

## **Thesis**

# **Making Meaning of the 2006 Territorial Conflict in Caledonia and Reflecting Upon the Future of the Impacted Communities**

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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis contributes to the study of reconciliation of Indigenous – Settler community conflicts in Canada (aka Turtle Island) through an understanding of: how the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia have made, and continue to make, meaning of the 2006 territorial conflict; the ongoing impact of actions by activists and counter-activists on the general populace—both members of the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia; the degree of healing that has taken place over time between the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia; a possible shared vision for the future that incorporates the interests and needs of all identity groups; and, the level of readiness within the community to consider a framework for a reconciliation process which could include a discussion around mandate and permission, processes, logistics and resources. As such, this study envisions a basis for possible transformation within the community for the mutual benefit of current and future generations.

## PREFACE

This topic attracted me because of its character as a domestic social struggle. It was a confrontation that could have resulted in fatal outcomes had cooler heads not prevailed in the midst of the negative rhetoric attributable to both sides of the struggle. It is important to note however that there was at least one serious, permanent injury (Gandhi and Rusk, “Builder Injured”) and other indirect harms<sup>1</sup> attributed to the conflict.

The study provides an analysis designed to contribute to the knowledge of reconciliation of Indigenous – Settler community conflicts in Canada (aka Turtle Island) through an understanding of:

- How the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia have made (and continue to make) meaning of the 2006 territorial conflict;
- The ongoing impact of the actions of activists and counter-activists on each of the communities;
- The degree of healing that has taken place over time between the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia;
- A possible vision for a shared future that incorporates the interests and needs of all identity groups; and,
- The level of readiness within each community to consider a framework for a reconciliation process which could include a discussion around mandate and permission, processes, logistics and resources.

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<sup>1</sup> During the conflict, some car accidents were attributed to forced detours around a barricade located on the Highway 6 bypass. According to the Grand River Land Conflict Timeline, “A car accident east of Hagersville sent a 46-year-old Caledonia woman to hospital with life-threatening injuries. This accident, along with the accident on May 16, has led the Caledonia Citizens Alliance to call for the immediate removal of the barricades. Jason Clark, a member of the Alliance, told the press that ‘Enough is enough. People are now getting hurt and those barricades need to come down. Nothing else is acceptable at this point.’” (Accessed April 22, 2017, *Simcoe Reformer*, [http://www.liquisearch.com/grand\\_river\\_land\\_conflict/conflict\\_timeline/2006](http://www.liquisearch.com/grand_river_land_conflict/conflict_timeline/2006)).

As such, this thesis ponders a basis for possible transformation between the communities for the mutual benefit of current and future generations.

Possible initiatives to mitigate latent community conflicts—both in Caledonia and elsewhere in Canada—through the creation and preservation of a shared future therein were identified for consideration. This portion of the research proved to be challenging to probe with study participants. People’s memories remained raw in many cases and taking the discussion to a place where one could imagine positive solutions was often a challenge. While I had wished to reach a stage where participants could articulate an actual process of reconciliation, discussing the logistics of such an activity seemed inappropriate for many whose deep anger and frustration over the events in 2006 still remains strong. Understanding, openness to change, and especially, forgiveness remained difficult for these participants.

Those who considered participating in this study were influenced by many factors. Some people needed to be heard while others were too busy. Some were determined to make a change while others wanted to “let sleeping dogs lie.” Some just wanted to contribute while others were skeptical. For some participants, social harmony is improving, albeit gradually. Others sense an uneasy peace and live day-to-day with fingers crossed that nothing will blow up again. Still others exist with an anger and bitterness over their strong sense of injustice that simmers just below the surface.

It was easy to become caught in opposing details when reading websites such as: CANACE (Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality);<sup>2</sup> the Haldimand Tract: Beliefs vs. Facts;<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> “CANACE (Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality,” accessed April 23, 2017, <https://joincanace.wordpress.com/>.

<sup>3</sup> “The Haldimand Tract: Beliefs vs. Facts,” accessed April 23, 2017, <https://deyoyonwatheh.blogspot.ca/>.

the Six Nations – Lands & Resources;<sup>4</sup> or, the Haudenosaunee Development Institute.<sup>5</sup> It became clear during some interviews that even if people agreed on the “facts,” the interpretation of thereof were often diametrically opposed. This suggests that for any progress to be realized on each territorial issue, given the complexity of Settler Community<sup>6</sup>– Indigenous relationships in this country, a legal solution may not suffice. If this is true then it would seem that politicians will have to make some very difficult decisions that will fully satisfy neither side.

Throughout this project, I’ve struggled with my own questions raised by both sides of the conflict (e.g., questions around both an unwillingness to acknowledge behaviours; and, perceptions such as “learned helplessness”<sup>7</sup> and “structural violence”<sup>8</sup> or “ontological violence”<sup>9</sup>). At the same time, I have attempted to be impartial and no reader should imagine that I’m obviously talking about the “other guy” in my analysis. By not taking sides, I recognize that I may elicit animosity from both communities. Even using the favoured words of one side to the exclusion of the other risks alienating the “excluded” group. This would not provide a stable basis for a discussion around reconciliation. Therefore, I have provided a balance of word and

<sup>4</sup> “The Six Nations – Lands & Resources,” accessed April 23, 2017, <http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/>.

<sup>5</sup> “The Haudenosaunee Development Institute,” accessed April 23, 2017, <http://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.com/hdi.html>.

<sup>6</sup> References to the collective descendants of colonizing nations are capitalized to underscore their presence as an identifiable group albeit one composed of many unique cultures.

<sup>7</sup> Defined here, as a generalized expectation that responding to a given situation will result in no change in one’s circumstances even if such a change is indeed possible. Based on previous life experiences, any attempt to achieve a different outcome is considered a pointless exercise. Heffner, Christopher. “Learned Helplessness.” *AllPsych: Psych Central's Virtual Psychology Classroom*, Chapter 9: Section 3. [https://allpsych.com/personalitysynopsis/learned\\_helplessness/](https://allpsych.com/personalitysynopsis/learned_helplessness/) Accessed 2017-04-30.

<sup>8</sup> Defined here, as “exploitative social relations that cause unnecessary suffering”. Applies both between and within cultures (Ramsbotham et al 2011, 31).

<sup>9</sup> Defined here, as where one group refutes the existence of another’s worldview and removes their ability to live according to that fundamental cognitive orientation (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 162).

concept usage from both groups when discussing events surrounding the conflict throughout this paper.

The choice of words chosen by each individual to describe their position has been evident during this research (e.g., land claims vs. land rights; occupation vs. reclamation; proclamation vs. treaty; occupiers vs. protestors). The values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours expressed through the chosen words of each side have suggested the Other<sup>10</sup> needs to “wake up and smell the coffee because this [our] reality is not going away regardless of the fantasy you choose to live and believe.” These positions persist, whether it’s the Settler population (Canada) basing their position on a written history, or the Indigenous society (Six Nations) who believe beyond any reasonable doubt that, based on their oral history, they are “speaking truth to power.”

If steps are ever to be taken to address community reconciliation, the opportunity to be heard in a safe space will be paramount. The listening side of “being heard” will require patience and an open mind. And in the end, durable positive change will be found through the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of adult leaders from all parts of each community with a high degree of emotional intelligence that allows them to truly listen and respond to the needs of both their constituents and those of the Other community; and, of local children and youth who are given regular opportunities to interact with their racial counterparts. In addition, the ability of federal and provincial governments to find common ground upon which to address Aboriginal rights will be a necessary condition to support social cohesion between the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia.

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<sup>10</sup> Relationships function within systems. Within such relational systems there is a Self and an Other to which the Self interacts (Redekop 2002, 147).

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## CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

This thesis study seeks to understand and share the events, impact, healing initiatives, and possible solutions in support of a reconciliation<sup>11</sup> between the Six Nations<sup>12</sup> of the Grand River Territory and the residents of Caledonia in the wake of the 2006 territorial conflict that transpired over land title to a residential building site in that community.

For some residents in the town, the roots of the conflict were seen largely as local and recent in nature. Some residents of Caledonia have also held the view that the property in question was occupied by Six Nations members to prevent further encroachment toward Six Nations

### ***A Synopsis of the Contributors***

*Interviewees and background sources included: members of the Ontario legislature; senior police staff (on-reserve and off-reserve (retired)); local journalists (on-reserve and off-reserve); business people (on-reserve and off-reserve); mental health professionals (on-reserve and off-reserve); provincial educators; a provincial lawyer; provincial negotiators; non-Native activists; a communications professional; a Caledonia councilor; a Caledonia municipal manager; a land claims negotiator (Six Nations); a young adult (Caledonia); a senior citizen (Caledonia); a former councilor (Six Nations); a former Elected Council Chief; a federal negotiator; an out-of-province Native providing workshops on First Nations issues to clergy in Caledonia; a healer (Cayuga Nation); and, a non-Native educator seeking to bring an understanding of Native issues to non-Native communities across Canada. All participants had been actively involved in the conflict to one degree or other and a significant portion worked in front line and leadership roles providing a unique and in-depth perspective of events either in their own direct action, or in the influence they exercised in managing and directing the conduct of others.*

<sup>11</sup> The term reconciliation is "...derived from the Latin words re (again", com (together), and calare (call) meaning call together again or make friendly again." (Redekop 2002, 285).

<sup>12</sup> The Six Nations are also known through history as the Iroquois, the Iroquois Confederacy, or the People of the Longhouse. Traditional members prefer to be known as the Haudenosaunee or the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (RCAP Vol 1 1996, 55).

territory.<sup>13</sup> Some also believed the occupation<sup>14</sup> of Douglas Creek Estates was orchestrated by a handful of opportunists who thought they could annex the land to expand the size of the Six Nations Reserve for questionable purposes.<sup>15</sup> Suspicions about the intentions of the Six Nations to increase their land base could have been exacerbated by another story circulating in Caledonia of the Six Nations leadership asking a local farmer to sell property adjacent to the Reserve for “low-income housing” then constructing a large warehouse on the property for a purpose that remains unclear to the townspeople.

For the Six Nations people, the issues were often traced back to the eighteenth century following a grant<sup>16</sup> of territory (The Haldimand Proclamation) to the Six Nations in recognition for their support of the British Crown during the American War of Independence.<sup>17</sup> The legal

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<sup>13</sup> According to a Caledonian resident with a connection to the Six Nations governance at the time, the leadership of the Six Nations Elected Council eventually supported the occupation even though they had some doubts they could make a strong case for their position in Canadian courts (the documentation they held for this claim was felt to be “incomplete”).

<sup>14</sup> One of many of the divided discourses during this conflict: the Six Nations called their action a “reclamation” of territory, land they believe has been stolen from them by federal and provincial governments (Fleras 2012, 71).

<sup>15</sup> A story circulating in Caledonia accused Six Nations business people of funding the occupation because they saw it as a potential site for a future casino on an expanded Six Nations territory (Vyce 2010, 26).

<sup>16</sup> The use of language in conflict is laden with meaning. How the media is co-opted to leverage the use of that language is often key to influencing the political aspects thereof. In other words support for a particular position can be built with wording that suggests “the” correct understanding the “facts” as laid out by each individual or group in a conflict. For example, the Six Nations people also refer to the Haldimand Proclamation as the Haldimand Grant, the Haldimand Tract, and the Haldimand Treaty. Accessed April 21, 2017, <http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/HaldProc.htm>. On the “Caledonia Wakeup Call” website, the Haldimand Proclamation is described simply as an “instrument,” and one that was never properly invoked. Accessed April 21, 2017, <http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com/updates/091209regional3.html>.

<sup>17</sup> The Haldimand Proclamation suggested that 950,000 acres of land would be set aside for the Six Nations of the Grand River Band of Indians by Frederick Haldimand, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and Territories in the name of King George III for loyalty to the British Crown during the American War of Independence, “allotting to them for that purpose six miles deep; from each side of the river beginning at Lake Erie and extending in that proportion to the head of the said river, which them and their posterity are to enjoy for ever” (McCready 2009, 174) (*Canada: Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890, Vol. 1* 1992, 251).

status and interpretation of the Haldimand Proclamation and the related treaty rights of the Six Nations have been an ongoing source of disagreement between the Six Nations and each colonial or Canadian government of the day ever since.

This study recognizes that what happened during the occupation/reclamation has been, at the very least, upsetting for many people on both sides of the conflict, each for their own set of reasons, some overlapping, some very individual. Having sat with these feelings for ten years, however, one might inquire how those affected would now describe the social climate between the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia.

What emerged during some of the field interviews undertaken for the study was a mix of negative feelings that manifested in latent animosity despite post-conflict efforts to develop a common understanding of the events, and to move forward. Whatever the reality though, would residents wish to continue with the status quo, or would key members of each community (e.g., Six Nations peoples and their leadership, residents of Caledonia, business people from both communities, city councilors) be prepared to participate in a dialogue that would begin with an opportunity for new understandings? What possible alternatives could participants envision with a strategy for the future designed to address the underlying reasons for past hostilities?

This conflict is often described as the Caledonia Land Claim Dispute. Two issues immediately come to the fore with this description and underscore how different perspectives or worldviews inform one's understanding of the conflict. First, by definition, disputes are negotiable (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 11) whereas conflicts involve intractable differences (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 2). Second not everyone considers this issue to be a "claim" at all. In particular, for the followers of the traditional Six Nations governing body (i.e., the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council), the conflict has always been about a land "right"

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which successive colonial and Canadian governments have “claimed” to be otherwise. This discursive battle—whose description will prevail?—has been at the heart of the conflict. One heard different narratives describing the “true” issues and facts depending upon the source (e.g., a non-Native outdoor rally, an OPP media release, a newspaper headline, or a Native spokesperson).

To achieve a durable solution to a conflict, unsatisfied needs related to the issue for resolution must be met by all sides. Force can be seen as a

quick and easy solution to land occupations and road barricades but even the United States, as the strongest world power, could not subdue North Vietnam, a small nation bent on achieving autonomy and unity with South Vietnam.<sup>18</sup> It is one example of how ontological needs—identity and recognition—and related human development needs, are not controllable over the long term. However, further conflicts can be prevented (Burton 1993, 60) and addressed (Burton 1993, 55). While people cannot be socialized into acceptable behaviour: acknowledging, respecting and meeting their basic needs on an ongoing basis can lead to a stable and mutually beneficial co-existence (Burton 1993, 58-59).

***Worldviews and Implications for Conflict***

*Throughout their shared history, the issue of differing worldviews has prevailed in Six Nations – Caledonia relationships (DeVries 2009, 42). These differences are rooted in collectivist vs. individualist perspectives that include a dichotomous view of the relationship to land (i.e., a resource to be nurtured vs. a storehouse to be leveraged) (DeVries 2009, 144). “Worldviews are themselves powerful lenses that both focus and constrain the world that we see. They define our own identities and personhood. And they are very resistant to change.” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 160)*

<sup>18</sup> Vietnam became a unified country, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in 1976. Accessed April 12, 2017. <http://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-history>.

*RESEARCH QUESTION AND STRUCTURE*

With the preceding introduction as background, I propose to undertake a study designed to address the research question:

*What meaning can be made of the 2006 Caledonia territorial conflict by affected individuals and their key identity groups, and how might this understanding serve as a basis for exploring common ground to influence positive change in the community?*

As my research question suggests, this thesis will explore how to make sense of the territorial conflict experienced in Caledonia, both in terms of the issues and contributing influences, as well as establish whatever basis may exist for the communities to develop a shared future. Issues include such matters as historical grievances (including land rights); the behaviour of police and activists on both sides of the conflict; and, the responsibility of governments, both federal and provincial, to act decisively and quickly to address historical and current conflicts. Examples of contributing influences include: contradictory memories; opposing worldviews; and, differing interpretations such as the relative impact and importance attached to various historical or recent events. In assessing the basis for positive change, the status quo was generally seen as “the least of all evils”. While some appeared resigned to (and anxious about) the current level of cohesion in the community, others remain determined to continue a variety of number of initiatives designed to build community strength and health. Connecting with members of each identity group<sup>19</sup> enriched the breadth and depth of understanding of both their

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<sup>19</sup> An identity group is not only understood in terms of its culture, religious practices, ethnicity, language or geographical factors. All these characteristics are glued together with a unique sense of meaning in a dynamic cultural worldview (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 163).

individual, as well as their shared in-group experience and understanding of the conflict experienced during the height of the conflict and afterward. Discussions also provided a multi-faceted understanding of possible solutions to the status quo.

### *RATIONALE*

As with any conflict, the Caledonia experience has the potential to become a positive learning opportunity, provided that affected individuals and their identity groups choose to see the event from such a perspective.<sup>20</sup> Given that Caledonia's experience in 2006 represents one of many conflicts involving First Nations land rights dating back to the earliest days of colonial contact in Canada (RCAP Vol. 1, 11), it raises the question of what governments and other institutions may have learned over the course of history to understand and address longstanding issues pertaining to territorial conflicts (Brock 2010, 23). Learning from research about, often violent, experiences should be considered a priority: not learning, is likely to result in a repeat of history.

### *THESIS OUTLINE*

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will include a narrative of the events surrounding the conflict; some historical background leading up to the conflict; some examples of other territorial claims involving violence in Canada; and, a review of other literature describing the Caledonia conflict. In Chapter 3, we will explore the concepts and theoretical perspective undergirding the study using a quadrant analysis (Ken Wilber)<sup>21</sup> with the help of human needs

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<sup>20</sup> Conflict can lead to change that results in social innovation (e.g., political, institutional or legal) (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 15)

theory (John Burton)<sup>22</sup> along with a discussion of reconciliation within the framework of this conflict (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 337-343). This overview will provide much of the foundation for this study of the conflict between Six Nations people and non-Native residents of Caledonia, particularly based upon how land is conceptualized and utilized (Redekop 2002, 139-141). This chapter will also provide descriptions of the concepts: readiness and meaning, which will be used in this thesis. Other components of this chapter include: some overall perspectives on the conflict; a framework description of the quadrant model that will be used in the analysis chapter; and, an author's perspective to portray the influences impacting upon this writer's work. The research design (Chapter 4) will describe the approval and recruitment processes; logistical challenges encountered during the research; the questionnaire design and rationale behind the questions; and limitations and impediments to conducting the study. Chapter 5 will include a detailed analysis of each quadrant described in the framework description (i.e., Chapter 3) based upon discussions with study participants. Chapter 6 will include learnings and reflections based on the analysis looking at several aspects including: a discussion about the communities' readiness to reconcile; challenges observed to achieving reconciliation; options and consequences of pursuing reconciliation; strategies for addressing structural conflict; a discussion of solutions to the conflict suggested by the interviewees; an assessment of community readiness (i.e., are the communities at a point where they are willing and able to discuss moving forward together toward a shared and "agreed upon" future?); and, supports for a reconciliation process. The conclusion will include recommendations for future research, which

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<sup>21</sup> This quadrant model is derived from an Integral approach developed by Kenneth Wilber. "Introduction to the Integral Approach (and the AQAL Map)." Accessed April 23, 2017, [http://www.kenwilber.com/Writings/PDF/IntroductiontotheIntegralApproach\\_GENERAL\\_2005\\_NN.pdf](http://www.kenwilber.com/Writings/PDF/IntroductiontotheIntegralApproach_GENERAL_2005_NN.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Burton "perceive[s] human needs...as an emergent collection of human development essentials"(Burton 1990) "[but unlike Maslow]...contend[s] needs do not have a hierarchical order. Rather, needs are sought simultaneously in an intense and relentless manner" (Rotham 1997)

will be followed by a list of appendices including the: Six Nations Elected Council Approval; Recruitment Guide; Letter of Consent; Interview Guide; and, a general description of anonymous participants.

## CHAPTER 2- HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

This chapter outlines the events of the conflict beginning with the date upon which members of the Six Nations began an occupation/reclamation of a residential building property they believed to be part of a larger territorial claim (i.e., the Hamilton-Port Dover Plank Road claim) (Devries 2011, 114) outstanding with the federal government. The description of events that follows provides a sense of the level of emotion (i.e., anger, hostility, frustration) experienced by both members of the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia; and the challenges faced by police and governments to maintain control of a situation they believed could result in fatalities if certain individuals either provoked or reacted to behaviours considered to have “crossed a line”. Historical background coupled with examples of similar territorial claims (i.e., Oka, Quebec 1990; Ipperwash, Ontario 1995) involving violence in Canada which follows provides context to the Caledonia conflict. A literature review then outlines what others have said about the conflict from both sides of the barricades.

