Norwegian University
of Life Sciences

Insight into the conflict at Standing Rock: Extractive politics, indigeneity, violence, and local autonomy

Jaclyn Rogers
International Development Studies

The Department of International Environmental and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). Eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and assignments.

The Noragric Master theses are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfill the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "International Development Studies" and "International Relations".

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

Noragric

Department of International Environment and Development Studies

P.O. Box 5003

N-1432 Ås

Norway

Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00

Fax: +47 64 96 52 01

Internet: http://www.nmbu.no/noragric

Declaration

I, Jaclyn Rogers, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree,

Signature: …………………………..

Date: …………………………………..

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank John A. McNeish for his guidance and patience throughout the research and writing process. His insight lead to a more thorough approach to this thesis.

Also, I am grateful to the Norwegian University of Life Sciences and the Department of International Environment and Development Studies for the opportunity to participate in the International Development Studies program.

Further, I would like to thank those who I interviewed for this thesis, especially for giving your time to me when there was little time to be had.

Thank you to my friends, both in Ås and abroad, for being there.

And thank you to my family, especially Augie, for always showing support and for being proud of me.

Abstract

This thesis explores several different aspects of the conflict at Standing Rock, including extractive politics, indigeneity, violence, and the resulting manifestation of local autonomy, particularly that regarding reconciliation, using a political ecology and human rights analytical framework. The purpose of this research was to contribute to the current understanding of conflicts regarding the extraction industry, including the effect that extractive activities and the resulting violence have on local autonomy. The methodology for this thesis is based on a qualitative approach, and included collecting primary data using semi-structured interviews and observations in the field; and secondary data collection from those actors most closely involved in the conflict and other important actors such as the United Nations.

Findings of this research suggest that an important outcome of Standing Rock has been the 'waking up' of a movement working towards Indigenous rights, which has also resulted in a major movement to defund banks that fund the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). Findings also suggest that the effect that Standing Rock has had goes further than issues directly related to the conflict over DAPL, and reaches into other aspects of the social sphere and personal lives. The conclusion, thus, is that violence was present in several forms, including structural, cultural, and direct, and actions taken resulting from the conflict at Standing Rock have resulted in a few tangible outcomes such as the divestment movement and increased social unity.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

DAPL	Dakota Access Pipeline
DRIP	Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
PTSD	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
USACE	U.S. Army Corps of Engineers

Table

1. Introduction

This thesis explores the Standing Rock conflict with the aim of revealing its dynamics and possibilities of outlining a foundation for its cessation and "healing," as well as the role that local autonomy plays in the outcome of events. The Standing Rock Sioux of North and South Dakota in the United States have faced a history of conflict with the United States government that includes broken treaties and the violation of established human and indigenous rights. This history of conflict, however, continues to present day with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe in the context of the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). The route of this pipeline takes it under the Lake Oahe portion of the Missouri River (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-a), and less than one half mile from the border of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. The Sioux are concerned about the threat that the pipeline poses to the preservation of their water supply (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-a) i.e. the Missouri River, which supplies the largest amount of water to the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation (Standing Rock, n.d.-a). In addition to threatening water resources, the re-routing of the pipeline (from crossing the Missouri River just north of Bismarck, North Dakota to instead crossing the river just north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation) is considered an act of environmental racism by the Sioux and protesters (McKibben, 2016).

Barry (2013) writes that there is not a clear approach to addressing the workings of the oil industry through social research. Given this flexibility, the methodology I chose to conduct research for this thesis consists of qualitative content analysis of both primary and secondary data, and includes data collection through my own fieldwork. This included visiting Standing Rock and reaching out to people who have been involved in the conflict, both native and non-native. In addition, I attended events relating to the conflict, and collected secondary data from electronic sources. Through use of this methodology the thesis intends to significantly add to what is already known about the Standing Rock conflict as well as to understand the role that autonomy played in the outcome of events and actions taken after Standing Rock had ended. The experiences of those who are enmeshed in this conflict are studied through an explicit political ecology and human-rights approach.

It is important to emphasize here that the events at Standing Rock are part of a larger global trend of violence caused by the activities of the extraction industry. Barry (2013) notes that,

Critics of the oil industry have also sought to demonstrate that individual objects and events can be taken as indicators of the ethical conduct of the industry in general and should, in this sense, be understood as more than merely individual issues or legal cases. In this context, what matters is not just the specificity of the disputed issue, but the way in which the issue reveals the existence of more widespread and problematic tendencies in the way the oil industry operates. (p. 81)

Examples of conflict caused by the extraction industry can be found in many parts of the world, from Latin America (McNeish & Logan, 2012; McNeish, Borchgrevink, & Logan, 2015), to Nigeria (Ikelegbe, 2005), to Iraq (Watts, 2003), to Sudan (Switzer, 2002). The conflict at Standing Rock as presented below, thus, must be understood to be another aspect of a much larger issue at hand.

While the conflict at Standing Rock itself emerged due to a larger institutional and governmental structure, the autonomy of the actors within that structure must be recognized as well. This thesis, thus, explores the power dynamics between the U.S. government and oil industry, and the government of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe using a political ecology analytical framework, but also seeks to understand the effects of the conflict that reach farther than the resistance to DAPL itself by drawing on the concept of local autonomy and its role in affecting the existing power structure. Local autonomy is "conceptualised as freedom from higher powers, but also include[s] the capacity for developing or expressing local identity" (Pratchett, 2004, p. 359). It is also "not simply about the discretion of elected local government, but is also about the wider social and political relations that occur within a community" (Pratchett, 2004, p. 367). For these reasons, a discussion of indigeneity as it relates to Standing Rock is included, as well as an exploration of the outcomes of the expression of local autonomy of those involved in the conflict. A discussion of violence and human-rights violations is also presented to demonstrate the unequal power relations that exist in this context.

1.1 Objectives and research questions

This thesis aims to contribute to understanding of violence in the context of extractive practices, and how local autonomy in this context can manifest, by analyzing the events at Standing Rock and the experiences of those who participated. The questions that this research explores are the following:

- In what ways are structural, cultural, and direct violence manifest at the conflict at Standing Rock? This includes direct, structural, and cultural violence that can be witnessed on multiple levels, such as between the U.S. government, law enforcement agencies, and the oil industry with members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and other Indigenous and non-native protestors, as well as between natives and non-natives involved in the activities pertaining to Standing Rock.
- How has local autonomy manifested regarding the conflict at Standing Rock?
- In what ways do the events at Standing Rock fit within the local, and national, political ecology?

1.2 Influence for research topic

During my time in the International Development Studies Master's program at The Norwegian University of Life Sciences, a great deal of emphasis is placed on studying economic, political, and social dynamics in the global south. This is one of the reasons I initially enrolled in the program. However, it became apparent to me during the first year of my studies that on reflection there were also issues that needed to be addressed in my home country, the United States. I decided that the most meaningful way for me to spend the time, energy, and effort that goes into writing a Master's thesis would be to contribute to the discussion of the protection of fundamental rights of marginalized populations back home. So, it was with this in mind that I chose to focus my energy on the events at Standing Rock.

1.3 Literature review

The writing of this thesis required a review of literature on the various topics that are brought together in this research. An understanding of the way in which politics and the extractive industry influence each other was necessary in order to understand the actions of the U.S. government regarding the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, and their subsequent treatment of the Standing Rock Sioux in the process. Essentially, extractive politics includes the institutional structure in place that allows for extractivism to occur (Merino Acuña, 2015), thus, supporting economies that rely on the planet's non-renewable resources (Omeje, 2008). The importance of discussing conflicts that arise due to extractivism is important, as Barry (2013) states that individual cases of conflict regarding these extractives activities can be used to represent a larger problem of this industry. Another aspect of these conflicts to consider is the relationship that the people have with the land where these extractive activities are taking place (McNeish, 2017).

This relationship between the people, the land, and extractive politics necessitated a discussion of the concept of indigeneity, and specifically, as it pertained to Standing Rock. Indigeneity involves self-identification and self-determination of what this term means to individuals and groups. However, it is often used to make political claims based on differences relating to culture, and has thus, become used for groups to create a political identity (Yeh & Bryan, 2015). Thus, indigeneity plays an important role in the politics of a nation and the place that indigenous peoples occupy in that nation (Postero, 2013). It is also essential to recognize the nuances present in the concept of indigeneity as they contribute to the understanding of indigenous peoples in the light of the historical setting and their relationship to development and the environment (McNeish, 2013).

The context of conflict, extractive politics, and indigeneity, involves the concept of violence. The three types of violence addressed in this thesis as they played out in the conflict at Standing Rock are direct, cultural, and structural (Galtung, 1990). Direct violence can manifest in both psychological and physical ways, involving either killing or harming the physical body, or restricting movements and/or the mental functions of a person. The perpetrator of direct violence is known (Galtung, 1969). Structural violence includes the institutional structures in place which cause loss of dignity and opportunity and barriers to gaining a livelihood (Mullen, 2015). Cultural violence is violence directed toward varying cultural aspects, including but not exclusive to religion, and is used as justification for the perpetration of direct and structural violence. There is a recognized causal relationship between these three types of violence (Galtung, 1990), with structural violence causing other forms of violence (Mullen, 2015; Lee, 2016; Galtung, 1990).

As stated in the introduction, this thesis aims to understand the role that local autonomy played in the broader structure discussed above, and how this has changed the actions of those affected. A discussion of local autonomy is particularly important in this context because it brings together the different aspects of the conflict at Standing Rock that are described above by showing how those aspects have come together to manifest in action taken by individuals and communities affected by the conflict. Pratchett (2004) defines local autonomy as,

> Firstly, it is possible to define and analyse local autonomy as freedom from higher authorities. Secondly, it is possible to define local autonomy by the effects of local governance and its freedom to achieve particular outcomes. Finally, it is possible to

define and analyse local autonomy as the reflection of local identity – the ability of communities to reflect their own sense of place and meaning within localities. (p. 363)

This thesis also draws on the concept of local autonomy as described by Orbach (2011),

> Meanwhile, other practitioners understand participation as a manifestation of our fundamental human right to make the decisions that affect our lives. From this perspective, participation is seen as 'a vehicle for radical social transformation' (Mansuri and Rao 2004, p. 7) because it encourages acts of local organising, with the goal of gaining control over one's life, livelihood and local environments (Borrini-Feyerabend 1997). In the process, prevailing social relationships of power and dominance may be questioned, rejected and, ideally, altered (Groot 2002). (p. 197)

Thus, a discussion of the outcomes of local autonomy as related to Standing Rock, especially that of the ability of people to define their own meaning, is presented at the end. This discussion of local autonomy includes the concept of reconciliation. Galtung (2001) defines reconciliation as "the process of healing the traumas of both victims and perpetrators after violence, providing a closure of the bad relation" (p.3). Galtung (2001) went on to say that, "Reconciliation is a theme with deep psychological, sociological, theological, philosophical, and pro-foundly human roots" (p. 4). Fisher (2001), acknowledges that reconciliation is necessary in order to end conflicts and the cyclical nature of these damaging situations. He also notes that reconciliation is an essential part to a genuine ending and that if it is not present, that the gestures made toward reconciling may be superficial. Bar-Siman-Tov (2004) noted that reconciliation is necessary for the growth of mutual trust between the opposing sides in a conflict, and that this trust is necessary to maintain peace.

The concept of justice is also briefly touched on in this thesis. This comment by Bishop and Phillips (2006) demonstrates the interaction between violence, justice, and the law,

> Violence is perceived, always, as excessive to some stable principle, condition, or state of affairs (e.g. the Law). But this excess also makes justice possible as a necessary action over and above whatever conditions prevail. Such a situation then gives rise to a concept of present justice that remains beyond, or exceeds, the Law. All attempts to establish justice, therefore, aim either to revise existing laws or to establish laws not yet in existence. No such attempt would escape violence. (pp. 378-379)

Throughout these chapters, there is an intention to follow the tradition of *emotionalism* in qualitative research. According to Silverman and Marvasti (2008), *emotionalism* "favors the personal biography" (p. 133), "locates the real in the emo-tional life of the researcher and the respondents" (p. 15), and is "especially concerned with authenticity" (p. 15). Bryman (2008) noted that *emotionalism* focuses on subjectivity and accessing the personal experience of humans. Use of the term "healing" in this thesis stems from the idea that "Psychological conceptions of healing involve reordering an individual's sense of position in the universe" (Egnew, 2005, p. 255) and leads to greater wholeness of the personality. It also refers to the coming together of body, mind, and spirit (Egnew, 2005) and there is a "focus on issues of social organization, roles, meaning, and personal growth" (Egnew, 2005, p. 255).

Thus, the purpose of this research is to provide deeper insight into what is already known about conflicts regarding the extractive industry, while recognizing the role that autonomy plays in affecting the outcomes of these conflicts by documenting the way that some individuals and communities responded to the events at Standing Rock.

1.4 Structure of thesis

This thesis includes 7 chapters. Chapter 1 includes the introduction, the objectives of this research and the research questions that it addresses, what influenced my decision to pursue research on the conflict at Standing Rock, and a literature review. Chapter 2 consists of the methodology I used for this thesis and includes my research approach, research design, explanation of data sampling and data collection, data analysis, and the ethical considerations and limitations regarding my research. Chapter 3 is the contextual background section and includes the location and historical context of the conflict at Standing Rock, description of the nature of the protests there, and information about the Standing Rock Sioux. The theoretical framework is presented in Chapter 4 and includes a section on political ecology and a section on a rights-based approach to development and how I use them together, with a description of the documents that I used in my analysis- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)- as well as collective and environmental rights. Chapter 5 outlines the findings of my research, as well as presenting discussions on these findings. The sections in this chapter include extractive politics; indigeneity and identity; violence, including direct, structural, and cultural violence; and a

section on local autonomy. Chapter 6 of this thesis is the conclusion, and Chapter 7 lists the references consulted.

2. Methodology

2.1 Research approach

My aim in this thesis was to conduct qualitative research based in grounded theory. Grounded theory is an approach to research which allows for both theory and the research to be carried out at the same time, with each one building on and shaping the other. In this way, it is possible to be continuously questioning and changing the direction of the research, and ultimately, theory is derived from the results of the research. Some writers argue that grounded theory is not a theory in its own right, but rather a method of developing theory from data, or that it is not theory that is developed but rather concepts (Bryman, 2008). However, the way in which I have employed the use of grounded theory in a qualitative research context is that of the progression of theories (or concepts) and data collection in a simultaneous fashion, as both aspects advanced together constantly influencing the other.

The way in which I approach qualitative research for this thesis acknowledges subjectivity as a valid approach to interpreting the world, and "the stress is on the understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman, 2008, p.366). It has been suggested that there are 4 traditions that can be used to approach qualitative research. Of these 4, the tradition I have chosen to work from as a point of reference is that of *emotionalism*, which "exhibits a concern with subjectivity and gaining access to 'inside' experience; is concerned with the inner reality of humans" (Bryman, 2008, p. 367).

In addition to this, I build on theory from social psychology as presented by Stainton Rogers (2011), Fox, Prilleltensky, and Austin (2009), and Herré (as cited in Stainton Rogers, 2011). In particular, I used that of critical social psychology, which "views the social world as produced by people interacting with each other" (Stainton Rogers, 2011, p. 10). Several approaches to critical psychology are relevant to the thesis. Herré (as cited in Stainton Rogers, 2011) notes that social constructivism and discursive psychology, "'take people to be active agents, whose conduct is to be seen as attempts to realize, together with others, plans, projects and intentions according to the rules and norms of the local society'" (p. 6). Stainton Rogers (2011) also describes psycho-social psychology as that which studies the psychological aspects of social processes and the relationship of these processes with

subjectivity- understanding that subjectivity is shaped by social, cultural, as well as historic factors. Personal construct theory, argues that the inner workings of an individual's mind shapes their experience and behaviour. According to Fox et al. (2009), "Dominant cultural, economic, and political institutions exhibit two fundamental problems especially relevant to psychology: they misdirect efforts to live a fulfilling life and they foster inequality and oppression" (pp. 3-4). Both Fox et al. (2009) and Stainton Rogers (2011) note that social justice is a focus of critical social psychology work. And Fox et al. (2009), stated that "we know that personal, professional, and political biases affect which research questions we ask, which methodology we use, which conclusions we reach" (p. 11).

2.2 Research design

As discussed above, my use of grounded theory enables the collection of data and the emergence of concepts at the same time. Thus, the design of my research evolved throughout the entire period of research. My research involved several angles, including fieldwork, primary data collection over the internet, and incorporated secondary data collection from electronic sources. My field work included 2 days in and around the vicinity of Standing Rock; a benefit concert I attended in Appleton, Wisconsin; attendance of a seminar held at the Samisk Hus in Oslo, Norway where 5 Indigenous women from the United States spoke about their experiences with the events at Standing Rock. The primary data collection over the internet included two semi-structured interviews, one over Skype and the other on the phone after having left the field at Standing Rock. The secondary data collection from electronic sources included online news articles from indigenous and main stream media sources; and from websites and social media. This includes those connected to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, Energy Transfer Partners and DAPL, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, as well as other websites and video footage containing content regarding the conflict. These sources will be discussed in more detail below.

By collecting secondary data from electronic sources, I am able to include insight from individuals and organizations that I may not have had access to otherwise as well as becoming aware of themes that I had not originally identified during my primary data collection period. Also, as Shirky (2011) notes, "social media have become coordinating tools for nearly all of the world's political movements" (p. 30), and as Auger (2013) stated "it has provided a substantial new platform for the democratization of interests and ideas by dramatically expanding the opportunity for expression of competing and controversial ideas

in society" (p. 369). The use of data from secondary online resources is a valuable aspect of this thesis.

2.3 Data sampling and collection

2.3.1 Data sampling

I have utilized two sampling approaches for this thesis. This includes purposive sampling and probability sampling. Purposive sampling is generally the more utilized of these two in qualitative research as it is a non-probability approach to identifying research participants. In this way, those chosen to participate are connected and relevant for contributing to the research questions at hand. Probability sampling, while not as common in qualitative research, is also a valid sampling method, and is utilized in qualitative research contexts that rely on interview-based research (Bryman, 2008). Identifying research participants through probability sampling means finding, "a sample that has been selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has a known chance of being selected" (Bryman, 2008, p. 168). An advantage of probability sampling, as opposed to purposive sampling, is that it is easier to generalize the results to a wider group of people (Bryman, 2008).

While at Standing Rock, I utilized a probability sampling approach by interviewing those whom I encountered by chance during the duration of my stay. The result was that I interviewed 4 individuals (all male, 1 in his 20s, 1 in his 30s, and 2 who are in their 40s; also, 2 of these individuals are Indigenous, while the other 2 are non-native). Only 2 of these 4 individuals allowed me audio record the interview, thus, direct quotes from the 2 who I did not audio record could not be included in the findings and discussion portion of this thesis. I approached several other individuals during this time, but was given the same reason as to why they did not want to participate i.e they did not feel like they were the appropriate person to be answering my questions. Another comment I heard several times from individuals I spoke with was that they felt that it was a waste of people's time to ask them to stop and talk to me while there were so many other urgent tasks to attend to, both at Standing Rock, and for those who were continuing to do work related to the conflict from other locations. I met one individual in Norway who had been to Standing Rock as well, but she also felt that she was not in a position to respond to my questions. Also, interviews with 3 different people I set up did not take place as the person I was meant to interview over Skype/phone did not show up nor continue to respond to my messages after they initially agreed to the interview.

In addition to this, a 'shout out' was posted on Facebook by an individual who had been to Standing Rock to be shared with her friends who had also been there, asking anyone who was interested in participating in my thesis research to contact me. However, this did not lead to any interviews. As such, this inhibited my chances to collect primary data. Attempts to reach out to indigenous organizations, both through Facebook and by email, for an interview or a statement regarding the conflict did not yield any results.

