu Riddu Indigenous Music and Culture Festival; 2019, retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://riddu.no/en>

The Centre for Northern Peoples (in Norwegian - *Senter for Nordlige Folk*); n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://senterfornordligefolk.no>

(24) Sami Week events held in the city of Tromsø in 2019, retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://nordnorge.com/en/sapmi/?News=185>

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture [James Daniel Short] nation of New Zealand. Emanating originally from parts of Eastern Polynesia, including Samoa, Niue and the Cook Islands, they travelled great distances across stretches of the southern Pacific Ocean in open canoes, arriving on the northern coast of the North Island towards the end of the thirteenth century. During the next one hundred years they explored the whole of the North and South Islands, establishing numerous communities which developed agrarian lifestyles. During the 17th and 18th centuries European explorers began to arrive in New Zealand, the most notable of whom was the British explorer James Cook who landed on the east coast of the North Island in 1769. Three decades after Cook's arrival, Europeans began to settle in this territory which had become a recent discovery to Western science, many of whom began trading with the Maori.

Between 1800-1840 this continued influx of new settlers began to exert increasing pressure on traditional Maori society, as did the introduction of Christianity and also the new technology brought by the settlers, particularly the musket. As a consequence, in order to address the frequent land disputes which were occurring between settlers and the Maori, and also to quell the increasingly bloody conflicts that were breaking out between rival Maori tribes, in 1840 representatives of the British Crown and over 500 Maori chiefs gathered in the far north of the North Island to sign the Treaty of Waitangi. The signing of this treaty succeeded in solving a number of significant problems, but at the same time it served to create several others:

The effect of the Treaty of Waitangi was to bring [Maori] intertribal conflict to an end, and to provide a constitutional basis for the establishment of British law and government in New Zealand. The English version of the treaty stated that sovereignty was ceded to the Queen of England. However, the Maori version said that the treaty guaranteed '*tino rangatiratanga*' or chieftainship of New Zealand to Maori. The debate [over the consequences of this treaty] continues today<sup>(25)</sup>.

The latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a severe decline in Maori culture due to several factors directly related to the growing impact of British colonisation. Most notably, between 1845-1872 a number of protracted conflicts broke out between troops of the newly-established colonial government and Maori tribes particularly in the North Island which refused to recognise Crown sovereignty over their traditional lands and the loss of local authority<sup>(26)</sup>. As a result of these upheavals, despite consistently displaying tenacious resistance in the face of superior military forces, eventually all of the resisting Maori tribes were subdued and their lands subsequently confiscated as punishment for rebellion. These land confiscations and other Crown-sanctioned settler land acquisitions which occurred across large parts of the country served to deprive the Maori of important economic and environmental resources. This situation, coupled with the spread of infectious diseases brought to New Zealand by the settlers against which the Maori had no natural resistance, contributed towards a general undermining of the vitality of their traditional communities. As a consequence, by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a declining overall population and a steadily diminishing influence over the affairs of the nation as a whole, the Maori found themselves in a decidedly weakened state.

During the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century a number of influential Maori leaders sought to arrest the decline they saw occurring across many aspects of their culture and language, *Te Reo Maori*. As a consequence, Maori representatives entered the New Zealand Parliament for the first time which facilitated direct participation in governmental decision-making; this development led in part to the subsequent passing of significant land and health reforms which brought benefits to many Maori

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(25) Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, *The arrival of Europeans*; n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori/page-3>

(26) These conflicts have been referred to as the 'Land Wars', the 'Maori Wars' and more recently as the 'New Zealand Wars'.

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture (James Daniel Short) communities. During the same period initiatives were launched to revitalise aspects of Maori artistic expression and architecture; in addition, Maori battalions were formed within the New Zealand armed forces which were to serve with distinction in both the First and Second World Wars. The post-1945 world witnessed large numbers of Maori leaving their traditional rural communities in order to seek employment in the country's expanding cities, particularly in the North Island. This demographic shift contributed towards a growing awareness and pride in Maori identity and culture among their increasing urban population.

