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# Let's Name It

## Identifying Cultural, Structural and Extractive Violence in Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations

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**ABSTRACT** This article on conflict and power relations between extractive industries and Indigenous groups in Sweden and Australia draws on two case studies to compare situations for Laevas reindeer herding Sami community in Northern Sweden and Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners in South Australia. In this international comparison the analysis, based on the research participants' narratives, employs Johan Galtung's concepts of cultural and structural violence as analytical tools to further explore and contrast the participants' experiences of interactions with extractive industries and industrial proponents. In addition, this study introduces extractive violence—defined as a form of direct violence but relating specifically to extractivism and Indigenous peoples—as a complement to Galtung's model, known as the violence triangle. The results show that although the expressions of cultural, structural and extractive violence experienced by the two Indigenous communities varied, the impacts were strikingly similar. Both communities identified extractive violence, supported by structural and cultural violence, as threats to the continuation of their entire cultures. The study also shows that in order to address violence against Indigenous peoples, Indigenous and decolonising perspectives must be taken into account.

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**KEYWORDS** Aboriginal, Adnyamathanha, conflict, cultural violence, extractive industries, extractive violence, Indigenous, Laevas, LKAB, nuclear waste repository, Sami, structural violence

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## Introduction

It is a sweltering 39 degrees outside and the low humming of air conditioners provide the background noise for our conversation. It is January in Port Augusta, South Australia, and the sun is scorching the ground outside, the dry gum trees providing little shade. One of the Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners, also research participant of this study, says:

We know how it goes [...] We do, we truly do. Because that's happened to us in the past, when people [mining companies] have reported something completely different to what's actually happened.

He speaks in response to me telling the group about a situation far away, in northern Sweden, the location for the other case study included in this comparative project. Where Laevas reindeer herding Sami community was steamrolled by the Swedish mining company, LKAB. The Adnyamathanha participants' words of support and understanding for a Sami community on the other side of the world brings focus to the striking similarities as well as stark differences between the two groups of research participants involved in this study. Two groups of Indigenous people on opposite sides of the world with different livelihoods, cultures, Countries,<sup>1</sup> climates and conditions but with shared aspects of history—their traditional lands being taken from them through colonisation. They also share the way that their lands have been treated by the dominant societies, with extractive industries taking their toll on both Laevas and Adnyamathanha Countries.

This article draws on two case studies to answer the question: How does Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities experience interactions with extractive industries and industrial proponents and what can be learnt by comparing and contrasting the experiences told by the research participants? The analysis was conducted using Galtung's model on cultural, structural and direct violence (Galtung 1969; 1990). However, in order to include Indigenous perspectives and the particular interface between Indigenous groups and extractivism, I introduced my concept of extractive violence in replacement of direct violence.

## Methodology and Theoretical Concepts

The methodological framework for the present article, as well as the two case studies it compares, is founded on Indigenous methodologies. Indigenous theorists such as Karen Martin (2008), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999; 2012), Margaret Kovach (2010) and Jelena Porsanger (2004) have all stressed that research involving Indigenous peoples should be conducted ethically in accordance with Indigenous perspectives and be of relevance for Indigenous

communities. The world's Indigenous peoples are many and diverse. To compare situations for different Indigenous groups might therefore seem precarious, as the mere fact that these groups share Indigeneity does not necessarily mean that they are alike. However, in the face of global extractivism affecting many Indigenous peoples in negative ways, I argue that this international comparison is valid and in line with the study's methodological framework, as it holds relevance for the participating Indigenous groups as well as others facing similar situations. Furthermore, qualitative case study research, yarning as a method for data collection and the use of direct quotes privileges the Indigenous voices involved. An ethnological study, this article should be read as a thorough analysis of the research participants' experiences.

Yarning is "an Indigenous cultural form of conversation" (Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010: 37). Used as a data-gathering tool it involves both researcher and research participants contributing to the conversation (interview) and enables relationship building as well as information exchange (Dean 2010; Michie 2013). The semi-structured interviews undertaken for this study were conducted as yarning sessions. Finally, as an Indigenous researcher I strive to conduct my work from a Decolonising Standpoint, so that my approach is "based on positionality, participation, mutual respect and partnership" (Sehlin MacNeil & Marsh 2015: 119).