Attempts at primary collection of data through electronic means resulted in one Skype interview and one phone interview. Both of these individuals had spent time at Standing Rock, with one of them having visited on 3 separate occasions. Decisions made on who to interview at this stage in the data collection process were made with reliability in mind. Thus, only those who I could verify had actually been to Standing Rock were considered here.

To be clear on which of these interviewees I am referring to in the findings and discussion section, I have given each one a code name, which are listed in Table 1:

Code name	Indigenous/non-native	Age
Interviewee 1	Indigenous	20s
Interviewee 2	Non-native	30s
Interviewee 3	Non-native	40s
Interviewee 4	Indigenous	40s
Interviewee 5	Non-native	20s
Interviewee 6	Non-native	20s

Table 1. Code names for interviewees

The data sampling for the use of secondary data from electronic sources used purposive sampling. In purposive sampling, "the participants are selected by the researcher subjectively" (Ayhan, 2011, p. 980). Purposive sampling does not allow for generalizations to be made about a larger population (Bryman, 2008), however, the aim of this thesis was to add to the understanding of the experience of those most closely involved in the conflict at Standing Rock, and to identify possible ways that reconciliation could occur in such a context as well as the outcomes that local autonomy created. Thus, purposive sampling is an appropriate sampling strategy for this case because the generalization of the results is not necessary. Secondary data was, thus, collected from sources that I deemed to be relevant to my research questions. I therefore included sources from social media and websites connected to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, social media and websites connected to other

Sioux tribes, websites connected to Energy Transfer Partners and the Dakota Access Pipeline, documents from the Army Corps of Engineers, video footage from the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, footage from a full-length film produced about the conflict at Standing Rock, various Indigenous and main-stream media outlets, documents from the United Nations, as well as from popular culture sources. These sources were identified through the use of the Google search engine and by searching within Facebook as well. Key terms that I searched for included, *Standing Rock*, *Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, Conflict at Standing Rock, Violence at Standing Rock, Energy Transfer Partners, Dakota Access Pipeline, DAPL, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Standing Rock, United Nations and Standing Rock, Education and Indigenous peoples in the United States, Anti-protest bills in the United States, Veterans at Standing Rock, Trump and Standing Rock, Defund DAPL.* Reviewing results found from these searches also led me to the identification of several sources as well. Thus, the sources for the secondary data collection of this thesis were chosen as I have identified them as the outlets for the opinions of those most closely involved in this conflict.

2.3.2 Data collection

One important aspect of data collection is informed consent from the research participants. Informed consent recognizes that participants in social research should be provided with sufficient information about the study in order to make an informed choice about whether they want to participate (Bryman, 2008). Thus, before starting each interview, I read a verbal consent speech of my own writing, which included an introduction of myself and my intention to conduct academic research regarding the events at Standing Rock, the approximate amount of time the interview would take, the acknowledgment that their responses would remain completely anonymous, that they were free to stop their participation at any time, and that taking part in the interview was their agreement to participate. I also asked for consent before audio recording any of the participants. Thus, I received verbal consent from all participants before proceeding with interviews with them, although only 4 agreed to be audio recorded.

In the collection of primary data, both at Standing Rock and through communication on Skype, I utilized semi-structured interviews. The interview guide I used can be found in the appendices section, (Appendix A: Interview Guide). Additional questions than those listed in the Interview Guide were asked as follow-up questions to the responses given by the

interviewees, as described here. Semi-structured interviews consist of the researcher starting an interview with pre-determined questions they would like answered, but also allow for flexibility in the direction that the interview takes, with the interviewee having freedom to respond to questions as they chose, and the researcher with the freedom to ask other questions that arise from the comments made during the interview itself. The intention of taking a semi-structured interview approach is that the researcher can get a deeper understanding of the research participants' reality (Bryman, 2008). This approach also enables the *emotionalist* approach to qualitative research that I introduced in the research approach section above, in that it enables the researcher to search for the subjective or "inner reality" (Bryman, 2008, p. 367) of the participants' experience.

Another aspect of semi-structured interviews is that while they are flexible in nature, all research participants are generally asked the same set of questions (Bryman, 2008). While I started every interview with this intention, I was not able to ask my full set of research questions to every participant. This is due to the reluctance of people to take time away from other tasks. Several of the interviewees only agreed to give me a few minutes and thus, these interviews were shortened to contain only the questions I felt were most pertinent.

Data collection for this thesis also came from attending two events related to Standing Rock. The first of these events that I attended was a benefit concert in Appleton, Wisconsin, where individuals shared their experiences while at Standing Rock, and where firewood donations were collected for Standing Rock as well as monetary donations. In addition to the accounts of several individuals' experiences at Standing Rock, I made a few connections with people who gave me advice on how to get to the Oceti Sakowin camp at Standing Rock. Several of the roads leading to the area had been blocked by the police. I also received advice on how to behave while at camp, as the Standing Rock Sioux leadership expected that non-natives would follow and respect their authority regarding personal conduct. Music at this event was performed by an Indigenous artist.

The second event I attended in relation to Standing Rock was a seminar held at the Samisk Hus in Oslo where 5 Indigenous women from the United States shared their experiences relating to the conflict. This was an emotional event, as the women had just come from a meeting with the executives of a Norwegian bank who they hoped would divest from DAPL. One of the woman was in tears during the event as one of the other women described

the trauma she experienced. These women spoke with intensity and emotion and provided insight into other perspectives regarding Standing Rock.

As stated above, this thesis also relies on secondary data collection. This secondary data collection and analysis was influenced by the approach taken by Auger (2013), with modifications made to match the specific purposes of this thesis. In total, this secondary data analysis involves data from 49 posts connected to 29 separate entities, such as a Facebook group, newspaper, or UN document. Given that this secondary data came after the collection and coding process of most of my primary data, as well as my literature review, my coding categories had already been already identified. Specifically, I used a selective coding procedure, which requires that core categories be related to other identified categories in order to validate the connections between the categories (Bryman, 2008). The coding categories used for this research include, *extractive politics, rights, indigeneity, direct violence, cultural violence, structural violence, local autonomy, reconciliation, 'waking up,' 'decapitate the black snake,' outcomes of 'waking up,' citizens' responsibility, education, personal reasons.*

While reviewing the results of Google searches and social media feeds, my goal was to collect data which captured the experience of the individuals who are major players in the conflict at Standing Rock, as well as that of organizations, businesses, and government entities as they are represented on the internet, and as they related to my coding categories. It should also be noted here, that data collection from Google searches focused on recognizable sources, such as main stream media, and Indigenous media sources which were listed during the event in Oslo I attended. The results from these searches, especially within pages on Facebook, did not always pertain to the events at Standing Rock, or the aspects of the conflict that I intended to address with my research questions. Thus, it was necessary to review the results of these searches, starting with the most recent and moving down to older posts, and selecting those that were relevant to this thesis. This process of reviewing sources in this way occurred several times over the course of collecting data and the writing of this thesis. Also, using grounded theory, I sorted through and collected data until enough data was collected to illustrate each coding category. Or as Bryman (2008) stated it, when "new data are no longer illuminating the concept" (p. 542). It should also be kept in mind, as mentioned above, that the data chosen to be presented in the findings and discussion section of this thesis, are those that are meant to capture the inner experience of those involved in the conflict.

2.3.3 Data analysis

Data analysis for this thesis was conducted in two separate steps, with the first step focused on analysing the primary data I collected from the semi-structured interviews and the two events I attended, and with the second step focused on analysing the secondary data I collected from electronic sources. Also, I would like to note here that the use of direct quotes from both my primary sources and secondary sources has been done intentionally so as to share their experience as accurately as possible.

The analysis procedure that I followed for coding the data in the first step involved transcribing the interviews that I had audio-recorded, and then coded this data into separate categories in order to organize it. Thus, I created my coding frame which enabled me to outline the categories that I used, which are listed in the above section. Data collected from the 2 events were also coded and entered into the categories in my coding frame. Following the coding step, I conducted a qualitative content analysis, as presented by Bryman (2008): "An approach to docu-ments that emphasizes the role of the investigator in the construction of the meaning of and in texts" (p. 697). This approach recognizes the importance of the context that the data was found in.

The second step in the analysis procedure focused on the secondary data I collected. According to Heaton (2008), "Secondary analysis involves the re-use of pre-existing qualitative data derived from previous research studies" (p.34) and it is possible to use secondary data analysis to conduct new research. One concern with the use of secondary data is the issue of verifying the primary data, and whether it is trustworthy (Heaton, 2008). However, as mentioned above, my data sampling and collection procedure focused on identifying sources which were closely, if not directly, connected to the main actors in the conflict at Standing Rock, or well-known media sources. Thus, the data analysed was understood to have come from reputable sources that accurately presented the experiences of those involved. Thus, the secondary data analysis was done by entering this data into the coding categories as described above in the data collection, followed by a qualitative content analysis as described above.

2.4 Ethical considerations and limitations

Ethical considerations are important to keep in mind when conducting social research. Four main categories of types of issues that can occur include, "1. whether there is *harm to participants*; 2. whether there is a *lack of informed consent*; 3. whether there is an *invasion of*

privacy; 4. whether *deception* is involved" (Bryman, 2008, p. 118). As discussed above, I received verbal consent from all individuals that I interviewed, thus lack of informed consent regarding my research participants is not an issue. Also, in the process of primary data collection, I did not collect any personally identifiable information, and the information I did collect has been kept confidential. Thus, there is also no potential for harm to participants, or invasion of privacy in this way. In my verbal consent speech for those I interviewed, and also in my conversations with other individuals, I was clear about my research objectives and intentions, thus, there was also no deception involved in my research.

There are also limitations involved in this research process. One limitation, as mentioned above, is that I was only able to stay in and around Standing Rock for about two days, limiting the time I had to identify and approach key participants for my research, and also limiting the time I had to make observations regarding events taking place there. This leads to another limitation that I identified which is that I, as a non-native woman, was unsure about the proper way to approach Indigenous peoples to ask them for information. A limitation regarding the use of secondary data that I have identified is that I only had access to that which these actors chose to present on the internet, while there may be more nuanced details that had not been shared publicly. I also acknowledge that due to some of these limitations, there may be voices missing from this thesis which could add a deeper insight into the events regarding Standing Rock.

3. Contextual Background

3.1 Location and historical context

The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation is located in the two U.S. states of North and South Dakota. The reservation was originally part of the larger Great Sioux Reservation as established by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. In the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation were outlined as including all of the state of South Dakota lying west of the Missouri River, including the river itself as well as the Black Hills. However, in 1877, in a breach of this treaty, Congress removed the Black Hills from the reservation. In 1889 an act was passed that broke up the Great Sioux Reservation into six different reservations, with the Standing Rock Reservation as one of them. This act also reduced the size of the reservation and opened the land for non-native settlement, although the Standing Rock tribe retained the rights to authority on the reservation, including the rights

to waterways (Standing Rock, n.d.-a; Standing Rock, n.d.-b). This historical information is important in the context of the conflict discussed in this thesis, as will be detailed below.

As of 2011, there were around 16,000 members enrolled in the Standing Rock Tribe, with the 2010 census listing the Indigenous population on the Standing Rock Reservation itself at 6,414 of the 8,217 total residents (North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission, n.d.).

3.2 The protests

The conflict that is currently taking place at Standing Rock ensues a decision that was made to move the Dakota Access Pipeline from a route north of Bismarck, North Dakota to a route that runs less than half a mile north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-a; McKibben, 2016). As history shows, from the broken treaties to the current conflict at Standing Rock, the Standing Rock Sioux have faced discrimination over the years. Fenelon (1997) documents that this discrimination, and attempts at cultural elimination, spans over two hundred years in the case of the people of the Standing Rock Sioux Nation. Farmer (1996), suggests that, "the idea of race … has enormous social currency" and that "racial classifications have been used to deprive certain groups of basic rights" (p.275). The current conflict with the Dakota Access Pipeline, however, is giving ground for the Standing Rock Sioux to make a stand against the injustices that they have historically suffered and continue suffering today. They are not alone, though, as they have gained support from other Indigenous Tribes of North America, organizations such as the United Nations (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-b), and members of the non-native public alike.

3.3 Who are the Standing Rock Sioux

Feraca and Howard (1963) describe the identity of the Sioux to be in a bit of a confusion and they state that it is, "a somewhat complex cultural, linguistic, and historical situation" (p. 80). However, I intend to provide a basic overview of the three different cultural subdivisions that make up the Sioux in modern day. According to Gibbon (2003), "the Sioux are a loose alliance of tribes in the northern plains and prairies of North America" (p. 2). The three central divisions of the Sioux include the Lakota, who live in the west, the Dakota, who live in the east, and the Yankton-Yanktonai, who live in the middle of the Dakota and the Lakota. The Lakota are the largest of these three groups, with more numbers than the other two groups combined (Gibbon, 2003). These three divisions consist of seven subdivisions, which are considered as political units called "the Seven Council Fires (*Oceti*

Sakowin)" (p. 2). The Seven Council Fires include, "the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Lakota" (p. 2). Gibbon (2003), also mentioned that the Sioux people and their culture has been "transformed through decades of forced assimilation and intermixing with people from many other cultures" (p. 9).

Another aspect of identity of the Standing Rock Sioux that must be considered is the role that the U.S. government has played in shaping it. Fenelon (1997), points out that by creating separate reservations for the Sioux, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs contributed to the breaking apart of their identity. This break down of identity was also achieved through the "removal and placement of allied yet culturally different peoples into one, partially amalgamated socio-political structure" (p. 261). Fenelon (1997) then goes on to say that "Contemporary forms of native identity on Standing Rock are partially a result of these forces and the resulting social change, accompanied by a renewed and energized Indian activism" (p. 262). But, that there is not just one identity that can be considered central or more important than the others, as these identities are constantly changing and/or being manipulated.

4. Theoretical Frameworks

In the analysis of the data collected for this thesis, I will use two theoretical approaches. These are political ecology and a rights-based approach to development. As this thesis uses the political ecology theoretical framework to address power dynamics and the resulting effects, I also implement the human-rights based approach to help demonstrate the unequal balance of power regarding the conflict at Standing Rock. The use of the human-rights based approach in this way is based on literature from Pogge (2011), Woods (2014), Freeman (2011), Nowak (2005), and Sen (2012), as presented below, following the idea that human-rights are often violated by the governments which are meant to be instead protecting them. Thus, the discussion of the power of the state to violate the human-rights presented in this thesis adds to discussion of power imbalances as analyzed through the political ecology analytical framework. Below you will find a description of the political ecology framework followed by a description of the human-rights approach as it used in this thesis. Furthermore, the inclusion of a discussion of citizens' responsibilities when it comes to the violation of human-rights by the government to which an individual is a citizen is included to demonstrate the role that autonomy, as discussed above, plays in this context.

4.1 Political Ecology

According to Watts (2000), political ecology is that approach "which seeks to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of what one might call the forms of access and control over resources and their implications for environmental health and sustainable livelihoods" (p. 257). Hindery (2013) explained it in a similar manner and added that, "It emphasizes the importance of subaltern – in this case, Indigenous – experiences and knowledge about culture, the environment, economy, and politics" (p. 17). Hindery (2013) also went on to state that political ecology "must situate local and regional dynamics (e.g., Indigenous mobilization in response to oil, gas, and mining development) in the context of larger macroeconomic and political forces" (p. 18). Torras (2004) commented that there is research that shows that there is a link between the uneven distribution of power, such as political or social inequality, and negative ecological occurrences. Ferguson and Derman (2005) also made several important comments regarding the use of political ecology, including that, "The outcomes of environmental change are often felt unevenly by different social groups" (p. 62). Ferguson and Derman (2005) also stated that the analysis done with a political ecology approach involves the social and ecological aspects, but also includes the relationship between social and political variables as well. These analyses are carried out "within the context of local histories and ecologies" (Ferguson & Derman, 2005, p. 62).

A statement made by Peet, Robbins, and Watts (2011) is of particular interest regarding political ecology and the events at Standing Rock, "Market prices do not represent social and environmental costs and long-term consequences at all. As a result, market systems are environmentally destructive and socially irresponsible" (p. 14). They then go on to say,

> With that in mind, it would seem that efforts to stem the major environmental problems of our time would best be addressed by going to the heart of the problem, the typically perverse driving engines of industrial capitalism, economic growth, and the uneven power of different players contending over the use and management of natural systems. Political ecological work has revealed, however, that many efforts at conservation, environmental protection, and ecological amelioration - whether in protection of endangered species, threatened ecosystems, or degraded air and waterways – have been inattentive to these underlying forces and have instead drawn upon dated, indeed frequently colonial, models of environmental management. (Peet, Robbins, & Watts, 2011, pp. 26-27)

4.2 Rights-based approach

Human rights are widely thought of and accepted as a set of moral rights (Freeman, 2011; Woods, 2014; Pogge, 2011). According to Woods (2014) there exists a vast number of philosophies on which grounds human rights are founded. However, I will only include here the arguments that are relevant to this thesis, under the assumption that human rights exist without delving into the varied philosophical arguments. But in the context of the events at Standing Rock, I will justify the use of this approach with a quote from Woods (2014),

> For the most part, though, human rights are not understood to be conceptually dependent on the legal recognition of human rights claims. Indeed, human rights are often asserted precisely because the recognition of the rights claimed is being denied by governments or legal authorities. But we do not accept that because some authority refuses to recognize a human right, the human right does not exist. On the contrary, we take the authority to be making some kind of moral error. Thus understood, human rights are, in an important sense, moral rights, and their being recognized in positive law is rather an affirmation of their legitimacy than a proof of their existence. (p. 7)

Pogge (2011) claims that human rights are "a moral standard that all law ought to meet and a standard that is not yet met by much existing law in many countries" (p. 7). The "universal moral standard" (Woods, 2014, pp. 1-2) of human rights, however, sits in a paradoxical position as the states that ought to be protecting these rights are also the same states which the people need to be protected against (Woods, 2014). Freeman (2011), claims that while human rights can be violated by democratic governments, they should instead be a guideline which governments use as a standard to respect their people. He also notes that limiting the power that a government has is the role of human rights, as is its role "to criticize legal authorities and laws that violate human rights" (p. 11). But, as Nowak (2005) argues, states are responsible for their conduct regarding international human rights and they must be held accountable for actions in these contexts. Sen (2012) also added to this discussion when he claimed that human rights can be considered "ethical rights" (p. 93), and thus do not fall under the concept of legal rights. Despite not having a legal footing, Sen (2012) said that human rights abuses exist regardless and that it is not necessary that everyone make an agreement about human rights for them to remain valid.

As discussed above, it is generally accepted that the upholding of human rights is the responsibility of the state. Pogge (2011) argued, however, that citizens are responsible for the

conduct of the governments of the country to which they are a citizen, and thus, it is the responsibility of individuals to act against human rights injustices that they are aware of. While Pogge's (2011) words here pertain specifically to the content of his article, the statement is valid here as well,

> I believe that I share responsibility for what my country is doing in the name of its citizens, and I explain what human rights deficits I hold myself co-responsible for, and why. You must judge for yourself whether you find these reasons compelling or whether, on reflection, you find yourself sufficiently immature, uneducated, or impoverished to be exempt from the ordinary responsibilities of citizenship. (p. 3)

4.2.1 UDHR, DRIP, and ICESCR

The three documents detailing the states obligations to its people that I will be focusing on in this paper include the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP). The particular articles of these documents to which I refer in this thesis are presented below.

Articles of the UDHR (UN General Assembly, 1948) valid to this research include: Article 5, "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" (art. 5); Article 18, which covers the freedom of religion by protecting the right to "manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance" (art. 18); Article 19, "the right to freedom of opinion and expression" (art. 19); Article 20.1, "Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association" (art. 20.1); and Article 27.1, "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community" (art. 27.1).