The renaissance of Maori culture gathered pace further in the decades following 1970. In 1975 a permanent high-level tribunal was established to investigate alleged breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown and its representatives in the period following 1840; the subsequent recommendations of this tribunal have seen several large areas of land returned to Maori communities<sup>(27)</sup>. This major development was followed by a variety of others. Subsequently, “[a] Maori-language education system has been established [across the country] and Maori have started major industry initiatives including fishing, aquaculture and farming. There is now a wide range of Maori-owned enterprises such as television and radio, businesses and tourist ventures. Additionally, there is significant political representation, and an increasing number of individuals are gaining international reputations for their achievements.”<sup>(28)</sup>

## 5. Discussion

Both the historical record and contemporary international society reveal that of the great diversity of human cultures that have existed or are currently in existence,

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(27) Encyclopaedia Britannica, *New Zealand since 1900 - The late 20th and early 21st centuries*, retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://www.britannica.com/place/New-Zealand/Cultural-life>

(28) Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, *Urbanisation and renaissance*; n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/maori/page-5>



indigenous cultures have consistently come under greater threat and suffered more at the hands of those commonly more numerous peoples who have access to the levers of political power, key economic resources and the most recent technology. The central argument put forward in this paper is that in a rapidly globalising and also highly unequal world, and one in which the natural environment is seemingly coming under ever-increasing pressure as a result of human activity, a strategy which can contribute towards the preservation of particular culture which has historically come under sustained threat - that of unique indigenous culture, is the development of cultural resilience within it. Academic discourse stretching back several decades and encompassing a number of different disciplines has established that the concept of resilience represents an appropriate measure by which specific systems (or materials) can be evaluated for their ability to respond to disturbances emanating from the outside. In addition, specific branches of this discourse have established that the concept of cultural resilience represents an appropriate measure by which particular cultures can be evaluated for their ability to respond to external disturbances. In line with its central argument, the paper has highlighted the examples of two particular indigenous cultures - the Sami of northern Norway and the Maori of New Zealand. The following discussion elucidates the manner in which it is held that the specific phenomena emphasised within these cultures have contributed towards the development of cultural resilience within them. As stated above, it focuses on phenomena which reveal how the Sami and the Maori now represent integral parts of the national fabric of the modern nations of Norway and New Zealand.

Despite the fact that what could be described as the relative nadir of cultural decline for the Sami and the Maori did not occur at exactly the same time<sup>(29)</sup>, it can be argued that

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(29) Recognising also that the precise pinpointing of such a historical juncture for both cultures represents a far from straightforward task.

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the early decades of the twentieth century marked a decidedly low point for both cultures. During this period the Sami were suffering the full effects of the Norwegian state's policy of assimilation, the scaling back of which did not even begin until the end of the century's second huge international conflagration in 1945. At around the same time the Maori were struggling to come to terms with both a marked decline in population and influence on the national stage, at the same time as a weakening of the vitality of their traditional communities. Nevertheless, if one were to wind the clock forward a little less than one hundred years from this point, a contemporary situation which is almost unrecognisable from that of a century earlier would be revealed for both cultures. With respect to this, it is undeniable that during the intervening decades, and particularly since the 1970s for the Maori and the 1980s for the Sami, a large number of major positive developments have taken place, and it is these that it is held have developed the cultural resilience of both indigenous cultures. Furthermore, with regard to the significant changes that have taken place within them, in line with Holtorf's (2018) aforementioned definition<sup>(30)</sup>, these cultures have not been seen to have responded to the great and varied pressures they experienced from the outside by 'bouncing back' into a previous state, but instead have succeeded in absorbing these pressures, learning from them, and have endeavoured to 'bounce forward' and adapt into something of a more generally vibrant and healthy state. This phenomenon can be seen as a clear manifestation of the definition of cultural resilience quoted earlier: "..... the capability of a cultural system (consisting of cultural processes in relevant communities) to absorb adversity, deal with change and continue to develop. [It] ....implies both continuity and change: disturbances that can be absorbed are not an enemy to be avoided but a partner in the dance of cultural sustainability [...]"<sup>(31)</sup> With regard to this markedly changed state, what therefore are the specific phenomena

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(30) See above, section 2.