International comparative research allows for new perspectives and deeper understandings of already known situations (Hantrais 2009). Case study research is also designed to "unearth new and deeper understanding of [...] phenomena" (Moore, Lapan & Quartaroli 2012: 243) and comparing transnational case studies is one form of international comparative research. Qualitative case study research in particular lends itself to rich descriptions and thus assists contextualisation (Stake 2005; Larsson 2005; Moore, Lapan & Quartaroli 2012). In this case, viewing the cases studied through Galtung's violence triangle with the addition of extractive violence enables new perspectives on situations commonly experienced by Indigenous groups. There are of course pitfalls and Stake (2005: 457) argues "A research design featuring comparison substitutes (a) the comparison for (b) the case as the focus of the study." Why then is the international comparative aspect important for this particular project? I argue that comparing and contrasting experiences held by members of Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities can help shed light from new angles on present situations with roots in the past. The new ways of illuminating situations should not detract from the lived experiences shared by the research participants, on the contrary, it should add perspectives and enable new ideas and questions to grow. Furthermore, this study compares two case studies (Sehlin MacNeil 2015; 2016) each published as the sole focus of respective study.

Both case studies involve Indigenous peoples' experiences of interactions with extractive industries as well as elements of conflict embedded in these interactions. To analyse these power relations that provide growing grounds for conflict, peace researcher Johan Galtung's model known as the violence triangle was chosen (Galtung 1990: 294). The triangle includes direct, structural and cultural violence expanding the concepts of both violence and peace, where peace is not just the absence of direct (physical) violence but also means the absence of discriminating structures and attitudes that justify the injustices (Galtung 1969; Galtung 1990). Galtung's perspectives are useful in Indigenous contexts (Walker 2004), where the violence often manifests as unjust societal structures, racism and discrimination that enable injustices to live on. These manifestations of structural and cultural violence are rarely labelled violence. On the contrary Indigenous peoples that do not experience direct violence at the hands of states or extractive industries are often seen to be fortunate compared to others that do. However, for many Indigenous peoples, closely connected to their traditional lands, extractivism is a form of violence that threatens entire cultures.

*Extractivism, Environmental Violence and Slow Violence*

Extractivism, as defined by Acosta (2013: 62), refers to

those activities which remove large quantities of natural resources that are not processed (or processed only to a limited degree), especially for export. Extractivism is not limited to minerals or oil. Extractivism is also present in farming, forestry and even fishing.

Burchardt and Dietz (2014: 481) define extractivism as “usually used to describe economic models and sectors such as mining that revolve around the extensive extraction of raw materials and their export.” Extractivism is commonly described in terms of economic models. For the sake of this study I would like to expand the definition and use a description of extractivism as an ideology where the driving force is profit driven, to extract and deliver, be it raw materials, resources, culture, knowledge or experiences. The concept of ideology rooted in Marx and Engel's philosophies and then reformulated by many, can mean a set of ideas and beliefs and how these are connected to power and dominance (Nilsson 2009; Eagleton 1991). Galtung (1977) connects ideology with worldview, politics and values and the present study follows his interpretations. Extractivism can be described as a belief or a worldview, where for instance locals have described the LKAB mine in Kiruna as mother, aunty or the hand that feeds (Nilsson 2009: 9).

The two Indigenous groups centred in this study experience extractivism not only through mining, forestry and farming. For many reindeer herd-

ing Sami communities, wind farms pose a great threat as the infrastructure supporting them and the windmills themselves cause a disturbance to the animals (Skarin *et al.* 2015; Lawrence 2014). Tourism can extract resources from nature, be destructive and disruptive to environments and sacred sites because it requires infrastructure, as well as extract culture and knowledge from for example Indigenous peoples (Dyer, Aberdeen & Schuler 2003). Some Indigenous peoples have become the focus of “human safaris” where tourists are brought out to view these groups as exotic artefacts (Hill 2012).

Extractivism is closely related to the concepts of environmental violence and slow violence. Starting with environmental violence, Narchi (2015: 9) states that it

occurs when development plans threaten the livelihoods of people and their possibilities of cultural reproduction by appropriating, transforming, and destroying natural resources and the environments in which these are embedded.

Zimmerer (2014: 268) points out that environmental violence is “a generic term” that “group together a multitude of factors, all of which have serious effects on the earth as a human habitat.” Both Narchi (2015) and Zimmerer (2014) describe environmental violence as both structural and direct and identify economic interests or neoliberal ideologies as common causes for its occurrence. Slow violence, coined by Nixon (2011: 2), is described as

violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all.

Nixon mentions the release of toxins, climate change and radioactive waste among many others as the near invisible perpetrators of slow violence, caused of course, by humans. One of the core aspects of slow violence is time and Nixon (2011: 12) states that his concept “seeks to respond both to recent, radical changes in our geological perception and our changing technological experiences of time.”