### *NARRATIVE*

On February 28, 2006, a small group from the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory entered and occupied/reclaimed a residential building development, Douglas Creek Estates (DCE) in Caledonia, Ontario (see Figure 1)<sup>23</sup> and renamed the site, “Kanonhstaton” (the protected place)<sup>24</sup> (Keefer 2013, 114; DeVries 2011, 3; Johnson 2011, 116). At the time, the site

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<sup>23</sup> Caledonia is a city of 10,000, 23 kilometers southwest of Hamilton, Ontario on the Grand River. Statistics Canada. Accessed March 13 2015, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=POPC&Code1=0114&Geo2=PR&Code2=35&Data=Count&SearchText=Caledonia&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>. Ontario Ministry of Transportation. Accessed November 12, 2014, <http://www.mto.gov.on.ca/english/traveller/map/images/pdf/southont/sheets/Map3.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> While the Federal Government asserts that this land formed part of a general territorial surrender in 1841, the Haudenosaunee maintain that its use by the residents of Caledonia was only ever intended to be a lease

was in the early stages of construction by a builder, Henco Homes, that had purchased the parcel of Crown land in 1992 from the province of Ontario (Fleras 2012, 72). The occupation/reclamation was seen by the occupiers/protesters as one more action in a succession of attempts by various Six Nations spokespersons, dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to bring attention to an increasing number of unresolved treaty conflicts, initially with the British colonial government, and subsequently, with the Government of Canada. Among the issues were several territorial disagreements (29 in total) that were at various stages of consideration by the Canadian federal court system (Brock 2010, 7), including the one at the DCE/Kanonhstaton site. What followed the initial group action in 2006 was a year of demonstrations and counter-demonstrations by stakeholder/identity groups.<sup>25</sup> As a result of the occupation/reclamation, a great deal of frustration and anger was directed toward local Six Nations people (and their supporters) in the media: by many politicians, business interests and local citizens. Various attempts were made by provincial and federal governments to achieve a negotiated settlement.<sup>26</sup>

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arrangement (DeVries 2011, 114). There is further suggestion that the 1841 surrender involved possible bribery and duress (DeVries 2009, 183).

<sup>25</sup> Stakeholders as defined here are groups with either a primary (direct) or secondary (indirect) interest in the possible outcomes of the Caledonia territorial conflict. Examples include: the Six Nations activists, Clan Mothers, the Elected Band Council, the traditional Confederacy Council, DCE home buyers, local business owners, town residents, Caledonia city councilors, church groups, environmental groups, the Ontario Provincial Police, Members of the Provincial Parliament (MPPs), federal Members of Parliament (MPs), the court system, and non-Native groups opposing the activities of the protesters).

The concept, "identity group", while seen as synonymous with stakeholders, has a more visceral meaning. As social beings, we identify with multiple groups (e.g., friends, family, community groups, workplace) based on a variety of characteristics (e.g., language, religion, gender, values, geography). Such groups are not all equally important in our lives and that importance can change over time. In each case though, the connection we feel with an identity group provides a sense of belonging and support especially in times of conflict (Redekop 2002, 14).

<sup>26</sup> Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Accessed October 3, 2016, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016334/1100100016335>.



**Figure 1 – Map locating Caledonia in southwestern Ontario.**

Not only were many residents of Caledonia upset over a variety of behaviours of the Six Nations activists such as: halting the DCE development, setting up roadblocks, vandalism, assault, and various acts of civil disobedience (Vyce 2010, 9-11), but they were also distressed by continuing protests staged at other local development sites which the Six Nations similarly categorized as land illegally occupied by early European Settlers. The Six Nations have historically held the view that this pattern of settlement occurred with the support, tacit encouragement (McCready 2009, 178), or basic resignation by government representatives regarding the occupation of land originally identified for use by the Six Nations (Harring 1998, 50-52). Many residents of Caledonia—individuals and groups—were all the more disturbed by these incidents because of a perceived lack of police response to the civil disobedience employed by some Six Nations activists. Procedures used by the OPP to deal with the activists were designed intentionally to mitigate the possibility of a fatality such as that experienced during the

Native land conflict at Ipperwash in 1995 (de Costaa & Knight 2011, 223).<sup>27</sup> As a consequence though, residents of Caledonia groups accused the police and governments of creating and supporting a two-tier justice system, as well as racism directed towards whites (McCready 2009, 176-177).

In an effort to reduce hostility and further harm to the community, the Ontario provincial government purchased the DCE property from Henco Industries for \$12.3 million and committed to hold the land “in trust” pending a settlement by the Government of Canada with the Six Nations negotiators. As of April 2017, the DCE/Kanonhstaton territorial claim, among many others, remains unresolved. The former building site is still occupied by Six Nations representatives; the provincial government maintains legal ownership of the property; and, given negotiations were stalled in 2009, the Six Nations resumed litigation through the court system in an effort to resolve their outstanding territorial claims.<sup>28</sup>

Early in the conflict, government jurisdictions were of opposing opinions: the federal government insisted that Caledonia was a provincial matter while Ontario maintained that it was a federal obligation (Campbell “Failing to Remember”; Runciman “Passing the Buck”). The

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<sup>27</sup> The “Framework for Police Preparedness for Aboriginal Critical Incidents” developed by the OPP was part of an overall strategy to deal with occupations and protests. Donna Smith, a spokesperson for the Six Nations Confederacy, observed that the OPP were “trying hard not to repeat the mistakes of history,” referring to the death of Dudley George at Ipperwash (Legall, *Hamilton Spectator*, March 4, 2006, accessed March 13, 2015, <http://sisis.Six Nationsweb.org/actionalert/updates/060304spectator.html>).

<sup>28</sup> Six Nations Lands and Resources, accessed Oct 3, 2016, <http://www.sixnations.ca/LandsResources/>. Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, accessed Oct 3, 2016, <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016334/1100100016335>.

Update as of April 12, 2017: According to an interviewee who serves as a negotiator for the Six Nations, discussions have resumed and are progressing slowly. A “mediator,” agreed to by both the Canadian government and the Six Nations, has been identified to begin “talks about talks” (Interviewee #23 – Six Nations negotiator). A federal government negotiator confirmed that “low key talks” have been underway with the Six Nations for a year and that a “facilitator” has been working on a proposal with both parties. The “mediator” vs. “facilitator” terminology suggests how each side views the level of influence of this position, where a mediator can be seen as slightly more directive in their role.

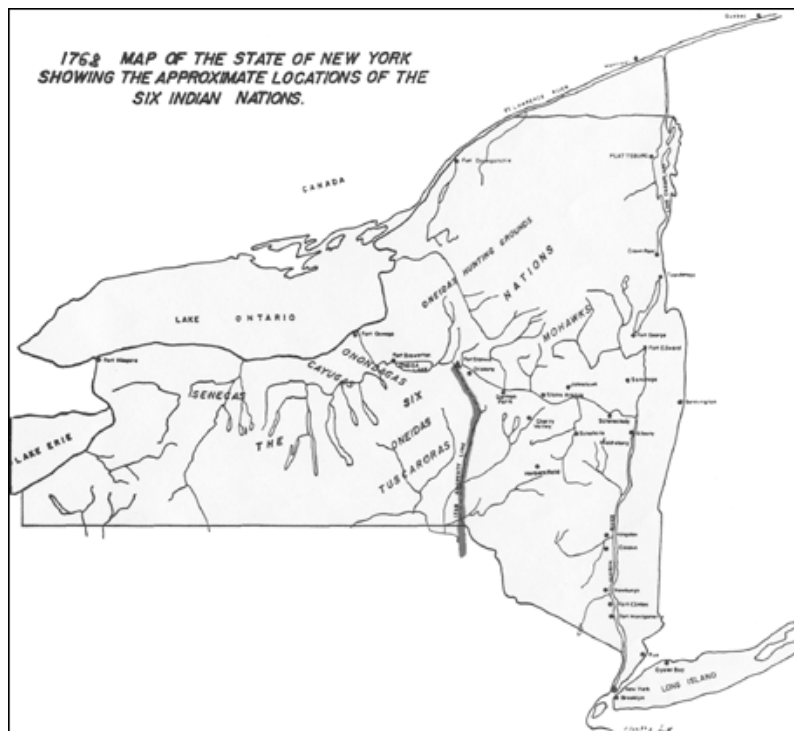
municipality of Caledonia was caught somewhere in-between (Patrick “Cold War”). The presence of occupiers/protesters from different Aboriginal reserves across North America complicated a consistent communication process during the height of the conflict, with decisions seemingly reflecting whoever happened to be on the site that day (Dobrota “Nations Divided”).<sup>29</sup> Part of the confusion reflected competing governance structures on the Six Nations reserve. On one side was the Elected Council, enacted upon the Six Nations by the federal government in 1924, yet lacking widespread legitimacy (DeVries 2009, 22-23; DeVries 2011, 3). On the other side was the hierarchy of traditional Confederacy Chiefs and Clan Mothers who insisted that they were the true authority of the Six Nations (Powless “Understanding Caledonia”). Moreover, in contrast to the Elected Council, which endorsed the claim but did not initially support the occupation, the Confederacy Chiefs supported the protest early on. To resolve the standoff, the Elected Council voted to transfer authority over negotiations to their traditional counterparts, with the Elected Council playing a supportive role (Outhit “Will Waterloo Region”). Yet the process remained convoluted, in part because the negotiating table was crowded with federal and provincial government representatives, Elected Council and Confederacy Chiefs, and various delegates from Caledonia stakeholder groups with vested interests (Patrick, “Cold War”).

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<sup>29</sup> Some Caledonians felt vexed by the agendas of “outsiders” such as one non-Native activist who felt strongly that the conflict was a dangerous precedent heralding the demise of the rule of law in Canada. This participant expressed similar concerns about the influence of the Muslim population in Canada and how that identity group could impact the country in future (Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist).

### *HISTORICAL CONTEXT*

Prior to initial contact with Settler populations, Iroquois societies (self-named the Haudenosaunee Confederacy or “people of the longhouse”) occupied territory in what is now northern New York State (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 55). Originally the Haudenosaunee were composed of five Nations (Cayuga, Mohawk, Onondaga, Oneida, and Seneca). Conflict had been common among these Indigenous communities until a visionary leader called the Peacemaker conceived of a united civilization that would end conflict and create a much-strengthened society (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 57). In 1715, the Tuscarora joined the Confederacy which subsequently also became known as the Six Nations (see Figure 2)(RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 55).



**Figure 2 – 1768 Map of the State of New York showing the approximate locations of the Six Indian Nations<sup>30</sup>**

<sup>30</sup> Source: The Six Nations Confederacy During the American Revolution, accessed 2016-10-03,

<https://www.nps.gov/fost/learn/historyculture/the-six-nations-confederacy-during-the-american-revolution.htm>.

The first colonial Settlers to make contact with the Haudenosaunee were the Dutch in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Fleras 2012, 76). In establishing trading relations between the Six Nations and Settler communities, the Six Nations created an agreement called the Two Row Wampum. The agreement was displayed in a beaded belt of white with purple inlay. The Six Nations understanding of this agreement was one of two nations journeying together on the water, each in their own vessels. Neither would impose their will upon the other: in other words, a partnership sharing the resources (including territory) of Turtle Island/North America. The relationship was further recognized in the Covenant Chain agreement in 1677 with the British which saw each side meeting periodically to review the agreement, and thereby “polishing the chain” to its original luster (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 116). Trading agreements between the British and the Six Nations also served to cultivate their allegiance during the American War of Independence (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 89). As borders were drawn to demarcate the new American nation, many Six Nations people who fought on the side the British moved north to an area of land purchased for them from the Mississauga nation by the colonial government in recognition of their service to the British Crown. This territory included land six miles on either side of the Grand River from Lake Ontario to the river’s headwaters (about 950,000 acres). The Six Nations believe this land allocation was formalized in the Haldimand Proclamation of 1784 (see Figure 3) and then confirmed in 1793 in the Simcoe Patent (de Costaa & Knight 2011, 221).



Figure 3 – Original boundaries of Haldimand Tract established in 1784 extending from the headwaters of the Grand River to Port Maitland on Lake Erie<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Six Nations Elected Council, accessed April 22, 2017, <http://sixnations.ca/LCMap.pdf>

The Chief of the Six Nations at that time (Joseph Brant) viewed the agreement made with the British in “fee simple” terms. In other words, the land was given to the Six Nations and seen as territory they owned: to do with as they wished (i.e., the land could be bought and sold freely with others outside the Six Nations). However the British government in residence in Canada understood the arrangement differently. Specifically, British officials viewed the territory as available for the use of the Six Nations but ownership of the land remained vested with the colonial government (de Costaa & Knight 2011, 221).

The value of the relationship to British leaders in Canada with the Six Nations appears to have waned significantly after the relocation of the Six Nations to the Grand River Territory (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 131). The decline in this affiliation was particularly notable following the War of 1812 where the Six Nations provided military support to General Brock (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 525). As territorial interests extended westward across Canadian hinterlands, British leaders seemed less interested in local land agreements and related concerns of the Six Nations (RCAP Vol. 1, 1996, 145; DeVries 2011, 161).

Meanwhile, new groups of Settlers began to move into the area and occupy portions of the territory. The Six Nations sought support from the British to curtail this activity but officials could not (some say would not) limit this steady flow of new immigrants. At some point it was decided by the government of the day that it would be best for the Six Nations community if their population could be gathered up and located in a smaller portion of the territory where they would be better administered and taken care of (de Costaa & Knight 2011, 221). In the meantime, Settler communities multiplied over the land identified as the Haldimand Tract. Further aggravating the relationship of the Six Nations with the colonial government: it has been alleged that a variety of major capital projects were undertaken that were financed by the

redirection of funds earmarked for the Six Nations (e.g., the creation of the Welland Canal which flooded part of the territory set aside for the Six Nations) (Hill 2007, A10). Among the list of issues that have grown over time, there are 29 outstanding territorial claims, which included the Douglas Creek Estate/Kanohstaton site (“Six Miles Deep” 2015, 8).

#### *EXAMPLES OF OTHER TERRITORIAL CLAIMS INVOLVING VIOLENCE IN CANADA*

The Caledonia conflict represents one of a number of territorial conflicts initiated by various First Nations peoples, which have occurred across Canada dating back to early colonial days (Ipperwash Inquiry Vol. 2 2007, 55). Two examples— Oka, Quebec (1990) and Ipperwash, Ontario (1996)—are noteworthy because they each involved the death of a single individual, which then altered the approach taken by politicians, and law enforcement officials, in managing each of the conflicts (Brock 2010, 6; de Costaa & Knight 2011, 220). The fatal events may have influenced the actions of the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) as they considered the manner in which they would interact with the activists in Caledonia. Ipperwash, in particular, was still fresh on the minds of the OPP who had been criticized for their handling of that confrontation with the Stony Swamp First Nation (SSFN) and how it may have factored into the death of SSFN member, Dudley George. Coincidentally, a provincial Royal Commission investigating the events surrounding that incident was in its final stages at the time of the DCE/Kanohstaton occupation (DeVries 2009, 83).

In the case of Oka, the property in question had been claimed by the Mohawk community at Kanehsatake as land they had occupied, on and off, for centuries. During the colonization of Mohawk territory, Settlers assumed control of the region on behalf of the King of France under

the legal principles of the “Doctrine of Discovery” and “terra nullius”.<sup>32</sup> Each of these concepts was used by various European explorers to lay claim to new territory they considered to be uninhabited (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van Den Hende 1995, 23). In 1717, predicated on the belief that Settlers had assumed legitimate title to the land they now occupied, the governor Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, bestowed title to a portion of that land for the use of the Mohawks to a Catholic order of Suplician priests (Redekop 2002, 189). This religious community held the land in a form of trust as part of a local mission that had been established to bring Christianity to the Mohawk community (Redekop 2002, 189; York and Pindera 1991, 86). It would appear that ownership of the property was never a topic for discussion between the Suplician order and the Mohawks, but with the transition of power from French to the British (York and Pindera 1991, 156) any understanding for whose benefit the land was held became even less favorable to the First Nations community (York and Pindera 1991, 88).

On paper, the land passed from the Suplicians to a Belgian aristocrat in 1936. In 1945 the federal government purchased the property but identified it as Crown land rather than a reserve (York and Pindera 1991, 102). In 1947, the Quebec government gave permission to the town of Oka to expropriate land, which included an area called the Pines (a commons area used by the Mohawks, which underscored their perceived ownership of the property). A sawmill was built on the plot in 1950 (York and Pindera 1991, 103). Then, in 1961, a nine-hole golf course was built on part of the property by the town of Oka (York and Pindera 1991, 105). The local town council

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<sup>32</sup> In 2016, the Catholic Church in Canada repudiated the ‘Doctrine of Discovery’ and ‘terra nullius’, accessed April 12, 2017, <http://www.cccb.ca/site/images/stories/pdf/catholic%20response%20to%20doctrine%20of%20discovery%20and%20tn.pdf>. Other churches participating in this act of repudiation include: the United Church of Canada, accessed 2017-04-30, <http://www.united-church.ca/social-action/justice-initiatives/doctrine-discovery>; the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, accessed 2017-04-30, <http://elcic.ca/Documents/documents/DoctrineofDiscoveryMotionFINAL.pdf>, and the Mennonite Church, accessed 2017-04-30 (<http://hamiltoncommons.ca/mennonites-voted-yes-to-repudiate-the-doctrine-of-discovery/>)

at Oka approved development of 20 of 70 hectares to expand the local golf course and build residential homes around the perimeter in 1989 (de Costa & Knight 2011, 217).

The conflict, which subsequently erupted around plans to expand the golf course played out over a period 78 days in 1990, involving the Quebec provincial police, the Canadian armed forces, as well as both provincial and federal government officials. The disputed land and a Montreal bridge (Mercier) remained occupied during the conflict. The bridge occupation, in particular, created a great deal of frustration for local commuters during the summer months that year. Sadly, in an effort to protect the land, which also encompassed burial grounds of Mohawk ancestors, a firefight ensued which resulted in the shooting death of a Sureté de Quebec officer, Claude Lemay on July 11, 1990 (RCAP Vol. 2 1996, 513; RCAP Vol. 3 1996, 582). To this day, after many decades of failed petitions to federal and British government (York and Pindera 1991, 161), many members of the Mohawk community hold the position that they have never relinquished their sovereignty over the land (DeVries 2011, 3; Alfred 1995, 77).<sup>33</sup>

The case of Ipperwash encompassed land appropriated from the Stony Swamp First Nation (SSFN) in 1942, under the War Measures Act (Ipperwash Report Vol 1. 2007, 75). The reserve land was used as a military training base during the Second World War and its inhabitants were obliged to co-exist with the nearby Kettle Point First Nation community (who unsuccessfully opposed the arrival of the new residents) on land that was viewed as incapable of appropriately accommodating both groups. The property included a portion that was developed into Ipperwash Provincial Park, land that included Anishenabek (Chippewa) burial sites

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<sup>33</sup> “The Six Nations accused of pursuing economic interests under the guise of protecting land...non-Natives believe land was given away...there’s a long history of Native petitions over the status of the territory...but the official position of Six Nations is the land was never surrendered to the Crown...farmers were using it and that was OK (i.e., it was done with the blessing of Six Nations) but when it became a an issue of ownership to the point of destroying the landscape which they continue to believe was given to them by [Frederick] Haldimand, all bets were off” (Interviewee #3 – Six Nations journalist)

(Hedican 2008, 161). The land was to be eventually returned to the Stony Swamp community but delays by the military precipitated an occupation of the military ranges by the SSFN in 1993.

In his report to the Ipperwash Inquiry Michael Coyle stated:

In a situation where one party as a defendant, has access to much greater financial and legal resources than the other party, and views the costs of not settling as largely intangible, there will be a reduced motivation to settle the claim quickly. There will also be little incentive for that party to submit to third-party views on conflicts over the law. This will be true at the institutional level regardless of the goodwill and dedication of the individuals involved. Indeed, in its submission on territorial conflicts to the Indian Commission of Ontario, the province acknowledged that the prospect of deferring settlements creates a disincentive for governments to settle territorial conflicts in a timely manner (Coyle 2005, 55).

This assertion underscores the challenge of the task faced by representatives with “unequal influence” to quickly arrive at a mutually agreeable resolution to a disagreement. A number of confrontations took place with military police on the property until they were withdrawn from active engagement with the Indigenous communities in 1995 (Hedican 2008, 162). First Nations members subsequently occupied Ipperwash Provincial Park with the intent of repatriating the burial site therein (Hedican 2008, 163).