(31) Holtorf, (2018), *op. cit.*

which it is held reveal how the Sami and the Maori now represent integral parts of the national fabric of their respective nations?<sup>(32)</sup>

### 5. 1 In relation to the Sami

To address the case of the Sami, it is held that the first area meriting emphasis is that relating to the establishment of key **governmental, educational and media institutions**. As elucidated in section 3, in 1987 the Norwegian state approved the establishment of a parliament to oversee Sami affairs in the northernmost county of Finnmark. Not only did this development clearly provide the administrative foundation and necessary facilities to facilitate a significant degree of autonomy for the Sami in the regions in which they live, it can also be argued that it also represented an historic socio-cultural promulgation on the part of the Norwegian state to the effect that the Sami are now officially recognised as an indigenous people within the country who *as Norwegian citizens* now have both the right and additional means to take decisions and implement policies relating to key issues that affect their lives. The amendment made to the Norwegian constitution in 1990 is similarly highly significant in this regard since it states unequivocally in the country's most important document that it is henceforth the responsibility of the state to protect the language, culture and way of life of the Sami. With regard to the future of the Sami Parliament, the author is hesitant to speculate as to whether the *Samediggi* will henceforth exist in perpetuity; however, it seems unlikely that at some point in the future the national government will take the decision to abolish it and thereby revert to a system of direct government over the majority Sami areas of northern Norway as was the case prior to 1987, and of course during the period when the policy of assimilation was being enforced. A similar statement could be made in relation to the constitutional amendment, such to the effect

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(32) In the following two sections the author is not seeking to suggest that the specific phenomena highlighted in any way represent an exhaustive list.

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that it is difficult to envisage a scenario in which the government took the decision to revoke this amendment and thereby abrogate its current and future responsibility to protect the Sami's language, culture and way of life. An additional important point relating to this issue is the symbolic significance which can be attributed to the fact that it was the Norwegian monarch King Olav V who officially opened the first session of the Sami Parliament in 1989. This royal audience was followed by another of comparably equal significance which took place in 1997 when Olav's successor King Harald V delivered an address to mark the opening of the parliament in that year during which he offered a formal apology on behalf of the Norwegian state to the Sami people for the suffering they had endured as a result of the assimilation policy<sup>(33)</sup>.

In terms of important educational institutions, in addition to the aforementioned establishment of the Sami University of Applied Sciences in Kautokeino in 1989, in order to enhance both learning and academic research relating to the language and culture of the Sami at one of the country's premier universities, in 1990 the Centre for Sami Studies was established at the Tromsø campus of the Arctic University of Norway<sup>(34)</sup>. Mention has also been made of the opening of the Sami language and information centre in the Kåfjord municipality in Troms county in 2011<sup>(35)</sup>, the author also regards this development as significant. With regard to media institutions, predating the establishment of the Sami Parliament in the municipality, since 1984 radio and television programmes have been broadcast in the Sami language from studios located in Karasjok which are themselves a branch of Norway's largest media organisation NRK, the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation.<sup>(36)</sup> Among the wide

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(33) Talk Norway, *Sami People, Injustice and the King's Apology*; n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: <https://www.talknorway.no/sami-people-injustice-and-the-kings-apology/>

(34) The Arctic University of Norway, Welcome to Centre for Sami Studies; n.d., retrieved June 2019; available at: [https://en.uit.no/om/enhet/forsiden?p\\_dimension\\_id=88182](https://en.uit.no/om/enhet/forsiden?p_dimension_id=88182)

(35) See section 3 above and note 22.

variety of programmes produced at these studios, in recent years a real-time live broadcast relayed by the NRK Sápmi television station of the annual reindeer migration which traverses large stretches of northern Scandinavia, this being an example of the increasingly popular media phenomenon of 'slow TV', has proved a considerable success after it began live-streaming on YouTube, and it now regularly draws thousands of viewers from many parts of the world<sup>(37)</sup>.