While the concept of environmental violence as described by Narchi and Zimmerer can be useful for highlighting power relations that affect both nature and humans it is also very broad and therefore less useful in a specific context, such as conflict between Indigenous peoples and extractive industries. Slow violence on the other hand, also in part relevant for the present study, is too narrow and concerns a very specific type of near invisible violence. Not to say that environmental and slow violence do not affect Indigenous peoples, they certainly do. However, environmental and

slow violence do not specifically relate to Indigenous perspectives and the spiritual connections between people and Country are not necessarily accounted for. In situations involving Indigenous peoples, Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing must be included (see for example Arbon 2008; Marsh 2013; Sehlín MacNeil 2016). My solution to this problem was to introduce my concept of extractive violence, a complement to Galtung's model but specifically relating to peoples with deep spiritual connections to land.

*Introducing Extractive Violence to Complement Galtung's Model*

The term *extractive* combined with the term *violence* shows up in some literature concerning extractive industries, for instance regarding conflict minerals in Africa (see for example Moyroud & Katunga 2002; Muvingi 2007). Extractive violence then describes the direct physical violence inflicted on people by extractive industries wanting access to land.

Further expanding the concept of violence, I see extractive violence as building on Galtung's direct violence but focussing on a specific type of direct violence, one related to Nixon's (2011) slow violence as well as concepts of environmental violence (Narchi 2015; Zimmerer 2014). Galtung also discussed aspects of violence against nature, however not as a specific type of violence different to the other three (see for example Galtung 1990: 294; Galtung & Fischer 2013: 36). I define extractive violence as a form of direct violence against nature, and/or people and animals, caused by extractivism, which predominantly affects peoples closely connected to land (see Fig. 1). This requires a connection to Country in a deep spiritual sense. For Adnyamathanha this connection is called *Muda*, "the unique spiritual link between Adnyamathanha Yuras [people] and Yarta [land] and cultural resources" (Marsh 2010: 124). Marsh (2010: 123) explains that "this sense of belonging is so deep it forms an intrinsic part of Adnyamathanha identity." Similarly, the Laevas research participants often discussed how their connection to the land was difficult to express in other languages than North Sami, and that their perspectives on the value of the land was different to Swedish people's (see Stoor 2017, for a discussion related to this). These connections to Country are deep spiritual, emotional, physical and psychological bonds between peoples and nature that challenge western perspectives, they are not linear but stretch far back into the past as well as forward into the future in a cyclical and spatial fashion (Duran & Duran 2000; Henderson 2000; Walker 2001). When extractivism causes these bonds to be broken or destroyed the effects are devastating for the peoples that experience them. Thus, extractive violence against nature means violence against people. Reid (Reid & Taylor 2011) has described how his relatives suffered physical ailments such as renal disease, diabetes and hypertension after a mining

company in South Australia built a service road destroying their totem of the lizard man, visible in the topography. Reid (Reid & Taylor 2011: 20) states that in accordance with his peoples' worldview and spiritual connection to Country they will "suffer much sickness" if their sacred sites are interfered with as they are closely connected to the sites. Extractive violence should include all the forms of negative impacts extractivism can have on humans, animals, nature and environments, be it extraction of natural resources, culture or knowledge. Building on Galtung's model extractive violence replaces direct violence at the third tip of the triangle, as a complement to structural and cultural violence.

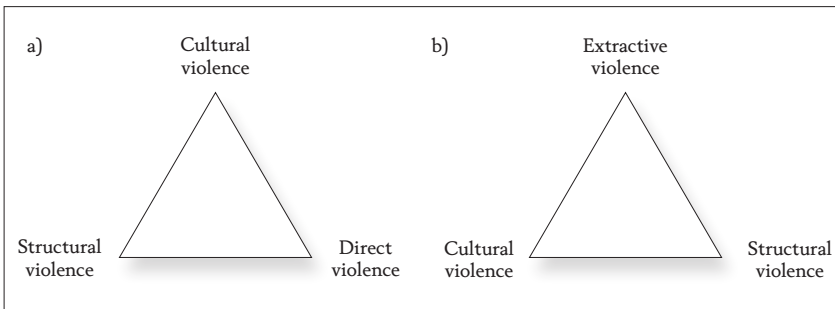


Fig. 1. Galtung's original triangle (a) and the extractive violence modification (b).

## Two Cases of Indigenous and Extractive Industry Relations

This project includes two single case studies exploring experiences of conflict with extractive industries and industrial proponents shared by members of the Laevas reindeer herding Sami community in northern Sweden and the Adnyamathanha community in South Australia. The original group of Sami research participants consisted of four men and two women of varying ages. The Adnyamathanha group was seven, four women and three men, also of varying ages. The two groups of research participants were approached because of their extensive experiences of extractivism on their respective traditional lands.