It was alleged during the Ipperwash Inquiry that the OPP were placed under inappropriate pressure from the office of the Premier of the day (Mike Harris) to remove the occupier’s quickly (Ipperwash Inquiry Vol. 1 2007, 360 – 363). There was a further inference that the frontline OPP staff felt obliged to act accordingly, and organized (and equipped) themselves to undertake swift action to address the issue (Hedican 2008, 164). Though the Commissioner for the Ipperwash Inquiry found no substantive evidence to support these suspicions in his report (Ipperwash Inquiry Vol. 1 2007, 363), as leader of a newly elected provincial government, Harris was perceived to have wanted to deal with this matter promptly in order to move along with the political agenda of his party (Ipperwash Inquiry Vol. 1 2007, 364). Subsequently, during a

confrontation with the OPP, an Indigenous protestor (Dudley George) was shot and killed.

Similar to the case of the death of Corporal Claude Lemay in Oka, the source of the fatal bullet in the Ipperwash fatality was never determined (RCAP Vol. 2, 513; Hedican 2008, 165).

As with Oka, the circumstances at Ipperwash underscore the fact that the issues were not only about land ownership but also responsibility to the land (Bobiwash 1996, 206).

Furthermore, each of these conflicts suggest challenges in addressing the need for a self-managed land base for First Nations communities both for habitation, as well as for cultural benefits (e.g., for spiritual practices) with interests in economic development (DeVries 2009, 187). Each conflict also highlights issues with the Supreme Court's ruling on a "duty to consult" being delegated by federal governments to developers (Natcher 2001, 114-115) and the need to deal with provincial jurisdictions because of their control over Crown land identified as Native territory by First Nations communities (Coyle 2005, 29).

Looking at the basis for conflict at both Oka and Ipperwash suggests, for some, a calling into question of the legitimacy and authority of the legal system (both Common Law and Civil Law) and the foundation for property title in Canada. In the case of Oka, for example, a French developer legally owned the land at issue at the time of the conflict, according to Quebec civil law. But, central to the issue is the basis on which the provincial government had the authority to extend title in the first place. To address the conflict, the federal government "bought" the land in Oka after negotiations with the Mohawk community and gave it to the First Nation (York & Pindera 1991, 411). Yet this First Nations community did not see that the government had the right to buy and sell the property given the manner in which the Mohawks understood how the original assumption of ownership took place. As long as the basis for property law was not called into question, harmony prevailed, but the Mohawk perspective challenged the legal framework

upon which that law was based.

### *LITERATURE REVIEW*

Various articles, theses and books have been written about events that describe (each with a particular viewpoint) the before, during and after of the Caledonia territorial conflict. Some authors strongly support a narrative of a Native community that has been systematically disadvantaged by successive colonial and Canadian governments. At the other extreme there are those who feel current governments have chosen to avoid direct confrontation with Natives, and directed the police to ignore Native civil disobedience. The latter narratives describe politicians as cowardly, guilt-ridden<sup>34</sup> individuals, or who are afraid to do the right thing in order to avoid defeat at the polls. The media have been portrayed as equally supportive of Native “misbehaviour.” One interviewee suggested the media are ultimately controlled by a journalistic academia. In this participant’s view, journalists suffer from a carryover of Victorian era repression and Christian rules received through Sunday School (Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist).

In her thesis, Kathy Brock sought to answer the question, “Did governments learn from their experience with Oka in dealing with other Native conflicts including Caledonia?” Her view is that they have done better over the years in a variety of ways. First, the federal government actually came to the negotiating more quickly than during the Oka Crisis and broadened its

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<sup>34</sup> “White guilt”—feeling bad about race-based advantage—has been described as one of the psychosocial costs of racism (based on the Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites (PCRW) scale) for white individuals, based upon empathy (sadness and anger about racism), and an irrational fear of non-whites (Spanierman 2004, 249).

position in seeking a solution. Second, both levels of governments demonstrated more awareness and respect for First Nations traditions by agreeing to speak with the traditional leaders, as well as the elected band council. Respect was further shown by sending senior public officials to discuss the conflict. Finally, the provincial government recognized its obligations in addressing the issues: agreeing to talk while the barricades were up and purchasing the DCE property as a starting point to address the needs of the developer and the Six Nations protesters (Brock 2010, 20-21). Notably there were no fatalities in Caledonia as occurred at Oka.

Augie Fleras describes the conflict as an example of decontextualized infotainment driven by “hotheads” to provide interesting sound bites to the evening news and feeding the negative emotions of Canadians (Fleras 2012, 71). She believes that governments were slow to respond to litigation generated by the Six Nations. She describes the Six Nations’ focus as being practical and focused upon “unoccupied” Crown land and compensation for misappropriated proceeds rather than demanding a return of land long since settled by ancestors of the current population. However, Native anger leading up to the conflict was exacerbated over the quick processing of private land sales, but slow reaction to Native appeals to review their demands (Fleras 2012, 73-74). Her concluding observation is about the elephant in the room for all stakeholders, that being “sovereignty” (Fleras 2012, 76).

In “The Rule of Law and Two Tier Justice,” Amanda Vyce and William Coleman observe that many non-Natives who have reacted strongly to the reclamation are unaware of the entrenchment of Native rights in the Canadian constitution (1982), or the decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada dating back to the 1970s to define Canada’s political-legal context as one of legal-pluralism (Vyce & Coleman 2012, 2). Al McCready suggests that non-Native actions of redress in Caledonia (seeking to return their communities to some sense of normalcy

grounded in the rule of law and ending a “two-tier” system of justice) ignore an oppressive history of Native peoples and serves to continue colonial injustice (McCready 2009, 162). Vyce sees the reaction of Caledonians as grounded in a fear of economic losses (Vyce 2010, 3). In her interviews with Caledonians she found a general conviction that the injustices experienced by the Six Nations should not displace the economic interests of the town (Vyce 2010, 53). Among these participants some saw the government response as inadequate while others saw a no-win situation that would have become worse across the country had force been used to permanently remove Native protestors from the DCE site. While there were those that understood Native frustration, they also disapproved of their tactics for which they felt victimized (Vyce 2010, 3). In Vyce’s view, racism seems less of an issue than the fear of lost control over their economy (Vyce 2010, 54).

In “The Power of a Single Feather,” Ian Peach sees a place for direct action or civil disobedience as in Oka, Ipperwash and Caledonia where economic impacts made addressing Native issues politically important. It’s not lost on him however; there existed a continual risk of injury or death as each conflict unfolded (Peach 2011, 26). Adam Barker cites Caledonia as one example where Indigenous peoples have resorted to “inconveniencing” mainstream Canada in an attempt to protect land and a way of life. He suggests “instead of dealing with the problems politically, which might involve sharing power with Indigenous peoples, the reaction from both state authorities and Settler people has been to treat the situation as a law-and-order problem, resulting in arrests and state-sanctioned violence.” In his view, “Settler people often can conceive of resolving these problems only through increased levels of control that protect and even expand current power bases” (Barker 2009, 342) which can have the unintended consequence of encouraging confrontation as occurred in Caledonia (Barker 2009, 345-346).

In Susan Hill's article, "Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations–Caledonia Reclamation," she suggests that Canadian media have generally ignored Aboriginal issues and tend to report the extreme views, or simply provide accounts of events out of context (Hill 2009, 480). She has a view similar to some others that the Six Nations faced repeated dispossessions of their land dating back to the early 1800s (Hill 2009, 485).<sup>35</sup> In another reprimand of the media, Daniel Johnson believes some journalists have long provided a distorted understanding of Natives in Canada full of stereotypes and generalizations. This has left Canadians without any real knowledge of Natives or Native issues (Johnson 2011, 104-105). According to Johnson, Caledonia represents just one example of misinformation shared by the media about adjacent communities peacefully cohabitating until the DCE was "occupied" (Johnson 2011, 104-105) with no reference to a history of petitions to governments over the years to respect Native rights and access to lands set aside for their use. In statements such as, "It's time to get our town back", Natives see an irony of the town of Caledonia squatting on unceded land (Johnson 2011, 123). Media coverage supporting the non-Native experience included headlines such as:

"Army Should March Into Caledonia - And Stay" (Baker, G. 2006, A14)

"Thumbing Their Noses At Authority - And Getting away With It" (Baldry 2006, A17)

"Area Must Return To Rule Of Law" (Barrett 2006, 5)

"Are OPP Sacrificing The Law To Keep Natives Happy?" (Clairmont 2006, A2)

"Residents Desperate 'To Live a Normal Life Again'" (Fragomeni 2006, A4)

"Government Policy: Stall Now, Let Someone Else Pay Later" (Horne 2006, A17)

"Mass Rally To Hear Caledonia's Anger" (Legall & Morse 2006, A1)

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<sup>35</sup> Speaking as one of their own (Hill is a self-described "Haudenosaunee citizen") (Hill 2009, 486) she is also willing to acknowledge that not all of Six Nations history and leadership demonstrated integrity in decision-making and behaviour (Hill 2009, 494) not unlike stories reported about non-Native leadership in Canada.

“It's Time to Stop Negotiating With Those People and Remove Them From Our Land”  
(Maxwell 2006, A22)

Other accounts of the territorial conflict were also written from the perspective of the non-Native community. The book, “*Victory in the No-Go Zone: Winning the Fight Against Two-Tier Policing*”, provides a detailed description of the experiences of Gary McHale, a non-Native activist with strong Christian values and deep respect for Martin Luther King Jr. His beliefs guided him in a principled mission to return Caledonia to a town governed by the rule of law (McHale 2013, 15). McHale’s decision to become involved with Caledonia began June 9, 2006 on a day when multiple media reports described events that involved: an attack by Natives on an elderly couple who had come to town to see what the news reports were all about; two reporters who were assaulted by Natives and had their video removed from their camera; and, a separate attack by Native activists on some law enforcement officials who were monitoring protest activities from an unmarked police vehicle (McHale 2013, 14). McHale was angry and upset with the attitudes of the OPP and politicians that he described as corrupt (McHale 2013, 3) and supporting institutionalized racism against non-Natives in Canada (McHale 2013, 4). He was particularly concerned about: the perceived inaction of the OPP, and support by police and government for “violent radicals”; and, as well as a media bias favouring Native actions (McHale 2013, 15). McHale was part of CanACE (Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality), a small but determined group in Caledonia that sought to address the events in Caledonia. Some recommendations McHale released at 2012 news conference to prevent “future breakdowns in the rule of law” (McHale 2013, 211) included:

- Changing the criminal code to make civil rights violations a federal offence
- Improving police oversight in Ontario

- Seizing transfer payments from Native reserves that support lawlessness
- [Ontario] undertaking a public inquiry of the events in Caledonia and providing a public apology to the townspeople
- [All citizens] recognizing that the freedom isn't a given: everyone must to their part

Another book written by author and columnist, Christie Blatchford (*Helpless: Caledonia's Nightmare of Fear and Anarchy, and How the Law Failed All of Us*) provides another documented description of events, written from the perspective of people living in Caledonia. Blatchford's narrative is centred around the day of multiple incidents (June 9, 2006) that triggered Gary McHales's entry into the foray of non-Native activism. She observes that "...land – property – is important in these parts in a visceral way it isn't in cities" (Blatchford 2010, 23). Among the examples of how the conflict harmed Caledonian citizens, Blatchford describes how many commercial development plans were stalled in the area including a large TSC store in Dunnville (Blatchford 2010, 23). Such economic impacts spoke to the concerns of those who felt that Native actions would adversely affect the local economy. She sees provincial government and police inaction directly tied to the ongoing Ipperwash Inquiry. The inquiry was winding down at the time: an inquiry that the then premier, Dalton McGuinty, had promised to undertake, if elected in 2003. She sees fear in the

***Experiences of a Local Development  
Financial Manager***

*"The occupation put the whole DCE project at risk which spilled over to businesses in the community who were vulnerable to limited cash flows. Hald-Nor (credit union) provided services to local businesses (including 3 developers) and residents. The occupation had a negative impact for 5,300 people/organizations, involving millions of dollars of investments and/or local residents, including Six Nations, Mississauga and non-Native businesses, and which lasted for months and required dealings with provincial financial regulatory bodies in terms of risk and reporting requirements"*  
(Interviewee #1 - non-Native development financier)

minds of the political and police ranks to undertake actions that might trigger fatalities for which McGuinty had strongly condemned the previous Conservative government (Blatchford 2010, ix) while he was still Leader of the Opposition at Queen's Park. While acknowledging the existence of systemic racism in the community, Blatchford describes a history of Natives and non-Natives living and working together, inter-marrying, and fighting common enemies (e.g., the American War of Independence, and both World Wars) with occasional "differences" occurring (Blatchford 2010, 25). Non-Natives in Caledonia with whom she spoke believed any racial prejudice was mitigated in the community through "small personal connections wrought by daily dealings" (Blatchford 2010, 25).

According to de Costa and Knight, Caledonia is an example of the effects of colonization and marginalization (de Costa & Knight 2011, 212) that became a "flashpoint event" (de Costa & Knight 2011, 213). As discussed in Chapter 2, the story leading up to this crossroads began long ago with a colonial government that seemed unable or unwilling to prevent settlement on land set aside for the Six Nations that ultimately led to a decision to relocate the entire community to the current reserve (de Costa & Knight 2011, 221). The development at DCE raised the threat of further land incursions that brought a fractured [Six Nations] community together (de Costa & Knight 2011, 223). In their view, it appears that Canadians have backed themselves into a corner by denying access to legal processes dating back to earliest contact (de Costa & Knight 2011, 224). They conclude, "while we are all here to stay, we can learn work together toward respectful negotiated settlements" (de Costa & Knight 2011, 224).

As described above, the events that unfolded with the occupation/reclamation of DCE/Kanohstaton were not spontaneous. Regardless of how history is believed and interpreted, the behaviours of activists on both sides of the conflict demonstrated their strong and trusted

acceptance of their version and meaning of “the facts” as they have come to know them.

Providing a framework within which to understand these divergent perspectives is the subject of the next chapter.

### CHAPTER 3 - THEORETICAL METHODOLOGY

This study will make use of a variety of theoretical approaches and concepts to describe and make meaning of the events of 2006 including the following: the factors leading up to the conflict in Caledonia; the reactions to the conflict; the impact the conflict has had on the affected populations; and, what the future may hold for all affected parties. In particular, the analysis will make use of the Integral approach (Wilber 2006) utilized by McGuigan and Popp to study conflict between Settler and Indigenous communities (McGuigan & Popp 2016); as well as human needs theory (John Burton 1990); and, the concept of reconciliation as developed by Vern Neufeld Redekop (Redekop 2002). In addition, I will look at a model of readiness in the context of reconciliation (Redekop 2002) as well as the concept of meaning as defined by Robert Kegan (Kegan 1982).

#### *THE INTEGRAL APPROACH*

Conflict studies can be looked at from many theoretical perspectives (e.g., rational, biological, psychological, philosophical, sociological) (Rioux and Redekop 2013, 78). Subjective categories look at the internal (e.g., psychological, socio-psychological, and cultural theories) while objective categories look at the external (e.g., evolutionary psychology, structural theories) (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 42).

Integral Theory emerged through the modern study of conflict following the Second World War (Ryan 2003, 76). Among the researchers of the day, Ken Boulding sought an integrated theory of conflict (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 14). Wilber suggested the name Integral Theory to “describe a model that could incorporate any field of study [including the study of

conflict], the history and the present, internal and external, the individual and the collective, all in the endless cycles and patterns of [change]” (Wilber 2000, 42).

The term “Integral” suggests being inclusive, comprehensive and balanced (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 34). Integral theory incorporates political, psychological, economic, social, educational and environmental perspectives (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 95); consolidates theory through its development; and, leverages the value of each perspective (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 384). It was through the work of Wilber, this model of study furthermore became known as All Quadrant, All Level<sup>36</sup> (AQAL) Theory (Wilber 2000, 42). The theory incorporates commonalities and differences, accommodating philosophies, traditions, art, morals, science, and religion (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 23). Here are some benefits of the approach:

1. It offers a framework within which to understand gradual changes in the evolution of consciousness, culture, and conflict used to describe the “relationship between theory and practice, between the idea and the action, between how our identities, thoughts, and experience shape conflict, and how conflict shapes our identities, thoughts, and experience” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 22).
2. It offers the possibility of developing a different understanding about conflict that can help to identify different possibilities; lead to different responses; and, awareness of change in one’s own evolution (i.e., a transformational potential) (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 9).
3. An Integral approach encourages us to continually challenge our assumptions and the comprehensiveness of our understandings (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 36).

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<sup>36</sup> The concept of levels (or stages) according to Wilber is used to describe increasing levels of complexity in terms of milestones, be they physical, emotional, spiritual, organizational, etc. (e.g., language skills, ethical development, levels of awareness). There are many ways to categorize development but each serves as a reference model to measure change over time (Wilber 2006).

4. The methodology also serves to bring our individual biases to light (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 17).
5. The AQAL model provides a distinctive perspective over other meta-theories. In particular, it is inquiry-centric (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 275) rather than discipline-centric (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 65).
6. Instead of using one discipline to “guide” an analysis, the AQAL approach is considered “trans-disciplinary” and allows a researcher to recognize (and avoid) the influences of any one discipline. It provides a holistic sense of interconnectivity (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 87).

The Integral approach has its detractors. In particular, the theory has been criticized for being too general and open to misinterpretation or misrepresentation. Some feel it fails to properly cover all aspects of life, mind, culture and consciousness and that it focuses too much on the interior-individual quadrant of the model before it extrapolates to the exterior individual and interior and exterior collective quadrants. Some critics (e.g., post-modernists) express concern about the hierarchical nature of the theory which seems to suggest, for example that Indigenous cultures can be found on a continuum of development rather than fully-functioning social structures in their own right. The theory suggests continuous change toward some, as yet, unrealized perfect state of existence. Finally the Integral approach has been criticized for lacking a formal, quality research method to evaluate various aspects of the theory (e.g., framework, knowledge claims) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 11-12).

*HUMAN IDENTITY NEEDS*

In the 1980s, John Burton made use of human identity needs in the study of deep-rooted conflict. According to Burton, those whose needs are threatened rely on identity groups within society for protection: be they ethnic, cultural or class-based (Burton 1996, 31). Human needs theory as conceived by Burton recognizes the value of the model developed by Maslow described as a “hierarchy of needs.” However Burton, among others, sought to reconfigure Maslow’s hierarchical approach (Redekop 2002, 32) to a perspective that was less linear and more of a relational model (Redekop 2002, 59) wherein: all needs influence one another (Redekop 2002, 31); needs ebb and flow over time (Redekop 2002, 59); needs are common to all humans; and, satisfiers of needs are culturally informed though they change with time and are grounded in history (Redekop 2002, 50-52). Needs are also linked to emotions both pleasant and unpleasant (Redekop 2002, 52-57).

For purposes of this paper, the concept of needs will include meaning, connectedness, security, recognition and agency as described by Redekop: with a focus on meaning. All these needs are conceived of as supporting the self (Redekop 2002, 31). Human needs theory will help with questions seeking to understand the triggers for the behaviour of actors in a conflict and how that understanding can lead to empathy, compassion and common ground for change.

*RECONCILIATION*

Reconciliation is an important aspect of this study and a primary focus of my approach.

Much has been written on the topic but I've chosen to look at the work of Vern Neufeld Redekop as a point of departure for my thesis.

Redekop's model of reconciliation describes a process involving a transformation from a state of deep-rooted conflict expressed in "mimetic structures of violence" (closed, confining, acquisitive, few options and death-oriented) to reconciliation conveyed through "mimetic structures of blessing" (open, creative, many options, generous and life-oriented) (Redekop 2002, 256). The process begins with healing and forgiveness and moves to

***What does it mean to reconcile?***

*It's worth noting that some see the concept of reconciliation as having been "abducted" by Western religious traditions that include a focus on apology and forgiveness as important components to moving forward in a society. Further, the (secular) therapeutic model has co-opted reconciliation in its analysis of trauma healing. The concern here is how these perspectives can sideline the need for social restructuring (i.e., reconciliation is seen as an intra-psychic process with power relationships remaining unaddressed) (Rouhana & Korper 1997, 174). A more complete view of reconciliation includes justice (including a new framework grounded in equality before the law), truth (about the past), historical responsibility (of each side) and reforming of social and political relationships (Rouhana & Korper 1997, 176).*

the point of "creating new, and mutually empowering, relational structures" (Redekop 2002, 287). More will be said about this process with reference to "key result areas" in the next section under "readiness"

This study recognizes a distinction between instrumental reconciliation (which focuses on current relationships) and socio-emotional reconciliation (that looks at emotions and threats to security). The former seeks the achievement of functional goals amenable to both groups building trust through regular contact (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 43) while the latter is addressed

by a perpetrator's accepting responsibility for actions undertaken by individuals or groups, an expression of regret by the perpetrator, and, forgiveness by the victim (Kelman 2008, 6).