In addition to specific institutions, a second area which it is held merits emphasis relates to the growing **visibility of Sami culture** within the broader tapestry of cultural life in Norway. Under the policy of assimilation for several generations Sami people were made to feel a personal stigma about the fact that they were of Sami heritage, and as a consequence either by choice or in many cases by coercion took various reluctant steps to conceal their ethnic identity. Due to the cultural renaissance which has taken place particularly since the 1980s, this concealment is no longer necessary as Sami people now have the freedom to openly embrace their identity and also to celebrate it in a variety of ways which are coming to be recognised as part and parcel of the cultural life of Norway as a whole. Examples of this cultural shift abound, such as the aforementioned events which take place on and around the Sami National Day of February 6<sup>th</sup>, giving credence of course to the fact that there now *is* such a day in the national calendar, the annual flying of the Sami flag alongside the Norwegian flag over official buildings nationwide, the singing of the Sami national anthem, the wearing of Sami national dress, the events which take place in the city of Tromsø during Sami Week, and doubtless a wide variety of others in other locations. The essential point

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(36) NRK, About NRK Sápmi; n.d., retrieved July 2019; available at: [https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/om/1.\\_about-nrk-sapmi-1.11296850](https://www.nrk.no/sapmi/om/1._about-nrk-sapmi-1.11296850)

(37) Minute-by-minute report of the annual northern Scandinavian reindeer migration, (in Norwegian) *Reinflytting minutt for minutt*; n.d., retrieved July 2019; available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P374g1eXcus>

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here is that many expressions of Sami culture are now able to be openly celebrated and also physically on display in a variety of contexts, and therefore as a consequence this phenomenon is increasingly becoming a normal facet of life in the multi-ethnic country of Norway.

An additional important point in relation to the two areas highlighted above concerns the issue of longevity. The author has expressed his opinion with respect to the likelihood of the Norwegian state radically changing direction and thereby taking steps to reverse the progress of Sami cultural revitalisation which has taken place over the course of the last three decades. To reiterate - in the current circumstances, it is held that this eventuality appears most unlikely. Therefore, on the strength of this supposition it is predicted that the specific institutions highlighted here can be expected to endure in the foreseeable future, perhaps for at least another generation and possibly longer. Furthermore, regarding the visibility of various expressions of Sami culture becoming something of an increasingly normal aspect of cultural life in Norway, it is held that it is conceivable that this may have a not insignificant psychological impact on current and future generations of Norwegians in relation to what it actually means *to be Norwegian*. In other words, irrespective of whether one is a member of Norway's minority indigenous people or not, it is possible that this development may contribute towards a situation where feelings of difference or division between members of the two groups may lessen, and that they may feel greater understanding and affinity for each other as citizens of the same country. Consequently, it is held that these two specific phenomena - the potential longevity of key Sami institutions plus a process of normalisation of expressions of Sami culture in the overall cultural life of the country - represent valuable social assets which will continue to contribute towards the development of the cultural resilience of the Sami people.

## 5. 2 In relation to the Maori

To address the case of the Maori, in a similar regard to the Sami it is held that emphasis should also be placed upon **key institutions**, and particularly those which operate in and support the usage and expansion of the Maori language *Te Reo Maori*. On the governmental side, the Maori are not in possession of their own parliament due in part to the fact that Maori representatives have had the right to become members of the national parliament since the latter decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, as stated above in section 4, with regard to educational and media institutions, central tenets of the cultural renaissance which has taken place in the decades following 1970 have been the establishment of an education system in Te Reo Maori and the opening of television and radio stations broadcasting in the language. A significant development in this regard has been the establishment in the national calendar of the annual Maori Language Week: since 1975 each year from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> September events are held across New Zealand aimed at celebrating and expanding the usage of Te Reo Maori. Subsequent to the commencement of this linguistic tradition, in a further development which came about as a direct result of the establishment of the permanent tribunal tasked with investigating historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, in 1987 Te Reo Maori was formally recognised as an official language of the country by the New Zealand government<sup>(38)</sup>.