### *Shafted. Power Relations between Laevas and LKAB*

The first case study focuses on an interaction between members of Laevas reindeer herding Sami community and the Swedish state-owned mining company, LKAB, which took place in the Nordic summer of 2013 (Sehlin MacNeil



2015). A reindeer herding Sami community in Sweden is both an economic association and a specific geographical area. It has an annually elected board and its members can engage in reindeer husbandry within its borders (Löf 2014: 45). Laevas reindeer grazing land is located in the north of Sweden and includes some of the Kiruna area. Kiruna is a mining town, built around LKAB's mine. LKAB is a large company with 4,100 employees and revenue of more than 23 billion Swedish kronor in 2017 (LKAB 2018). LKAB also has a strong standing in the town of Kiruna, as the company is a large employer.

In the summer of 2013, a conflict erupted between mining protestors (some of them Sami) and a mining company in Gállok outside Jokkmokk in northern Sweden. Suddenly the devastating effects the Swedish Mineral Act and mining boom has had on Sami communities became visible to the general public. At the end of August 2013, the Sami Parliament in Sweden published a statement labelling the ongoing mining in Sápmi<sup>2</sup> as human rights offences and declaring that the Sami Parliament could accept no more exploitation of Sápmi (Sametinget 2013). Three days later an article was published in *Aftonbladet*, a Swedish national tabloid, headlined: "We have different interests but we can cooperate." The subheading stated: "Mines can grow without threatening reindeer herding or tourism" (Kuhmunen *et al.* 2013; author's own translation). The article was signed by the chairs of two reindeer herding Sami communities, one of them Laevas, as well as the CEO of LKAB and some tourism operators in Kiruna, making it seem like Laevas contradicted the Sami Parliament.

In reality, the situation was much more complicated. During 2012 and 2013, Laevas worked hard on achieving an agreement with LKAB in order to receive some compensation for destruction of land and loss of time due to consultations and meetings with the mining company. Even though LKAB's largest mine, also the world's largest underground iron ore mine, is located on Laevas grazing lands since over a hundred years back, the Sami community had never received such compensation before. After signing the agreement LKAB suggested publishing an article to inform the public about the project, LKAB's representatives also produced an article and asked the Laevas board members to sign it. The Laevas board member responsible decided not to sign the article as he saw too many problems with the message it conveyed. However, pressure was applied by LKAB and in the end, after making some changes to the article, the Laevas board agreed to sign it. They never saw the headlines and neither did they know that the chair of Laevas would be shown as one of the top signatures, indicating that he was responsible for writing the article.

This case study focuses on the Laevas research participants' experiences of the process around the creation and publication of the aforementioned



article. A total of five semi-structured interviews in the form of yarning sessions (see methodology section for description of yarning) were conducted in order to collect data and the analysis was undertaken using Galtung's concepts of structural and cultural violence as tools. A thematic approach was used to identify main themes (Ehn & Löfgren 1982). Three main themes were found: the power relations between Laevas and LKAB; the timing of the article; and divide and rule tactics used by the mining industry. The themes were explored using a number of the research participants' direct quotes.

Because of LKAB's strong standing in Kiruna, the research participants discussed how they often felt very uncomfortable criticising LKAB in their town. The power relations between LKAB and Laevas are unreasonably unbalanced in a David and Goliath like relationship, and as described by one of the research participants the punishment for challenging the giant could be far reaching: "you know, if we go against this, then we'll get the entire region, the whole municipality against us. What will the consequences for reindeer husbandry be then?"

This meant that the struggle to protect lands and livelihoods became a strategic battle, something that also stood out in the narratives.<sup>3</sup> Small mistakes could have big consequences, not only for Laevas community but also for other reindeer herding communities, adding to the complexity of the situation for reindeer herders.

The second theme explored involved the timing of the article. One of the research participants described the pressure applied by LKAB as Laevas being "steamrolled." He explained how his only possibility of editing the final version was by having it read to him over the phone while he was in remote Norway on reindeer duty: "I did not see this article at all, I just had it read to me over the phone and you know how that is, you lose words."

The research participants also believed that the timing of the article was crucial, not only for LKAB but also for the Swedish state. The conflict in Gállok, between protestors and a mining company, had generated upsetting images of police forcibly removing elderly Sami peacefully protesting the destruction of their traditional lands. The research participants believed that there was a need to silence the mining debate that was gaining momentum: "I think that it was to calm down the Gállok fight, they wanted to kill off the debate a little and put a wedge between us."