Instrumental reconciliation focuses on future, superordinate solutions through continual contact with opponents (leaving unpleasant memories to the past) (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 42) while

socio-emotional reconciliation sees the

solution through recognizing and accepting a

painful past (Kelman 2008, 6). Social-

emotional reconciliation also seeks to address

threats to worthy identity (Nadler & Shnabe

2008, 43) by helping to restore self-respect

that, in turn, encourages the desire to reconcile

(Kelman 2008, 6).

Instrumental reconciliation is more common with inter-group conflict while socio-emotional processes are more common with intra-group conflict (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 44). In addition, instrumental reconciliation is more suitable for coexistence while the socio-emotional reconciliation is more effective

where integration is important (Kelman 2008, 6). The two types of reconciliation can be

interdependent (Nadler & Schnabe 2008, 43) in that instrumental reconciliation can serve as a

precursor to socio-emotional reconciliation (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 44). One can imagine how

some non-Native negotiators might be drawn to instrumental reconciliation while Native

**Who is the perpetrator?**

*If each side in the Caledonia territorial conflict views the other as the "perpetrator" and disavows their own culpability except in the most minimal of ways, what is the long-term prognosis for the relationship and the community? Each side simply stands their ground saying, "unless and until the other side comes to the table with a clear, unreserved apology for what they have done to us (and let go of the self-serving fantasy of how badly they have suffered at the hands of our group), we will not even consider discussing the matter any further...and even then we'll take our time consoling ourselves and give some thought to a discussion about we might consider being in relationship with them...and they can be sure that it will be on the terms of us who were victimized." I've heard both sides allude to this viewpoint, expecting the other side to "grow in maturity and self-awareness".*

negotiators would prefer to take a socio-emotional reconciliation approach.

This thesis is predicated on a number of beliefs that include the fact that addressing conflict in a sustainable manner is more than an issue of sharing scarce resources. Instead, it's about changing relationships between adversaries and addressing psychological needs. How people categorize themselves and how they see themselves in their identity groups has an impact on conflict resolution. How a group experiences collective guilt and collective victimhood is another factor impacting conflict resolution (Kelman 2008, 4). Research suggests feelings of collective guilt and victimhood impact perceptions of the Other, and that trust in (sincere) apologies positively impacts a capacity for reconciliation (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 40).

Needs for self-esteem, to belong and for self-integrity, can mitigate or support reconciliation. On the negative side, these needs can lead to intergroup prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, and hostility (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 118). For example, a group's need for self-esteem and self-integrity may cause a "harming" group to close ranks and protect how its members feel about themselves and the group to which they belong (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 137). Taking a constructive approach, self-esteem can be used to advantage by highlighting the positive qualities of the Other group (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 136). In addition, the harming group is most likely to be positively influenced by the need for self-integrity provided concepts that are compassionate, nonviolent, avoid harm, etc., are introduced to the process. The experience should focus on compromise, human rights, the rule of law, egalitarian values, redeeming the integrity of the group, and highlight the unjust consequences of committing more violence. This can lead to feelings of collective guilt within the group that has done the harm. Emphasizing non-violent values will encourage the harming group to want to resurrect those values and the group's integrity in the process (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 136).

During conflict, victim's identities as "powerful" actors, and perpetrator's identities as "moral" actors, are both threatened (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 44): weaker parties are looking for power and justice, while a stronger party is looking for acceptance and empathy (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 50-52). Expressions of empathy toward perpetrators re-humanize the "offenders" by shifting perspective from "bad/immoral people" to "bad acts" undertaken by otherwise moral people (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 51). Socio-emotional reconciliation seeks to address conflict through an apology-forgiveness cycle (i.e., an interactive experience). The apology restores power to the victim and creates a debt between the perpetrator and the victim, the latter of which holds the power to reduce the effect of a moral indictment from the community through forgiveness (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 42). While unilateral approaches for victims (revenge) and perpetrators (social distancing) are unlikely to support reconciliation, entering an apology-forgiveness cycle can move the protagonists away from victimhood or feelings of moral inferiority (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 47).

The need to belong can help parties, particularly those who have been harmed, to overlook differences and appreciate connection with others (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 137). Humanizing the Other is the best way to make use of the need to belong using education to help understand the basis for the conflict, as well as connecting with "a common in-group" (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 136). Eliciting a sense of humanity toward perpetrator groups can also create a greater sense of forgiveness by victims and less of a desire to want perpetrators to feel guilty. Expanding group boundaries (i.e., creating a superordinate category) increases the desire to treat additional members with greater fairness (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 122). In summary, reconciliation is achievable by appealing to human motivations and addressing human needs (Pratto & Glasford 2008, 138).

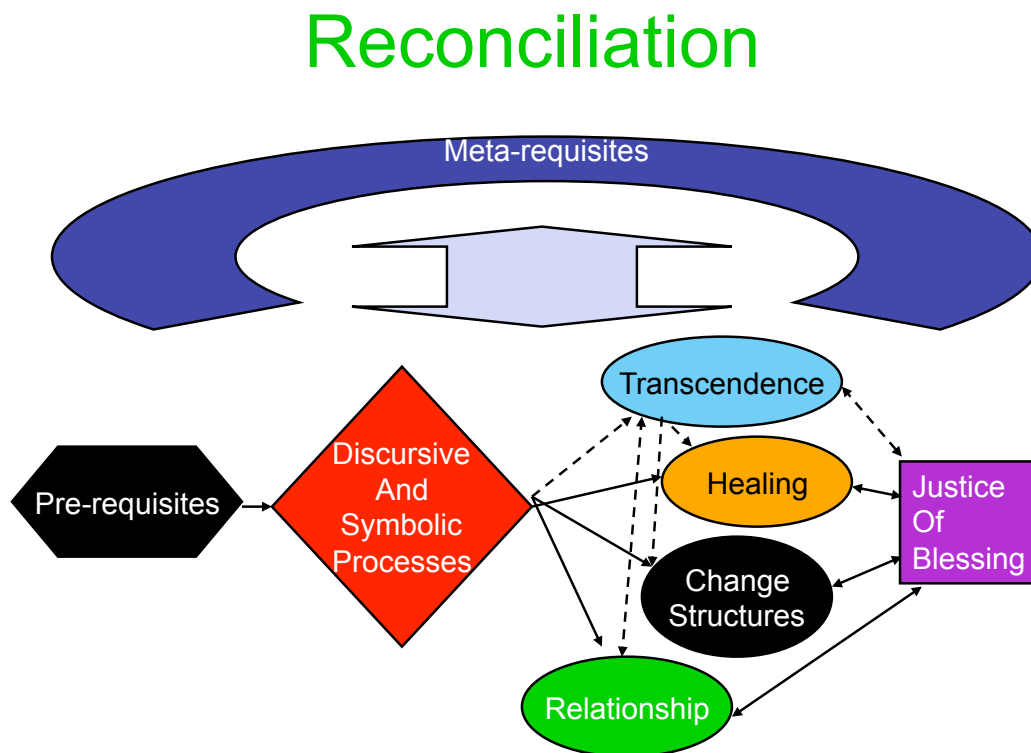
*READINESS*

Readiness for change, which is closely related to forgiveness (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 4), is another important theme of this study. Such a willingness, requires at least one person to experience a shift in outlook before a first step can be taken toward a changed relationship (Westley et al 2007, 37). Any adjustment seems unlikely though, without both self-awareness around our understanding of past, present, and future in relationship with an adversary, and an understanding of how our opponents make sense of their own reality.

Assessing readiness to reconcile requires a framework for analysis including key result areas. I have chosen a structure proposed by Redekop for this purpose (see Figure 4) (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 337-343). The results areas include: personal healing—through an understanding of the Other and their behaviour or contributing factors, plus a sense of security and hope; new relationships—with new people from the Other side or with familiar opponents through fresh eyes; a change in structures—mimetic, hegemonic, laws and customs, and institutions; a sense of justice—through forgiveness, mercy and restitution; and, transcendence—including feelings, circumstances and structures along with moving beyond one’s own perspective and integrating the perspective of the Other, developing a more complex consciousness, and, creating a sense of oneself as part of a greater whole (Redekop 2014, 80-82).

The model is composed of discursive and symbolic processes, supported by particular pre-requisites that feed the result areas just mentioned (Redekop 2014, 83), and the framework is influenced by meta-requisites (i.e., factors that play a role throughout). The prerequisites include: vision, mandate, resources safety/survival/freedom from threats (Redekop 2014, 83-84). The discursive and symbolic processes (Redekop 2014, 83) include: truth-telling, dialogue, expression and acknowledgment of loss and woundedness, transformation of attitude,

remorse/apology/willingness to make reparations, openness to mercy and forgiveness, and a reframing of memory and story. The meta-requisites comprise: teachings of blessing, GRIT (Gradual Reciprocate Initiatives in Tension-Reduction), institution building, process skills and support of the “Third Side”—bystanders, donors, human resources (Redekop 2014, 85). Ultimately what is possible in reconciliation processes is grounded in our ability for empathy, love, fairness and spirituality (Redekop 2014, 85).



**Figure 4 – A Framework to Assess Readiness to Reconcile**

## MEANING

The final element I wish to introduce is the concept of meaning:<sup>37</sup> an idea that is fundamental to this study. While a great deal has been written about meaning-making in conflict, I have chosen to utilize the perspective to which Robert Kegan subscribes regarding meaning.<sup>38</sup>

To begin with, Kegan sees entities as events (e.g., the fist exists as a hand that was closed) and therefore, “life is motion (rather than something merely *in* motion).” From this perspective, human beings are seen as activities (Kegan 1982, 8). Therefore, being human is synonymous with making meaning. It’s not that an experience happens to a person but rather how a person reacts when

### **Making Sense of Life**

*My own belief is that our capacity to make meaning of life is variable depending upon a variety of factors (e.g., self-awareness, self-care, resilience, networks, security, agency, luck). Each source of support contributes in some way to a climate of opportunity to understand our world. In other words, each factor contributes to greater freedom to think; to connect the dots; and, to benefit from a certain level of mindfulness that supports personal exploration and change.*

something happens to them (Kegan 1982, 11). This concept is framed within a constructive-developmental framework that considers how “the evolution of meaning is taken as the fundamental motion in personality” (Kegan 1982, 15). In this context one can look at construction as the underlying activity of an object of study, while development focuses on origins and processes (i.e., how a form comes into existence and evolves into yet another state of being) (Kegan 1982,13). More broadly Kegan’s thinking incorporates two ideas: 1)

Constructivism—which looks at the construction of an organism’s understanding of reality, and

<sup>37</sup> As mentioned earlier in this study, meaning represents one of five basic human identity needs (Redekop 2002, 31). Our worldview will influence the satisfiers for each of those needs (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 163) and, with respect to meaning, how we interpret events emanating from conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 109). The influence of worldviews will be discussed in more detail when we explore the Left-Hand of conflict.

<sup>38</sup> For purposes of this research, I will limit my understanding of meaning to Kegan’s perspective on the subject as presented by McGuigan & Popp.

2) Developmentalism—which views organic systems evolving toward more complex levels based on principles of stability and change (Kegan 1982, 8).

McGuigan and Popp have been strong proponents of Kegan and his concept of meaning. His views on the subject are laced through their work on Integral theory though his focus can be found primarily in the Upper-Left quadrant. McGuigan and Popp make use of his developmental-constructivist work to flesh out an analysis of conflict as one of many other theoretical perspectives used in one of the four quadrants. In their work, McGuigan and Popp propose that our sense of meaning and experience affect our choices and behaviour (both group and individual) contained within cultures and identities that are, in turn, framed within social structures (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 9). Shared meaning and values bond groups together as well as social structures that shape us and we, in turn, them (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 137). All these aspects evolve over time. Our level of consciousness determines what we “see” and that consciousness is informed by the level of complexity with which we understand the world along with our values, beliefs and assumptions. We each make sense of our world through interpretation and interactions, which inform our individual understanding of our world (i.e., our reality). As we continue to interact with our world, we change in terms of our sense of meaning and understanding of reality. In turn, our behaviours change and impacts our multiple environments, which in turn impact back on us. In particular, we shape conflict and conflict, in turn, shapes us (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 56).

Our ability to think complexly helps us work through conflict and see a problem from multiple perspectives. This ability aids in understanding our identities and is always changing (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 106). Each level of complexity creates a different reality and identity ((McGuigan & Popp 2016, 107). Increased complexity in meaning-making also creates more

options to resolving conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 182).

People behave together within the confines of their cultural norms and we make sense of our behaviour and that of others through that cultural framework (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 109). Making meaning precedes behaviour (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 182) and communications based on meaning-making are inseparable from the collective “meanings, intentions and interpretations of all parties” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 190). Reacting to what we observe in others based on our misinterpretation of that behaviour can lead to increased conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 190).

Making meaning is part of human physical and psychological survival. Loss of culture will mean different things to different people based on their own level of meaning-making (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 163). When others don’t understand our sense of meaning it becomes a threat to our identity. We don’t feel understood, valued or respected.

Context has an important influence on the evolution of meaning-making and the creation of identity. We provide the context for making-meaning every moment (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 109-110).

Addressing conflict is a challenge because those in conflict each have a broad variety of “issues, experiences and expectations” that evolve over time (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 110). The capacity of adults to address conflict by setting aside their own perspective in the interest of understanding the Other varies widely. Our ability to negotiate differences depends on our ability to make meaning of the conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 111). It is a challenge to deal with the multiple “perspectives...experiences and competing commitments” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 112).

### *PERSPECTIVES ON CONFLICT*

Being ready for change requires a significant core of group members to recognize a need for transformation in the way individuals or groups interact (Westley et al 2007, 155). That recognition is initially unspoken and manifests itself in a vague sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo. It takes one person with a sense of vision to speak the first words, “this situation is not OK!”<sup>39</sup> They will say such things in a moment of deep frustration to one or more members of a trusted identity group. At that moment, other members of the group will recognize their own negative feelings. Some members may voice those feelings openly and immediately while others, more uncomfortable with their thoughts on the subject, may remain silent (at least for the moment). That doesn’t mean the more introverted members of the group won’t be thinking about what’s been finally spoken. These quieter members will be considering if, when and how they will make a decision to participate to some form of action for change.

Conflict can be seen as a measure of one’s own level of completeness (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 1) and the degree to which we feel threatened in terms of our sense of identity and boundaries. Our challenge is to find a balance between too much (which is overwhelming) conflict, and too little (which is boring). Conflict creates our identities; as do our identities create conflict (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 3). We need to understand (i.e., make meaning of) the unique experience we each have with conflict at any given point in our lives, and leverage that knowledge in order to effectively address conflict (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 7). McGuigan and Popp suggest: “We cannot understand the tapestry [of conflict] without understanding all the threads. And we cannot understand the threads except in their relationship to each other. Their

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<sup>39</sup> The Live Aid Project required the initiative of one man, Bob Geldof, who felt “something needed to be done” while watching a BBC documentary on the 1984 Ethiopian famine. Relying on instinct rather than a blueprint, he picked up the phone and created the project that raised 60 million pounds by tapping into the compassion of British youth (Westley et al 2008, 3, 140-141).

connections and interconnections—their woven togetherness—define their existence” as open, self-ordering systems (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 29)

Disturbing as conflict can be for those that experience its effects firsthand; John Paul Lederach sees such occurrences as opportunities. For it is in both the flow (conflict escalation) and ebb (conflict de-escalation) of struggle (Lederach 2003, 16) that a review of history can take place, first in the recognition of dysfunctional relationships and the subsequent achievement of a “new” normal in terms of a shared, lived experience through constructive change. This is similar to the views of Diana Francis who sees conflict as a way of surfacing latent differences so that they may be recognized, acknowledged and addressed (Forum-ZFD 2008). Lederach also sees conflicts as patterns of relationships, and as episodes, which replicate themselves over time. In this context, he sees a need to understand the conflict, as well as get a bigger picture understanding of the historical role of relationships and the potential for creating further episodes down the road (Lederach 2003, 19). Senge has observed that we are conditioned to see life in terms of events and related causes. This simplified view overlooks patterns of change that precede those events and causes (Senge 2006, 2).

*FRAMEWORK DESCRIPTION*

In order to analyze the record of interviews, this study will make use of the quadrant design developed by Ken Wilber as part of his Integral theory model (aka the AQAL model or All Quadrants All Levels).<sup>40</sup> The analysis will then use the concept of readiness in terms of an ability to reconcile. Readiness will be discussed in terms of the community's ability to move forward in a positive manner toward a shared future.

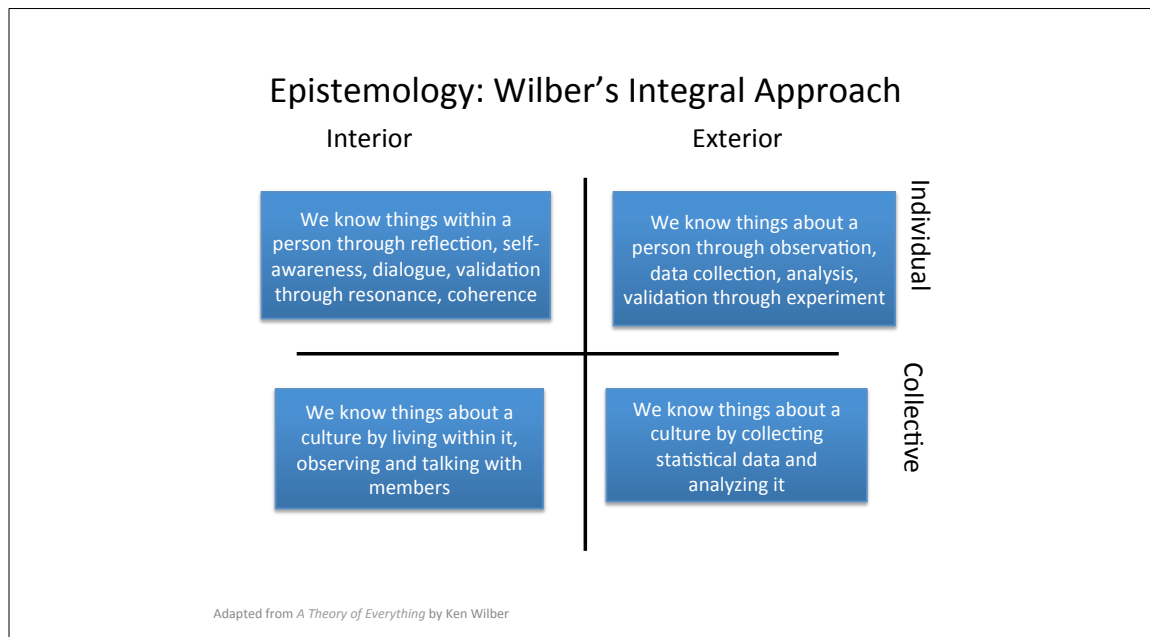
The AQAL model was chosen because, broadly speaking, the complexity of this thesis topic benefits from a view of multiple perspectives. A multi-quadrant analysis of the Caledonia territorial conflict takes advantage of the model's holistic approach, also one that sees any understanding of the conflict is best grounded in a dynamic framework: one that is evolutionary in nature. Note that while such a view suggests constant change, it does not imply any value judgment (i.e., change is good, or better), though post-modernists criticize the AQAL model for this very reason because it supports a hierarchical structure rather than the egalitarian view of post-modernists (McGuigan and Popp 2016, 12).

In Redekop's study of deep-rooted conflict leading to reconciliation, *From Violence to Blessing*, relationships are composed of a Self and an Other (Redekop 2002, 147). In Wilber's quadrant design (see Figure 5), those in conflictual relationships each have an individual interior, and an individual exterior, component. In other words, what we understand of ourselves is not necessarily, or entirely, what people see "from the outside." We can also see Self-Other interactions in a collective environment in which a group maintains one perspective that its members display to the world (including the Other group), and another that they retain within the

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<sup>40</sup> Wilber's model is complex and, along with the quadrant concept, uses other layers of analysis (i.e., stages of psychological and cultural development, lines of psychological development, states of consciousness, and types of personality)(McGuigan & Popp 2016, 64) that are beyond the scope of this study. Although the best known, Wilber is not the only Integral theorist. AQAL is version 5 of his contribution to Integral theory.

identity group. The same Self-Other dichotomy exists in any relationship be it across groups, within groups, within communities or families, or in intimate partner relationships. Self-Other relationships are thus intricate and because of their interior-exterior dichotomy we need to recognize and acknowledge that what we observe of other individuals, or groups, are only the external aspects thereof (Wilber 2000, 71). So to summarize: the Upper-Left (UL), or individual-interior, quadrant, looks at the part we really can't know about the Other (apart from the conscious truth they choose to share about themselves);<sup>41</sup> the Lower-Left (LL), or collective-interior, quadrant includes “private” truths that a group shares among themselves; the Upper-Right (UR), or individual-exterior quadrant, refers to what we observe of the Other (e.g., behaviour); and, the Lower-Right (LR), or collective-exterior, quadrant describes “public” truths about a group (e.g., the things we can measure through statistical analysis).