In addition to the applicable human rights listed above, a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 2010 recognized the right to "safe and clean drinking water and sanitation" as a human right as well (UN General Assembly, 2010, p. 2). In "The Right to Water Fact Sheet, No. 35" (UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), 2010), it is written that states are required to "ensure everyone's access to a sufficient amount of safe drinking water for personal and domestic uses, defined as water for drinking, personal sanitation, washing of clothes, food preparation, and personal and household hygiene" (p.3). In this same document, it is noted that the right to water must

be met in order for several other human rights to be fulfilled. These rights include but are not limited to the right to health, life, and freedom from inhumane treatment.

The relevant articles in DRIP (UN General Assembly, 2007) to this thesis include: Article 8.2,

> States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for: (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources. (art. 8.2)

Article 18, "Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights" (art. 18); Article 21, "Indigenous peoples have the right, without discrimination, to the improvement of their economic and social conditions, including … sanitation, health" (art. 21); Article 26.1, "Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired" (art. 26.1); Article 26.2, "Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop, and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired" (art. 26.2); Article 26.3, "States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned" (art. 26.3); Article 29.1, "Indigenous peoples have the right to the conservation and protection of the environment and the productive capacity of their lands or territories and resources. States shall establish and implement assistance programmes … for such conservation and protection, without discrimination" (art. 29.1); and Article 29.2 "States shall take effective measures to ensure that no storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples without their free, prior and informed consent" (art. 29.2).

Relevant articles of ICESCR (UN General Assembly, 1966) to this thesis include the following, although it should be keep in mind that the United States is a signatory to this covenant, but has not ratified it (United Nations, n.d.-a): Article 1.2, "In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence" (art. 1.2); Article 11.1,

> The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food,

clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent. (art. 11.1)

Article 12.1, "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health" (art. 12.1); Article 12.2(b), "The improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene" (art. 12.2(b)); and Article 15.1, "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone: (a) To take part in cultural life" (art. 15.1).

4.2.2 Collective and Environmental Rights

While most theorists would argue that human rights are rights that are held by individuals, the idea of collective human rights has also been postulated, especially as they refer to environmental human rights (Woods, 2014). Freeman (2011) stated that,

The view that human rights are always the rights of individuals is widely held; but the idea that there are collective rights in the field of human rights – for example, the rights of indigenous people – has also achieved increased acceptance in recent years. (p. 68)

The collective rights that Woods (2014) refers to are those protecting the rights of future generations to live in a "safe environment" (p. 20). Woods (2014) also includes the idea that collective human rights are those pertaining to a group's rights to natural resources.

The field of environmental human rights is a newly emerging area of study. At this time, there is no declaration of environmental rights that is recognized internationally. However, the United Nations Environment Programme has been working on such a document, referred to as the Draft Declaration on Human Rights and the Environment (Woods, 2014). Woods (2014), states that neither "people, governments or corporations" (p. 166) are allowed to behave in a manner that poses a threat to the environment. Regarding this thesis, the following explanation of environmental human rights by Woods (2014) is particularly pertinent,

Environmental human rights may be understood as civil and political rights, protecting access to information about proposed development projects and giving communities or individuals powers to raise questions about, or lodge objections to,

likely environmental impacts, protecting rights to environmental protests, and so on. (p. 163)

It is also important to point out a comment that Woods (2014) made stating that the safety of environmental activists is at risk and that it is important to provide security for them.

Hayward (2005) claims the right "to an adequate environment" (p. 12) is a given human right. He also notes that human rights and environmental rights are closely linked, with human rights advocators using the argument that it is necessary for humans to have a healthy environment in order for their human rights to be kept intact, and with environmental activists calling on human rights in order to use the internationally recognized institutions that already exist to uphold human rights. Due to this mutual beneficial arrangement, Hayward (2005) stated,

> Environmentalists and human rights workers have often joined, for instance, in local struggles over land and water rights, toxic dumping, and disruptive construction projects. Particularly over such issues as environmental health hazards and threats to indigenous peoples' resource bases, the linkage has been a very practical one. (p. 9)

Hayward (2005) also mentioned, however, that the goals of human rights and environmental rights can at times be different.

5. Findings/Discussion

5.1 Extractive politics

The politics of extraction is an essential concept to discuss with regards to the events at Standing Rock. As mentioned earlier, it is also important to keep in mind that Standing Rock is part of a larger global trend of violence caused by the extraction industry. According to Barry (2013),

> Critical accounts of specific events are often intended to raise questions about the unethical conduct of individual oil companies or of the oil industry more broadly. The particular case is taken to be exemplary of a general problem, an element of what I have termed a political situation that transcends the specificity of the case. (p. 77)

A few of those I interviewed also touched on this topic. Interviewee 2 stated that during a prayer ceremony at Standing Rock he heard Indigenous people from Mexico speak about their struggles with the extraction industry. Interviewee 1 spoke about an oil spill in Michigan

that he had heard about where those responsible for cleaning the spill tried to just cover it up with dirt.

Thus, the following results and discussions should be understood to pertain to a larger issue than just the details surrounding the conflict at Standing Rock. Also, as Fox et al. (2009) stated, which is relevant to the social psychological aspect of this thesis, the institutions that dominate in the "cultural, economic, and political" (p.3) spheres "misdirect efforts to live a fulfilling life and they foster inequality and oppression" (Fox et al., 2009, p. 4).

Merino Acuña (2015) described extractive politics as, "the institutional arrangements that justify and legitimise extractivism, or all economic activities that remove huge amounts of natural resources" (p. 85) from land that is generally populated by Indigenous peoples and the poor. Omeje (2008), described it as "'terminal economies' dependent on non-renewable and the seasonally renewing but exhaustible bounty of the planet's Biosystems" (p. 2). Extractive activities, thus, are a source of conflict. McNeish (2017) stated that, "The intimate cosmologies and relationships people have with local territories and the resources within them are an important element of resource conflicts" (p. 2). Barry (2013) also commented on this, stating that materials, such as oil or a pipeline, "should be understood as forming an integral element of evolving controversies" (p. 12). In the case of Standing Rock, the conflict was acknowledged in a statement made on November 4, 2016 by representatives of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues when they addressed the lack of involvement of the U.S. government to protect its Indigenous peoples. Pop Ac, Dorough, & John (2016) stated that, "The total lack of presence and action by the United States government, at the federal level, is a concern that must be addressed" (p. 1).

While economic gain is a goal of the extraction industry, in a video posted by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer) (2016a) Dave Archambault II addressed the topic of economic development regarding DAPL,

> They're realizing billions of dollars in revenue, but if you look at the top 10 poorest counties in this nation, two of them are on Standing Rock. We're not opposed to economic development, we're not opposed to energy independence, but we're tired of paying for it. (4:51)

In this same video, Winona LaDuke, founder of Honor the Earth and former vice presidential nominee with Ralph Nader, made this comment on the economic aspect of DAPL,

What we see is we have militarized the energy industry with a governor who believes that you can treat Indian people poorly. Three years ago a woman froze to death on the Standing Rock Reservation 'cause she couldn't pay her heating bill. And now you're planning a 3.9-billion-dollar pipeline that will help nobody but oil companies. It's really infrastructure for oil companies and not for people. (4:27)

Dispossession is another topic that should be addressed when discussing the nature of extractive politics. Dispossession in this context covers an array of meaning. Merino Acuña (2015) said that, "The term 'dispossession' does not refer uniquely to land dispossession; it rather encompasses the dispossession of health, habitat, way of life, and gain from resources within indigenous territories" (p. 85). Merino Acuña (2015) then went on to state that,

In addition, there is a dispossession of identities, or situations where the state embraces a modernising and developmental perspective on indigenous territories, and imposes on the people an identity to attach them to major developmental goals. This is a way to deny indigenous ontologies and one of the most profound and subtle kinds of dispossession directed to facilitating or legitimising material dispossessions. (p. 85)

The concept of indigeneity and identity will be discussed further in depth in the following section, but it is important to comment on its relation to politics as well. In a letter from the US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) (2016) to Dave Archambault II, they acknowledge the dispossession that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has experienced at the hands of the government and the importance of maintaining a working relationship between the two governments,

The Army is mindful of the history of the Great Sioux Nation's repeated dispossessions, including those to support water-resources projects. This history compels great caution and respect in considering the concerns that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has raised regarding the proposed crossing of Lake Oahe north of its reservation. The Army recognizes that portions of Lake Oahe remain within the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's reservation boundaries and the Tribe retains hunting and fishing rights in the lake. Additionally, the Army recognizes that the Tribe relies on Lake Oahe and the Missouri River for drinking water. We take seriously our government-to-government relationship with the Tribe. This history, the importance of Lake Oahe to the Tribe, and our government-to-government relationship call for

caution, respect, and particular care regarding the proposed DAPL crossing at Lake

Oahe. (p. 1)

However, the completion of the pipeline, as I will discuss shortly, demonstrated that this "government-to-government relationship" (US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), 2016, p. 1) was not respected by the U.S. government side.

Another aspect of politics related to extraction is that of the impact that these extractive activities have on the surrounding people and communities. According to Barry (2013) it is possible that the impacts will reach farther than the planned project area,

the impact of pipeline construction work is likely to go beyond the limits of the pipeline corridors. While the informational space of the pipeline corridors maps onto a narrow strip of land, the space of impact projects a more complex topology. (p. 120)

So, the difference between the projected affected area and the reach of the actual impacts can be a source of conflict (Barry, 2013). However, Barry (2013) then went on to say, "The generation of events that might have to be considered and managed as impacts can certainly be anticipated through environmental impact assessment, but such events cannot be avoided altogether" (p. 128). Based on these statements, it is plausible that the realization of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) in the case of DAPL and Standing Rock would have been vital for both environmental and social responsibility. However, the environmental impact assessment for DAPL at Standing Rock that was issued in December 2016 by the Obama administration was halted by the Trump administration the next month through an executive order (Milman, 2017). The justification for signing this and a few other similar executive orders was that these decisions to allow pipelines to be built would create thousands of American jobs as construction of the pipelines themselves would be done in the United States rather than abroad (DiChristopher, 2007). Dakota Access Pipeline Facts (n.d.-d) claimed that the pipeline is responsible for the creation of about 12,000 jobs, as well as supporting the Bakken oil fields which creates upwards of 80,000 jobs in the state of North Dakota.

The legality of this executive order with regards to DAPL and Standing Rock, however, has been questioned by the leadership of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. In a letter from Dave Archambault II (2017), chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, to Trump, dated January 25, 2017, Archambault II addressed Trump's decision to halt the EIS, "This change in course is arbitrary and without justification; the law requires that changes in agency

positions be backed by new circumstances or new evidence, not simply by the President's whim" (Archambault II, 2017, p. 2). Archambault II (2017), then went on to state that,

> Your memorandum issues these directives with the condition that these actions are carried out 'to the extent permitted by law.' I would like to point out that the law now requires an Environmental Impact Statement. The USACE now lacks statutory authority to issue the easement because it has committed to the EIS process. Federal law, including the requirement of reasonable agency decision making, prevents that. (p. 2)

U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders (as cited in Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, 2017a), also approached this issue when he was quoted as saying,

> 'It is unacceptable that President Trump and the Army Corps have chosen to ignore the law and allow construction to be completed on the Dakota Access Pipeline. This cannot stand. This pipeline did not receive a full environmental review and it will be built without legitimate consultation of the Native American tribes whose water is in danger.' (para. 1)

Interviewee 1 made this statement regarding the actions of the U.S. government, "There's no … repercussions for them when they break the law, nothing happens" (Interviewee 1, personal communication, December 6, 2016).

Furthermore, after the executive order was signed by Trump to complete the construction of the pipeline, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, along with the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, intended to stop the construction through the court system by requesting a "temporary restraining order" (Hill & Schabner, 2017, para. 1). However, on February 13, 2017 Judge James Boasberg of the U.S. District Court ruled against halting the construction of DAPL, as he claimed that the pipeline does not run a risk of harming either the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe or the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe as long as no oil is running through the pipeline (Hananel & Nicholson, 2017).

Thus, the portion of the pipeline that runs under Lake Oahe has been completed, with the intention of starting service through the pipeline on May 14, 2017 (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-b).

While the executive order to continue construction of the pipeline was signed by Trump acting in the capacity of the President of the United States, it is important to note that,

previous to his inauguration, he had a connection with Energy Transfer Partners which is clear from data presented by Dart (2017). According to an article in *The Guardian*, Kelcy Warren, CEO of Energy Transfer Partners, "donated more than $100,000 to Donald Trump's campaign, while Trump had between $500,000 to $1m invested in Energy Transfer Partners" (Dart, 2017, para. 9). Even though Trump sold his shares before taking office (Dart, 2017), this example illustrates the relationship between those possessing power in the U.S. government and the company responsible for building DAPL.

It is interesting to include here that according to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer) (2016b) Energy Transfer Partners was aware of the opinion that the Tribe had regarding the construction of DAPL, even though the oil company claimed that they were not aware. The evidence that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe presented to argue this fact is an audio recording of the tribal council meeting from September 30, 2014 where the Tribe met with representatives from DAPL to discuss the construction of the pipeline. This meeting took place before any permits for the pipeline were submitted, and according to the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, no mention of the meeting or Standing Rock was made in a 450-page document authored by those representing DAPL concerning the pipeline. Dave Archambault II can be heard in this recording saying,

> I want you to know and understand that … we recognize our … treaty boundaries, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 and 1868 … which encompasses North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota. Because of that we … oppose of a pipeline. We have a standing resolution that was passed in 2012 that opposes any … pipeline … within the treaty boundary … just so you know coming in, this is something the tribe is not supporting, this is something that the tribe does not wish, even though it's outside of our federal 1889 … boundaries … we still recognize the treaty boundaries. (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer), 2016b, 5:35)

This issue concerning the treaties was presented at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues held from April 24 to May 5, 2017, where the theme was the "Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: measures taken to implement the Declaration" (United Nations, n.d.-b). At this forum, Brenda White Bull of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe spoke on behalf of the tribe regarding the construction of DAPL. She, like Dave Archambault II, cited the treaties that the U.S.

government has broken here (Indigenous Rising Media, 2017), and stated that the Standing Rock Sioux,

> Never gave our consent to the Dakota Access Pipeline to come through the unceded territory of the Fort Laramie Treaties. We, the Great Sioux Nation, have never broken a treaty, but the U.S. government has done so by allowing this black snake, in which we call the Dakota Access Pipeline, to plow through our lands. (Indigenous Rising Media, 2017, 0:48)

This statement by Brenda White Bull came 6 months after the Chair of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Mr. Alvaro Pop Ac, and Expert Members of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Dr. Dalee Dorough and Chief Edward John (Pop Ac, Dorough, & John, 2016), released a statement on November 4, 2016 that also acknowledges the violations of these treaties,

> As Expert Members of the Permanent Forum, we reiterate our deep concerns expressed in our statement on 31 August 2016 over the proposed pipeline construction route. We also have concerns that some 380 cultural and sacred sites along the pipeline route have been destroyed by work associated with the clearing for the pipeline. Further, numerous individuals have confirmed that there has been little consultation by the federal government related to the DAPL project.

> The rights of the Sioux peoples are recognized and affirmed in their treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with the United States, in various court decisions, in the US Constitution and in international human rights instruments. Despite such recognition, their rights are being violated by decisions made with respect to the pipeline project traversing un-ceded Sioux territory. (p. 1)

5.1.1 Discussion

The discussion for this section will focus on two of the research questions addressed in this thesis, which I restate here. It must also be kept in mind that this discussion is based on the data collected within the limitations outlined in the methodology section.

- In what ways are structural, cultural, and direct violence manifest at the conflict at Standing Rock? This includes direct, structural, and cultural violence that can be witnessed on multiple levels, such as between the U.S. government, law enforcement agencies, and the oil industry with members of

the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and other Indigenous and non-native protestors, as well as between natives and non-natives involved in the activities pertaining to Standing Rock.

- In what ways do the events at Standing Rock fit within the local, and national, political ecology?

As presented in the theoretical approach section of this thesis, political ecology involves the (unequal) distribution of power and the effects that this has on social and environmental factors. With regards to Trump's decision to sign an executive order to complete the section of DAPL running under Lake Oahe before the EIS had been completed, the letter from Archambault II pointed out the illegality of the action that Trump took, and also mentioned that this action would have adverse effects for the people of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. Other actors, including the Chair and Expert Members of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and Brenda White Bull, the representative of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe at the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, acknowledged that the construction of DAPL violates treaties held by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. The unequal distribution of power and its detrimental effects, both social and environmental, for those with less political power, in this case the Standing Rock Sioux, is clearly demonstrated in this instance. This also lines up with the literature presented above that acknowledges that uneven power distribution often results in detrimental ecological effects. According to the literature, different social groups are often affected by the adverse environmental effects caused in these cases to varying degrees. Thus, in this case, the Standing Rock Sioux have been put in the position to deal with these adverse effects, while those making the decision in the U.S. government are much farther removed from the actual and possible environmental and social issues that have and may arise. Another interesting point here, is that the enticement of economic improvement through job creation was used to deflect from the environmentally and socially adverse effects that the pipeline does and may have on the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and their land. This unequal power distribution is also demonstrated by Archambault II and LaDuke above, when they acknowledged that the oil companies will make billions of U.S. dollars from the pipeline, while two of the top ten poorest counties in the U.S. are on Standing Rock.

The crossing under of Lake Oahe by DAPL also calls into action several rights that are aimed at upholding the integrity of the resources of Indigenous peoples, such as Article 8.2, Article 26.1, and Article 29.1 of DRIP, and Articles 1.2, 11.1, and 12.2(b) of ICESCR.

The completion of the pipeline under the lake puts the environmental resources connected with the Missouri River that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe used traditionally and continue to use today at risk for contamination from an oil spill. Thus, the completion of DAPL without the EIS having been completed first is a violation of these rights.

Regarding the tribal council meeting where the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe met with representatives from DAPL, which according to the cited data did not result in those from DAPL taking into consideration the concerns of the Standing Rock Sioux, I will turn to environmental human rights as presented by Woods (2014). According to Woods (2014), environmental human rights cover the rights of individuals or groups to object to any development project which may have adverse environmental effects, as well as protecting the right to protest in the name of the environment. Thus, by not acknowledging the concerns raised by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe regarding the construction of DAPL, The DAPL representatives stifled this environmental human right of the Tribe. In a statement from representatives of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (Pop Ac, Dorough, & John, 2016) it was also "confirmed that there has been little consultation by the federal government related to the DAPL project" (p. 1).

Regarding the idea that the completion of DAPL would result in job creation, I would like to reference Peet, Robbins, & Watts (2011) and Woods (2014) as presented above. Even though, according to Dakota Access Pipeline Facts (n.d.-d), the pipeline is responsible for creating thousands of jobs as detailed above, it has been suggested by other researchers, such as Peet, Robbins, & Watts (2011), that growth of the economy does not justify destroying the environment, and as Woods (2014) stated, that not even corporations are allowed to take actions that will have an adverse effect on the environment.

5.2 Indigeneity and identity

Indigeneity and identity are important concepts to discuss here, as it gives a reference point for who the violence carried out at Standing Rock is directed at. Although there are many actors involved in this conflict besides the Standing Rock Sioux, it is beyond the scope of this paper to identity and discuss all of them. Therefore, I will focus on identity and indigeneity as it pertains to the Standing Rock Sioux.