The third theme explored, concerning divide and rule tactics used by the mining industry, ties in with the previous quote as the research participant was indicating that the article was designed to create an internal conflict among Sami communities, which it did. The research participants described how they were inundated by angry phone calls from fellow reindeer

herders. The incident was time consuming and stressful and also resulted in damaged relationships. Time that could have been spent protecting grazing lands and livelihoods from the increasing pressure of mining companies now had to be spent remedying a situation created by one of those companies. The research participants also stressed that they were not against publishing an article about the agreement that they had signed with LKAB, on the contrary, informing the public would further consolidate their right to compensation. However, they wanted the article to also convey their message and they worked on making changes to the article in order to highlight their concerns. But in the final version their message was lost: “[...] there was the use of some obscure words in it and those words, they muddled everything [...]”

According to Galtung “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations” (Galtung 1969: 168). In the case of Laevas and LKAB, structural violence can be identified as the actual lack of time, insight and equal opportunities given to the Laevas board members by the mining company as well as the unbalanced power relations due to the state-owned mining company having resources that Laevas could not possibly match. In this specific case, it should be mentioned that LKAB has a communications department, Laevas does not. Furthering the power imbalance, Laevas, like all reindeer herding communities, must adhere to laws set by the Swedish state, the very power that colonised their lands. Cultural violence in this case can be identified as the discriminatory attitudes against Sami that enable the structural violence. Sami in Sweden are often consulted at the last possible moment and given little insight into processes that concern them. Several scholars (for example Lantto 2012; Mörkenstam 1999; Nordin 2002; Åhrén 2008) have pointed to colonial attitudes constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the colonisers believed Sami not fit to take care of their own matters, as the foundation for present day discrimination.

#### *On Equal Terms? Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners' Fight against Nuclear Waste Dumps*

The second case study focuses on Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners' experiences of interactions with the Australian and the South Australian Governments and government consultation processes in the wake of proposed nuclear waste repositories on Adnyamathanha Country (Sehlin MacNeil 2016). As one of Australia's Indigenous peoples, Adnyamathanha are descendants of a number of dialect groups whose traditional land is in and around the South Australian Flinders Ranges (Marsh 2013). Two par-

allel processes suggested South Australia as a possible location for nuclear waste dumps: the Nuclear Fuel Cycle Royal Commission (NFCRC 2016a), established by the South Australian government in March 2015, which included the idea that South Australia host a high level international nuclear waste repository; and the Australian Government's call for nominations for sites suitable for a low level national nuclear waste dump (Australian Government, Department of Industry, Innovation and Service 2016). These two processes, albeit different, were difficult to separate as they were carried out at the same time and both processes employed the same consultant.

Methodologically this case study mirrors the Laevas/LKAB case. A number of semi-structured interviews (yarning sessions) were conducted with seven Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners, several main themes were identified and analysed using the research participants' own words in the shape of direct quotes. In addition Galtung's concepts of structural and cultural violence were used as analytical tools.

The themes identified as most central, issues that consistently stood out in the narratives and that the research participants frequently returned to, were: consultation; culture, in particular the power of language; and the right to Country.

Community consultation was a major issue discussed in the interviews. Regarding the nuclear processes the research participants pointed out a number of FPIC<sup>4</sup> (free, prior and informed consent) breaches such as the community not being given appropriate information about the consultation processes; community members not being given the full opportunity to participate in consultation due to conflicts of interest between the state and federal processes resulting in confusion; and lack of language services. Although the Traditional Owners voiced their concerns to the government representatives and provided recommendations for improving consultation, their suggestions were not heard: "They are totally ignoring what we're saying to them about why the community consultation isn't working."

The second theme explored was linked to language. The research participants described how their language, Yura Ngawarla, is central to the community's knowledge systems—systems that inform the meaning of for instance consultation and participation. The consultation conducted for the proposed nuclear waste dumps did not include interpretation services and thus Adnyamathanha people who wanted to have their say in their own language were excluded. This was even though the NFCRC Tentative Findings clearly stated that interpretive services should be provided when engaging Aboriginal communities (NFCRC 2016b: 22). One of the research participants described the power of language as:

[...] our language is so central to the way that we are connected to the land but it is also very central to how we are being disempowered, how we're being cut out of the consultation and decision making processes.

In addition the research participants pointed out that the level of English language used in the nuclear processes was very technical and not comprehensible to all. The lack of information in plain English also alienated community members.

The third and final main theme, the right to Country, involved concerns about native title and heritage protection. Although views on land management could vary between the research participants, all seven consistently stressed the importance of the land and their connection to it. Adnyamathanha hold Native Title over parts of their traditional lands according to the Australian Native Title Act.<sup>5</sup> Several participants felt that the Native Title framework was prone to corruption. Even though Native Title had given the community some power it had also become a divide and rule strategy used by the Australian Government:

This is what's been happening ever since we've had this thing called Native Title. Native Title right from the very beginning was designed so that individual people could negotiate individual deals, in private, without any community consultation, as representatives of their community.