**Figure 5 - Source: Presentation on Methodology for Social Reconciliation (Vern Neufeld Redekop 2013)**

<sup>41</sup> Another aspect of knowledge pertains to what we do not know of ourselves. This will be discussed shortly with reference to the impact of “implicit bias”.

Examples of appropriate theories to analyze each quadrant and descriptive examples of each drawn from the Caledonia conflict include:

- (UL) Constructive-developmental psychology – making sense of conflict from an evolutionary perspective
- (LL) Anthropology – the place of culture (language, customs and beliefs) and its hidden learnings
- (UR) Empiricism – the Western approach to understanding conflict in terms of the evolution of the conflict and the interactions of the disputants
- (LR) Social Systems Theory – the interrelationships of groups (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 77)

Essentially, the left-hand side of the model looks at the subjective, qualitative aspects of conflict (i.e., the interior of individuals and groups), while the right-hand side is about objective, quantitative analysis (i.e. what can be interpreted and understood by others through media, public statements, actions, etc. using one's senses and extensions of those senses) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 63). At the same time, all such learning is pieced together through a "filtered" experience, knowledge and understanding of individuals and their identity group(s) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 239).

#### The Upper-Left Quadrant: the Evolving Self

One way we can understand the identity and meaning of others is through the evolutionary lens of constructive-developmental theory (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 111). This model categorizes adult stages of growth in terms of mindsets: Instrumental, Socialized, or Self-authoring. Someone with an Instrumental mindset focuses on the concrete behaviours and impact

on others but is generally unable to take on the perspective of others. They tend toward an eye-for-an-eye view of life and rationalize outcomes such as, "we didn't get locked up so we must have been right!" An Instrumental mindset recognizes the different perspective of others only to the extent that it is wrong (and they are right); takes a black and white view (i.e., it's about getting what you want, or not getting what you want) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 113).

The Socialized mindset focuses on another's expectations and opinions out of a need for validation by the other that, in turn, provides a grounding for the "Socialized" person's identity. For them, the experience of conflict is distressing (i.e., they are conflict avoidant) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 115). For this mindset "it is not 'what someone knows of the world' - it is about 'how they know it', and 'how they organize it' in order to make sense of it"; this creates a need to hold fast to the values, attitudes and beliefs of their identity group (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 117).

A Self-authoring mindset accepts conflict as a useful part of life and is guided by its own life perspectives. Such perspectives reflect internal consistency, competence and integrity. It can see and understand more than one view at the same time and sees conflict as a source of learning. Further, it recognizes one's own role in relationships and can acknowledge errors in judgment (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 186). A Self-authoring mindset sees everyone being responsible for their own perspective in order to work things out, but may struggle with addressing their own internal conflict as it relates to their integrity (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 188). Self-authoring personalities recognize their role in a conflict but aren't defined by it (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 190).

### The Lower-Left Quadrant: Culture

Activity in this quadrant increases mutual understanding and strengthens bonds; is constantly evolving; and, occurs within and between cultures. According to Phipps, culture is “where meaning, values and agreements live” and the place where “worldviews form and develop” (Phipps 2012, 181). It contributes to our sense of belonging and separateness, and informs our values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. Culture also contributes to our sense of relative importance. Understanding culture requires in-depth research and an openness to learn (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 205). Culture is in a constant state of evolution, which impacts our understanding of, and response to, conflict over time. Anthropology focuses on culture, which includes our language, customs and beliefs. Beliefs may be about religion, gender roles, our supporters and enemies, our individual and collective identity, and the meaning of life. Culture evolves to maintain ‘fit’ or ‘balance’ with the external environment (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 130).

We each experience life from birth through the cultural filters of our key identity groups (e.g., family, community, society). The shared values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of these groups strongly influence the ways in which we make meaning of, and respond to, life’s challenges and related conflicts. At the same time, the perspectives of other identity groups are considered less credible which appears to be a social-psychological attempt to protect the group and justify its preferred way of existence manifested through its culture (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 19). Each identity group can be thought of as a ‘tribe’ holding tenaciously onto its worldview as it attempts make sense of life and to maintain its sense of meaning therein (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 174).

Multiple individual agreements (conveyed through the language of a culture) form the foundation for worldviews. Though not all such agreements are equally influential, they take on

a life of their own once breathed into existence (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 137). These agreements form the basis of our cultures (meaning, values, safety, belonging) and inform our institutions (LR quadrant) (government, schools, etc.) which feedback onto our collective life and worldview (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 137). Worldviews evolve as we strive to address those aspects of our current worldview with which we are dissatisfied, and our choices are guided by our values (which are also evolving) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 137). A worldview (wave or stage of cultural development) has a centre of gravity or average level of consciousness that is constantly changing. The same holds true of every member within that culture which affects (and is affected by) each other (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 138-139).

#### The Upper-Right Quadrant: the Body and Behaviour

It's here where we look at human behaviour, the physical activity of the body, and their respective impacts on conflict. Disciplines that could be applied in this quadrant include determinism (which has fallen out of favour) and evolutionary psychology (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 181). In particular, the UR quadrant observes how each disputant is seen to physically relate to other stakeholders (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 62). This is the space that informs the work of facilitators and mediators using their awareness and behavioural skills to navigate the challenges of conflict resolution processes (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 200). This is also where we learn and apply the concept of social mediation: namely how the external impacts the internal (i.e., identity & culture) and, in particular, how social constructs (e.g., language, technology) and social behaviours (e.g., ceremonies) influence the actions and interior of individuals and cultures (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 183), as well as how hypotheses such as inherency theories (i.e., it's in our nature to compete and be aggressive) have supported the idea that conflict is a normal part of human existence. Inherency theories suggest that conflictual behaviour is simply mediated by

laws and customs based on enlightened self-interest (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 185) and this tempering of behaviour avoids aggression leading the death, which could lead to extinction of the human species. It is also in this quadrant where we can learn about our own approach to conflict and with that self-awareness consider expanding our range of responses while dealing with conflicts (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 199).

A special mention about language and technology: we often take these tools for granted in our own lives. Like the young fish asking an older fish, “which way to the ocean?” Our language and technologies are just part of who we are and we use these tools virtually unconsciously most of the time. But they don’t just facilitate behaviour; they transform activity each time we use them to interact with one another. This change process includes the actor and their consciousness. The change impacts development through a process by which learning and behaviour influence each other. Essentially, we learn and evolve through our interactions with others (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 184).

#### The Lower-Right Quadrant: The Social

The LR quadrant looks at the collective, social aspects of conflict and the systems and structures where groups interact, including the influences of social organization, governance configurations, legal structures, power arrangements, cultural structures (e.g., rules for social interaction), and access to resources and institutions (e.g., legislatures, courts, health services, financial establishments, schools). This is where we observe how people and groups fit into society, and their relative influence on structures and processes (e.g., the roles of men and women, decision-making practices, negotiating behaviours, land development policies, protest controls, court proceedings, lending policies, educational curriculum content) and the level of

structural conflict<sup>42</sup> within the society (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 20). It is where we observe how the social system does (or does not) function to meet the needs of its citizens. The quadrant also looks at nation states, ethnic and religious groups, and political systems. It is also where we examine environmental issues. As with all the quadrants, it is evolving dynamically and constantly interacting (tetra-enacting) and influencing all the other quadrants.

*AUTHOR'S PERSPECTIVE*

At this point, I should acknowledge my belief that there is no one social truth (e.g., values, attitudes, beliefs, and even “facts”) in life given the implausibility that any individual or group can definitively claim to have an understanding of a single “reality” that supersedes the awareness of all others. Rather each human’s understanding of truth or reality is informed by his or her own life experience (Mills et al 2006, 26). This, in turn, directly affects his or her values, attitudes, and beliefs, as well as his or her interpretation of “facts,” along with any subsequent behaviour demonstrated therefrom. The degree to which that we can agree about anything and behave accordingly, allows us to understand the Other and co-exist (if not reconcile) in circumstances where conflict arises.

I also believe that our relationships are co-influencing. Each interaction with others adds to a growing memory or inventory of shared, lived experiences. Each experience will alter, or reinforce each other’s view and understanding of their own sense of reality. I believe this aspect

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<sup>42</sup> Structural conflict/violence arises where only the superficial aspects of social needs are addressed. Paying lip service to solutions means values and meaning (left-hand aspects) are not fully addressed (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 218). Structural conflict is not about the violence that is done by direct, easily identifiable and observable actors—it is described as the violence that is effected by a particular system of social relationships, such as the First Nations increasingly restricted access to the land imposed by the Europeans, or the First Nations children being taken from their families and re-educated in residential schools (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 346). For those experiencing structural conflict, it is about avoidable inequalities in the social system (e.g., safe drinking water, equitable education funding, relative income levels, and health indicators such as life expectancy, obesity, diabetes, suicide (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 227).

of being “in relationship” with others, always exists between the researcher and his or her study participants. The influence of each human interaction we experience in life, despite all efforts at maintaining objectivity, is part of what makes us human. As such, a researcher must be aware of, take ownership for, and be willing to acknowledge with participants, the existence, nature and impact of the researcher’s values, attitudes and beliefs in co-creating meaning through the interaction that takes place during a research study.

Further to recognizing the nature of such relationships is the need to acknowledge the impact of a researcher’s personality (and evolving relationship with a participant) on the researcher’s analysis, and in the manner in which each participant’s contribution is reflected in the study results (Mills et al 2006, 26). This perspective on the nature of existence and how we come to know the things we believe to be true represents a foundation upon which I apply the theoretical approach that I have chosen to guide the analysis for this study.

Having provided a framework for analysis along with some definitions and a sense of the author’s guiding perspective we now turn a description of the research process.

## CHAPTER 4 - RESEARCH DESIGN

This study utilized an exploratory primary research method. In my original search for a research theme I was drawn to the idea of a real-world topic rather than one with a more theoretical focus. The conflict in Caledonia attracted me as an area of research because of my interest in finding an issue “in my own back yard.” Major conflicts between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations have existed in Canada/on Turtle Island since the arrival of Settler communities in this part of the world. The relatively recent events of Oka, Ipperwash and Caledonia are but a few examples. They have long stood out in my mind for two reasons: the first being the potential for fatalities (or actual deaths, as in Oka and Ipperwash) in each case. The second reason is that the deaths, or the threat thereof, altered the approach taken by authorities in order to resolve the conflict. It is also important to explain and understand the negative impact that such decisions had on the local non-Indigenous communities adjacent to each conflict zone. Those residents have their own story to tell interpreted through their own meaning-making processes and understanding of the way their world should function. It is my hope that an analysis of the Caledonia confrontation will contribute to addressing conflict with Indigenous nations in effective ways, ideally through a preventative approach. At the very least, though, conflict could lead to a durable resolution with a focus on reconciliation.

### *APPROVALS*

The approval process for this thesis took some time and included a parallel procedure with the Six Nations Elected Council (see Appendix A). In the past, research has sometimes been conducted with little or no regard for the benefit of an Indigenous population. Aboriginal knowledge is considered a sacred possession by the First Nations and to have it inappropriately

removed and shared beyond the community has disturbed those groups over many years. For these reasons, the 2014 Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for the Ethical Involving Humans places particular emphasis on research conducted with Indigenous peoples. In order to respect the importance attached to this type of research I sought guidance from the Research Ethics Board (REB) at St. Paul University. While the REB approved my research with residents of Caledonia, the Board required that I first seek permission from the Six Nations Elected Council prior to beginning interviews on-reserve. In order to receive approval, I first sent a proposal of my research to the Ethics Committee of the Six Nations Elected Council for their review. The Committee, in turn, submitted the proposal to Elected Council for consideration. Only then did the REB provide me with permission to pursue interviews with Six Nations people on-reserve. Interviews with off-reserve participants proceeded while awaiting approval from the Six Nations Elected Council.<sup>43</sup>

#### *RECRUITMENT*

Identification and selection of candidates for this qualitative research study focused on achieving a balance in representation of key stakeholder (or identity) groups that had been impacted by the Caledonia conflict in order to achieve a broad sense of the positions, interests and identity needs for each group.<sup>44</sup> The conversations took the form of semi-structured one-on-

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<sup>43</sup> Another layer of approval may have improved the breadth the interview population, that being a review and acceptance by the Six Nations Confederacy (the traditional Chiefs of the Haudenosaunee). Contact with this group remained challenging throughout the fieldwork as they seemed to be the most reluctant to speak with outsiders. Given the adversarial relationship that has always existed between the Six Nations Elected Council and the Confederacy, navigating discussions between these groups always felt difficult. In the end, I did speak with three people closely aligned with the Confederacy but only one provided me with a formal interview.

<sup>44</sup> Identity groups represent multiple interests among each of 1) the Six Nations people locally, regionally and nationally; 2) the local residents of Caledonia residents, businesses and their supporters in the region (some residents of Caledonia supported the Six Nations land conflict); and 3) all levels of government - municipal,

one discussions or homogenous mini-groups<sup>45</sup> using a variety of methods to find and interview potential participants. Participants were located using personal network contacts, snowball sampling and cold calls to invite a cross-section of the local population to join in the study. Multiple interview possibilities were offered to make the decision to engage in the study as easy as possible. These options included phone, face-to-face or e-mail. Face-to-face dialogues took place in the town of Caledonia or on the Six Nations reserve over the course of two trips: one visit lasting a week, the other, two days.

As a result of numerous phone calls, e-mails and some face-to-face discussions, 25 people agreed to be formally interviewed for this study (i.e., eight from the Six Nations; 17 residents of Caledonia). Participants included a varied cross-section of identity groups ranging from ordinary citizens to senior leaders, in order to get a clear view of the complex challenges they faced during and since the conflict erupted. Interviewees included educators, counselors, young adults, seniors, politicians, public servants, journalists, local residents, police, businesses persons, church members, activists, community leaders, land claim negotiators and the legal community. Off-the-record discussions also took place with a dozen current and former government officials (i.e., negotiators, policy analysts, senior government management) that provided a wealth of contextual information for the research.

First points of contact were largely found through personal connections (e.g., academics, public servants and family members) using name references, social media, e-mails and phone calls. Each interview ended with a request for suggestions of other names the participant could

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provincial and federal jurisdictions, as well as their supporting institutions including the police, military, courts and prison system.

<sup>45</sup> Mini groups are essentially small focus groups. The smaller size enables more time for individual exploration, explanation, and brainstorming. At the same time, they offer an opportunity for participants to expand on ideas that are often prompted by inter-personal dialogue, which might not be stimulated in one-on-one discussions.

recommend to the interviewer to create a list of potential interviewees. Initial discussions were conducted with the assistance of a Recruitment Guide (see Appendix B). Semi-structured interviews lasted between 30 minutes and 2.5 hours. Depending on timing and availability, discussions took place remotely (i.e., phone, e-mail), or in-person (i.e., in homes, coffee shops, restaurants, or offices). Interviews were conducted over the spring, summer and fall of 2016. All interviewees signed a Letter of Consent (see Appendix C) and received a copy for their records.

Emotional wellbeing was a key goal of all discussions. It was also important that participants felt validated (while not necessarily agreeing with, or approving of, everything that was stated). The intent of each interaction was to provide each participant with a safe space within which to comfortably share their views and people were generally very forthcoming with their perspectives. Some people shared their misgivings about participating in this type of research before agreeing to do so. Meeting venues were selected according to the needs of each interviewee to ensure privacy, an absence of noise or interruption, and physical comfort. Appropriate community resources were identified and shared with participants who may have wished to seek emotional support in cases where discussions triggered upsetting memories of past experiences of the 2006 conflict or related experiences (See Appendix C).

### *CHALLENGES*

Staying organized required detailed notes for every contact made, then reviewing those notes before following up on contact attempts. Getting people to respond to calls and e-mails was often a challenge. Obtaining agreement to participate often came after multiple e-mails (up to three) and/or made multiple calls (as many as ten attempts). In the end some interviews never took place. Making contact with members of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council

was the most challenging.

Getting people to return their letters of consent was also difficult. This issue was resolved by sending stamped, self-addressed envelopes with the consent letter for people to sign and return (often supported by a follow-up call or e-mail to do so).

Some groups were more difficult to contact than others. As previously mentioned, connecting with Six Nations people was especially challenging despite travelling to the community and staying at a B&B on the Reserve for a week to develop face-to-face contacts and

develop rapport. Off-reserve groups that were notably difficult to reach included the church<sup>46</sup> and the business communities.<sup>47</sup> Efforts to connect with these contacts were generally met with mild anxiety, or disinterest that may have masked fear, about rekindling old wounds. Both the church and business communities faced their own challenges in coming to terms with the impact the conflict had on

*"I was out there all the time and got to know all the key players. The local pastor at the Baptist Church on Argyle was really the only church that wanted to participate. The other churches didn't want to get involved. I tried speaking with churches outside of Caledonia in hopes that those connections would encourage churches in town to get involved but that never happened. I think deep down they feared retaliation as well. Some of them didn't want us parking in their driveways. Didn't want us sending out any messages that they were supporting the OPP at all." (Interviewee #5 – retired police official)*

their membership or clientele. This is unfortunate since these groups could have been a creative source of ways to rebuild community cohesion as well as social, economic and environmental stability for the long-term benefit of the region. In the end, taking people to deeper discussions about an actual reconciliation process proved difficult. Moving the conversations from meaning

<sup>46</sup> Churches in this conservative, rural community, despite their Christian roots, remained quiet during the conflict with the exception of one local church that made great efforts to understand the reasons for the conflict and to maintain a close relationship with the Native activists. In the past year, Indigenous clergy from out-of-province have convened discussions with local leaders from various faith groups in order to build an understanding of Indigenous grievances (e.g., the use of the Doctrine of Discovery to support the settlement of Canada/ Turtle island). Of note, the Anglican Church of Canada has recently repudiated the Doctrine of Discovery (Forget "Churches Knowledge").

<sup>47</sup> Some employees who worked close to the conflict site declined without explanation, or indicated the wounds from the event were still too fresh, or simply stating that management wouldn't approve their participation.

making to reconciliation seemed inappropriate because of the depth of animosity conveyed in some cases.

#### *QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN*

Discussions followed an Interview Guide (see Appendix D). Questions were open-ended and crafted to encourage a relaxed discussion of the experiences, behaviours and interpretations of each participant during the Caledonia conflict. Discussions were recorded with permission.

The broad themes of each interview focused on:

- Making meaning of the events that took place in 2006
- Initiatives toward healing that have taken place to date
- Solutions that could move the community to some measure of reconciliation

Not all questions were asked of each participant. Much depended on the complexity of thinking, and the openness they demonstrated, in making meaning of the conflict (see Figure 6 for sample questions).

|                   | <i>Interior</i>  | <i>Exterior</i>   |
|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Individual</i> | <p><u><i>Individual-interior (UL quadrant)</i></u></p> <p><i>Could you describe for me your personal experience during the conflict (e.g., how did the conflict impact you)?</i></p> <p><i>How do you make meaning of this conflict (e.g., at some point, have you been able to make any sense of what happened and why)?</i></p> <p><i>Have your views about the conflict changed over time? If so, in what way?</i></p> <p><i>Do you have a sense of how other individuals saw the conflict that may not have agreed with your perspective?</i></p>  | <p><u><i>Individual-exterior (UR quadrant)</i></u></p> <p><i>What has been observed of individual behaviour (e.g., through rumour, public statements, media, police reports, court judgments, political statements)?</i></p> <p><i>How do others understand, or make meaning of, such information?</i></p> <p><i>How do others see this conflict as a threat to individual identity needs?</i></p> <p><i>What psychological issues appear to be at play with key individuals (e.g., level of complexity in meaning making)?</i></p>   |
| <i>Collective</i> | <p><u><i>Collective-interior (LL quadrant)</i></u></p> <p><i>Could you describe how the experience impacted the groups that are most important to you in life (e.g., your family, neighbourhood, church, staff)?</i></p> <p><i>How do others in your groups make meaning of this conflict?</i></p> <p><i>Have the views of those groups regarding the conflict changed over time? If so, in what way?</i></p> <p><i>Do you have a sense of how other groups saw the conflict that may not have agreed with your perspective?</i></p> <p><i>What might they have been saying about you?</i></p> | <p><u><i>Collective-exterior (LR quadrant)</i></u></p> <p><i>What has been analyzed with respect to, each group (e.g., through peer-reviewed studies, third party reports, academic theses)?</i></p> <p><i>How do others understand, or make meaning of, such information?</i></p> <p><i>What structural inequalities or evidence of hegemonic systems appear in the analysis?</i></p> <p><i>How has group behaviour impacted the conflict?</i></p> <p><i>How do evolving social systems contribute to the conflict and how does this understanding contribute to strategic interventions?</i></p> <p><i>What are the systemic/institutional issues at play in this conflict?</i></p> |

**Figure 6 Semi-structured questions focusing on the 2016 Caledonia territorial conflict**

*THE RATIONALE BEHIND THE QUESTIONS*

Questions sought to provide interviewees the chance to be heard and understood both as individuals as well as members of an identity group. In addition, the study sought to identify initiatives used to build understanding and community cohesion. Finally, discussions pursued the beginnings of a list of proposals that could serve as a basis for creative solutions to continue the rebuilding process.