Yeh and Bryan (2015) chose not to give a fixed definition of indigeneity in order to leave open "a space for self-determination" (p. 531), however, they go on to state that,

Through their appeals for self-determination in defining group membership and organization, their approaches use cultural difference as a resource for mobilizing political claims. Indigeneity thus becomes a relational category rather than an objective condition, one neither externally imposed nor created autonomously. Instead it is cast as a political identity that is at once historically based and emergent in relation to new political situations, its meaning drawn in relation to the non-indigenous. Self-identification is key. Though there is always a boundary politics of indigeneity, this view conceptualizes these precisely as politics to be analyzed in geographical and historical context, rather than a question to be adjudicated from the outside. (p. 534)

According to Postero (2013), "indigeneity continues to be a concept critical both for governing the nation and for contesting the meaning of the nation and the role of indigenous peoples within it" (p. 109). However, indigeneity is not a static term, and changes along with the relations of power that are present at any given moment. It is also important to include here that the relationship with the concept, and some of the beliefs that come along with it, that different Indigenous people have, varies greatly, as Postero (2013) stated, "despite the fact that indigeneity is often represented by both the state and local peoples as being opposed to capitalism, in fact, indigenous people have widely divergent relations to it – some benefiting and some being harmed" (p. 110).

The presence of varying relationships of Indigenous individuals with certain events or social structures was also present at Standing Rock. As mentioned above, the reason I left Standing Rock was because Dave Archambault II, Standing Rock Sioux Chairman, asked non-native protestors to leave. It was only after I left, that I became aware of the divides that were taking place between the elected Standing Rock representatives, and those members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe that had started the movement to begin with. In an article in *The Guardian,* written by Levin (2017), Archambault II explains his reasons for asking protestors to go home, "At that point, Archambault said there were about 10,000 people at the camps amid a major snowstorm and sub-zero temperatures. Afraid for their lives, he asked them to go home: 'I didn't want to find a body'" (para. 17). The article then goes on,

He struggles to understand the ongoing value of the camps. 'Do you think someone will get hurt? Do you think they have a family? Is it wrong of me to think about their family?'

He said he fears the 'war' that some seek on the ground will only lead to further oppression. He recalled his people's victory in the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, which led to invasions, massacres and devastation. 'I ask them to stay out of harm's way because I love them.' (Levin, 2017, para. 19-20)

However, as quoted in this same article, "Anthony Gazotti, a 47-year-old Apache and recent arrival from Colorado, said the tribal council seemed no different than federal officials promoting the project" (Levin, 2017, para. 23), then included this quote from Gazotti, "'Telling us not to do what we believe in is the same thing the government is saying,' he said. 'Nothing is going to make these people go home unless the pipeline is packed up'" (Levin, 2017, para. 24). Other comments in this article regarding Archambault II's decision include, "'The council asked them to leave at the most critical time,' said Wasté Win Young, 38" (Levin, 2017, para. 26), and "'I want to understand his viewpoint, but I can't,' added Floris White Bull, 33. 'To me, it feels like he didn't just let us down. He let a lot of tribes down. It feels like an opportunity slipping away'" (Levin, 2017, para. 27). One result of this is that, "resentment toward Archambault has boiled over. Fueled by the rapid spread of misinformation, some are even convinced he is taking money from the oil company, earning him the 'DAPL Dave' slur" (para. 21). The article, however, shows that Archambault laments the breakdown in cohesion at Standing Rock, "But the movement, he said, now seemed to be imploding. He grew silent, and at the top of the sheet, jotted down three words in small letters: 'Divided we fall'" (Levin, 2017, para. 3).

> One man I interviewed also touched on this breakdown when he said,
>
> A number of tribal members felt like that wasn't really his call to make or wasn't really the tribes call to make … because the tribal leadership hadn't started the resistance, they had … grabbed onto it after it was started by native youth and by others who were running the camps and a lot of those individuals were saying 'no, we need to stay and we need to continue to resist,' … and so clearly there was … a break down in, you know, cohesion but there always tends to be in movement spaces. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

He then went on to comment on the divide caused by the use of violence among the protestors,

> I don't think a lot of the elders or a lot of the rest of the tribal leadership was actually comfortable with [violence]… and so, you know, … in a case where they're not

comfortable with it, … often times they would try to stop it, … and … very clearly are not speaking for all Indigenous people, you know, when they do that … and that was one of the big divides I saw, I'd say, in general, was the split between the … 'let's only pray' and, you know, 'our actions are our prayer' or 'our actions and allies who are showing up are the answer to our prayer' and so … prioritizing just prayer or prioritizing, you know, actions and a diversity of tactics. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

Thus, it is important to understand that there are "differing and often conflicting interests between indigenous groups" (Postero, 2013, p. 113).

To not recognize the changing nature and different aspects of indigeneity has even been stated to be "dangerous" (Postero, 2013, p. 114). McNeish (2013) also commented on the dangers present in this matter,

the essentialized characterization of indigenous peoples' interests also threatens to close down the possibility of recognizing and learning from a more nuanced understanding of the way in which they are at once tied to similar historical processes and differentially understand the linkages between development and environment. (p. 237)

While interviewing a non-native man for this thesis, he gave his view on the topic of identity,

It differs from person to person, and … even across time for individual people, right … there's no question that it's fluid, I think that it's one of the, you know, one of the ways that white people are commonly criticized by groups of people of color is this tendency to see all people of color … all Indigenous people … as having … the same or very similar views … when that's totally not true. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

Another individual that I interviewed gave this statement regarding those who were participating,

It seemed kind of exclusive… people were very hesitant of who they wanted to participate ... and I think that is good in a way and not good in some ways … I felt like there was a lot of discussion around identity and not enough focus in … intention … or the thing that brings us all together … the resources and the planet. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

Therefore, based on the literature, and my data collection, it is important to keep in mind the fluid nature of identity and indigeneity when discussing the events at Standing Rock. There are two other concerns related to the concept of indigeneity that I would like to discuss here. First, according to Yeh and Bryan (2015) there is a concern that when collective land rights are fought for under the name of indigeneity, the receival of this very right may undermine the larger goal at hand. Yeh and Bryan (2015) stated, "while indigeneity and its emphasis on collective attachment to place have been a successful defensive response to large-scale dispossession, it can simultaneously affirm structural forms of inequality and obscure everyday forms of dispossession under capitalism" (p. 537). The second concern, also presented by Yeh and Bryan (2015) is that of the idea that by protecting the traditional cultural practices of Indigenous peoples, nature will automatically be preserved as well. However, "Such conceptions can conflate the preservation of cultural diversity with biodiversity, rendering indigenous peoples 'part of [non-human] nature' as opposed to fully human" (Yeh & Bryan, 2015, p. 536). This also relates to the discussion above as it "flattens and erases the rich complexity and diversity of practices, beliefs, and worldviews, rendering indigenous peoples generic and one-dimensional" (Yeh & Bryan, 2015, p. 536). In an article titled "How To Talk About #NoDAPL: A Native Perspective", Hayes (2016) wrote,

> In discussing #NoDAPL, too few people have started from a place of naming that we have a right to defend our water and our lives, simply because we have a natural right to defend ourselves and our communities. When 'climate justice', in a very broad sense, becomes the center of conversation, our fronts of struggle are often reduced to a staging ground for the messaging of NGOs.
>
> This is happening far too frequently in public discussion of #NoDAPL.
>
> Yes, everyone should be talking about climate change, but you should also be talking about the fact that Native communities deserve to survive, because our lives are worth defending in their own right — not simply because "this affects us all." (para. 11-13)

5.2.1 Discussion

The discussion for this section will address two of the research questions in this thesis, as the concept of Indigeneity can be discussed in the context of cultural violence, and in terms of its influence on the way a conflict is addressed within the political ecology of a situation. Again, it must be kept in mind that this discussion is based on the data collected within the limitations discussed in the methodology section.

- In what ways are structural, cultural, and direct violence manifest at the conflict at Standing Rock? This includes direct, structural, and cultural violence that can be witnessed on multiple levels, such as between the U.S. government, law enforcement agencies, and the oil industry with members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and other Indigenous and non-native protestors, as well as between natives and non-natives involved in the activities pertaining to Standing Rock.
- In what ways do the events at Standing Rock fit within the local, and national, political ecology?

The way in which violence manifests itself pertaining to the concepts of Indigeneity, Identity, and the events at Standing Rock includes the idea of the collective rights that are held by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe over the land and resources that they traditionally used and continue to use. Articles 26.1 and 29.1 of DRIP cover these rights, and by constructing a pipeline that can potentially contaminate these lands and resources, the actions taken by the Trump administration were done in violation of these rights. In this way, Indigeneity also affected the way that power relations between the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and the U.S. government played out. The power held by the U.S. government allowed it to make decisions over the environmental and social well-being of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, with very little to no consideration for the opinions of the Tribe itself, although those opinions themselves may be varying. Also, as discussed in the extractive politics section of this thesis, the economic gain achieved by constructing and running DAPL does not financially benefit the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, but instead is gained by the oil companies and U.S. government.

It is also important to discuss here the conflicts that arose within the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe itself, with regards to decisions made pertaining to the protest camps. As presented above, regarding the decision to send people home in December, there were divisions between the leadership of the Tribe and those who felt that the camps should remain open to continue the fight against DAPL. Thus, this division exemplifies the varying opinions held by individuals and groups who identify as Indigenous. The power struggle here had an effect on the social cohesiveness of the group, and it would be plausible to assume that this rupture in cohesiveness within the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe will result in other adverse social effects in the future, either for individuals, such as Archambault II, or for the larger

community. However, the role that capitalism and the extractive industry had in instigating this situation should not be downplayed either. Another comment to include here is that it is important to understand that just because an individual identifies as Indigenous, this could mean many different things for them and should not automatically be connected with the idea of environmental preservation. As seen with the example presented above, when Archambault II asked protestors to go home due to poor weather conditions, he was putting the safety and well-being of the protestors before the immediate resistance to DAPL going on at the camps. Granted, this decision was made after the Obama administration issued an EIS for the Lake Oahe section of the pipeline, presenting a possible victory for the Tribe, it still illustrates that the pursuit of environmental protection may not always be the top, or most immediate, priority for Indigenous peoples.

5.3 Violence

There are three main "super-types" (Galtung, 1990, p. 294) of violence that are addressed in this thesis. These three types are structural, cultural, and direct violence. While direct violence is that carried out by identifiable actors, and includes trying to either kill the physical body or stopping the body from functioning using a variety of methods; it can also include denying movement or mental functions. In this way, direct violence can manifest in both physical and psychological ways, with each type affecting the functions of the other (Galtung, 1969). Structural and cultural violence are possibly more difficult to identify directly, however, as Lee (2016) points out that structural violence is "mostly hidden" (p. 110). But, it is generally believed that structural violence, defined as "institutional or systematic dehumanization – in the form of the denial of dignity, opportunity or access to necessary livelihood" (Mullen, 2015, p. 12), leads to violence in other forms (Mullen, 2015; Lee, 2016; Galtung, 1990), with Galtung (1990) noting that there is an identifiable "causal flow from cultural via structural to direct violence" (p. 295). Galtung (1990) defines cultural violence as "those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence" (p. 291). Mullen (2015) argues that because both structural and cultural violence produce the same results in society, it is possible to address both types of violence with the same efforts. Thus, as you read the following presentation of my findings and discussion, these relationships between the three super-types of violence should be kept in mind, as it is not always clear from where a specific form of obvious violence stems from. But, I will end this paragraph

with a note from Churchill (2011), as he states that "However it is defined, violence is universally conceded to be inherently bad" (p. 1126).

Now that the three types of violence that this thesis deals with have been defined, there is another comment about violence I would like to make before diving into the findings and discussion that acknowledges the connection between violence and politics. According to the World Health Organization (2002),

> A particularly important risk factor associated with the occurrence of conflict is the existence of intergroup inequalities … Such a factor is often seen in countries where the government is dominated by one community, that wields political, military and economic power over quite distinct communities. (p. 221)

Churchill (2011) also makes a comment about the political nature of violence, stating that it "is among the most politically contested of all concepts" (p. 1126). A quote from Mullen (2015) regarding the individuals, organizations, and overall system who perpetrate the violence I am about to discuss is, "How could vindictive individuals foster a scene of mass violence and dehumanization without the presence of unique structural conditions that make hate and suffering an ordinary aspect of the social space?" (p. 465).

In a video posted by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer) (2016c), Dave Archambault II made this comment regarding violence and DAPL,

> I also want to ask that you remain nonviolent. We were told by the spirits that without violence we could beat this pipeline. With prayer and with peace we can beat this pipeline. So, I ask that you stand down from any illegal activity or any violence activity and just pray and have faith and believe and the creator will take us to where we're supposed to be. (1:15)

5.3.1 Direct Violence

Direct physical violence took many forms at Standing Rock. Here I will list some examples of direct violence that were detailed by several Indigenous women whom I saw speak at a seminar about their experiences at Standing Rock.

One account of direct, physical violence that these women talked about included 7 protesters, 5 women and 2 men, enduring bites from German Shepherds released by the police. One of the women said that witnessing this happen to these people has caused her to

suffer psychological trauma, that it affected her in a deep and traumatizing way. Another act of violence that they witnessed was protestors, including teenagers, being sprayed in the face with pepper spray at point blank range. They also talked about the use of rubber bullets by the police against the protestors, and that the police were specifically targeting their legs, heads, and genitals. One of the women was a physician, and she described having to clean out wounds caused by rubber bullets, wounds that were deep and large enough that it exposed the muscle. They also spoke of a woman who was hit in the head with a rubber bullet and subsequently lost vision in one of her eyes, and they do not know if she will ever regain her vision. Another claim of direct, physical violence that a few of them experienced was that of witnessing concussion grenades being thrown at the protestors. These women perceived an intention to hit people directly with the grenades, rather than just throwing them near people as they are intended to be used. An example of this that they provided was that a girl was hit with one of these grenades, it exploded on her, and she almost lost her arm as a result. In a video posted by Indigenous Rising Media (2017), Brenda White Bull described this last incident as "one had her arm shot to pieces" (2:00). These accounts are in line with a statement made by Churchill (2011) about violence which is that,

> At its core violence consists of the direct or indirect infliction of harm or injury on someone or something by some agent, where "injury" refers to a continuum of harm, damage, or hurt inflicted against the will or contrary to the recipient's values or interests, ranging from what is immediately life-threatening through different degrees of suffering, debilitation, and deprivation. (p. 1127)

Thus, there is no denying that what these individuals experienced was violence perpetrated by the police.

The music video for Nahko and Medicine for the People's (2017) song, "Love Letters to God," features footage of violent events taking place at Standing Rock. Included in this footage are several separate documented moments of the police spraying people with pepper spray, as mentioned by the woman at the event in Oslo. One of these moments, found at minute 1:50 in the music video, is of a girl who appears to be in her teens getting sprayed in the face at point blank range. Other violence present in the music video includes footage of a man getting tased, at minute 4:22, and falling hard to the ground; threatened violence through the pointing of guns at people; as well as rough handling of protestors by the police. Although the lyrics to this song were written before the events at Standing Rock, this music

video documents hard evidence of the violence perpetrated by the police there. And, that the events at Standing Rock have made their way into popular culture also speaks to the depth of the effect that it has had. Here, it seems appropriate to pose a question from the lyrics of "Love Letters to God" (Nahko and Medicine for the People, 2017), where they asked of the authorities, "are you here to protect or arrest me?" (1:51). Mullen (2015), also added insight to a situation such as this when he stated that,

> It is the systems of power distribution, which produce vulnerability and … cultures accustomed to hate and violence, which make tyranny possible. The only way to ensure that vulnerability, dehumanization and thus tyranny are minimized is to actively reverse the systems and attitudes that discriminate and dehumanize. (p. 477)

The Medic Healer Council (2016) Facebook page which is run by those who provided health services to those staying at the protest camps associated with Standing Rock also documented evidence of direct violence perpetrated by the authorities during a 10-hour conflict from the 20th to the 21st of November 2016. The Medic Healer Council (2016) cited that,

> The Standing Rock Medic & Healer Council responded to a mass casualty incident that began at 6pm yesterday evening. Approximately 300 injuries were identified, triaged, assessed and treated by our physicians, nurses, paramedics and integrative healers working in collaboration with local emergency response. These 300 injuries were the direct result of excessive force by police over the course of 10 hours. At least 26 seriously injured people had to be evacuated by ambulance to 3 area hospitals.

> Police continuously assaulted demonstrators with up to three water cannons for the first 7 hours of this incident in subfreezing temperatures dipping to 22F (-5.5C) causing hypothermia in the majority of patients treated. Chemical weapons in the form of pepper spray and tear gas were also used extensively, requiring chemical decontamination for nearly all patients treated and severe reactions in many. Projectiles in the form of tear gas canisters, rubber bullets, and concussion grenades led to numerous blunt force traumas including head wounds, lacerations, serious orthopedic injuries, eye trauma, and internal bleeding.

> Every emergency medical unit from the Standing Rock Sioux reservation responded to the incident and additional ambulances were sent from Cheyenne River Sioux tribe (South Dakota), Kidder County, and Morton County. 3 seriously injured patients were

transported directly by ambulance from the scene and another 23 patients were transported by ambulance after initial assessment and treatment in camp. Injuries from the mass casualty incident include:

• An elder who lost consciousness and was revived on scene

• A young man with a grand mal seizure

• A woman shot in the face by a rubber bullet with subsequent eye injury and compromised vision

• A young man with internal bleeding who was vomiting blood after a rubber bullet injury to his abdomen

• A man shot in the back near his spine by a rubber bullet causing blunt force trauma and a severe head laceration

• Multiple fractures secondary to projectiles fired by police

The Standing Rock Medic & Healer Council condemns the excessive police violence and calls upon law enforcement to cease and desist these nearly lethal actions. Specifically, we demand the cessation of water cannons in subfreezing temperatures. (para. 1-4)

Bishop and Phillips (2006) stated that violence includes a "lack of respect" (p. 379). At the event in Oslo, one of the women shared her experience of being arrested for attending a prayer ceremony. After having been arrested, she, along with the others who were also arrested for praying, were held in an air-conditioned bus for 3 hours in the middle of winter. From there, they were put into dog kennels, where they were held for 4 hours. During this time, she witnessed the police taking selfies with the men in the dog kennels and laughing about it. From there they were put in jail where they were held for 2 days. After 1 day in jail, they were told they would be going to court, with this suggesting that they would be let out of jail, only to be told shortly after that it would not happen until the next day. They considered this to be a form of psychological violence. Literature regarding this type of violence includes Mullen (2015), when he stated that structural violence can manifest in "the denial of dignity" (p. 464) and that this "produces or allows direct violence" (p. 464). Mullen (2015) also stated that, "structural violence, paired with cultural violence, actively converts or paralyses decency and rational decision-making" (p. 464). He also goes on to state that, "structural violence rarely exists in the absence of cultural violence. Combined, structural and cultural violence produce an environment where evil, hateful agendas can be accomplished" (p. 465).

Galtung (1969) also discussed where the responsibility for violent action taken lies when he stated, "Cannot a person engaging in personal violence always use expectations from the structure as an excuse, and does not a person upholding an exploitative social structure have responsibility for this?" (p. 177). So, who is upholding this social structure? Galtung (1969) suggested that those who are most invested in upholding this structure are often removed from the action themselves, getting others to perpetrate the direct violence for them. "In other words, they may mobilize the police, the army, the thugs, the general social underbrush against the sources of the disturbance" (Galtung, 1969, p. 179).