An additional issue which is held to be significant in relation to the usage of Te Reo Maori can be seen in both the lyrics and the actual singing of the New Zealand national anthem. As a member of the British Commonwealth which was reconfigured into its current form in 1949, the official Head of State of New Zealand is the descendant of

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(38) New Zealand History, *Te Wiki o Te Reo Maori - Maori Language Week*; n.d., retrieved July 2019; available at: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/maori-language-week>

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the figure who was the ruler during the former colonial era - the British monarch; since her accession to the throne in 1952 this has been Queen Elizabeth II. Therefore, during visits to the country by members of the British royal family it is customary for the British national anthem of 'God Save the Queen' to be sung at formal occasions. However, following special permission received from Queen Elizabeth in 1977, a popular song written by a New Zealander in 1876 entitled 'God Defend New Zealand' has become the country's second official national anthem. This anthem has lyrics in both English and Te Reo Maori, and since 1977 at formal occasions its first verse has been sung in both languages, with the English version coming first<sup>(39)</sup>. In line with the continued renaissance of Maori culture however, since the late 1990s this verse order has been reversed and it is now customary to sing the Te Reo Maori version *before* the English one, particularly at international sporting events such as those featuring New Zealand's famous rugby team the All Blacks. It is held that this development represents an important demonstration of how a fundamental pillar of Maori culture - its unique language - has been embraced by the nation's top athletes and is now regularly presented on an international stage. In many respects, this way of singing the second national anthem of 'God Defend New Zealand / Aotearoa' is closely related to the regular public presentation of another famous aspect of Maori culture, the performance of the ceremonial dance, the Haka.

The performance of the Haka is representative of the second area which it is held merits emphasis, which in of itself represents a further similarity to the case of the Sami, that of the **visibility of Maori culture** within the broader tapestry of cultural life in New Zealand. In respect of this issue, it can be argued that for sporting audiences outside New Zealand, the country's rugby team is strongly associated with the performance of the Haka; however, it goes without saying that its performance is by no

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(39) The Maori title of the national anthem is 'Aotearoa'.



means limited to being solely a pre-match ritual carried out by members of the All Blacks. As well as being used by Maori warriors as a means of intimidating enemies prior to battle, traditionally a variety of Haka have been performed within Maori communities for a number of reasons such as welcoming guests, acknowledging important achievements and marking ceremonial occasions and funerals. With respect to the contemporary cultural life of New Zealand, a modern manifestation of this phenomenon can be seen in the manner that different versions of the Haka are regularly performed in a variety of contexts by New Zealanders of both Maori and non-Maori heritage. In addition, with regard to the playing of sport in the country, both male and female athletes of several different sports also regularly perform their own Haka both as an integral aspect of training and as mental and physical preparation prior to important matches.

In the context of this discussion it is important to acknowledge that the performance of the Haka does not represent an activity which is value-neutral in New Zealand due to the fact that a number of controversies have arisen in recent years over deliberately disrespectful renditions and claims of cultural appropriation by groups which have demonstrated little or no appreciation of the Haka's importance in traditional Maori culture. However, with regard to the regular performances which now take place in a variety of contexts throughout the country by New Zealanders irrespective of ethnicity, it is held that this phenomenon represents a significant example of how a key aspect of Maori culture has been brought into the cultural heart of the country as a whole. A powerful demonstration of this phenomenon, which was widely reported in the international media, occurred in March 2019 in the aftermath of the racially-motivated shootings that took place in the city of Christchurch. This event is symptomatic of the first of the three serious challenges facing the international community in the current era which were alluded to in Section 1 above, that of a terrorist threat which has the potential to cause havoc in the heart of what were formerly seen as largely peaceful

Strategies to contribute towards the preservation of unique indigenous culture (James Daniel Short) societies. In the days following the shootings in Christchurch, spontaneous Haka performances carried out by groups of students, sportsmen and women, and also members of motorcycle gangs took place in a number of locations across the country in order to honour the victims of the massacre<sup>(40)</sup>.