Questions related to the left-hand side (i.e., the interior) of the quadrant model, focused on awareness/ perception expressed through the lived experience of each individual or identity group. The objective of these questions was to hear each participant's story in order to provide an opportunity for each participant to feel heard and understood. They also helped in making meaning of how each participant understood those in-groups opposed to their perspective. In addition, the questions helped determine how participants made meaning of the group behaviours they observed: their in-group(s) (i.e., identity groups), and those of out-groups that either supported, or were opposed to, their in-group(s). For example, some non-Natives saw protesters as whiners who needed to get a job. They felt that the more the Natives were given the more they would ask for. One piece of property was not going to appease their desires. Meanwhile Natives saw governments as disingenuous and entirely disrespectful of treaties that were always considered anything but inconvenient, outdated, informal agreements with no legal status. In fact, each side saw the Other as somehow insincere in their words and actions. These types of questions encouraged reflection and self-awareness of each individual through dialogue. Understanding on the part of the interviewer was further enhanced through gently probing with questions that provided validation and coherence. Interviewees were encouraged to express their thoughts beyond brief answers to add a richness to their responses.

Information for the right-hand side of the model was populated through researcher observation and review of media-based sources (e.g., rumour, public statements, media reports) (UR quadrant), as well as through analysis of readings (e.g., books, peer-reviewed articles, academic theses) (LR quadrant).

The model provided a useful template to understand the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of individuals and groups both through their internal perspectives, and through the assessment of others both inside and outside of the conflict. Practitioners in the field of conflict resolution, who have used this approach include McGuigan & Popp who have worked with the Stó:lō (“the River People” in the Coast Salish language) of the Fraser valley in British Columbia for many years in an effort to make meaning of conflict over fishing resource rights in their community with sport fisherman, the commercial fishing industry, conservationists and the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 23).

#### *LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH*

Twenty-five interviews were conducted for this study along with another dozen off-the-record discussions. While one may draw broad conclusions about the general mood of either community, the breadth of study should be regarded as somewhat limited in its representativeness of the community. The same holds true for each identity group and sub-group described in the study (e.g., Six Nations—Elected Council, Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and Clan Mothers; governments and law enforcement—federal, provincial and municipal politicians, bureaucrats and negotiators, and the OPP; and, residents from each community—faith groups, seniors and young adults, activists, businesspersons, union representatives, journalists and communications professionals). In addition, drawing conclusions from the events surrounding

the territorial conflict should be considered transitory given the complexity the issues involved. This complexity seems evident in the dynamic nature of values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours manifested in relationships between individuals and between groups, as well as in the influence of local history, pervading worldviews and evolving institutions.

#### *IMPEDIMENTS TO CONDUCTING THE RESEARCH*

As previously mentioned, First Nations peoples have often experienced research projects that were theoretical in nature rather than practical for use within that society (Given 2008, 457) leaving them disinterested in supporting such studies. In addition, research has often been conducted with a lack of respect for the needs and interests of First Nations communities. These communities experienced no benefit, and sometimes suffered for the knowledge obtained from such studies (Walker 2001, 143). In order address any concerns with the purpose of my research with Native participants, I made use of name referrals wherever possible before contacting a potential participant. In addition, I either asked each existing contact to introduce me to others by e-mail, or to provide me with contact information for new potential interviewees. Each new contact then began with: an e-mail introducing my research; an description of my research background and the focus and purpose of my thesis; an explanation of my research approach; a description of the approval process (including copies for reference); a list of the types of contacts I had already interviewed (respecting anonymity); an assurance of my interest in a balanced understanding of the conflict in my analysis; and, explaining that I would contact them in a few days to ask about their interest in participating. While many contacts took multiple efforts to make a connection, only a few (e.g., a sub-Chief, a former Confederacy lawyer, and contacts with Clan Mothers) didn't materialize, ostensibly because of scheduling issues. Only one (i.e.,

the current legal counsel for the Confederacy) refused contact after two e-mails wherein I was rebuked for not clearly acknowledging the Confederacy as [a sovereign] government, in my communications with him. He said, in part: “your research, from my perspective, is presumptively biased if you are obtaining ‘permission’ from the SNEBC [Six Nations Elected Band Council].” He went on to say: “As you may be aware the SNEBC was established at gunpoint by the Canadian government to displace the HCCC [Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council] in an effort to consolidate Canada’s racist policies and finalize the dispossession of the Haudenosaunee of their land and finances. Your approach to the SNEBC to obtain permission is, in my opinion, supportive of the effort to displace the HCCC and at the same time supportive of the colonial objectives of assimilation.” His closing comment was, “I can state on my own behalf that if you or your Ethics Review Board believe that you need SNEBC [Six Nations Elected Band Council] permission then I will not participate for the above noted reasons.”<sup>48</sup>

Another factor impacting the research could be institutionalized bias (e.g., education, justice, health care, politics, business, etc.) resulting in structural conflict/violence.<sup>49</sup> The nature of such a bias is such that individuals and groups are essentially blind to the imbalance in opportunity and access to resources created thereby. This blindness limits their understanding of how conflict is generated and sustained in a society. As a result, it is difficult to identify the root causes of the conflict. For example, Tom Keefer notes that in small towns the institutions (e.g., media, service clubs, business associations, churches) tend to be influenced by local elites (e.g.

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<sup>48</sup> E-mail communication with HCCC legal Counsel, July 16, 2016.

<sup>49</sup> Johan Galtung describes structural violence as "that which increases the distance between the potential and the actual, and...impedes the decrease of this distance." Examples include death from starvation where food is available but withheld by another, or clear inequities in the distribution of wealth in societies such as in the United States (i.e., the top 1% receive 30% of the surplus value of the economy)(McGuigan & Popp 2016, 41).

developers, bankers, lawyers, realtors). These groups have an understandable interest in local development while left-leaning community members (e.g., non-Native supporters of Native issues, environmentalists) see that interest being in opposition to recognizing Native land rights (Keefer 2009, 7). At no time were interviewees questioned or otherwise challenged on their clear perspectives about a preferred future for land stewardship or development. The purpose of the discussions was purely to encourage an open sharing of views.

At an identity level, cultural values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours manifested in differing worldviews can hold identity groups in a particular mindset that limits their ability to be open to the interpretations of individuals or groups with different perspectives. Given the nature of the methodology (i.e., snowball search), it's also possible that the type of people suggested would be more amenable to such a discussion, which infers a biased sample of interviewees for this study. Having said this, the participants might be more interested not only in the discussion but also in imagining a brighter future for the community, and willing to participate in action toward such a future. In order to achieve balance in the study, I continually sought a variety of views through the manner in which I chose to seek out certain stakeholder representatives. The forthcoming analysis suggests the degree to which this approach was successful based on the varied blend of attitudes evident in the interview comments.

Another impediment to the research is a current concept that in today's world: the study of controversies (e.g., GMOs, vaccinations, global warming, nuclear power, nanotechnology) filtered through "cultural cognition" suggests that information (data) is not driving the decisions we make. Rather, we bring a set of social and cultural attitudes to the table that we have been developing since we were children that will dictate the kind of evidence we understand and accept (Kahan et al 2006, 1072). In a grid matrix study comparing individualism and

communitarianism with hierarchical and egalitarian views, hierarchical individualists disagreed with climate change whereas communitarian egalitarians agreed with climate change. Providing scientific data did not change any minds. Instead, decisions were based on attitudes they already held (Kahan et al 2012, 734; Kahan & Braman 2006a, 158; Huynh, “Cultural Cognition and Scientific Consensus.” This study stands in contrast to the traditional “knowledge deficit model” which held that understanding and belief were predicated on sufficient information and way of thinking for people with differing views to come to the same conclusion (Kahan 2012, 732). People (unconsciously) use patterns of thought such as cognitive bias to build and maintain their deeply held views over any evidence to the contrary. Their thinking is “pushed” in a particular direction. The diverse social and cultural background in our country therefore hinders scientific discovery and story telling designed to reach that part of the thinking mind that is open to ideas and change (van der Linden 2016, 129). This discussion underscores the notion of complexity described previously in the section on meaning, as well as in the framework description: specifically the constructive-developmental concept of mindsets used for analysis in the Upper-Left quadrant.

Another intriguing aspect to our understanding of prejudice toward the Other is the notion of “implicit (unconscious) bias” (Banajai & Greenwald 2013, 46). This hidden predisposition can be revealed through the Race IAT (Implicit Association Test) (Banajai & Greenwald 2013, 34). The test demonstrates the influence of deep cultural teachings that impact our otherwise rational, conscious views on any number of preferences (Banajai & Greenwald 2013, 54). The concept describes a subtle mindset that reflects neither racism nor prejudice but rather “a preference.” One can draw a clear line from such unconscious values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours to structural inequities (e.g., social and economic opportunities) in the

community, workplace, political arena, etc. It can help to explain how despite the relatively small number of openly prejudiced individuals in any society, our unconscious thoughts guide our decisions and behaviours that can be seen as feeding the structural violence that exists in all societies made up of dominant and subordinate cultures. One sees this conundrum of unconscious social behaviour when conducting analysis in the Lower-Right quadrant.

Burton has suggested through human needs theory that socialization processes may result in negative social behaviour if they are at odds with ontological and genetic needs. He observes,

“Individuals cannot be socialized into behaviours that destroy their identity and other need goals and, therefore, must react against environments that do this” (Burton 1979, 33). Behaviours that are a response to frustration of such human needs will often seem aggressive and counterproductive, but understandable in this context (Redekop 2002, 23-24). It will be shown in the analysis that people on both sides of the barricades behaved in ways that would not normally pass as being acceptable within their identity group.

*“A lot of views were involved in understanding behaviour in the community in 2006...” ruffians from both sides got to the front of the line...they were really good at agitating and stirring things up” (both sides had people come in from outside the community)...rednecks said “get the army in.” Meanwhile unhappy Natives, some wanting to prove their point, also came with supporters among the Native community. Then there were those who would say, “what can we do to address this situation...reaction depends on which person in the community you are looking at” (Interviewee #4 – non-Native Caledonia resident).*

As a last point, cultural worldviews filter our reading of information (i.e., support our predispositions), though cultural values simply “orient rather than motivate citizens” (Kahan & Braman 2006, 164). “It’s only when [citizens] perceive that a policy bears a social meaning congenial to their cultural values that [they] become receptive to sound empirical evidence about what consequences that policy will have. It’s therefore essential to devise policies that can bear

acceptable social meanings to citizens of diverse cultural persuasions simultaneously. Because culture is cognitive prior to facts in policy conflicts, culture must be politically prior to facts too” (Kahan & Braman 2006, 171).

Research typically faces impediments to implementation. This study is no different. To re-iterate, First Nations are typically research avoidant based on past misuse and misappropriation of information shared with outsiders. Patience and time were watchwords for this study as was building rapport at every contact. Non-native perspectives presented their own challenges, particularly in accessing balanced views on the impact and shared responsibility for the events that unfolded during the height of the conflict. An open and interested approach encouraged frank discussion, which in turn, ultimately allowed for the collection of a broad range views and a better understanding of the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of various stakeholder groups. An awareness of the level of complexity that each interviewee brought to the interview process allowed for the author to take a “meet people where they are” perspective when interacting with each participant. It’s worth repeating here that I brought my own perspective to the discussion and recognize the resistance I felt in some of the conversations with interviewees. This required for a little personal forgiveness given that even some of the most balanced interviewees expressed certain attitudes that suggested impatience with some of the more egregious behaviour demonstrated by both sides of the conflict. In addressing any solutions that have a chance of positively motivating adversaries to seek mutually agreeable solutions to their differences, it will be incumbent upon leaders in all organizations, and at all levels, to seek the broadest possible input and cross-cultural understanding of divisive issues in order to create approaches that speak to the commonality among multiple sets of values.

This study was chosen as a deliberate manner to seek understanding of a common and important domestic example of conflict. The approval process was time-consuming though (mostly) expected. Recruitment also required time and patience, but the insights obtained from the participants, and the stakeholder groups they represented within their community were significant. None of the challenges faced during the project proved insurmountable. They simply required organization and flexibility to resolve. The questionnaire design built upon the quadrant format and, in so doing, provided a useful model for gathering and analyzing the data from each interview. All qualitative research is necessarily limited in its ability to provide definitive information, and based on the discussion to date, any “facts” will be understood and explained through the lens of each individual reviewing and analyzing those results. Finally, the various limitations identified in the study reflect typical cross-cultural and conflict laden challenges. An open, curious demeanour coupled with patience and an acceptance of a range of views, were equally beneficial in gathering a broad range of viewpoints to inform the study. Let’s now turn to the analysis of the information shared during this study.

## CHAPTER 5 - ANALYSIS

This chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the data derived from the interview process, and be further informed by the off-the-record discussions undertaken with government negotiators, policy analysts, senior bureaucrats, residents of Caledonia, and members of the Six Nations. Examples are provided throughout to suggest the variety of meanings that participants attributed to the conflict. The discussion that follows will first give a broad overview of the left-hand and the right-hand of conflict as described in Wilber's quadrant model in the context of the Caledonia territorial conflict. Then each quadrant will be utilized in turn to provide a focused analysis of the events from the unique perspective of each, bearing in mind that the model is integrated and constantly evolving (i.e., all quadrants influence one another simultaneously and continuously).

### *THE LEFT-HAND VS. RIGHT-HAND PERSPECTIVE*<sup>50</sup>

Broadly speaking, the Left-hand of Wilber's quadrant model is grounded in introspection and interpretation. It includes shared cultural values, myths and beliefs within an identity group along with each person's sense of identity and understanding of the Caledonia territorial conflict (i.e., a qualitative perspective). The Right-hand of the model includes such aspects as the behaviours and negotiation styles of the disputants, rules of engagement by the police with both the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia groups, and the application of the justice system (i.e.,

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<sup>50</sup> I perceived that each side of the conflict experienced internal divisions. The Six Nations included sub-groups with their own focused agenda including the: youth activists, Six Nations Elected Council, Haudenosaunee Confederacy & Clan Mothers, Men's Fire, Six Nations police service, outside activists (e.g., Mohawk Workers), off-reserve Natives, mixed marriage Natives and non-Natives, on-reserve media, conflict avoiders, and spoilers. Meanwhile in Caledonia, interests were divided among the local/outside activists and municipal politicians, business owners, business leaders, OPP front-line staff, OPP leadership, the provincial judiciary, provincial bureaucrats, provincial negotiators, provincial politicians, federal negotiators, federal bureaucrats, federal politicians, as well as mixed marriage Natives and non-Natives, off-reserve media, conflict avoiders, and spoilers.

a quantitative perspective) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 109). The Right-hand also allows us to see the ways that the Six Nations appear to have struggled over the years to live life as they once knew.

Both the residents of Caledonia and the Six Nations people have suffered (i.e., felt victimized) on an individual and collective level. One can use Wilber's model to say, "this is the experience of victims," which differentiates between internal "woundedness" (i.e., Left-hand quadrants) and observable harm and losses (i.e., Right-hand quadrants) that are empirically verifiable, through the senses. Meaning-making (Left-Hand activity) allows us to make sense of what we observe (Right-Hand activity) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 68) and allows for more effective interventions (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 104).

The use of an Integral conflict approach creates a balance through the blending of the Left-hand and the Right-hand back into relationship with each other. It recognizes those aspects of reality that are constructed in terms of the interpretive meaning-making of the adversaries in the Caledonia territorial claim (e.g., Native rights vs. the rule of law) as compared with the features that are objective facts, confirmable by our senses (e.g., the physical boundaries of the Douglas Creek Estates/Kanonhstaton site; the actions of the OPP; and, the behaviour of activists who came from outside the town of Caledonia and the Six Nations reserve). Each side complements the other (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 100). So, while a rational-scientific view of the conflict can provide understanding about the ecological issues of land management, it does not provide insight into the meaning of the occupation/reclamation site and why people are fighting over it. Using an Integral approach allows one to look at the unspoken assumptions, theories and hypotheses as well as the players involved in the conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 63).

On the Right-hand, one learns about the disputants: who and how many have been involved; who is speaking and who is silent; observe groups forming and splintering apart; and discern simmering (or open) anger. All these sources of data, and more, feed the historical and evolutionary path of the conflict. One can see how the conflict continues to evolve with “new problems, insights, understandings and solutions” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 176) and then integrate that information with meaning and values from the Left-hand.

By combining the Left-hand (where the conflict is interpreted) with the Right-hand (where knowledge about the conflict is perceived) one can better understand the meaning underneath a behavior (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 176). Without such an analysis, all

*“The conflict has nothing to do with land claims. The supposed dispute was, Ken Hill and his people wanted a piece of land that would not be policed. It wasn’t part of the reserve and it wasn’t going to be part of Caledonia and so his people, which he paid for, [the] backhoe and all the resources were paid by him, occupy this site, contrary to their to their own leadership, and that’s what it was all about. All the various crime groups were brought in. They labeled it as a land claim because that’s the politically correct thing to say. But it was never about a land claim, because there is no land claim. It was average Natives using their culture to claim land that did not belong to them. They knew because of the time they lived in that with a land claim, every government institution would kick in to support them. Not just to be neutral” (Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist).*

that can be discerned are individuals (or groups) from the Six Nations and Caledonia talking past one another, and repeatedly accusing the Other of bad character and ill will.

*UPPER-LEFT QUADRANT ANALYSIS*

The trigger point in the territorial conflict cases involving Oka, Ipperwash and Caledonia appears to have been based on the reaction of a single Indigenous community member with sufficient leadership capacity and emotional conviction to say something along the lines of: “action must be taken to stop what we see happening to land we believe to be ours; land that we believe has been stolen from us; land we can never imagine re-owning; land to which we believe we belong (and not vice versa); sacred land upon which our ancestors have been buried.” Such concerns can be found rooted in the deeper issues manifested in human identity needs that all people and groups have (i.e., meaning, connectedness, safety, recognition and action/agency)(Redekop 2002, 31). How those needs are satisfied is culturally determined (Burton 1990b, 211); Rubenstein & Crocker 1994; 125; Redekop 2002, 24). For the actors in Caledonia, government legitimacy, access to land, and respect for one’s worldview can be seen as fundamental issues (or satisfiers).

It appears that an incalculable number of factors that can contribute to the flashpoint of any group action. Yet those influences take on a complex,

***The Conflict Trigger***

*Janie Jamieson and Dawn Smith decided they needed to take action because no one else would. Neither the Six Nations Band Council nor the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council chose to take direct action against the DCE building development (Interviewee #3 – Six Nations journalist). On the non-Native side, Gary McHale felt compelled to act following a sequence of events he found very troubling that had unfolded on June 9, 2006. In each case, once these actors took their first step, they discovered that others were willing to follow. However not all followers came to “assist” with the same agenda. The Six Nations had to talk down some violence-oriented activists who came to participate from outside the community. Similarly Gary McHale modeled his protests on the marches of Martin Luther King. As such no foul language and certainly no violence were accepted at his gatherings. Some have said the conflict continues to simmer to this day though its direction and seriousness is unclear. Much will depend on whether or not someone “crosses a line” on either side of the conflict (e.g., if the Six Nations initiate any projects on the old DCE development site without consultation with Caledonian residents).*

dynamic life of their own once the first step is taken (e.g., a verbal expression of frustration, the taking up of a weapon) as a result of a triggering experience (e.g., a dream, the death of a loved one, the loss of a job) which takes place in an emboldening environment (e.g., a state of mind, a series of life experiences) and supported by others, who are of a similar persuasion, but are not willing or able (at least, in that particular moment) to take the first step themselves. Despite the inability of some individuals to be the catalyst, once someone, respected in a group, takes the first step, it provides like-minded others with the courage and ability to take action as well. They are further encouraged to act when supported by the approval and backing of the identity group with which they feel a connection (Westley et al 2007, 52). In the case of Caledonia, for example, the Confederacy agreed to support the protesters early in the conflict provided there was no violence.