Another aspect of violence as discussed earlier is that of how the threat of physical violence can be considered violence in itself. Churchill (2011) included this in his definition of violence when he stated that, "Threats of force or coercion such as deterrence, blackmail, or terrorism are included within the concept when the target of such threats has reasonable apprehension that noncompliance will result in injury to the agent, his interests, or values" (p. 1127). According to the World Health Organization (2002), the definition of violence included "those acts that result from a power relationship, including threats and intimidation" (p. 5). Galtung (1969) presented a related idea when he claimed that the distinction between direct violence that is physical versus direct violence which is psychological is not well defined as one affects the other. Here I will elaborate on examples of threatened physical violence that occurred at Standing Rock. One individual related the following examples of threatened violence to me from their personal experience, with reference to actions taken by law enforcement,

> Intimidation tactics, yesterday they were all blacked out, full face masks, black goggles, no identifiable badge or number … full on swat gear with live rounds, standing around trying to intimidate, yelling at people, you know, just trying to get in people's heads … they sent out helicopters over, over the sacred fire at low ranges just to try to disrupt the prayer ceremonies that are going on. (Interviewee 2, personal communication, December 6, 2016).

And also included,

> Overnight flybys, they have airplanes and helicopters that buzz camp throughout the night … most of the time with their lights off, so, and that's just a psychological thing, and every night after the sun goes down this whole ridgeline here … they light up, they have floodlights that … for miles, just shining towards camp, it's another psych

op that they're trying, you know, to get into everyone's head. (Interviewee 2, personal communication, December 6, 2016)

Another individual I interviewed shared her experience with psychological violence at Standing Rock,

The stuff that affected me the most … was psychological violence … I witnessed a lot of that … one of the things that really held Standing Rock together was … the networking aspect and the community and … communication. So, if you could … distort … what people are communicating or … for example, put some trolls in the Facebook group that would … cause problems or … implant … false … events or false narratives … that was really problematic … The distortion of communication, the distortion of … how people are feeling … they would have … planes circling the camp 24/7 and so that really … messes with your sleep and your biorhythm … a lot of ... scare tactics … [DAPL was] standing on the top of Turtle Island … which is this … site across … from this creek and then the camp is on the other side of the creek … and there were … ancestors buried in that island … and so… we were trying to get to the hill to pray… and … I woke up that morning it was … the morning after we got there and all of these guys were just rushing past me in their cars … trying to get to the hill … what they were doing was they were building a bridge so we could cross the river and get … on the hill and after … DAPL became aware of that they … sent in all of these different people … standing up on the hill and … aiming their … actual rifles at people … kind of … just showing that they had snipers kind of thing … so, it's like … threatening … 'if we can do enough damage to you psychologically … you're going to be paranoid enough with yourself that you're going to … destroy yourselves' kind of thing … almost like an abusive relationship … so that's … the stuff that … hit me the hardest. I didn't get direct violence … personally, my friends did ... they experienced … tear gas ... rubber bullets ... one of my friends was one of the people arrested. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

She also added that,

You can go in and have … one or two big events like what happened … the Sunday before Thanksgiving with the water cannons ... you only have to go in there … a couple times, hurt some people to really … traumatize the whole group and then have them … scrambling thereafter for a while. So … I saw this pattern of … going and

having a few really traumatic … events and then creating … a lot of psychological dissonance around that. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

The women at the seminar also touched on this concept, describing the same conditions of surveillance and intimidation tactics that the interviewee quoted above shared with me. They talked about the trauma that is caused by being surrounded on all sides by flood lights and by police dressed in riot gear and carrying AK-47s. They also mentioned that there were flybys all day long and that in these planes the police had 'StingRays,' devices used to disrupt Wi-Fi signal. They expressed their concern for the impact that all of these things had on the youth, and acknowledged that the psychological damage done to them cannot be known until years in the future. According to a study by Hooven, Nurius, Logan-Greene, and Thompson (2012), mental health in adulthood is impacted by violence experienced in childhood and constitutes a "significant public health problem" (p. 511). The women at the event in Oslo also claimed that they, as well as others, are dealing with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of the trauma they endured from police actions while at Standing Rock. One woman noted that even those who were not physically hurt are still suffering from the trauma of the events they lived through there.

An article in *Indian Country Today* titled "The FBI Likes Your Water Protectors Post Too: The Do's and Don'ts" (Houska, 2017, article title), acknowledges the continuation of surveillance by the authorities over the internet. In this context, this is important as Galtung (1969) states that something that "constrains human action" (p. 170) is considered psychological violence. Houska (2017), attorney and Honor the Earth National Campaigns Director, wrote,

The fight against Dakota Access is not over. Court battles continue, divestment efforts have pulled billions from the company, and resistance all over Turtle Island is ongoing. But while we, water protectors, stand up for the future generations, a massive strategy by state and federal law enforcement seeks to repress and destroy us.

To date, more than 800 cases have been filed against water protectors in the state of North Dakota. Police are combing social media, additional charges are being filed, and grand juries continue to issue indictments.

Despite the attack dogs, mace, rubber bullets, Tasers, water and sound cannons, tear gas, pepper spray, concussion grenades, and dog kennels, our people remained strong.

But we must protect ourselves, relatives. Please consider these simple actions to keep you and your fellow water protectors safe:

Don'ts

Do not create lists of water protectors, do 'shout outs' for water protectors or 'tag' water protectors from direct actions

As great as it is to share memories from the frontlines and remind ourselves of the amazing people we met at camp, law enforcement wants to know who our networks are also. A quick moment of recognition is not worth the scrutiny of federal and state agents.

Compiling a list of water protectors makes the job of law enforcement easier, and can get into consent issues. Regardless of whether we are already on a list somewhere, we shouldn't put ourselves and others at any unnecessary risk.

Do not spread gossip or rumors

Divide and conquer is an old tactic, and one that can be highly effective. Remember our common goal, despite our differences. (para. 1-6)

Houska (2017) then goes on to say,

Do's

...

Do assume your social media is being monitored by law enforcement

That post about remembering the day you were arrested? Or the time you and your crew counted coup on DAPL security? Police see those posts, too. Protect yourself and others – think about how law enforcement would view your post before you post it!

Do put strong passwords on your phone, social media, email, etc. and use encrypted services like the Signal app **or** Riseup.net

Remember when your phone kept crashing at camp and you were pretty sure it kept being hacked? Better safe than sorry – do what you can to protect your personal information by using strong password (capital letter, lowercase letter, a number and a symbol) and applications that are encrypted. (para. 11-12)

In her address to the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, Brenda White Bull (as cited in Indigenous Rising Media, 2017) touched on the issue of the presence of authorities at Standing Rock. With regards to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, she made this comment,

> If the states will not implement the declaration, we will do it ourselves. Recommendations: that states cease and desist the militarization of Indigenous lands, territories, and communities. That the permanent forum initiate a study on violence on any form directed against Indigenous Peoples. (as cited in Indigenous Rising Media, 2017, 2:38)

Thus, it was recognized at a United Nations Permanent Forum that the presence of the authorities at Standing Rock was considered detrimental by those representing the Standing Rock Sioux Nation.

It is also necessary to include here that even though the majority of the data presented so far has largely concerned violence perpetrated by the authorities against the Standing Rock Sioux and those protesting the pipeline, those behind DAPL have claimed that protestors have used violence as well. According to Dakota Access Pipeline Facts (n.d.-e),

> Protesters, many from outside the Tribe, have invaded privately leased land near Cannon Ball, North Dakota. While they have claimed their protests are peaceful, that has not been the case. On September 2, 2016, about 250 extremist protesters stormed and destroyed a private landowner's fence using vehicles, horses and dogs. They attacked a security crew protecting construction workers and causing multiple injuries. They damaged over $10 million in equipment over the subsequent weeks. Five construction workers were attacked in Bismarck while miles away from the pipeline. Two law enforcement agencies have asked at times for federal assistance to restore the rule of law.

> These extremist protesters have repeatedly broken the law and provoked violent confrontations with law enforcement, vandalized private property, and threatened and harassed pipeline employees. To date, there have been nearly 500 arrests of protesters.

> We have great respect for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and their land, but their cause has been subverted and completely overtaken by outside extremist protesters who have conducted themselves dishonorably, and in many cases, criminally. The

Standing Rock Sioux have recently asked for them to leave the private property they have illegally occupied, and they should do so. (para. 3-5)

5.3.2 Structural violence

This section will start with an account of the event that started the protests to begin with, the placement of the Dakota Access Pipeline just north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. According to Amy Dalrymple (2016) in an article in *The Bismarck Tribune*,

An early proposal for the Dakota Access Pipeline called for the project to cross the Missouri River north of Bismarck, but one reason that route was rejected was its potential threat to Bismarck's water supply, documents show.

Now a growing number of protesters are objecting to the oil pipeline's Missouri River crossing a half-mile north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, which they argue could threaten the water supply for the tribe and other communities downstream.

Early in the planning process, Dakota Access considered but eliminated an alternative that would have crossed the Missouri River about 10 miles north of Bismarck instead of the route currently under construction.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers evaluated the Bismarck route and concluded it was not a viable option for many reasons. One reason mentioned in the agency's environmental assessment is the proximity to wellhead source water protection areas that are avoided to protect municipal water supply wells. (para. 1-4)

Then the question can be asked, why is it safe for the pipeline to run one half mile north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation when it wasn't safe for it to run near Bismarck's water supply? According to information on https://daplpipelinefacts.com/route/ (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-c), 140 adjustments were made to the route in North Dakota for the pipeline due to environmental and cultural considerations before the final route was decided. Another justification for the placement of the route under Lake Oahe is that there are already 8 other pipelines that run under the lake and DAPL will run directly parallel to 1 pipeline that has been there for more than 30 years. Also, it is pointed out here that the pipeline does not cross any land owned by the Standing Rock Sioux.

The actions of the judicial system were addressed regarding structural violence, as well. One person I interviewed stated that, "I think there's a lot of structural factors at play

that … are violent in a way that we may not initially call to be violent, but I none the less believe are" (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017). He then went on to give this example,

> One of the … playings out of structural violence that I would say I witnessed, was I was at an arrangement … hearing at [the Bismarck county courthouse] and saw … 6 men being arranged who had been part of one of the protests … one of them was somebody who had come out with our group … and the way that process was done … could fairly be considered to be structural violence, although wasn't violence against physical bodies at that point … the damage wasn't physical ... In particular one of the … experiences there that … stood out the most to me … was that somebody was charged … in the process of that hearing … the justification given for him entering into the … court system … was that he had been at a protest at a physical location, blocking certain … people from doing certain things, I think he was supposed to have blocked the governor's office … and he was actually nowhere near there that day, he was at a completely different location and had been picked up by the police at the other location, and then they appeared to have confused his charges and his story with somebody else's completely … and he never had a chance to refute that or … offer any alternate story or even just contest that that was what had happened at all or that he might have been mistaken for somebody else … He created a chance by speaking up at the very end at which point he had already been … charged with that crime which he definitely didn't commit and the entire room full of people could have told you … and so what happened is he eventually did say, 'Hey, can I say something?,' the judge said 'Yeah, sure, what is it?,' 'So, I was actually nowhere near there that day, you seem to have me confused with somebody else' … I would say that that was an example of … structural or systemic violence because it's taking somebody's time and effort and energy and compelling them to … directly address … with their body and presence and thought and … energy … a charge to which they actually have no relationship … It was not necessary. It was either invented intentionally or mishandled so severely that they really didn't know … and either of those is an example of a system that is clearly not serving that individual … [the system] that takes people's time and effort … eventually that kind of system loses credibility … I feel like it has throughout history … and don't see why this would be any different … [it struck] most of us who were there as very deeply wrong … struck us as a major

problem and something which was only possible because of the … potential for harmful force that the criminal justice system … has at its disposal such that it can compel people to spend their time … answering charges that are … just not true about them. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

The question can be raised, here, of where this supposed attitude among authority figures stems from. Mullen (2015) stated that societies which may seem normal might be quietly being destroyed by discrimination and that the strength of violence, both cultural and structural, is evidenced in that "an educated and democratic-minded population" (p. 474) would accept it. Thus, a plausible remedy to the cultural and structural violence could be justice, as discussed in the literature review. Bishop and Phillips (2006) touched on this topic when they stated that justice is used to change the law or create new laws when it is found that the existing laws are "founded in violence" (p. 379).

The situation surrounding the arrest of Red Fawn Fallis also speaks of the violence perpetrated by the law enforcement at Standing Rock. According to an article by Thompson (2016), Fallis, of the Oglala Lakota Sioux Tribe, was arrested on October 27, 2016 for allegedly shooting at police officers and has been charged with attempted murder. However, according to a website dedicated to Red Fawn Fallis, there is video footage and accounts from eyewitnesses that this did not happen (Free Red Fawn, n.d.). Thus, it becomes the word of the law enforcement against the word of the people. And as of the writing of this thesis, Fallis was still in prison for these charges (Free Red Fawn, n.d.).

A comment made by Interviewee 1 regarding the change in conditions after the veterans arrived at Standing Rock in early December is relevant to the discussion of structural violence. The observation shared with me was that the police starting using less lethal ammunition after the veterans arrived. This interviewee thought this was because there would be more repercussions for using force against the veterans than against the others who were protesting.

Interviewee 6 made this statement which touches on the effects of structural violence,

A huge explosion in violence [is] what happens when people's needs aren't being met, so if you can control their needs and you can control … the access to things … you're going to create a pretty unconscious population that keeps perpetuating that cycle of abuse. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

5.3.3 Cultural violence

Cultural violence came in many different forms with regards to Standing Rock. There is, of course, the aspects of cultural violence that are present in the placement of the pipeline itself as discussed above. The theories of critical social psychology, which I discussed in the research approach section, are of particular validity regarding the following examples of violence, which were described for me during the interviewing process. Especially that of personal construct theory, which supports that the way an individual's mind works, affects both the way in which they experience the world and how they behave.

Cultural violence existed on several levels at Standing Rock, including between the authorities and the protestors, as well as between the protestors themselves. Although the main purpose of this paper is to describe actions that speak of violence between the U.S. government, the oil industry, and members of the Indigenous community in the United States, it is also important to record the ways in which cultural, structural, and direct violence played out on an interpersonal level as well. Evidence that points towards the presence of this violence at the protests camps at Standing Rock is that a cultural orientation was held every morning at camp, with the purpose of creating awareness of cultural sensitivity for the protestors. A document on camp etiquette regarding cultural awareness was written by the Standing Rock Solidarity Trainers (n.d.), and posted online; parts of it read as follows,

> WELCOME to Standing Rock. Thank you for coming to be part of this powerful moment in history. The fight to stop the pipeline is part of our global struggle for liberation, to protect our planet from extractive capitalism, and to heal the devastation of oppression on all our lives. We are winning, and we still have a long way to go. We need everybody. That includes you. This is an indigenous led struggle, on indigenous lands, rooted in centuries of resistance and the specific cultural strengths of the Native peoples gathered here. This means it will look and feel different from non-Native activism.
>
> This is a tool to help you join camp as powerful allies, with deep respect for its sacredness and for indigenous sovereignty and leadership, so that your contribution is as effective as possible. **Our job as allies is to SHOW UP, figure out how we can HELP, and GIVE more than we take. Here's how:**
>
> **We follow Indigenous Leadership AT ALL TIMES:**

• We support this fight in whatever way its leaders decide is most useful. We come prepared to work and not expect anything in return. Every person who comes to camp must try to bring more resource than they use.

• Ceremony and prayer are the bedrock of Indigenous peoples' connection to land and water and are central in protecting them. Actions are ceremony and along with meetings, usually begin with prayer. Show respect. Take off your hat and be quiet during prayer. Stand if you are able. Notice how others honor prayer and follow their example.

• Observe and follow: Don't push your own ideas about what kinds of action should be taken; what is most radical; what the time frame should be. Indigenous leaders have been resisting settler colonialism for a long time and have good, culturally grounded reasons for their decisions.

• Make sure any direct action you join has been approved by Indigenous leaders. There may be attempts by agents or selfdeclared leaders to provoke confrontations.

(Standing Rock Solidarity Trainers, n.d., para. 1-3)

And goes on to include (Standing Rock Solidarity Trainers, n.d.), that "**We understand this moment in the context of settler colonialism**" (para. 7), "**We DECENTER settler worldviews/ practices and RECENTER Indigenous worldviews/practices and leadership**" (para. 8), and "**We understand cultural appropriation and make every effort to not perpetuate it**" (para. 9).

Mullen (2015), made this statement about cultural violence that explains the importance of intending to create sensitivity around cultural differences, "cultural violence acts as an emotional framework that can be reconstructed and perverted to legitimize mass atrocities. Without violence-legitimizing feelings, however inconsistent or confused, societies remain cohesive, determined, and perceptive enough to delegitimize outrageous actions and agendas" (p. 465). Additionally, Interviewee 3 described to me events that he had witnessed personally or heard about while at camp. Interviewee 3 did not agree to be audio-recorded, so here I present a paraphrase of his words. Events he witnessed or heard about included, cultural appropriation in the form of non-natives wearing headdresses. Also, poi spinning around the scared fire that was considered as inappropriate and disrespectful. He also went on to describe a confrontation he had witnessed while standing in line at the kitchen waiting to eat. He started by explaining that it was culturally customary for women and children to eat first among the Standing Rock Sioux and that that was how the kitchens were run at camp as well. However, on this day, a non-native man was impatient and did not want to wait his turn,

and started encouraging the men to start taking food and eating even though the women and children had not finished yet. This man apparently made a big commotion, but no one chose to follow his direction, and he only left after a member of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe approached him to tell him that he was out of line and that he needed to respect the way they did things there.

Another individual I interviewed had this to say about cultural violence at Standing Rock, "I was struggling with going to Standing Rock in the first place because of all the discussion about … cultural appropriation … and … how white people shouldn't go … but I felt very strongly about being there" (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017). She also provided these comments on cultural violence,

Cultural violence was definitely prevalent and it's really hard to sort out no matter who you are … DAPL really capitalized on … cultural violence plus psychological violence is a really good way to divide people … So … you just have to … take everyone on a case by case basis ... it's hard to trust people and it was … easy to trust people at the same time ... They really … messed around … with the trust factor and … the psychological ... they could really capitalize on the way people divided themselves ... they found … where they came from, so we had … a lot of white people come in there … trying to run things … and then … a lot of indigenous push back because obviously … it's not their … movement … didn't start out as their movement … and then … you'd have people sitting there wasting a lot of time and energy … arguing about … what's the best way to move forward … and you can kind of … see how … they could capitalize on … the already present … societal conversations around culture and … cultural appropriation and … who is entitled or allowed to participate … when and where … and I still experienced that … after Standing Rock … it's a really touchy, difficult subject for … everyone involved, I think. So, if you can get … everyone to waste their time arguing and … talking … they're not going to be able to … organize themselves ... and that's not … to say that that wasn't countered by a lot of … good things and … spiritually grounded people … that's just … what a lot of people spent their time worrying about. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

Interviewee 4, who I was also not able to audio-record, shared with me why he thinks those working in big oil do what they do. He stated that he believes that those employed by

big oil companies are involved in this business because they grew up in violent atmospheres. By this, he did not necessarily mean that there was physical violence, but that verbal and emotional violence caused a physical pain within them that caused them to do what they do. He also suggested that their parents were most likely largely absent from their lives. Although these claims are quite subjective and unsubstantiated, theories of critical social psychology acknowledge the relationship between subjectivity and social processes, as well as the impact that an individual's way of thinking has on their behavior. Thus, the value in presenting this interviewee's claims here lies in acknowledging the subjective understandings that individuals have regarding both the people involved and the events in the conflict at Standing Rock.

5.3.4 Discussion

The following is the discussion on the violence section of this thesis. Here, I will focus on discussion on the research question that I have provided again below. As stated above in the preceding discussion sections, the discussion for this section is based on the data collected within the limitations outlined in the methodology section.

- In what ways are structural, cultural, and direct violence manifest at the conflict at Standing Rock? This includes direct, structural, and cultural violence that can be witnessed on multiple levels, such as between the U.S. government, law enforcement agencies, and the oil industry with members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and other Indigenous and non-native protestors, as well as between natives and non-natives involved in the activities pertaining to Standing Rock.