Other concerns about heritage protection included the Australian Government accepting a site as suitable for a nuclear waste dump next door to Yappala Station, an Adnyamathanha IPA (Indigenous Protected Area). When alerted to this fact the government representatives showed little understanding for Yappala Station being a site of great importance to the Adnyamathanha community.

In this case study structural violence was evidenced through lack of information to the community; lack of language services; conflict of interest between state and federal processes; and government representatives approaching individuals rather than the community. Cultural violence in this case was exemplified by Australian attitudes to Indigenous land rights manifested in the legal system (for example the Native Title Act) and visible in the state and federal nuclear processes. Colonial attitudes and racism are fundamental values of Australian society according to Dodson (2004: 119) and ensures that Aboriginal spiritual and other connections to Country continue to be ignored, trivialised or even ridiculed.

## Comparing across Continents

How then does extractive, cultural and structural violence affect the Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities and what can be learnt by comparing and contrasting experiences shared by the research participants in our yarning sessions? Starting with extractive violence, Laevas has extensive experience of mining, forestry, windmills, tourism and infrastructure on their land. They are also presently facing the much-publicised relocation of the town Kiruna with everything that entails. The relocation is necessary because of the LKAB underground iron ore mine, which has grown to the extent where it is now a threat to Kiruna. Additionally the Laevas community has to contend with climate change. All things accumulated the pressure has become enormous for the reindeer herders in their struggle to sustain their livelihood of reindeer husbandry (Löf 2014). As spoken by one Laevas research participant:

It's a constant worry the whole time, about the wellbeing of the reindeer, because the reindeer is what everything is about. Everything. There are so many factors that cause that worry that we can't influence, we can't influence the climate, we can't change what forestry has done.

Similar to Laevas the Adnyamathanha community has experienced extractive violence in the shape of mining, infrastructure, farming and tourism. However, the Adnyamathanha and Laevas narratives differed where the Laevas participants' main concerns were for the reindeer. Rather than speaking about sacred sites, their focus was on reindeer grazing areas and the land sustaining the reindeer herds and reindeer husbandry. The Adnyamathanha participants, on the other hand, focused on the land and particular sites as sacred, bearers of culture, language and history. As described by one of the Adnyamathanha Traditional Owners:

I really give full credit to our people for sticking to their guns and really fighting for their rights as far as saving a lot of our sacred sites. Because Adnyamathanha is made up of our Muda, every time there is a new place to mine, the first thing that comes to mind with people like us is the Muda. What story line goes through there?

The Laevas participants described that the reindeer have significance in two ways, both as the legal reason for why they can use the land and also as the carriers of culture as the reindeer herders follow the reindeer. The former reason is of course a product of colonisation. The Laevas narratives also indicated that the land was important spiritually and emotionally as it held Sami history, however, this aspect came through much stronger in the Adnyamathanha narratives.

So, whereas both groups of research participants frequently returned to concerns about extractive violence on their lands, the types of concerns differed. Yet, the narratives about experiences of extractive violence as well as the effects of extractive violence on respective communities had striking similarities. The research participants on both continents shared fears for the future of their cultures. Furthermore, both groups consistently connected culture and language to the land. Both groups saw extractive violence as a threat not only to the land but also to culture and language.

Extractive violence does not occur in a vacuum. On the contrary, it is dependent on societal structures, laws, rules (written and unwritten) and policies. These structures in turn depend on societal attitudes. For instance, in order to put a political party, advocating the development of Indigenous lands, into power, the majority of voters must share the attitude that Indigenous peoples matter less than development. These structures and attitudes constitute structural and cultural violence and are the foundation for the extractive violence experienced by the Laevas and Adnyamathanha research participants.

Following Galtung (1990; Galtung & Fischer 2013), cultural violence is defined as aspects of culture demonstrated through religion, ideology, language, art, empirical science and formal science that are used to legitimise structural or direct violence. Both Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities have been subjected to cultural violence in several ways. Historically Sami and Aboriginal Australians were subjected to Christianity through forced conversion, and both Indigenous peoples experienced abuse at the hands of the respective churches in various ways (Lindmark & Sundström 2016; Mattingley & Hampton 1988). Regarding language, one of the Adnyamathanha participants succinctly described how language both empowered and disempowered the community—Yura Ngwarla (Adnyamathanha language) empowering the community through carrying culture and history but also being used to disempower the community when the government processes neglected to include translation services. The Laevas participants spoke about similar aspects of language, how they were being disempowered in consultation processes because there were no provisions for speaking North Sami. Instead they were expected to speak Swedish or worse, English, and they said that they could not accurately express their views of the land, culture, history and reindeer husbandry in other languages than their own. On the topic of art, there would be numerous examples of culturally violent art affecting Indigenous peoples, however, there would also be numerous examples of Indigenous resistance art, resisting violence, cultural, structural, extractive and direct (for example Gállók Protest Art).