In the Upper-Left quadrant we find the thoughts, perspectives, and belief systems that drive the emotions and behaviours of individuals in the conflict. For example, this is where non-Native participants spoke about the sense of betrayal they experienced during the conflict. Shared friendships with the Six Nations people suddenly seemed to evaporate as Natives sided with their peers on-reserve at the cost of non-Native acquaintances. It is also where we see non-Native indignation over the perceived lack of action by the OPP along with their “two-tier” approach to justice that was

*“No one [from Six Nations] spoke on our behalf nor mentioned our support of the Six Nations reserve” (Interviewee #2 – non-Native businessperson).*

*“I went to school with many from the Six Nations. Some were my best friends, but no longer. I challenge them with fact. You can tie anyone up in knots when they can’t back up their truth” (Interviewee #22 – non-Native activist).*

*“If we lived in the U.S. they would have called in the National Guard and that would have ended it” (Interviewee #2 – non-Native businessperson)*

*Caledonia has gone back to its old ways...white privilege, racism and oppression continue” (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor).*

seen as “reverse discrimination”. It is where we experience non-Native anger with politicians for perceived influence over police action throughout the conflict, and (for some) not calling in the army to quickly sort out the problem and return the community to some sense of normalcy.<sup>51</sup>

This is also the quadrant where we explore individual Native feelings of historical belittling by non-Natives, experienced as either overt or casual racism.<sup>52</sup> It is also where we seek to understand how each Native makes sense of changes to their access to the territory defined by the Haldimand Proclamation. In addition, this quadrant provides a space to learn how individual members of the Six Nations imagine their future, based on their past experiences in contact with non-Native society.

The previously mentioned perspectives point to the contested meanings that abound in these types of conflicts and exist not only between but within groups as well. There were those in both communities who saw land as space to grow and a resource requiring stewardship. Though, for some stewardship meant leaving the land to nature, for others it meant putting it to use. The evolutionary lens of constructive-developmental theory helps to draw a link between how we observe others make meaning of their life experiences and how they understand that meaning from within (McGuigan &

*“Our future lies in healing...”we’re trying to create change here so that our future generations don’t have to go without”... “[we want] what’s been agreed upon and we want... honour, we want ...respect” (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor).*

*“There were Six Nations residents who opposed the occupation but remained very quiet because of the shenanigans of a few people and the fear factor of a lot of people. Problems were a result of more verbal members” (Interviewee #5 – retired police official)*

Popp 2016, 111). Each individual reacted to the conflict based on the mindset they brought to the conflict manifested in their values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. Some actors felt more of a

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<sup>51</sup> Social conflict is seen by some as a catalyzing agent for change, especially for those that feel oppressed. This perspective provides a link to analysis in the LR quadrant (Cosser 1956, 216-219; Simmel 2011, 114-118). 216-219

<sup>52</sup> This is the link to multi-generational trauma in the LL quadrant (Volkan 1997, 43-44).

need to react, others more of a need to understand. There were also those on both sides of the conflict that wanted to keep their views to themselves for fear of retaliation from their community.

One can see how need satisfiers varied between protestors with different mindsets. For example, for someone with a Socialized<sup>53</sup> mindset, connection was about belonging, sharing common beliefs, and avoiding confrontations, while an individual with a Self-authoring<sup>54</sup> mindset would want to converse openly and debate the issues in a respectful, non-antagonistic manner (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 122). Those with an Instrumental<sup>55</sup> or Socialized mindset would have felt a greater sense of victimization from historical, judicial and governance structures that influenced the territorial conflict than those with a Self-authoring mindset (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 127). Within each group, those with an Instrumental mindset who supported to the DCE occupation might be upset by those with a Socialized mindset who opposed the conflict out of a need to be accepted within their identity group (e.g., a mixed-race family unit). By the same token, those with the Socialized mindset might feel those with the Instrumental mindset were not understanding their fears. Meanwhile those with a Self-authoring mindset might have been

*The Instrumental perspective was evident in some discussions on both sides of the conflict. Six Nations protestors were surprised when the OPP didn't routinely arrest them for their aggressive behaviour. Non-Native protestors saw Native behaviour fundamentally as a contravention of the rule of law.*

*Some business people on both sides of the conflict wanted to avoid conflict wherever possible, suggesting a Socialized mindset. It was bad for business and therefore uncomfortable.*

<sup>53</sup> Someone with a Socialized mindset is driven by the expectations and opinions of others (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 115)

<sup>54</sup> A Self-authoring mindset is guided by an internal compass and welcomes ambiguity (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 118)

<sup>55</sup> Those with an Instrumental mindset do not take on the thoughts, feelings or perspectives of others (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 113)

frustrated that people were unable to talk in a calm, rational manner thereby jeopardizing the negotiations with the governments (e.g., each time a flare-up occurred at the barricades, the government negotiators would suspend talks). However those with a Self-authoring mindset may also have been perceived as not being a team player, or seen as contrary (e.g., one senior citizen whose daughter married a Native wrote editorials encouraging dialogue with the protestors for which she was criticized both face-to-face by her peers, as well as in anonymous editorial rebuttals) (Interviewee #13 – non-Native retiree). These variations in mindset, and therefore meaning-making perspective, would have made it difficult to speak with one voice in seeking negotiated solutions. For example, there were activists on both sides of the conflict who were seen by some as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. People in these types of conflicts with Instrumental or Socialized mindsets can be seen as a poor match both in terms of their ability to think and to manage their emotional state. Not accepting the complexity of the situation, some participants thus sought direct solutions that may have turned out to be rather fragile, and possibly violent, if not fatal (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 127).

*“The TRC (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) said “now you’ve acknowledged, now that you’ve given us a voice, now that you’ve heard what the problem was and now that you believe it, let’s just work together and move forward”, which is what First Nations culture teaches people they should do. They could have said, ‘see, this report shows that you are evil and we want to see some heads on a platter.’ Instead (apart from a few who didn’t like being ‘called out’) many now see the importance of moving together in a positive direction and consider the importance of creating initiatives to address the Six Nations 27% unemployment rate and hire young Natives to be part of the area’s economic engine. When you win, we win! With a boiled water advisory, high unemployment and little hope how would we expect people to behave? Let’s do something different. Let’s talk about health care, education, resources, economic development: the kinds of things all of us want. Indigenous peoples want their children to be successful just like any other culture. Our commonalities far outnumber our differences” (Interviewee #16 – provincial legislator).*

Those with a Self-authoring mindset pursued solutions from the start and wanted a problem-solving process in place throughout the most difficult period of the conflict: one that would encourage participation from all parties. They were at a stage of self-development that exhibited a desire to understand their opponents rather than react with anger (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 193).<sup>56</sup> This could be observed in the actions Self-authoring actors took: the level of emotional intelligence they portrayed in trying to understand the perspective of their opponents; the level of critical thinking they brought to each discussion; the time they were prepared to invest in seeking a solution; their level of self and social awareness;<sup>57</sup> and, the respectful ways they dealt with those that opposed them (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 123). People with a complex perspective stand out; give longer answers and bring in more variables in terms of understanding; don't speak as victims but rather speak as empowered people; and, are not shy about conflict. All these behaviours demonstrated a capacity for complex meaning making: a capacity that was particularly important for leaders, both formal and informal, especially during the height of the conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 124).

*People in the self-authoring category (on both sides of the conflict) saw the situation as troubling but were open to hear the other's narrative (e.g., mixed marriage couples and their friends and relatives). They were prepared to see the issue as a challenge and to look for solutions rather than viewing the conflict as a problem needing a quick and simple solution (e.g., forceful and enduring intervention by the OPP; or, clear and direct action by federal and provincial governments in terms of legislation and military action, if necessary).*

The mindsets discussed above are not intended to judge or criticize an individual's complexity of thinking. Each of us has evolved to a certain stage of meaning making and this

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<sup>56</sup> Those with Instrumental or Socialized mindsets who did show anger may have been concealing fear: fear of possible changes to the status quo in their communities.

<sup>57</sup> One's level of self-awareness and meaning-making ability strongly influences their view of, and response to, conflict.

capacity, while capable of growth, limits our ability to engage in every conflict we experience. Asking people to think beyond their ability to reason complexly seems likely to end in failure. This requires greater patience and skill on the part of those involved in a conflict that have reached a more complex level of cognition and empathy. This is both a moral and a practical prerequisite, and necessary to move discussions forward.

Understanding and empathy were needed in the response of non-Natives who wanted a quick and forceful solution to the conflict, and who were frustrated by the cautious behaviours of the police and go-slow approach of politicians.<sup>58</sup> The same understanding was required with those Natives who, at every opportunity (e.g., negotiations, media dealings, meetings with residents of Caledonia), outlined a list wrongs and mistreatment perpetrated upon them and their ancestors since 1784 by successive federal and provincial governments. “Sounding like a broken record” these Natives simply exasperated some non-Native leaders who felt discussions could go nowhere. In this confusion of events, people openly attributed the worst of motives and behaviours to their opponents (e.g., dishonesty, greed, land theft, racism, gratuitous destruction of property, threatened assaults, actual assaults, even threats of murder). Some accusers offered to provide proof; others offered their interpretations of events or information from the rumour mill. As described in mimetic theory, rivals showed evidence of “doubling” and scapegoating wherein each were at the point of accusing one another of the same negative characteristics and seeing the Other as totally responsible for the problems at hand, as occurred during the 1990 Oka Crisis (Redekop 2002, 237).

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<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile there were OPP behind the scenes: identifying criminal behaviour for later prosecution; seeking solutions with the developers of DCE; attempting to understand the Native issues and finding ways to negotiate a peaceful solution and avoid serious injury or death (as occurred at Ipperwash and Oka). An interviewee, retired from the OPP, described how frustrated the OPP felt after the conflict died down when providing information to the media about related dozens of arrests and convictions: there seemed to be no interest in reporting on these events (Interviewee #5 – retired police official).

One sees through this conflict how complexity of thought varied across the population. If we understand meaning-making as being who we are, and that often occurs below our level of awareness (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 101), we can see how a tool such as constructive-developmental theory can help us to make sense of the understanding and response of others to conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 106). In this context one may understand how needs that are not satisfied within the rule of law will be satisfied outside those boundaries (Burton 1990b, 36-37). Groups seeking to change unfair circumstances that can't be resolved within normative processes such as the courts often resort to various types of civil disobedience to satisfy their unresolved needs. In deep-rooted conflicts such as Caledonia needs and identity are deeply intertwined (Redekop 2002, 23-24). Identities are constructed early in life, but they can be transformed through an evolution of complexity and meaning-making (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 108). We each represent our own context as a basis for change and we do so through what we make of what happens to us (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 110).

#### *LOWER-LEFT QUADRANT ANALYSIS*

In this quadrant one sees: evidence of structural and ontological violence that effected cultural continuity, coherence, imagination, vitality, capacity, complexity with a focus on injustice and boundaries; impacts on identity groups in terms of evolving needs, satisfiers and meaning making (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 162); and, distinctions between high and low context cultures (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 170).

*"Natives have been mistreated in the past, no question...but it doesn't give them the right to abuse the non-Native community for the next 100 years...the solution is to bring about equality"*  
(Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist).

It is worth noting at this point that not even the strongest opponents to the Six Nations action denied some level of mistreatment of the Six Nations people by past governments. What they questioned was the impact of that mistreatment and the degree of responsibility Natives should take for their current circumstances and for altering those conditions. Strong opponents to the occupation and related events made no significant distinction between any challenges that Natives had faced over the past 230 years as compared with their own negative life experiences, or harm that others currently face around the world.

Relationships between governments and the Six Nations have been seen as unequal by the latter since first contact. Meanwhile, those close to the Confederacy have always maintained a view of themselves as a sovereign people in their relationship with Canada. When the decision came to replace the traditional Confederacy council with an elected band council in 1924, the power of the government to enforce its will through the RMCP was apparent. At the same time, a variety of enforced laws restricted the Six Nations' ability: to defend them themselves in Canadian courts (DeVries 2011, 3); to move freely off the reserve; and, to maintain their society. The effects on culture were particularly felt with the introduction of the Residential School system and its requirement for children to stop using their Native languages: a key vehicle for transmission of culture from one generation to the next. The impact on the Six Nations was also experienced through a loss of a sense of community coherence with the elimination of their traditional system of governance.

Today, these various impacts show up in some youth as a perceived dismal future for themselves. Addiction, family violence and gangs are an ongoing problem as manifestations of this lack of hope. The Six

*"Racism goes both ways (an apple is red on the outside and white on the inside). Six Nations feel threatened by mixed blood relationships. Some are targeted, threatened, and suffering an identity crisis." (Interviewee #24 - Caledonian married to a Native)*

Nations want to “regain capacity lost over the centuries and realize its full potential as an economic powerhouse” (Interviewee #21 - former Six Nations Elected Band Council Chief). Much of a sense of cohesion and the rich complexity found in cultural identity seems to have declined over time. For generations they appear to have felt victims of injustice as they attempted to hold onto their way of life. There have been suggestions that rigid boundaries markers have developed for those entering into mixed marriages: a threat to the purity and strength of the Six Nations. The sense of identity for Natives will necessarily have evolved over time, along with their needs, satisfiers and meaning making perspective. If one believes that the Six Nations have generally felt obliged to live within a Western-style culture, it also seems reasonable to imagine that Six Nations needs have tended to mirror the dominant culture (e.g., possessions, life style activities, land acquisition), as have need satisfiers (e.g., education, money, capital). This cultural evolution, along with impediments created by governments to retain their culture, appears to have impacted the natural growth of the Six Nations, which they are attempting to recreate. In the process, how the Six Nations have made meaning of their circumstances can be viewed through their decision to take the government to court to fight for land rights. The Six Nations could be described generally speaking as a “high context” culture, particularly in past centuries. That is, one that has strong sense of community, and prefers indirect communication and harmonious living (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 169).

*“Caledonia and Six Nations are mixed race groups including mixed marriages and their children, and therefore difficult to unravel...but the more you look at the injustices of the past the more you think, ‘oh my’, even though he’s not responsible for those injustices, he carries the ‘tag’ as the guy that did so...” (Interviewee #4 – non-Native Caledonia resident)*

Meanwhile, the residents of Caledonia have long felt they were living in a quiet, peaceful community but the 2006 conflict damaged their own sense of continuity and coherence (McHale 2013, 5). It also compromised their imagination, vision and capacity for a bright economic future. Protests and demands on local businesses for a share of certain revenue streams by Confederacy members (Spears “Samsung, Six Nations”) have created an undesirable reputation for the economy. Local businesses maintain that the media publicity during the conflict seriously damaged local tourism.<sup>59</sup> Some local residents have also felt a deep sense of injustice surrounding the handling of the conflict by politicians and the OPP. Those feelings have lingered to this day according to the interviewees who were strong supporters of the non-Native perspective. Hard feelings also emerged in town particularly toward Natives who have chosen to reside in Caledonia. The conflict created a good deal of discomfort for these off-reserve Natives. In one case involving a mixed marriage, the “non-Native” spouse was vilified in public and told to “to back to the reserve”. The needs of the some residents, particularly for security, recognition of the harm done to the community (e.g., physically, economically, emotionally) and agency (i.e., control over their community) has also suffered. For them, a good start would include a clear statement from governments demanding that the rule of law be respected by all (with consequences for those who do not), supported by swift action for all offenders. This, along with steps to reclaim and develop the old DCE site along with the necessary security to protect any such initiative, would send a strong message to

*“[The] catalyst for Caledonia was Ipperwash. All they needed to do was take a stand. How OPP handled Ipperwash provided the impetus for Caledonia. They (the Six Nations) felt emboldened and entitled knowing that OPP would take every measure to appease them and whatever their agenda was. There is no limit to what the government will do to appease them, despite what they’re doing is unlawful. So why not continue? (Interviewee #22 – non-Native activist)*

<sup>59</sup> Six Nations interviewees believe that the loss of revenue from Six Nations customers, who were angry or felt unwelcome in town, was the main reason the local businesses suffered (Interviewee #12 – Six Nations leader).

any Natives who would propose to recommence agitation. Finally, any attempts by Natives to “extort” money from local businesses as compensation for lost land rights should be met with quick arrests and imprisonment as appropriate. Strong non-Native supporters have struggled to a greater or lesser extent in making meaning of what the conflict was all about. One interviewee willingly admitted a lack of understanding to this day of why the conflict occurred in the first place (Interviewee #11 - non-Native activist). Others have seen the entire event as evidence of the historical “slurs” made of Native peoples that do not bear repeating here. The residents of Caledonia can be described as more of a “low context” culture that supports individualism, direct communication and differences in ways of thinking (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 169).

From this quadrant, we see a clash and a range of value systems in the Caledonia conflict particularly different cultural perspectives on one’s relationship to land. The Six Nations see not only a loss of land but, more importantly, a loss of identity that was grounded in their relationship to the land, and a lack of respect for their treaties which they view as a consistent behaviour by successive Canadian governments since 1784.

*“Canadians are good people if educated right. They would have understood us if they had the facts” (Interviewee #23 – Six Nations negotiator).*

Caledonians see land (i.e., the DCE site): illegally expropriated, which now endures as a community eye sore; and, attributed to ineffective federal and provincial governments.<sup>60</sup> One could also recognize the range of perspectives that existed on both sides of the Caledonia conflict during the discussions: from “You can’t change things when you don’t know the perpetrators. Let’s just get along. People will change talking with people they trust.” (Interviewee #9 - Haldimand County councilor) to “This is an issue all over Canada (not just Caledonia). Other

<sup>60</sup> There is an apparent irony here in that the Six Nations felt successive colonial and Canadian governments turned a blind eye to settlement on land they understood was for *“them and their posterity are to enjoy for ever”*. Now it is ancestors of those Settlers who feel obliged to accept land occupation/reclamation that they were unable to prevent because of perceived government inaction.

Native communities, people live in poverty. They will rise up if no solutions are brought to bear. They all need land. It explains their poverty. Without land, they will always be poor. It's inexcusable in a country as rich as Canada in terms of land and money. The principle of law doesn't look right but it doesn't mean excluding or hurting non-Native people. That's anger speak. It's not who we are. Two wrongs don't make a right." (Interviewee #23 - Six Nations negotiator).

There was a sense too of how all the views in each community tended to average out in actions taken and what controls were applied on individual behaviours. For example, interviewees on both sides mentioned the ways in which they dealt with "hotheads":

*Outsiders came with their own personalities, attitudes and version" of approaches to take [but] in the end Six Nations prevailed in the way they that they wanted to handle it (Interviewee #25 - Six Nations mental health counselor).*

*From the very beginning I made it public we weren't going to use racial slurs, we weren't going to use violence, nothing like that... (Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist).*

Meanwhile, there were those who felt outsiders should not be part of the process whatsoever. One interviewee observed that Mohawk warriors had stirred things up during the conflict and local Natives felt their process was high jacked. In this participant's view, residents of each community needed to address their own issues with local solutions. (Interviewee #6 – non-Native communications consultant).

In the Lower-Left quadrant we observe the worldviews of each stakeholder group as seen in their cultural values, beliefs and behaviours. Community factionalization among sub-cultures could be seen on both sides of the conflict. Within the Six Nations alone there were strong differences among the Elected Band Council, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and Clan Mothers, and the Men's Fire. There were also individuals within the Six Nations who disagreed quietly with their peers but kept their views to themselves for fear of a backlash. There were those in Caledonia who were relatively disinterested in the unfolding events because they were never inconvenienced by the events (e.g., they never had to drive around barricades). Some local town residents were merely curious and enjoyed picking up coffee at the adjacent Tim Horton's and come by the rallies and protests "to watch the show". Other residents remained quiet to avoid ruffling feathers in their identity groups (e.g., local church congregations). A few Caledonians chose to disagree with their peers openly through letters to local newspaper editors questioning the received wisdom of some of their activist peers. These individuals received strong verbal reprimands from some of their friends and relatives. Others who were upset with views suggesting a greater understanding for the Native position, chose to reply through anonymous editorials. Finally there was a group of 75-100 people in Caledonia that formed the Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality (CANACE), who felt that the entire issue was not only a black eye on the town's character but also a serious attack on the rule of law in Canada. In this complex mix, one sees how community compassion vs. scorn would nurture

*"When things don't affect them (Caledonia residents), they don't really care. When the roads were shut down, the community was wild. When they could roam freely, they didn't give two shits! It was different for people on the other side of town, than people on this side of town. The fairgrounds (located on the other side of the Grand River) were used for major rally when the roads were all closed. But once they were open, residents across the river were no longer affected or interested. Three-quarters of Caledonian didn't think anything else was going on." (Interviewee #11 – non-Native activist)*

(or not) the level of social cohesion within and between communities necessary to resolve conflict and seek reconciliation. Conflict narratives emerged and battled for recognition in the minds of the public over whose worldview (collectivist vs. individualist) and supporting discourse would prevail; and, whose charges (e.g., threats to the families of non-Native business people; “hit lists” of non-Native community members) would be accepted as the truth. Some stories were very compelling, while others seemed more questionable when you heard an account chronicled from the other side of the conflict.