As presented in the literature, violence involves the unwelcome and harmful actions of one actor against another. Thus, the myriad of examples of actions carried out by the authorities against the protestors, protestors against the authorities, and between the protestors themselves presented above speak to the presence of violence with regards to the events at Standing Rock. As also outlined from the literature, there is a relationship between the manifestations of direct, structural, and cultural violence, with each type having some basis in the others. The following discussion will present these occurrences of violence within a rights-based analytical framework with the understanding that these violations of rights result from an unequal balance of political power.

According to the literature, the right to a clean and adequate environment is a human right. As has also been discussed above, threats of harm are considered to be acts of violence as well. Thus, the building of a pipeline in a position that threatens the human right of

individuals and whole communities at Standing Rock to live in a healthy environment is a breach of this human right as well as an act of violence. As human rights are held individually, but also collectively, the act of placing the pipeline so close to the Standing Rock Reservation and their water supply violates the collective right of this indigenous community. But it also goes further than this, as access to drinking water, and water for sanitation purposes, that is clean and safe is also considered a human right. If DAPL were to leak into the Missouri River and contaminate the source of clean and safe water for the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, those living on the reservation would be denied this human right as well.

There are also several articles in DRIP that have been violated at Standing Rock. Article 8.2 stated that states must prevent the dispossession of resources from Indigenous peoples. Article 21 states that Indigenous peoples have the right to the improvement of their health and sanitation conditions. Article 26.1 covers Indigenous people's rights to the land that they have traditionally used, and Article 29.1 covers their right to protect the environment, and additionally says that it is the state's obligation to assist with this protection. Actions taken by the U.S. government under Trump as described above have been in direct opposition to these rights. In addition to this, the right to living and environmental conditions that are in a state of improving constantly is covered by articles 11.1 and 12.2(b), respectively, by ICESCR. Article 11.1 also maintains that it is the state's duty to see that the improvement in living conditions happen. Based on the examples I have provided above, this is not happening under the Trump administration.

Article 5 of the UDHR (UN General Assembly, 1948) states that "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." The acts of direct violence described above concerning the authorities' actions against the protestors fit under this article of the UDHR, as well as a few acts that are claimed on the website connected to DAPL. The act of placing protestors in dog kennels is especially relevant in this case. Articles 18, 19, and 20 of the UDHR cover the human rights of freedom to religion, freedom to express opinion, and the right to freely assemble in a peaceful manner. The act of arresting protestors for doing nothing other than praying, as presented by the women at the event in Oslo, as well as the account given by Interviewee 6 of having people from DAPL point guns at protestors who were trying to pray, violates the human rights covered under these three articles. Article 27.1 which covers the human right to participate in cultural activities was also broken in this instance. Article 15.1 of ICESCR covers the right to partake

in cultural life as well. Article 12.1 of ICESCR covers the right to the highest possible state of health, including both mental and physical. The examples of direct physical, as well as psychological, violence carried out at Standing Rock speak to the contrary of this article, with those whom this violence was perpetrated against acknowledging that it has had an adverse effect on both their physical and mental (both present and future) health.

The account given by Interviewee 5 about the protestor who was charged with a crime he did not commit, and the case of Red Fawn Fallis, demonstrate the unequal power that the court system has in this situation, and the detrimental effects it has for the individuals who are targeted by that system.

5.4 The outcomes of local autonomy

In this section of the thesis I will present the findings and discussion regarding the role of local autonomy, as presented in the literature review from Pratchett (2004) and Orbach (2011), in the conflict at Standing Rock and the resulting actions taken afterwards. The different sections represent concepts that emerged from both my primary and secondary data analysis. To start, I present a quote from one of the people I interviewed in which she described her personal experience regarding Standing Rock,

> After Standing Rock was finished, [her friend] invited me … to come … present … to a high school class where I met a couple more people and we … figured out that we had the same feelings of … PTSD symptoms … intense … loneliness … missing camp too, because there was a very … special and weird place … so we … wanted to go back … What one of my elders tells me ... he didn't go but he … has been helping … my friends and I integrate back in and … bring some of … the spiritual aspect back to our communities and that's really interesting to me because when ... I left Standing Rock … I didn't want to leave … but I had the feeling that I needed to bring that home with me and … plant it in my own community, plant this … spiritual place where people could come and heal because that's really what Standing Rock was … intended for … besides … protecting the water, is to connect people back to … who they are and ... what it means to feel connected to your community and … very far from how … parasitic our institutions have become especially for … indigenous people … I feel like that's what I am supposed to do in my community now … so we've … been together … a group of us have been organizing … talking circles … and … fires … and so it's very like the same kind of … ceremonial, spiritual aspect of

it ... So, for example, the way we've been doing talking circles … one person will introduce … a theme … one day it was … vulnerability … another day it was … humility so then … every single person around the circle will receive a chance to … speak whatever comes to their mind … around that theme … it could be anything else really, too ... and then everyone else has to listen, so just one person is talking, so you get this … aspect of … 'I'm being vulnerable, I'm sharing with you … my trauma in a space where everyone is agreed to … sit around and witness it'… so there's a really powerful aspect of … feeling … in a space where you're able to express … without being judged because it's hard to … come from a place like Standing Rock and then walk around in … quote-unquote real world … it was hard for me to go to school … I've been through culture shock a couple times and it was probably about equal to that. It's kind of like you're walking in between two worlds that don't really make sense. One is really grounded in… spirituality and ceremony ... and forgiveness and … honesty and then the other one is … out to get you and it's … threatening you constantly ... with all types of violence … it differs for every person like the types of violence they experienced and the depth to which they experienced it so … having the talking circle is really helpful to understand how people differ in the way … the violence reached out to them and that's really helpful for all types of people because … it's like especially helpful if you come into a talking circle with people from all different backgrounds … because you really get … different stories but it's really interesting because … every talking circle is … perfect exactly the way it comes… exactly the right people have always been in those talking circles that need to be there and you find these people that … are going through … they're feeling and processing common … emotions and energies but they just have a different narrative to it … and so … when you sit in a circle and talk about it, it all comes together that everyone is … processing these really heavy emotions together but with different stories … it creates a closeness ... and a lot of people that come to these talking circles that we've been having … some of them haven't been to Standing Rock so it's interesting to me to see how ... Standing Rock … weaves in and out of itself … like when I left Standing Rock I didn't really leave there, I was always participating and … communicating … I was … a connecter person … people would ask me for things that they needed and I'd put it out there and find a person that had what they needed … and … that's how it's been with the talking circles too … all these beautiful people ... are coming together. For example, this girl came and she … just got diagnosed with

fibromyalgia … another person that came to the talking circle is a nutrition coach and so … they were perfectly linked up in that moment and now are … helping each other. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

She then went on to state that,

I'm a micro equals macro person so I think that really… healing needs to happen on an individual level for it to happen … on a macro scale … I don't really feel like the systematic with institutional violence will change until all of these people … start coming … within and … really analyzing the things that they've been repressing. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

5.4.1 On a more personal note

Another result that emerged from the primary data and my own observations and experience was that there were individuals contributing to the resistance against DAPL, but who were participating in the events at and relating to Standing Rock for personal reasons. These accounts follow both the *emotionalism* element of qualitative research, and that of critical social psychology, as discussed above. In the cases presented here, the individual's subjective experience was an important factor in their choosing to participate in the events at Standing Rock. Thus, even though individuals may have subjective reasons for their participation in the conflict; these reasons still resulted in them working towards a collective goal that was considered the local norm at Standing Rock.

The first time I encountered the idea that individuals were going to Standing Rock for alternative reasons was at the benefit concert I attended that I have mentioned above. Here I met a non-native woman who talked about how her experience at Standing Rock had caused a 'realignment' within herself and the values she holds in life. Due to this, she was helping organize donations to be sent to Standing Rock. This narrative of individuals experiencing a realignment of values while at Standing Rock was one I heard several times while I was at Standing Rock.

Another account of this idea involves someone I met while at Standing Rock. Due to the weather conditions while I was there, it was advised that everyone have a 'buddy', someone to look out for your back and you for theirs. My buddy at camp soon became a non-native man in his late-40s, and he had gone to Standing Rock with the hopes that the experience would help him move on from painful events in his past related to failed romantic

relationships. He had chosen to go there after the prompting from a friend of his who had also gone to Standing Rock for personal reasons. However, he still spent his time at Standing Rock contributing to the resistance and camp life by helping with tasks that needed to be done, such as fetching firewood and stoking the fires.

A comment made by one of the individuals I interviewed touched on this as well, but from a different viewpoint,

> A lot of people that live [here] since they haven't been to Standing Rock they … struggle with the guilt of it and … are they authentic in … wanting to be a protector or … help with the resistance in general because it's much bigger now than Standing Rock … I think that's what a lot of people struggle with is … are they being authentic and there's always this … measure of judgement … every time I feel self-conscious about it or … feel like people are judging me … I come back to the place with … 'am I authentic with this?' … 'am I doing this for the right reasons?' … 'am I being self-centered? ... 'am I doing this for … the good of the whole?' (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

5.4.2 Reconciliation

Working towards reconciliation, as presented in the literature review from Galtung (2001), Fisher (2001) and Bar-Siman-Tov (2004), was also identified as a result of local autonomy regarding the conflict at Standing Rock. In addition to that presented above, reconciliation is important because it is necessary for the growth of mutual trust between the opposing sides in a conflict, and it, "goes beyond conflict resolution and ad-dresses the cognitive and emotional barriers to normalization and stabilization of peace relations" (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004, p. 4). Theory of critical social psychology is also relevant to this section, as it addresses the importance of the individual's mental processes in understanding how they behave and how their experiences are formed.

Bar-Tal and Bennink (2004) stated that it is common for all sides in a conflict to consider themselves the victim, and to understand the other parties involved as responsible for the conflict. However, they went on to state that, in conflicts, it may occur that the international community sees the actors on one side of the conflict as holding the blame. In these cases, it is necessary that the accused side take additional steps towards the goal of reconciliation. Another note they made was that reconciliation must take place between all, or most, of those within a society in order for the peace to remain. It is not effective for there

only to be an understanding between the leaders of the involved parties. With regards to this concept, one man I interviewed had this to say,

> So, healing has to come from some side stepping towards making a compromise here and … how the tribes have acted they've been so willing to meet half way, you know, and to … try to show up in good faith and … our … government, hasn't reciprocated that at all really, at least not under Trump, under Obama a tiny bit, tiny bit in terms of an environmental impact statement, it was … a necessary first step and then that was taken away. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

While I was at Standing Rock, I had the privilege of attending a pow wow at the Prairie Knights Casino & Resort on the reservation, where several tribes participated in drumming circles and dancing. Another part of this event included tribe members blessing veterans with sage and presenting each one with an eagle's feather as a sign of forgiveness. This pow wow came one night after a 'forgiveness ceremony' (Amatulli, 2016, para. 1) was held at the same casino. According to an article in *Indian Country Today* by Taliman (2016) titled "Veterans Ask for Forgiveness and Healing in Standing Rock", besides coming to Standing Rock just to help protect the water and to stand up for the rights of the people on Standing Rock,

> Army veteran and peace activist Clark Jr., who served as First Lieutenant in the Seventh Cavalry, and Wood Jr., a retired Baltimore cop and Marine veteran and activist, had another reason for coming: They planned to ask for forgiveness from the Lakota people for the atrocities committed by armed forces of the United States military. (Taliman, 2016, para. 7)

At this ceremony, veteran Wes Clark Jr., "son of retired U.S. Army general and former supreme commander at NATO, Wesley Clark Sr." (Amatulli, 2016, para. 2), presented this apology,

> Many of us, me particularly, are from the units that have hurt you over the many years. We came. We fought you. We took your land. We signed treaties that we broke. We stole minerals from your sacred hills. We blasted the faced of our presidents onto your sacred mountain. Then we took still more land and then we took your children and then we tried to make your language and we tried to eliminate your language that God gave you, and the Creator gave you. We didn't respect you, we polluted your Earth, we've hurt you in so many ways but we've come to say that we are sorry. We

are at your service and we beg for your forgiveness. (Wes Clark Jr. as cited in Taliman, 2016, para. 10)

Then,

Chief Leonard Crow Dog, a Lakota medicine man from Rosebud, S.D., held his hand over Clark's head as he made a prayer to cleanse and forgive the officers kneeling before him. Many veterans in the room cried during the ceremony, acknowledging the long history of warfare against "first Americans" seeking to protect their homelands. (Taliman, 2016, para. 11)

According to Amatulli (2016), this also served as a way for members of the Indigenous community and U.S. veterans to honor "their partnership in defending the land from the Dakota Access Pipeline" (Amatulli, 2016, para. 4).

5.4.3 "Decapitate the black snake" (Interviewee 2, personal communication, December 6, 2016)

The 'black snake' is a term that people use to refer to the Dakota Access Pipeline, and to "decapitate the black snake" (Interviewee 2, personal communication, December 6, 2016) means stopping the pipeline. Two of those I interviewed said that they thought that stopping DAPL would be the best way to achieve reconciliation from the events at Standing Rock. While one of these men I interviewed also said that rerouting it away from the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation would also be an acceptable option, the other mentioned that rerouting the pipeline would just cause problems for someone else and that the oil should just be kept in the ground. Interviewee 2 also mentioned that one way to work towards reconciliation could be to work towards divesting locally. It was also mentioned that the route near Bismarck, "wasn't good enough for the people" (Interviewee 2, personal communication, December 6, 2016) in Bismarck, so why should it then run near the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation?

5.4.4 "Waking up" (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

The idea that the events at Standing Rock have been the catalyst for a great "waking up" (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017) of the people is one that I encountered both in my personal communications and in media sources. Thus, another outcome of local autonomy is that of a developing cohesion, momentum, and visibility of the struggles that Indigenous peoples in the United States face and subsequent actions taken to fight back against those who cause these struggles.

One man I interviewed stated the following regarding this topic,

> Having woken up this resistance and having it become a more tangible thing that people have now been able to see and experience and … be there on the plains and … smell the smoke from the fires, and live in the tipis, and eat the food from the kitchens, and see the resistance become powerful, and see that be answered by the international community in the form of a lot of validation, and saying … this is important. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

This man also stated that sustained public pressure on the government and seeing that the U.S. government has received international condemnation for its actions regarding this conflict are sources of reconciliation for him.

> Another statement made by Interviewee 5 about the conflict at Standing Rock is that reconciling from the trauma means,

> Reasserting … one's power and … coming back into one's … sense of self and autonomy … repeating some of what I've heard as well from folks who are Indigenous is that that's a lot of what Standing Rock … felt like, was … reclaiming something … and reasserting … a presence and a culture that's still very much alive and wanting to be here and wasn't … wiped out and isn't something that's just of the past, right, that it's … here and present … and able to advocate for itself and able to fight … and fight back against the powers that be that would … crush it down, and so I would say it's a lot of the fight at Standing Rock as it ended up taking place and even as it was originally conceived, was about kind of *reawakening* a movement of native resistance to the dominant culture … and I think that it really has done a phenomenal job with that regardless of how the pipeline fight goes in the end. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

Another interviewee made this comment,

> Overall the most beneficial thing for me personally ... and the people I see around me … is just like bringing that … ceremonial aspect back … and being really intentional with … everything that you do … that's the thing that I hope that everyone from Standing Rock comes to eventually is that … that's available and that that's there … a connection that I think we all got there … that needs to be brought into every single

… city and place … I want people to come and share and heal. (Interviewee 6, personal communication, May 24, 2017)

The theme of 'waking up' was also identified in the secondary data collection and analysis. The following are examples found during this step of the research process,

"I'm not dreaming. I'm awake. I have been woken by the spirit inside, that demanded I open my eyes and see the world around me" – Quote from the trailer for the film *Awake, A Dream from Standing Rock* by Dewey, Fox, & Spione (Directors) (2017, 0:24).

"After generations of trauma, our spirit has been awakened, we have to act now. We cannot wait. Stop the violence" – Brenda White Bull of the Standing Rock Sioux at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (as cited in Indigenous Rising Media, 2017, 2:27).

"Standing Rock represented our people coming together and rising up. We responded with prayer and action. The world woke up to these issues. The world is a different place today because of the actions we have collectively taken" – Quote in a video posted by Thunder Valley CDC (Producer) (2017, 0:34), which is an Oglala, Native American run non-profit organization based on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota (Thunder Valley CDC, n.d.).

An article in *The Guardian* featuring an Indigenous woman's, Black Elk, experience at Standing Rock touched on this theme as well. According to the article, for Black Elk, "the Standing Rock fight has made indigenous people visible to non-Natives in a powerful and important way" (as cited in Wong, 2017, para. 20). Another excerpt from Black Elk in this article further demonstrates this point, and reads as follows,

'People forgot we existed. I even had people tell me, 'I didn't know that you guys were still here,'' she said. 'Now we're back. This really is serving to show people that we are still here and we are still strong.' (as cited in Wong, 2017, para. 21)

In a video posted by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer) (2016c), Dave Archambault II made a comment that contributes to the concept of waking up,

Regardless of the outcome, I believe we won … I know there's a lot that has been accomplished in a short amount of time. We have tribes and people from all over the world coming in support of this and if you believe and if you have faith, whether the

ruling is on our favor or not, there's nothing but good things that are going to come. And I want to thank each and every one of you … for your presence, for your commitment, for your support. (0:35)

An experience I had while at Standing Rock is also in line with the comment above by Archambault II. When I first arrived at Standing Rock, I stopped at the gas station that is seven miles south from the protests camps to gather more information about the camps before arriving there. While standing just inside the door, an Indigenous woman approached me, introduced herself, shook my hand, and thanked me for being there. I told her that I had just arrived and had not been out to the camps yet, but she said that it was enough that I had made the effort just to be there. While on this same visit to the gas station, a second person thanked me as well just for being there. In my experience, the act of just showing up and being present was encouraging to the moral at Standing Rock.

5.4.5 Outcomes of 'Waking Up'

As has been demonstrated above, there has been a 'waking up' among and regarding Indigenous peoples in the United States. One outcome of this has been the growing movement to defund the pipeline. As reported in *Indian Country Today* by Fogarty (2017), as of April 5, 2017 more than $5 billion has been removed from banks that funded DAPL. Those who have removed their money from DAPL-funding banks include "individuals, cities and tribes" (Fogarty, 2017, para. 1). As of May 6, 2017, the figures on the amount that has been divested were over $80 million from individuals and almost $4.5 billion from cities (#DefundDAPL, n.d.-c), with Seattle, WA setting the example by having defunded $3 billion alone (Fogarty, 2017). According to the article by Fogarty (2017), other major cities that are taking action to defund DAPL include San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York. In this article, three tribes are listed as having taking action towards defunding DAPL as well, including "the Muckleshoot Tribe in Washington state, the Mille Lacs Tribe in Minnesota and the Nez Perce Tribe in Idaho" (para. 6). International defunding efforts are listed in the article as Norway's DNB bank, and ING, a Dutch bank. Additionally, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (2017c) list the "Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Nation" (para. 1) as having divested as well. In a quote from Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (2017b) they comment on the decision of the bank BNP Paribas to divest from DAPL,

'The power of people speaking out against the Dakota Access Pipeline is greatly appreciated and today's announcement by BNP Paribas is proof the fight continues

and we look forward to further progress with the investment community, as well as in the courts.' (para.1)

According to a video post by DeFund DAPL (2016), the divestment movement that has been created to defund DAPL has become the largest in the history of America. The speaker in this video stated,

> Many of us are left wondering, 'what can I do?' In the midst of global unrest, Standing Rock has become a symbol of what is possible when we can all come together. A rising solidarity in the face of power. (DeFund DAPL, 2016, 0:25)

In this video, they also stated that their goal is to have one million people that have accounts with DAPL-funding banks to close those accounts. And on the websites, http://www.defunddapl.org/defund (#DefundDAPL, n.d.-b) and http://www.defunddapl.org/divest-your-community (#DefundDAPL. n.d.-a), step by step instructions can be found on how individuals, and cities and tribes, respectively, can divest from banks that fund DAPL, along with providing a list of those banks. Also, in a post on the Facebook group called Standing Rock Stories (2017), they list that divesting is a way to support Standing Rock from any location.