Cultural violence through empirical and formal science has certainly been well described by a large number of distinguished Indigenous scholars (see for example Arbon 2008; Kovach 2010; Kuokkanen 2007; Nakata 2007; Smith 1999; Smith 2012) where Indigenous peoples have been poked and prodded, and Indigenous epistemologies, axiologies and ontologies have been ignored or repressed. All of the above are expressions of cultural violence that affect the Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities, however, in the two case studies analysed, ideology is the one driver of cultural violence that stands out in the narratives shared by both groups. It seems in many ways that ideology now causes cultural violence of the type that religion once did, so that ideology in a sense has replaced religion. This is also a point made by Galtung and Fischer (2013: 51), who states that: “Religion and God may be dead, but not the idea of sharp and value-loaded dichotomies.” Ideology, like religion, creates a divide between the chosen and un-chosen, the self and the other (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51).

Howlett *et al.* (2011: 310) suggests that neoliberalism “has become so hegemonic and pervasive that it has been incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world.” According to neoliberal ideologies and the belief in progress through furthering development and technology and mining the Earth for resources to do so, the ones “resisting” this progress become the un-chosen ones. Of course, neither Laevas nor Adnyamathanha communities actually resist progress, they simply resent the destruction of their lands. In this relationship between the self and the other, the extractive industries are seen as the self, they support progress, and the Indigenous communities as the other, they are seen to resist progress. Progress is perceived as good and resisting progress as bad. This means that “A steep gradient is then constructed, inflating, even exalting the value of Self, deflating, even debasing the value of Other” (Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51). This way, the Indigenous communities are easily undermined and a growing ground for structural violence is created.

Structural violence is essentially power imbalance, labelled “exploitation” by Galtung and Fischer (2013: 38), where some have much and others have little. Galtung identified several components that reinforce the violent structures, namely penetration, segmentation, fragmentation and marginalisation. Where penetration meant “implanting the topdog mind inside the underdog;” segmentation meant “giving the underdog only a very partial view of reality;” fragmentation meant “keeping the underdogs away from each other;” and marginalisation meant “keeping the underdogs on the outside.”

For the sake of the present study these components could be seen as: neoliberal and extractivist ideologies being pushed on Indigenous commu-



nities by extractive industries making extractive industries seem like the chosen and Indigenous communities the unchosen; withholding of information and dysfunctional consultation processes conducted by extractive industries and governments; extractive industries engaging individuals rather than communities and promoting Indigenous internal conflicts; and extractive industries upholding power imbalances through maintaining status quo where Indigenous communities have less power.

The actual experiences of structural violence described by the research participants on both continents were case specific and thus varied. However, the expressions of structural violence stemmed from the same kind of seed—grossly imbalanced power relations. Where the Laevas participants talked about having lack of insight and participation in a process that highly affected them, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke about lack of information and language services in a process that highly affected them. The Laevas participants talked about divide and rule tactics and how they thought that the article was designed to create an internal conflict amongst Sami people and communities. Similarly, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke about divide and rule strategies as industrial proponents and the governments approaching individuals rather than engaging the community. Both groups also talked about laws, enforced upon them by the states that colonised their lands, as having negative impacts on their communities. One example would be the mineral acts of both Sweden and South Australia, the structures that dictate how extractive violence in the shape of mining is inflicted on Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities.

The Laevas and Adnyamathanha narratives about interactions with extractive industries shared many similarities. Extractive industries are global and both groups of research participants had very similar experiences of extractive violence caused by for example, mining companies. However, the Adnyamathanha participants spoke more about experiencing negative impacts of colonisation such as racism and discrimination. Thus, the experiences of cultural and structural violence came across stronger in the Adnyamathanha narratives, not to say that they were not evident in the Laevas narratives. However, the narratives on experiences and impacts of extractive violence on both communities were strikingly similar, indicating that although the Swedish cultural and structural violence against Sami could seem less overt, it is no less prevalent as the extractive violence experienced by Laevas was of the same magnitude as that experienced by the Adnyamathanha community. This difference between Sweden and Australia can also be detected in scholarly literature where Australia has been described as a country with racism as a core value (Dodson 2004; Dunn *et al.* 2004) but Sweden still seems to enjoy (at least to some degree) an in-