In addition to the performance of the Haka, it goes without saying that there are numerous other aspects of Maori culture which are highly visible in the cultural life of New Zealand as a whole. As well as there being highly respected centres of learning and research relating to Maori culture and language within all of the country's premier educational institutions, further examples drawn from the country's sporting traditions include ceremonial greetings presented by Maori performers in national dress prior to domestic international matches in a number of sports, and the open displaying of Maori tattoos by many of both their participating male and female athletes. Considered collectively, it is held that these phenomena clearly demonstrate how many aspects of Maori culture have now become integral parts of the whole nation's culture, and that as a consequence this situation has contributed towards the development of the cultural resilience of the Maori.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper has addressed the issue of means by which unique indigenous culture can be preserved for future generations. In keeping with the principles and goals of major initiatives spearheaded by international organisations such as the United Nations, and most specifically that which succeeded in facilitating the passing of the Declaration on

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(40) New Zealand Herald, *Mass haka and waiata performed outside Christchurch mosque to honour shooting victims*, March 21<sup>st</sup> 2019, retrieved July 2019; available at: [https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=12214811](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12214811)

BBC News, *Christchurch shootings: How Maori haka unite New Zealand in mourning*; March 22<sup>nd</sup> 2019, retrieved July 2019; available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-47648393>

the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) at the UN General Assembly in September 2007, indigenous culture is regarded as representing an indispensable part of the world's rich cultural and linguistic diversity and heritage. While acknowledging its great diversity, the paper has put forward the argument that an effective strategy to achieve this broad, multi-generational goal is through the development of cultural resilience within these cultures; the definition of cultural resilience utilised in the discussion is that provided by Holtorf (2018). The basic premise of this argument is that if the cultural resilience of indigenous cultures can be developed, in spite of the many pressures which they commonly encounter as a result of coming into contact with contemporary society, this will increase the likelihood that their unique traditions, customs and languages can be preserved in the future. To illustrate this premise, the cases of two specific indigenous cultures have been discussed - the Sami of northern Norway and the Maori of New Zealand. These cases were chosen due to the fact that in spite of enduring a sustained period of cultural decline as a result of a variety of factors, in recent decades these cultures have experienced significant revitalisation and are now in a generally far healthier state than was the case a century ago. The discussion has focused on some of the means by which this revitalisation has been achieved, which it is held are directly related to the development of cultural resilience within these cultures. With respect to this, emphasis has been placed upon the existence of specific governmental, educational and media institutions within the cultures of the Sami and Maori, and also the visibility of many aspects of their culture within the broader cultural life of the nations of Norway and New Zealand.

Why therefore is it held that these phenomena are significant? Firstly, with regard to the institutions, it is far from a novel observation to state that all cultures require a variety of important pillars around which to orient and focus the activities of their lives. While cultural activities such as the passing down of legends, histories and songs in their original language from one generation to the next are of great importance, so also

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are the basic, nuts-and-bolts mechanisms through which such activities can be facilitated. It is held that the aforementioned institutions provide these vital mechanisms and thereby contribute significantly to the development of the cultural resilience of the Sami and the Maori. In the former case, since 1989 the Sami have possessed the means to exercise a large degree of autonomy over their lives in the regions that they inhabit across large stretches of northern Norway. Furthermore, as well as having the means to extend learning and research into their culture and language within a number of well-respected educational institutions, through specific broadcast media the Sami also possess the means to both maintain and promulgate many aspects of this culture to an audience which now extends far beyond the borders of Norway. With respect to the Maori, in spite of not possessing their own parliament, they have established an education system which operates in their own unique language, centres of learning and research within New Zealand's premier universities, and broadcast media which serve to maintain and celebrate many aspects of their unique culture in a similar fashion to their counterparts in northern Norway.