While defunding of the pipeline was taking place, there was also action taken to fund the Standing Rock Sioux and the protest camps. According to an article in *Indian Country Today* by Luger (2016)

> Archambault … said that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has received about $6 million in donations and that the tribal council has voted consistently to spend these funds on legal needs, to accommodate the camp, and for public relations. So far, he said, the Tribe has spent $600,000. They are saving remaining funds—about $5.4 million—for legal fees that they expect will continue to accrue. In any case, the Tribe will continue to hold monthly meetings regarding how the money has already been and should be spent. (para. 31)

Luger (2016) also acknowledges that "Supporters around the world have donated untold millions of dollars in cash and supplies to dozens of entities claiming direct support for Standing Rock. Some of those are valid, others not so much" (para. 25).

Regarding the above discussion of indigeneity, and Archambault II's decision to ask non-natives to leave Standing Rock in early December, it is interesting to also include here a

quote from Iron Eyes, who was considered one of the leaders of the protest camps, about the donations made to Standing Rock, as cited in Luger (2016), "'Instead of asking people to leave who are equipped and ready to stay we should use the millions that were sent to stop this pipeline to shelter, warm, and feed our protectors,'" (para. 27).

Another effect of the increased activism has been a rise in the number of bills proposed in the United States that would limit the ability of citizens to protest. According to CNN (Tran, 2017), these bills have been proposed in response to the protests linked to DAPL, as well as the Keystone XL pipeline, Trump, and policies he has made, and other police violence, and "would make it harder to protest, create harsher penalties for protestors who are arrested, and, in two states, remove liability from drivers who accidentally injure protesters on roadways" (para. 6). These bills were addressed in a mandate dated March 27, 2017 from the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association (Kaye & Kiai, 2017), where it stated that they had received,

> **a number of proposed Bills criminalizing peaceful protests in 16 states in the United States of America (USA), representing a worrying trend that could result in a detrimental impact on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and freedom of expression in the country.** (p. 1)

This mandate also details the bills which have been proposed, showing that of these 16 states, 14 states proposed bills in the first few months of 2017, and one in December 2016.

5.4.6 Citizens' responsibility

Here, then, is the place to address the question of which responsibilities a citizen has for the actions taken by their government and for the effects of other social systems that are in place in their societies, as presented in the human rights analytical framework section above. In his article "Are We Violating the Human Rights of the World's Poor," Pogge (2011), argues that individuals are responsible for the actions taken by the government to which they are a citizen. He claims that not acting to right a wrong is the same as condoning the wrong action. Thus, citizens are responsible for standing up to the government when they perceive that their government is violating human rights.

Galtung (1969) also touches on this concept by noting that all actors in the structure are responsible for the structure being upheld and therefore also have the power to cause change. However, as he also points out, there may be drawbacks about standing up against the government, especially when direct violence is utilized,

> Thus, if the choice is between righting a social wrong by means of personal violence or doing nothing, the latter may in fact mean that one supports the forces behind social injustice. And conversely: the use of personal violence may easily mean that one gets neither long-term absence of violence nor justice. (Galtung, 1969, p. 184)

He goes on to say that,

> Thus, if our choice of means in the fight against structural violence is so limited by the non-use of personal violence that we are left without anything to do in highly repressive societies, whether the repression is latent or manifest, then how valuable is this recipe for peace? (Galtung, 1969, p. 184)

Thus, the question becomes, can these points by Galtung be used as justification for the violence that those behind DAPL claimed some protesters perpetrated as presented above in the direct violence section of this thesis?

One interviewee touched on the topic of responsibility while discussing the reversal of the decision made to conduct an EIS before building the section of the pipeline that runs under Lake Oahe,

> There was a bunch of stuff done that shouldn't have been legally possible around undoing that environmental review, but we did it, you know, because we're the U.S. government and we can, I'm using the *large we* [emphasis added] … I don't want to implicate either you or me, you know, here, but it did happen and it is, you know, a government of which I am a citizen legally. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

He then went on to elaborate more on this idea by stating,

> The way that I'm being represented by elected leaders right now … is completely untrue for who I am and so then it brings that question, right, of … what's our obligation as citizens in a democracy, in theory a democracy, right … if we believe in this thing … that we're in, this American experiment, of trying to be a country that

tolerates a lot, trying to be good to each other, and trying to do that democratically, then, you know, we see a lot of ways that we're failing and this is one of them, and what does that mean about what it means to be a citizen … what is our obligation, then, as people who are living with the biggest voice … in that structure … that of a citizen, somebody who has full rights and is able to vote … I mean we all know that folks like corporate … leaders and all that generally have a lot bigger voices than citizens do, but in theory, in principle, of a thing they shouldn't. … So how are we taking that on as our … duty to try to chip away at some of these systemic wrongs that are out there … through working on … that whole system and through … education around it … and through doing what we can through the political processes and through social movement building … and being a little clearer about where we might need to go … because I think when you see the injustice of it firsthand … and it's demonstrated to you and … you have the chance to have the very tangible emotion of 'this is not right, this isn't, you know, how I feel good about being' … you know, then, maybe you ought to work on changing it. (Interviewee 5, personal communication, February 20, 2017)

One of the Indigenous women at the seminar in Oslo also made a comment about how it is important for everyone to contribute in the way that they are comfortable and able to contribute. One suggestion she made was that if someone can write about Standing Rock, then they should write about it. So, is writing a thesis about the conflict at Standing Rock an adequate way to fulfill the duty of a citizen to address the actions taken by its government? One interviewee commented that the fact that I was writing a thesis about Standing Rock while enrolled in a Norwegian University demonstrated how the conflict has been embraced by the international community (although in my case, being a U.S. citizen, I am not sure of my status as part of the 'international community' in the context of Standing Rock).

5.4.7 Education

Education was provided as a way to achieve reconciliation by Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 5. Interviewee 4 stated that education was *the* way to reconcile from the events at Standing Rock, and as I was not able to audio-record this individual, I present a paraphrase of his comment here. He stated that institutional learning was not the proper way to educate youth, and likened this type of learning to growing corn, that everyone is just put in a row and grown like a crop. He suggested that there needs to be different types of educational systems

for the diverse array of people in the world. A few of his suggestions included that children should learn more from their parents by having to partake in chores while at home, such as skinning an animal. He believed that it was okay for children to go to school, but there had to be a deeper education of the children that allowed them to develop intellect and capabilities that are not taught in the institutional education programs available today. He also specifically suggested that Montessori and Waldorf schools would be a more appropriate way to educate children rather than through the system the U.S. public schools use today.

Thus, a search for literature on how Indigenous peoples in North America are portrayed in curriculum used in the U.S. public school system was carried out. The following is a short summary of one study carried out that analyzed the content regarding Indigenous peoples in the U.S. history standards at the state level for kindergarten through 12th grade. One of the general findings by Shear, Knowles, Soden, and Castro (2015) was that there is little content on Indigenous peoples in the state-level curriculum, and that the educational standards that do refer to Indigenous peoples are depicted from a Eurocentric viewpoint. Shear et al. (2015), claimed that this type of narrative, "causes fissures in society, lack-ing complexity and excluding alternative voices from the official story of the United States" (p. 69). A second finding of this study was that Indigenous peoples were depicted as, "relics of a distant past, void of complexity and a voice in modern America" (Shear et al., 2015, p. 74). In the quantitative section of this study, it was found that 86.66% of state-level education standards portrayed Indigenous peoples in a pre-1900s context, therefore lacking coverage of modern Indigenous peoples in the United States.

Another trend that Shear et al. (2015) found was that of an "insider-outsider dichotomy" (p. 84). By this, they are referring to the fact that content about Indigenous peoples is presented "within a U.S. context and within a U.S timeline rather than an Indigenous-centered context and timeline" (p .84). Also interesting is the finding that most of the content on Indigenous peoples focuses on conflict as opposed to cooperation. Cooperation is presented as the relationship between the first European settlers and the Indigenous population, but turns into a narration of conflict when the European settlers started moving west. Shear et al. (2015) argues that thinking of the progression of history in this way, from cooperation to a state of conflict, portrays "Indigenous Peoples as bar-riers to America progress." (p. 86). Shear et al. (2015) went on to say,

Arguably, it would be easy for students to see Indigenous Peoples as America's greatest enemy given how the standards shape the transition from cooperation to conflict, without providing space to consider various Indigenous histories, cultures, and experiences in past, present, and possible future. (p. 86)

One last relevant point that Shear et al. (2015) made is that the content of the state educational standards tends to portray the expansion west and the development of the United States by the U.S. government as a priority, while leaving the discussion of the impacts that these actions had on the Indigenous peoples to a minimum. Regarding this Shear et al. (2015) stated,

While there were standards related to the removal of Indigenous Peoples from their lands, as mentioned previously, these standards took on a tone of detachment, focusing on political actions and court rulings rather than on the impact on the lives of Indigenous Peoples in the United States. (p.88)

In light of this study, the 'outcomes of waking up' that have been presented above are relevant as they are providing more visibility and voice to the Indigenous peoples in the United States. Also, in an article in *The New York Times* by Harris and Gonchar (2016), a lesson plan is presented on how to discuss Standing Rock in the classroom, complete with discussion questions and materials. Suggested discussion topics and questions to ask students ranged from having the students discuss both the positive and negatives aspects of the pipeline, to identifying the various actors involved, to whether there is way to resolve the conflict that will result in both those in favor of the pipeline and those who are not, to predicting the possible outcomes of the conflict.

A decision made by the Lake and Peninsula School District in Alaska to change the schedule of the school year to fit the subsistence lifestyles of the Natives villages which make up this district (Hamilton, 2017) serves as an example of how education in the United States can be changed to accommodate the needs of Indigenous students.

5.4.8 Discussion

The discussion for this section will focus on the following research question,

- How has local autonomy manifested regarding the conflict at Standing Rock?

Based on the data collected, and from the viewpoint of a political ecology framework, while also keeping in mind the limitations to data collection discussed in the methodology section, there is evidence that actions have been taken by some of those who resisted DAPL to use their personal and collective power to counter the power possessed by the extraction industry and U.S. government. As presented above by one interviewee, one way that change can occur is from the micro to the macro level. Thus, the small changes that individuals or groups make towards healing themselves or by confronting social issues that they observe in their communities can have a positive effect on a larger scale. The few examples presented in this thesis, such as the experience of participating in the events at Sanding Rock being the inspiration to start a talking circle to address important issues in your community or using the experience to tend to your own personal well-being and values formation, then, suggest that the decisions and actions taken with autonomy within the larger social and institutional structure can influence this whole power structure. The collective actions taken through the 'waking up' process, could also, then, be considered to be challenging the power structure as well, as real change, as seen with the divestment movement, has already taken place based on those collective efforts.

The concept of local autonomy also includes that of actions taken by local governments, several examples have been given showing that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe government has made efforts to be involved in the process of the construction of DAPL, such as that given in the extractive politics section about the meeting between DAPL representatives and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council on September 30, 2014, and also the letter from Dave Archambault II to Trump about the illegality of proceeding with the construction of DAPL without conducting an EIS. The concerns brought up by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe were not heeded by the DAPL representatives or the U.S. government, however, as construction of DAPL was still completed. These examples suggest an unequal power structure as both DAPL and the U.S. government were able to continue with their plans regardless of the desires of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. The reason this discussion is important here is because according to the literature on reconciliation, it is important for all involved parties in a conflict to make an effort to repair relations when a conflict occurs between groups. As these examples suggest, as well as the comment from one interviewee on the willingness of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe to step forward, and the unwillingness of the U.S. government to do so, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is still asserting their autonomy in this situation even though it did not have the desired outcome of halting the construction of

DAPL. This discussion is also important in terms of the political ecology, as according to the literature, power to make decisions regarding something that affects someone in an adverse way is necessary when working towards reconciliation.

The concept of citizens' responsibility for the actions taken by their governments is important to include in this discussion as it is a theme that was encountered in the literature on human rights, violence, and brought up by one of the interviewees, as well as one of the Indigenous women who presented at the event in Oslo on Standing Rock. To make a note of this concept of responsibility is important in the context of local autonomy, because it is possible that this sense of responsibility has the ability to influence the actions taken by those functioning within the social and institutional structure upheld by the national government, as mentioned by Interviewee 5.

A shift in power dynamics could also take place through a shift in the way that education is approached in the United States. As presented, the current educational system in the U.S. does not represent the Indigenous peoples of the United States or their varying histories and cultures in a well-rounded or complete way. This educational system also does not encompass the many different modes of education that exist, including that of teaching traditional knowledge. This section was included because one Indigenous interviewee stated that a change in the way education and knowledge is handled in the U.S. would be a source of reconciliation. Also, the sample lesson plan regarding the conflict at Standing Rock presented in *The New York Times,* suggests that teachers or schools could utilize their autonomy to influence the way in which these issues are presented to and understood by their students.

6. Conclusion

This thesis found that the three main types of violence, as outlined by Galtung, direct, structural, and cultural, were present in the conflict regarding Standing Rock. An uneven power distribution between the U.S. government and the oil industry, and those protesting the pipeline was demonstrated, as well as the violation of rights covered under treaties between the Standing Rock Sioux and the U.S. government and by the UDHR, DRIP, and ICESCR, which also speaks to an uneven distribution of power. Within the context of this power structure, local autonomy and the effects thereof must also be taken into account, as actions taken with this autonomy can produce tangible outcomes, such as the movement to divest from the banks that fund DAPL, a change an individual makes within the social environment of the city she lives in, or forgiveness between the Indigenous community and U.S. veterans.

7. References

Amatulli, J. (2016, December 5). Forgiveness ceremony unites veterans and natives at
  Standing Rock casino. *The Huffington Post.* Retrieved June 7, 2017 from
  http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/forgiveness-ceremony-unites-veterans-and-
  natives-at-standing-rock-casino_us_5845cdbbe4b055b31398b199

Archambault II, Dave. (2017, January 25). Dear President Trump. Retrieved from
  https://drive.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://standingrock.agitpopcommunica.
  netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Letter-to-President-Trump-1-25-17.pdf

Auger, G. A. (2013). Fostering democracy through social media: Evaluating diametrically
  opposed nonprofit advocacy organizations' use of Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube.
  Public Relations Review, 39, 369-376. Retrieved from
  https://spirofal.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/fosteringdemocracy.pdf

Ayhan, H. Ö. (2011). Non-probability sampling survey methods. In M. Lovric (ed.),
  International Encyclopedia of Statistical Science (Chapter N). Retrieved from
  http://download.springer.com/static/pdf/276/prt%253A978-3-642-04898-
  2%252F14.pdf?originUrl=http%3A%2F%2Flink.springer.com%2Freferenceworkentr
  ry%2F10.1007%2F978-3-642-04898-
  2_41&token2=exp=1494335628~acl=%2Fstatic%2Fpdf%2F276%2Fprt%25253A978
  -3-642-04898-
  2%25252F14.pdf%3ForiginUrl%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Flink.springer.com%252
  Freferenceworkentry%252F10.1007%252F978-3-642-04898-
  2_41*~hmac=db81be5307084b08e9f28f75259711ce780f14d81d912002aea7878bdc0
  8d06d

Barry, A. (2013). *Material Politics: Disputes Along the Pipeline.* Wiley Blackwell: West
  Sussex, UK.

Bar-Siman-Tov, Y. (2004). Introduction: Why reconciliation? In Y. Bar-Siman-Tov (Ed.),
  From conflict resolution to reconciliation (Introduction). Retrieved from
  https://books.google.no/books?id=wOo8PiX8PWMC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepag
  e&q&f=false

Bar-Tal, D., & Bennink, G. H. (2004). The nature of reconciliation as an outcome and as a
  process. In Y. Bar-Siman-Tov (Ed.), *From conflict resolution to reconciliation*
  (Chapter 1). Retrieved from
  https://books.google.no/books?id=wOo8PiX8PWMC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepag
  e&q&f=false

Bishop, R., & Phillips, J. (2006). Violence. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23(2-3)*, 377-385.
  doi: 10.1177/0263276406063782

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods.* New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Churchill, R. P. (2011). Violence. In D.K. Chatterjee (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of global justice.*

doi: 10.1007/978-1-4020-9160-5

Dakota Access Pipeline Facts. (n.d.-a). The Dakota Access Pipeline is the best way to move Bakken crude oil to market. Retrieved January 12, 2017, from https://daplpipelinefacts.com/

Dakota Access Pipeline Facts. (n.d.-b). Dakota Access announces its intention to place its pipeline into service. Retrieved May 12, 2017 from https://web.archive.org/web/20170501210443/daplpipelinefacts.com

Dakota Access Pipeline Facts. (n.d.-c). The Dakota Access Pipeline route was created through a careful and collaborative process. Retrieved May 12, 2017 from https://daplpipelinefacts.com/route/

Dakota Access Pipeline Facts. (n.d.-d). The Dakota Access Pipeline will keep America moving efficiently and in an environmentally safe manner. Retrieved May 8, 2017 from https://daplpipelinefacts.com/about-the-dakota-access-pipeline/

Dakota Access Pipeline Facts. (n.d.-e). The Dakota Access Pipeline operates within the rule of law. Those opposed should do the same. Retrieved May 8, 2017 from https://daplpipelinefacts.com/the-legal-process/

Dalrymple, A. (2016, August 18). Pipeline route plan first called for crossing north of Bismarck. *The Bismarck Tribune.* Retrieved from http://bismarcktribune.com/news/state-and-regional/pipeline-route-plan-first-called-for-crossing-north-of-bismarck/article_64d053e4-8a1a-5198-a1dd-498d386c933c.html

Dart, T. (2017, April 21). Texas's pick to safeguard environment? The man behind Dakota Access Pipeline. *The Guardian.* Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/apr/21/texas-kelcy-warren-environment-dakota-access-pipeline-ceo

#DefundDAPL. (n.d.-a). Divest your community. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from http://www.defunddapl.org/divest-your-community

#DefundDAPL. (n.d.-b). Join #DefundDAPL. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from http://www.defunddapl.org/defund

#DefundDAPL. (n.d.-c). Total divested from the Dakota Access Pipeline. Retrieved May 6, 2017 from http://www.defunddapl.org/

Defund DAPL. (2016, November 29). What if 1 million people closed their accounts with banks funding the Dakota Access Pipeline?. What if you were the one?. Tell your bank, "water is life.". For a list of banks funding DAPL, join us @ www.DeFundDAPL.org Facebook.com/DeFundDapl. music [Video file]. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/DeFundDAPL/videos/1737636129896365/

Dewey, M., Fox, J., & Spione, J. (Directors). (2017). *AwakeadreamfromStandingRocktrailer*

[Video file]. Retrieved from
https://awakeadreamfromstandingrock1.vhx.tv/packages/pre-order-awake-a-dream-
from-standing-rock/videos/awakeadreamfromstandingrocktrailer-2

DiChristopher, T. (2017, January 24). Trump signs executive actions to advance Keystone
XL, Dakota Access pipelines. *CNBC.* Retrieved April 20, 2017 from
http://www.cnbc.com/2017/01/24/trump-to-advance-keystone-dakota-pipelines-with-
executive-order-on-tuesday-nbc.html