ternational reputation of being a country with human rights as a core value (Hällgren 2005). For Indigenous communities, in this case Laevas, this is an additional type of cultural violence inflicted on them (see Galtung & Fischer 2013: 51 for an argument related to this). It can be difficult for Sami communities to be heard in their struggles against extractive violence when the nation state and coloniser of their lands uphold an image of being a human rights oriented country. The narratives given by the Adnyamathanha participants showed that not being heard was a problem they shared, however, as shown in the case study on the nuclear processes the government blatantly failed to implement their own recommendations on how to engage with Aboriginal communities (see for example the NFCRC 2016b: 22). Furthermore, the many FPIC (free, prior and informed consent) breeches pointed out in the narratives indicated that the Australian and South Australian governments were less interested in hiding behind human rights façades.

## Conclusion

At the heart of this article lies the aim to view the situations experienced by Laevas and Adnyamathanha communities from new angles. By viewing experiences shared by the research participants through Galtung's remodelled triangle, with the addition of extractive violence, the aim is not just to compare and contrast experiences of conflict but also to shine a stronger light—to see beyond development, progression and extractivist ideologies upheld in Sweden and Australia. By doing so, it becomes clear that what is actually occurring between extractive industries and the two Indigenous communities involved is violence and should be labelled as such.

The narratives given by the Laevas and Adnyamathanha research participants provide unmistakable evidence of cultural, structural and extractive violence inflicted on the communities by extractive industries, industrial proponents and governments. Some of the strategies used in interactions with Indigenous communities have been described as predatory behaviours (see for example Alfred & Corntassel 2005; Korten 2002; Marsh 2013). Several of these behaviours have been outlined in this study and identified as cultural or structural violence. However, when used against Indigenous people and communities these strategies or behaviours are rarely recognised or labelled as violence. This could be because the unequal power balance between extractive industries (industrial proponents and governments included) and Indigenous communities give extractive industries the prerogative to label themselves pro-progression (seen as positive) and Indigenous communities anti-progression (seen as negative) without being challenged by others than those already branded as negative and backwards—Indigenous communities and their allies. Galtung's model certainly supports this idea.

Another reason could be a reluctance to identify other forms than direct physical violence as violence. This reason would make it all the more important to illuminate and name the above outlined occurrences of cultural, structural and extractive violence. To understand the impact extractive violence or the destruction of Country has on Indigenous communities, Indigenous perspectives must be included. Furthermore, Indigenous world views must be acknowledged and taken into account in order to successfully transform conflicts between Indigenous groups and extractive industries (Marsh 2013; Walker 2004). This means acquiring a holistic view of the impacts extractive industries have. A mine is never just a hole in the ground. A mine can cause psychological, physical and spiritual destruction, it can threaten languages and cultures, social systems and livelihoods. A mine can wipe out a people.

Galtung set out to expand the concepts of both violence and peace in order to view peace as more than just the absence of direct violence. As such, Galtung's model enables a more rounded view of violence, its impacts as well as its growing grounds and reasons for those growing grounds. Additionally, it offers a more holistic view of what peace could be, not just the absence of direct violence but also the absence of exploitation, racism and discrimination. Coupled with Indigenous and decolonising methodologies a model where cultural, structural and extractive violence interplay, enables us to not only identify and name the violence but also identify the different areas where efforts could be made to address and end all kinds of violence against Indigenous peoples.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Country in Australian Indigenous contexts means much more than just land, the term involves the land as a “living, creative entity with a deep ongoing relationship with the humans responsible for it” (Kowal 2015: 194).
- <sup>2</sup> Sápmi is “the land of the Sami,” it covers the north of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Kola Peninsula. Sami are an Indigenous people as well as an ethnic minority in these countries (Lundmark 1998; Reimerson 2015: 21).
- <sup>3</sup> In this study the term narrative should be understood as a research participant’s account or story of an experience and not as the theoretical orientation of narrative analysis or inquiry.
- <sup>4</sup> The United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly in 2007 (United Nations 2007). The principle of Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) is a key concept presented in the Declaration and has become an integral part of the Indigenous human rights agenda (Hales *et al.* 2013).
- <sup>5</sup> The Australian Native Title Act of 1993 followed the historic Mabo decision in 1992, which recognised Indigenous rights to land (Howlett *et al.* 2011). The Native Title Act was amended in 1997 and has been criticised by many as undermining rather than strengthening Indigenous land rights (for example Cleary 2014; Howitt 2006; Marsh 2010; Dodson 2004).

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