Furthermore, it is held that an additional factor which has contributed to the development of the cultural resilience of these two indigenous peoples is the fact that many aspects of their unique cultures are now clearly visible within the cultural life of the nations of Norway and New Zealand as a whole. Not wishing to recount once again all of the examples of this described above, the author is proposing that the experience of seeing with their own eyes various expressions of Sami culture on something of a regular basis, and particularly during the period of celebrations which take place on and around the Sami National Day of February 6<sup>th</sup>, is arguably becoming something of a normal facet of life for a significant number of Norwegians. In the case of the Maori, famous cultural expressions such as the performance of the Haka and also the way of singing the country's second national anthem illustrate how certain aspects of Maori culture have to some extent now been embraced as almost essential aspects of what it

means to be a New Zealander, especially perhaps for members of the younger generation. It is held that this process of ongoing cultural revitalisation coupled with mutual recognition and understanding between the ethnic groups within these two nations is likely to continue in the future.

In spite of this largely optimistic prognosis for forthcoming inter-ethnic relations in Norway and New Zealand, it is necessary to state two important caveats. The first of these relates to the general position that has been taken by the state, which in both cases - since the 1980s in the case of the Sami and the 1970s in that of the Maori - has been basically supportive of the developments that have taken place. As an illustration of this, following the decision taken by the national government in 1987 to establish the Sami Parliament, the entirety of subsequent funding required for the construction and ongoing operations of this new governmental body has been provided by the Norwegian state. Similarly in the Maori case, many of the developments which have contributed towards the establishment of the institutions described here in recent decades have also received significant support from the New Zealand state. From this situation it is possible to imagine what the overall situation might have been for both cultures had this consistent support from the state *not* been forthcoming. Had the state been to a large extent indifferent to the issue of contributing towards the preservation of the culture of its indigenous minority, or in a worse scenario had actually been against it, it is likely that the cultural revitalisation which has been witnessed in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries in Norway and New Zealand might not have occurred at all. It is clear that this point should be borne in mind if and when comparisons are made between the cases described in this paper and those of indigenous peoples living in other contexts.

A second caveat relates to the fact that the phenomena highlighted here and the development of cultural resilience which has come about as a result should not be seen

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as representing a panacea for the many and varied challenges that the world's indigenous people are facing. Notwithstanding the aforementioned great diversity which exists among them, despite the positive developments experienced by the Sami and the Maori in recent decades, it is a fact that their communities continue to contend with a number of serious socio-economic problems. In comparison to their non-indigenous counterparts, these communities consistently struggle with an overall condition of economic inferiority, coupled with a lack of economic opportunity and high levels of unemployment. Moreover, in many cases these problems are accompanied by increased incidences of depression, substance abuse and domestic violence. In of itself this situation can be seen as an example of the third of the three serious issues alluded to in Section 1 of this paper - that of the significant wealth gap which exists between those in the top strata of society in comparison to the rest. In this sense, in terms of levels of overall wealth distribution and possession of economic assets it is very often the case that indigenous people find themselves in the most inferior position of all as a result of the reasons which have been elucidated above. Nevertheless, in comparison to the relative cultural nadir which they experienced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, taking a broad view of the current condition of the Sami and the Maori, it can be argued that on a number of fronts these indigenous cultures now find themselves in a far healthier state, and it is held that it is highly unlikely that this cultural revitalisation will experience significant reversals in the foreseeable future.

On the basis of these conclusions, what observations or proposals can therefore be made with respect to indigenous peoples living in other contexts? In forthcoming research, it is the author's intention to apply this line of analysis to the cases of Japan's indigenous peoples, the Ainu and the Ryukyu. While undeniably exhibiting different characteristics to the Sami and the Maori in terms of a number of socio-economic and environmental aspects, the author is of the opinion that several comparable features also exist, and as a consequence believes that such an analysis represents a worthwhile

endeavour. Furthermore, such an analysis is held to be particularly relevant within the current temporal context of the preparations for and the subsequent holding of the great international sporting and cultural event, the Tokyo Olympics of 2020.

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