Egnew, T. R. (2005). The meaning of healing: Transcending suffering. *Annals of Family
Medicine, 3(3)*, 255-262. Retrieved from
http://www.annfammed.org/content/3/3/255.full.pdf+html

Farmer, P. (1996). On suffering and structural violence: A view from below. *Daedalus,
125(1),* 261-283. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027362

Fenelon, J. V. (l 997). From peripheral domination to internal colonialism: Socio-political
change of the Lakota on Standing Rock. *Journal of World-Systems Research, 3(2),*
259-320. Retrieved from http://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/index.php/jwsr/article/view/110

Feraca, S. E., & Howard, J. H. (1963). The identity and demography of the Dakota or Sioux
tribe. *Plains Anthropologist, 8(20),* 80-84. Retrieved from
http://www.jstor.org/stable/25666507

Ferguson, A., & Derman, B. (2005). Whose Water? Political ecology of water reform in
Zimbabwe. In S. Paulson, & L. L. Gezon (Eds.) *Political ecology across spaces,
scales, and social groups* (Chapter 4). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers
University Press

Fisher, R. J. (2001). Social-psychological processes in interactive conflict analysis and
reconciliation. In M. Abu-Nimer (Ed.), *Reconciliation, justice, and coexistence:
Theory and practice* (Chapter 2). Retrieved from
https://books.google.no/books?id=lWVEr3VLjzoC&pg=PA344&lpg=PA344&dq=rec
onciliation,+galtung&source=bl&ots=U9ErbuH2vp&sig=FeyCz94sPmFHfn7g1yXGr
D5B67w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiY99Lmzt3SAhXLliwKHQH_AIMQ6AEII
DAB#v=onepage&q=reconciliation%2C%20galtung&f=false

Fogarty, M. (2017, April 5). DAPL fallout continues: Defund movement passes $5 billion.
Indian Country Today. Retrieved May 6, 2017 from
https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/native-news/dapl-fallout-continues-
defund-movement-passes-5-billion/

Fox, D., Prilleltensky, I., & Austin, S. (2009). Critical psychology for social justice:
Concerns and dilemmas. In D. Fox., I. Prilleltensky, & S. Austin (Eds.) *Critical
psychology: An introduction, second edition* (Chapter 1). Retrieved from
https://books.google.no/books?id=zbTYJ2Mz9jQC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Critical
+Psychology:+An+Introduction.+Fox,+D.+and+Prilleltensky,+I.+(1997).+Sage,+Lon
don&hl=no&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjr-
Jr_0fHTAhXHQpoKHbPSDUMQ6AEIJjAA#v=onepage&q=Critical%20Psychology

%3A%20An%20Introduction.%20Fox%2C%20D.%20and%20Prilleltensky%2C%20
I.%20(1997).%20Sage%2C%20London&f=false

Freeman, M. (2011). *Human rights.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Free Red Fawn. (n.d.) *Free Red Fawn.* Retrieved May 7, 2017 from
http://indi.com/freeredfawn

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research, 6(3),*
167-191. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/422690

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research, 27(3),* 291-305.
Retrieved from https://www.galtung-institut.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Cultural-
Violence-Galtung.pdf

Galtung, J. (2001). After violence, reconstruction, reconciliation, and resolution: Coping
with visible and invisible effects of war and violence. In M. Abu-Nimer (Ed.),
Reconciliation, justice, and coexistence: Theory and practice (Chapter 1). Retrieved
from
https://books.google.no/books?id=lWVEr3VLjzoC&pg=PA344&lpg=PA344&dq=rec
onciliation,+galtung&source=bl&ots=U9ErbuH2vp&sig=FeyCz94sPmFHfn7g1yXGr
D5B67w&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiY99Lmzt3SAhXLliwKHQH_AIMQ6AEII
DAB#v=onepage&q=reconciliation%2C%20galtung&f=false

Gibbon, G. (2003). *The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota nations.* Retrieved from
https://books.google.no/books?hl=en&lr=&id=s3gndFhmj9gC&oi=fnd&pg=PR5&dq
=gibbon+2003&ots=8ARXnbBYCS&sig=shca7v37ZsOO-
BHAeHH7pqbm9pM&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=gibbon%202003&f=false

Hamilton, L. (2017, May 3). Lake and Peninsula School District switches to "subsistence
calendar." *KDLG: Public radio for Alaska's Bristol Bay*. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from
http://kdlg.org/post/lake-and-peninsula-school-district-switches-subsistence-
calendar#stream/0

Hananel, S., & Nicholson, B. (2017, February 13). Judge rejects tribes' request to halt Dakota
Access pipeline construction. *Chicago Tribune.* Retrieved May 6, 2017 from
http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-judge-dakota-access-pipeline-
work-20170213-story.html

Harris, K., & Gonchar, M. (2016, November 30). Battle over an oil pipeline: Teaching about
the Standing Rock Sioux protests. *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from
https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/30/learning/lesson-plans/battle-over-an-oil-
pipeline-teaching-about-the-standing-rock-sioux-protests.html?_r=0

Hayes, K. (2016, October 27). How to talk about #NoDAPL: A native perspective. Retrieved
May 29, 2017 from https://transformativespaces.org/2016/10/27/how-to-talk-about-
nodapl-a-native-perspective/

Hayward, T. (2005). *Constitutional environmental rights.* Retrieved from

https://books.google.no/books?hl=en&lr=&id=9fATDAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=tim+hayward,+2005,+Constitutional+environmental+rights&ots=5hJ2IkQXp6&sig=XzGSDIwzREVLDMPz4ulPZqXOVOE&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=tim%20hayward%2C%202005%2C%20Constitutional%20environmental%20rights&f=false

Heaton, J. (2008). Secondary analysis of qualitative data: An overview. *Historical Social Research, 33(3)(125),* 33-45. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/20762299

Hill, J., & Schabner, D. (2017, February 12). Standing Rock Sioux ask court to halt Dakota Access Pipeline construction. *abcnews.* Retrieved May 6, 2017 from http://abcnews.go.com/US/standing-rock-sioux-court-halt-dakota-access-pipeline/story?id=45432998

Hindery, D. (2013). *From Enron to Evo: Pipeline politics, global environmentalism, and indigenous rights in Boliva.* Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

Hooven, C., Nurius, P.S., Logan-Greene, P., Thompson, E.A. (2012). Childhood violence exposure: Cumulative and specific effects on adult mental health. *Journal of Family Violence, 27(6),* 511-522. Retrieved from http://download.springer.com/static/pdf/521/art%253A10.1007%252Fs10896-012-9438-0.pdf?originUrl=http%3A%2F%2Flink.springer.com%2Farticle%2F10.1007%2Fs10896-012-9438-0&token2=exp=1493755787~acl=%2Fstatic%2Fpdf%2F521%2Fart%25253A10.1007%25252Fs10896-012-9438-0.pdf%3ForiginUrl%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Flink.springer.com%252Farticle%252F10.1007%252Fs10896-012-9438-0*~hmac=93ca6e883bc43c37b4668ca46bdce7cc6be4f3d2121b1de5a6ab58b24a5935db

Houska, T. (2017, April 17). The FBI likes your water protectors post too: The do's and don'ts." *Indian Country Today.* Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/culture/social-issues/fbi-likes-water-protectors-post-dos-donts/

Ikelegbe, A. (2005). The economy of conflict in the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria. *Nordic Journal of African Studies, 14(2),* 208-234. Retrieved from http://integritynigeria.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/ikelegbe_the_economy-of-Conflict.pdf

Indigenous Rising Media. (2017, April 26). April 25th, 2017: Brenda White Bull, lineal descendant of Lakota Chief Sitting Bull and Standing Rock Sioux Nation citizen, presented an intervention at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. She spoke on the state and personal violence perpetrated [Video File]. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/Indigenousrisingmedia/

Kaye, D, & Kiai, M. (2017, March 27). Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association. Retrieved from http://i2.cdn.turner.com/cnn/2017/images/04/15/un.report.pdf

Lee, B. X. (2016). Causes and cures VII: Structural violence. *Aggression and Violent Behavior, 28,* 109-114. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2016.05.003

Levin, S. (2017, February 13). Standing Rock chairman looks to history as divisions emerge among activists. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/13/dakota-access-pipeline-protest-standing-rock-dave-archambault

Luger, C. (2016, December 23). DAPL water protectors forge a way forward against the 'Black Snake'. *Indian Country Today.* Retrieved May 6, 2017 from https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/native-news/dapl-water-protectors-forge-way-forward-black-snake/

McKibben, B. (2016, October 28). Why Dakota is the new Keystone. *The New York Times.* Retrieved January 18, 2017 from https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/29/opinion/why-dakota-is-the-new-keystone.html?_r=0

McNeish, J. A., Borchgrevink, A., & Logan, O. (2015). *The politics of energy and development in Latin America.* J. A. McNeish, A. Borchgrevink, & O. Logan (Eds.). London: Zed Books.

McNeish, J. A., & Logan, O. (2012). *Flammable societies: Studies on the socio-economics of oil and gas.* J. A. McNeish, & O. Logan (Eds.). London: Pluto Press.

McNeish, J. A. (2013). Extraction, protest and indigeneity in Bolivia: The TIPNIS effect. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies, 8(2),* 221-242. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2013.808495

McNeish, J. A. (2017). A vote to derail extraction: Popular consultation and resource sovereignty in Tolima, Colombia. *Third World Quarterly.* Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1283980

Medic Healer Council. (2016, November 21). For immediate release [Facebook status update]. Retrieved May 6, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/MedicHealerCouncil/posts/1035494333243056

Merino Acuña, R. (2015). The politics of extractive governance: Indigenous peoples and socio-environmental conflicts. *The Extractive Industries and Society, 2(1)*, 85–92. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/jroge/Downloads/Art%C3%ADculo%20R%20Merino%20extractive%20industries.pdf

Milman, O. (2017, January 26). Standing Rock Sioux tribe says Trump is breaking law with Dakota Access order. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from May 7, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/26/standing-rock-sioux-tribe-trump-breaking-law-dakota-access

Mullen, M. (2015) Reassessing the focus of transitional justice: the need to move structural and cultural violence to the centre. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 28* (3), 462-479. doi: 10.1080/09557571.2012.734778

Nahko and Medicine for the People. (2017, January 24). *Love letters to god* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-QGkYNc0Ls

North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission. (n.d.). Statistics. Retrieved May 8, 2017 from http://indianaffairs.nd.gov/statistics/

Nowak, M. (2005). A human rights approach to poverty. In M. Scheinin & M. Suksi (Eds.), *Human rights in development yearbook 2002* (pp. 15-36). The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Omeje, K. (2008). Extractive economies and conflicts in the global south: Re-engaging rentier theory and politics. In K. Omeje (Ed.), *Extractive economies and conflicts in the global south: Multi-regional perspectives on rentier politics* (1-25). Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Orbach, A. (2011). Rethinking participation, rethinking power: reflections on local autonomy. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement, 32(2),* 196-209. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02255189.2011.596033

Peet, R., Robbins, P., & Watts, M. (2011). Global nature. In R. Peet, P. Robbins, & M. J. Watts (Eds.) *Global political ecology* (Chapter 1). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Pogge, T. (2011). Are we violating the human rights of the world's poor? *Yale Human Rights and Development Journal, 14(2),* 1-33. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1104&context=yhrdlj

Pop Ac, A., Dorough, D., & John, E. (2016, November 4). Statement on the Dakota Access Pipeline (North Dakota, USA) by Mr. Alvaro Pop Ac, Chair of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and Dr. Dalee Dorough and Chief Edward John, Expert Members of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/2016/Docs-updates/StatementDAPL_4Nov-2016.pdf

Postero, N. (2013). Introduction: Negotiating indigeneity. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies, 8(2),* 107-121. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2013.810013

Pratchett, L. (2004). Local autonomy, local democracy and the 'new localism'. *Political Studies, 52(2),* 358-375. Retrieved from http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2004.00484.x

Sen, A. (2012). The global reach of human rights. *Journal of Applied Philosophy, 29(2),* 91-100. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5930.2012.00555.x

Shear, S. B., Knowles, R. T., Soden, G. J., & Castro, A. J. (2015). Manifesting Destiny: Re/presentations of indigenous peoples in K-12 U.S. history standards. *Theory & research in social education, 43(1),* 68-101. Retrieved from http://www.teachingforchange.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/SHEAR_ManifestingDestiny.pdf

Shirky, C. (2011). The political power of social media: technology, the public sphere, and political change. *Foreign Affairs, 90(1),* 28-41. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25800379?seq=3&loggedin=true#page_scan_tab_contents

Silverman, D, & Marvasti, A. (2008). Doing qualitative research: A comprehensive guide. Retrieved from https://books.google.no/books?hl=en&lr=&id=C7AbqNdwbiAC&oi=fnd&pg=PR15&dq=emotionalism+in+qualitative+research&ots=P-InleIGDU&sig=Q8P2fkGnED9mLHunoTms82_oImk&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Stainton Rogers, W. (2011). Social psychology: Second edition. Retrieved from https://books.google.no/books?hl=no&lr=&id=vh9FBgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=basics+in+social+psychology&ots=GlrdgTO8z_&sig=sNKHc25B47-gTncaOvMc1eJ---o&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Standing Rock. (n.d.-a). Environmental profile. Retrieved January 12, 2017, from http://standingrock.org/environmental-profile/

Standing Rock. (n.d.-b). History. Retrieved January 12, 2017, from http://standingrock.org/history/

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer). (2016a, November 15). *Mni Wiconi - Water is Life* [Video file]. Retrieved April 21, 2017, from https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/videos/1435600033134929/

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer). (2016b, November 17). SRST council meeting with DAPL representatives, Sept 30 2014 [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/videos/?ref=page_internal

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Producer). (2016c, September 9). A message from Chairman Archambault II [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/videos/?ref=page_internal

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. (2017a, February 8). "It is unacceptable that President Trump and the Army Corps have chosen to ignore the law and allow construction to be completed on the Dakota Access Pipeline. This cannot stand. This pipeline did not receive a full environmental review and [Facebook status update]. Retrieved May 10, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.422881167740159.110630.402298239798452/1535277876500477/?type=3&theater

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. (2017b, April 5). "The Tribe will continue to pursue divestment, shareholder advocacy and other tactics to show that Energy Transfer Partners' conduct is unacceptable business practice. The power of people speaking out against the Dakota Access Pipeline is greatly appreciated and today's announcement [Facebook status update]. Retrieved May 15, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/402298239798452/photos/a.422881167740159.110630.402298239798452/1598681190160145/?type=3&theater

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. (2017c, April 21). We applaud Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Nation for divesting from Wells Fargo. "The Salish, Pend d'Oreille and Kootenai people stand in support of protecting sacred sites and the rights of indigenous tribes."- CSKT Chairman Vernon S [Facebook status update]. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/Standing-Rock-Sioux-Tribe-402298239798452/

Standing Rock Solidarity Trainers. (n.d.). Joining Standing Rock. Retrieved May 29, 2017 from http://www.standingrocksolidaritynetwork.org/uploads/4/2/9/2/4292077/joining_camp_culture_final.pdf

Standing Rock Stories. (2017, January 3). ***Please read this pinned post first*** [Facebook status update]. Retrieved May 14, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/groups/198623297235950/permalink/252523678512578/

Stand with Standing Rock. (n.d.-a). History. Retrieved January 12, 2017, from standwithstandingrock.net/history

Stand with Standing Rock. (n.d.-b). Supporters. Retrieved January 17, 2017, from http://standwithstandingrock.net/supporters/?support=organizational

Switzer, J. (2002). Oil and violence in Sudan. *International Institute for Sustainable Development & IUCN-World Conservation Union Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy.* Retrieved from https://www.iisd.org/pdf/2002/envsec_oil_violence.pdf

Taliman, V. (2016, December 7). Veterans ask for forgiveness and healing in Standing Rock. *Indian Country Today.* Retrieved June 7, 2017 from https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/veterans/veterans-ask-forgiveness-and-healing-standing-rock/

Thompson, D. (2016, November 10). Water protector charged with attempted murder. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from http://nativenewsonline.net/currents/water-protector-charged-attempted-murder/

Thunder Valley CDC (Producer). (2017, April 28). To all the climate warriors across the world taking to the streets at the People's Climate March: we here at Thunder Valley CDC stand in solidarity with you in this energy revolution. There are two frontlines in this fight for [Video file]. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from

https://www.facebook.com/thundervalleycdc/videos/1340713226021747/?hc_ref=PAGES_TIMELINE

Thunder Valley CDC. (n.d.). About: Story [Facebook page]. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://www.facebook.com/pg/thundervalleycdc/about/?ref=page_internal

Torras, M. (2004). Guest editor's introduction. In P. Mattick, & M. Torras (Eds.) Political ecology: Global, historical, and economic perspectives. *International Journal of Political Economy, 34(1)*, 3-12.

Tran, L. (2017, April 25). Numerous states considering anti-protest bills. Retrieved May 12, 2017 from http://edition.cnn.com/2017/04/24/politics/states-anti-protest-legislation/

UN General Assembly. (1948). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (217 [III] A). Retrieved January 14, 2017 from http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

UN General Assembly. (1966). International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. *Treaty Series, 993*, 3. Retrieved February 25, 2017, from http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cescr.pdf

UN General Assembly. (2007). *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

UN General Assembly. (2010). 64/292. The human right to water and sanitation : resolution / adopted by the General Assembly. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/human_right_to_water.shtml

UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (2010). Fact Sheet No. 35, The Right to Water. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/factsheet35en.pdf

United Nations. (n.d.-a). Chapter IV Human Rights. Retrieved February 25, 2017 from https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=IND&mtdsg_no=IV-3&chapter=4&clang=_en

United Nations. (n.d.-b). UNPFII Sixteenth Session 24 April to 5 May 2017. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/unpfii-sessions-2/sixteenth-session.html

US Army Corps of Engineers (USACE). (2016, September 16). U.S. Army Corps of Engineers grants special use permit to Standing Rock Sioux tribe. Retrieved January 13, 2017, from http://www.nwo.usace.army.mil/Media/News-Releases/Article/947688/us-army-corps-of-engineers-grants-special-use-permit-to-standing-rock-sioux-tri/

Watts, M. (2000). Political ecology. In E. Sheppard & T. J. Barnes (Eds). *A companion to economic geography* (Chapter 16). Retrieved from https://books.google.no/books?hl=en&lr=&id=FbR-MB5t1KIC&oi=fnd&pg=PA257&dq=watts+2000+political+ecology&ots=M7Umfq2

3SH&sig=vBz_LoFab-
zOYzyKrBSQBxKeJ7g&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=watts%202000%20political%2
0ecology&f=false

Watts, M. (2003). Economies of violence: More oil, more blood. *Economic and Political Weekly, 38(48),* 5089-5099. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4414347

Wong, J. C. (2017, February 23). Police remove last Standing Rock protesters in military-style takeover. *The Guardian*. Retrieved May 7, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/feb/23/dakota-access-pipeline-camp-cleared-standing-rock

Woods, K. (2014). *Human rights.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

World Health Organization. (2002). World report on violence and health. Retrieved from http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/42495/1/9241545615_eng.pdf

Yeh, E. T., & Bryan, J. (2015). Indigeneity. In T. Perreault, G. Bridge, & J. McCarthy (Eds.) *Routledge handbook of political ecology.* Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

8. Appendix A: Interview guide

Did you/Have you experience(d) or witness(ed) any acts of direct, cultural, or structural violence while at Standing Rock or at related events?

Do you think that identity played a role in the development of the resistance to DAPL? If so, how?

What do you consider to be the general expectations of those who are protesting DAPL? (What expectations does the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council have of the U.S. government?)

What would be the most healing solution to this situation? Is there an outcome that could benefit both sides of the conflict equally? If so, what is it?