Other complexities of human interaction were apparent during the interview process. Within the Six Nations one sees not only the issues around leadership and governance as highlighted above but also “the lack of jobs for young men trying to provide for their families” (Interviewee #21 - former Six Nations Elected Council Chief). The marginalized suffer most in asymmetric conflicts. For these people stress manifests in internal conflicts instead of supporting one another (McGuigan & Popp 2106, 227).

Part of culture is the rules that govern behaviours between its members as well as how outsiders are to be regarded and treated. In the process of co-existing over time, it is instructive to observe how some members of Caledonia and the Six Nations were regarded and treated by the other (e.g., hostility, contempt, distrust, competitiveness, non-entity, dismay, anger, confusion). We understand the importance of our own culture without necessarily being consciously aware of that sense of value. When that cultural norm is suddenly threatened, the preciousness of our day-to-day existence can trump most everything.<sup>61</sup> It can also leave deep scars after the fact. It is all driven by fear: fear of loss of a way of life deeply established in one’s own cultural framework be it grounded in economics, social connection, the environment, or

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<sup>61</sup> Caledonians experienced a need to gather and defend their rights with the advent of the occupation on Feb 27, 2006. The Six Nations experienced the same need when the OPP raided Kanohstaton on April 20, 2006.

some combination thereof. It is the model that tells us what is important in life and what to fight for. Both sides felt they had something extremely important at stake. It was about survival in its most base form: survival as individuals protected by their identity groups who they in turn must protect (Simmel 2011, 117).

Other social issues on-reserve discussed by interviewees included the impact of diminished parenting skills among adults who had been sent to residential schools as children. In some cases relatives and friends felt obliged to provide long-term childcare in order to sustain familial unity. It was not uncommon to speak with members of the community who had been cared for by extended family members, or adults who were currently caring for other people's children from the reserve. Residential schools also prevented the use of maternal languages in an attempt to dissolve cultural connections.<sup>62</sup> Only the languages of the Mohawk and Cayuga still maintain a relatively strong presence in the community. Residential schooling has also led to the loss of elder knowledge. All these experiences altered each child's sense of his or her world and who they were (i.e., their collective identity).

All these contexts have causative effects, and solutions to challenges created in those settings can be seen in such discussions as the Six Nations Elected Council negotiations with local business and provincial government development (e.g., Empire Homes residential development, Samsung alternative energy sites).<sup>63</sup> Other Six Nations initiatives include various family and community supports (e.g., mental health programs, community ads supporting healthy lifestyles; addiction support groups, an on-reserve culturally focused post-secondary institution).

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<sup>62</sup> The Residential School system operated on the intent that once fully assimilated, "all the Indian there is in the race should be dead." (Nock 1988, 5).

<sup>63</sup> The Haudenosaunee Confederacy is seeking arrangements to add to their land base, as well as recognition for a share of the revenue streams generated by some negotiations and actually receiving it in some cases. Some non-Native locals have viewed the whole situation as "blatant extortion".

The Six Nations have also developed elementary immersion programs on reserve in Mohawk and Cayuga.

In the words of a Native negotiator, in an effort to “change things up”, the Six Nations have also undertaken to “press the reset button” on the land claims process. According to this negotiator, the Six Nations have been clear that the previous model for negotiations was unworkable, in part because it called for the extinguishment of Aboriginal rights. The current federal government is looking at a working group to discuss self-government principles and the law program at the University of Toronto is investing resources to study such principles on behalf of the Six Nations. In 2017, work is ongoing with a mediator/facilitator to develop a framework for negotiation between the Six Nations and provincial and federal governments.

Based on interviews with the Six Nations community, some of its members may lack an anchor to support themselves and their culture. Reserve life tends to leave some people in a holding pattern without support in reconnecting with their lost way of life. Grief continues in the minds of individuals and their collective culture. But not all Six Nations members are on the same page. While some hold to the old ways, others are more inclined to change. Regardless of each Native’s perspective, there is a need for a way to “honour and support” peoples with involutory<sup>64</sup> worldviews on their developmental journey. This requires a new way of understanding the impact of contact and an approach using “a cultural evolutionary perspective of history” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 167). History suggests that colonization has strongly impacted (some would say traumatized) many members of the Six Nations community and slowed, or even frozen, the development of Native awareness and consciousness over many

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<sup>64</sup> Whereas evolution is often described in terms of growth expansion and progress (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 144), involution can be understood as a complementary view to evolution, one that values and focuses upon integration and inward growth, and that nurtures a connection with the natural world (Edwards 2002, 23).

generations (Volkan 1997,43-44). The continued impact of harm suggests the effects of contact are not done and that the conflict is therefore, not complete.

#### *UPPER-RIGHT QUADRANT ANALYSIS*

This where we learn about human behaviour as well as body and mind aspects of conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 181). In particular, we will look at views around residential schools, communications and conflict resolution skills, observable behaviour (rational or emotional), physical health and threats to identity.

At least one non-Native interviewee considered that “residential school” issue to be a ploy for sympathy by generating guilt among the non-Native population in Canada (Interviewee #22 – non-Native activist).

*“Much of the dysfunction observed on the Six Nations reserve can be traced back directly to the attempts and assimilation and cultural genocide perpetrated by the government.”  
(Interviewee #25 - Six Nations mental health counselor)*

Meanwhile Native communities viewed this period in Canadian history an attempt at genocide. A commonly held view of the Canadian residential school system is that it disrupted the development of individual identities. This could be observed from a social perspective in the Lower-Right quadrant as cultural relationships were impacted through the use of English over Native languages (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 183) and the denigration of traditional Native practices (RCAP Vol. 3 1996, 265).

Communication and conflict resolution approaches were a factor in negotiations. One former Chief of the Six Nations Elected Council observed that any interested member of the Six Nations community could attend those negotiations implying the discussions were simply a free-for-all.

*“They should have identified skilled negotiators from the Six Nations to sit in a room with government negotiators and not come out until they had fashioned a deal.” (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief)*

Discussions were derailed more than once by actions at the barricades. Government negotiators would leave the discussions until matters cooled down. Federal representatives were in a difficult position from the beginning in 2006.<sup>65</sup> In particular, it appeared that the chief negotiator had no defined mandate to reach an agreement.<sup>66</sup> Federal negotiators could only listen to what residents of Caledonia and Six Nations people conveyed to them at each meeting, then share what they had learned with political leaders in Ottawa. They could not rely on a “third party neutral” facilitator to manage the process and create safe spaces to vent for angry and frustrated people from both communities.

A variety of efforts to find solutions were undertaken outside of negotiations. One impediment to moving discussions forward may have been a feeling from Natives that government negotiators and some

*“Multiple ‘therapy sessions’ solved nothing as the [Six Nations representatives] repeatedly went over old ground.” (Interviewee #1 - non-Native development financier)*

non-Natives were listening but not hearing (i.e., not acknowledging what was being said, questioning the accuracy of statements made, or minimizing the significance of those statements). Ultimately, the intended message from Native negotiators and misinterpretation thereof by non-Natives may have been a source of conflict based on a lack of relationship building, as well as preconceived expectations (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 189).

Emotions ran high on both sides of the conflict and for some those emotions linger to this day. For example, certain Haldimand County council members made statements that some

<sup>65</sup> Provincial representatives were described as observers only. A former Chief of the Six Nations Elected Council questioned the limited role of the province given that it had subsumed the Haldimand Tract into its land registry (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief).

<sup>66</sup> According to a former Chief of the Six Nations Elected Council, one offer of 26 million to compensate for land flooded for the Welland canal was provided in pencil on a document with no government letterhead. When asked how the number was calculated, no explanation was given. When an economist at the University of Toronto provided a separate estimate of just over one billion dollars, the Six Nations questioned the accuracy of the federal offer (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Councilor).

people felt were inflammatory and counterproductive.<sup>67</sup> Reason is often seen as the only appropriate way to deal with conflict but it's always the emotions that show up first in human relationships. Since emotions form part of our autonomic nervous system, we may be unaware of their impact on our thoughts and behaviours, but they are there just the same in sizing up any new relationship interaction or decision-making process. Emotions are common across cultures but are expressed according to social norms (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 191). They are also important in the understanding and definition of conflict. They exist and influence our behaviour and decisions to one degree or other, whether or not they are displayed.

Awareness of emotions is very important to discern early and accurately. Not being aware can result in relational damage being done and violence may erupt when emotions overwhelm someone. Physiologically, emotions are triggered when the amygdalae overrides the pre-frontal cortex (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 192).

Thus emotions need to be managed and adversaries in a conflict must pay attention to their existence and their underlying message (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 194). Well-managed forums are an important part of mediated solutions because they meet fundamental human needs for security, recognition and agency. Dealing with emotions early in the process allows participants to move forward because, once they feel

*Racism existed as an undercurrent in the community. Hockey fights were common between Native and non-Native teams. There was a small percentage who had lack of respect for law and people on both sides. Natives would pull out a Band card to avoid [federal] tax but there was a lack of education by federal governments on the rights of Natives. Agitators (non-Native) wanted to stir these beliefs and would hit golf balls (at the Natives). These situations, and the need to survive (i.e., support their families) brought out the worst in people.” (Interviewee #5 – retired police official)*

<sup>67</sup> It was suggested by one retired police supervisor directly involved in the conflict that these statements may have been made to engage other levels of government to take decisive action in order to return the community to their view of normalcy (Interviewee #5 – retired police official).

their views have been acknowledged, they can think beyond their grievances to consider solutions. It can also reduce the opportunity for situations to quickly disintegrate (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 193).

The most prevalent emotion running through everyone's mind (i.e., politicians, bureaucrats, negotiators, police, and court judges along with residents of Caledonia and members of the Six Nations) may have been fear: fear of losing control, resources and respect. It most often showed up as anger but could also have manifested itself in sadness, guilt or shame: emotions that some members of each side readily attributed to the Other (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 193). Meanwhile anger can be a cover, not only for fear but also loss, grief and hostility (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 194). Actions and observation of behaviours by front-line protestors (including site occupiers, counter-protestors, and "outsider" activists on both sides of the conflict) were observed in: yelling matches, punch outs, rock throwing, threats, assaults directed at both civilians and police; and, damage to property, including camera equipment and vehicles—both civilian and police. Such events were documented and shared by non-Native activists and the (some would say "biased") local media (e.g., newspapers – on-reserve and off-reserve, television stations, radio hosts).<sup>68</sup> Examples of media coverage that disturbed some members of one or the other camps included the repeated use of photo shots of burning tires, Six Nations' ATVs driving around the neighbourhood, Haudenosaunee flags, and, a Mohawk man throwing bread at a crowd of non-Natives.<sup>69</sup> Such images remained in media articles up to three years after

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<sup>68</sup> A retired police supervisor expressed frustration: "The confrontation did not involve or upset as many people in the community as the media led the public to believe...if you were a framer (or the parent of one), it definitely affected you...otherwise, not so much...meanwhile the media had a field day portraying Caledonia as a basket case of social upheaval, crime and disintegration" (Interviewee #5 – retired police official).

<sup>69</sup> A Six Nations council representative observed this event involving a young girl throwing the bread into "no-mans-land" between the protesting groups. It was seen as a direct insult to Native culture on a date set aside each year to celebrate the Six Nations community through a sharing of bread and cheese (Interviewee #12 – Six Nations leader).

the conflict subsided, along with the negative interpretation thereof. Local businesses and municipal councilors considered the coverage both unfair and detrimental to the economy of the town.

Some non-Native interviewees who were upset and angry with the Six Nations, or who felt betrayed by their so-called Native friends, said things such as:

*"The U.S. would have called in the National Guard and that would have been the end of it...I'm sympathetic to the problems Natives have faced in the past but life is about winners and losers"*  
(Interviewee #2 - non-Native businessperson).

*"The world today is full of children suffering unspeakable harm. If those Natives feel they've been wronged, they need to get in line [referring to the experience of Native children in residential schools]"*  
(Interviewee #22 - non-Native activist).

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On the other hand, Galtung sees a basis for human values creating a road to positive peace and social justice in the midst of such a conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 186; Galtung 1969, 190). A small number of interviewees shared this view of a positive, shared tomorrow through continuing contact through regular events and community dialogue groups. In this vein, there were ongoing efforts by local leaders and members of the non-Native to engage in dialogue with the Six Nations. For example, a prominent business person in Caledonia spent a great deal of time to understand the perspective of the Six Nations community even seeking permission to attend a day long meeting on-reserve where they discussed issues about the conflict and how to address them.<sup>70</sup> Another example is portrayed in a Caledonia resident who was relatively new to the community who began chatting with activists on a barricade near her home while she was out walking her dog each morning. This evolved into her participation in local meetings designed to better understand the grievances in the Native community. She eventually took on a leadership role in these meetings and began working with provincial officials to build greater understanding with the Six Nations people.

Threats to identity (e.g., environment, relationships, autonomy) were apparent on both sides of the conflict. While residents of Caledonia were upset by: the impact the conflict was having on their ability to influence events in their community; relationships divided by the events; and, their ability to move freely in town—the Six Nations had similar feelings albeit with a longer view of time in terms of how Settler communities had affected their environment, relationships and autonomy (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 197). They see related impacts manifested

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<sup>70</sup> The meeting was held largely in Native languages with regular summaries in English to explain the direction of the discussion. The businessperson noted that this felt uncomfortable given his lack of the knowledge of the local language. He wondered how much of the discussion included matters about him personally, or issues the Native speakers did not wish to share with him (Interviewee #1- non-Native development financier). Depending on one's perspective on the historical relationships between the Six Nations and federal governments this could appear to be: simply an ironic turnaround in treatment of Natives during English only meetings and documents dating back to 1784; or, a calculated message on the part of the Native hosts.

in some of the conditions observed and experienced on the Six Nations reserve, including physical (e.g., drugs, alcohol) and mental health issues, as in the case of many other First Nations communities in Canada (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 196).

To summarize, one can describe social mediation as a function of language, technological tools and social activity. Social activities impact on individuals both cognitively and in terms of their identity. Language and communications when guided by a dominant culture plays havoc with individual and cultural development. It not only distorts consciousness but also learning and behaviour as evidenced by the impact of the Residential School system on First Nations children in Canada (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 183-184). One sees from the perspective of this quadrant how skill in negotiation requires an ability and an understanding of complex thinking (and therefore meaning-making). It also demonstrates the importance of understanding the degree of complex thinking brought to the table by all parties (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 189). When negotiators are dealing with conflict it appears that dealing with feelings early not only can provide the opportunity for people to feel heard, but also to avoid persistent venting which can be dysfunctional to a process (McGuigan & Popp BR 2106, 193). Lastly, the impact of drugs and alcohol on individuals and their development can be expected to impact on parties to a conflict and may inflame behaviour in protest situations (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 197-198).

### *LOWER-RIGHT QUADRANT ANALYSIS*

Here we study the collective social aspects (e.g., institutional behaviour) and some related theories of the conflict (i.e., social evolution and large-scale social systems) along with the nature and impact of structural inequality. The conflict will be discussed from a variety of perspectives including: governance configurations; legal structures, negotiation approaches and power arrangements; social and family structures; access to resources and institutions; and structural inequality. We also see the efforts of many institutions to understand and connect with Six Nations members followed by some general analysis.

#### Governance

While Caledonia is administered by a municipal council, under oversight of the Ontario provincial government, the Six Nations is governed through a complex relationship of elected and traditional (Confederacy Chiefs and Clan Mothers) councils. The Six Nations Elected Council is, in turn, governed under the Indian Act by the Canadian federal government.<sup>71</sup> The division of

*“All of the issues you mentioned came into play at various times and we all learned more about native rights and the rule of law. But we also learned why this issue is so unlikely to reach a settlement in our lifetime: the Six Nations people have a cultural adversity to voting. They actively discourage voting in elections and get a ridiculously low turnout for even Chief and Council elections. As such they have no agreed-upon voice, which leads to a you-don't-represent-me attitude toward both elected councils and Confederacy councils (and, during the protest, that extended to many of those involved in the protest) that ensures there can never be consensus. Compare that to Six Nations' neighbour, the Mississaugas of the New Credit who negotiated a land claim with the government, educated the community about it, took a vote, signed a deal and got cheques for every community member”*  
(Interviewee #17- non-Native journalist).

<sup>71</sup> Since the creation of the Six Nations Elected Council in 1924 relationships between the elected and traditional councils have always been difficult to a greater or lesser degree. Factionalism within the Confederacy has made communication with the Elected Council more challenging since 2006 (Interviewee #24 - Caledonian married to a Native): factionalism borne of an apparent power struggle among strong personalities within the Confederacy.

federal-provincial jurisdiction was an early stumbling block for addressing the 2006 conflict as each level of government insisted that the other jurisdiction was responsible for a solution, creating a good deal of frustration and anger for both Caledonians and the Six Nations. Caledonians were looking to each level to government to deal with the occupation in a forceful manner (e.g., police or military resources) while the Six Nations were expecting each level of government to come to the negotiating table and settle their part of the numerous territorial issues that had remained in the court system for years.<sup>72</sup>

*“There is a shared conspiracy between the police the government not to tell the truth of the unequal application of the law in this province. Police officers were hand-picked. Only those trained in cultural and spiritual practices could do it. And it’s the politicians who are behind this control in the selection and behaviour of police officers. The OPP has been political for years and there is nothing wrong with the government telling the police force, ‘we want you to be hard on terrorists’” (Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist)*

Provincial government - police relations was a further source of frustration as some Caledonia residents believed the police were being told how to behave through their senior cadre and to turn a blind eye to Native “mischief.” It may be that delays in addressing the matter of jurisdiction previously mentioned contributed to the manner in which the conflict unraveled and quickly gained momentum. It may also have become ever more difficult for negotiations with the Six Nations to be effective. Respect was a common theme among interviews with the Six Nations (e.g., land, culture, treaties) and the delays manifested in jurisdictional disagreements spoke to a lack

*[“We] needed to coach Ontario government. They didn’t seem to “get it” in terms of where the conflict was occurring geographically and how it was unique in terms of its proximity to an urban area and risk to a relatively large populace (e.g., Canadian Tire, Notre Dame separate school, residential development). [Members of the Caledonia Citizens Alliance] met with provincial government. Government officials then called to request a tour of the community in a shaded car” (Interviewee #1- non-Native development financier).*

<sup>72</sup> “Both sides want to settle but on their own terms” (Interviewee #10 - non-Native journalist).

of respect for its members. An additional confounding factor to Six Nations decision-making was a deep-rooted distrust of authority grounded in past allegations of mistreatment by successive government administrations and policing agencies.<sup>73</sup> This attitude is evident to this day in the very low turnout achieved for elected council voting or public meetings on the reserve. It may also have been a factor in how open Six Nations negotiators were to believing or accepting any information provided by their government counterparts.

The band council governance structure of the Six Nations was enacted by the federal government in 1924. The new governance structure was condemned by the Confederacy as an attempt by the federal government to silence the Haudenosaunee leadership that were asking difficult questions as to where funding was being directed away from the Six Nations community. Allegations have been made about funding (DeVries 2011, 3) being directed to: a turnpike project in Montreal; the construction of Osgoode Hall; and, funding for a failed Grand River navigation project. Some non-Natives with whom I spoke maintain that the reason for the band council structure was to place some controls on how funding was distributed within the Six Nations because of allegations that the leadership was misappropriating money for themselves and their supporters. Meanwhile, as previously mentioned, there exists an ongoing divide in communication between the Six Nations Elected Council and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy—traditional Chiefs and Clan Mothers—and other offshoot groups (e.g., Mohawk Warriors, Men’s Fire).

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<sup>73</sup> For example, it was the RCMP that removed the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council and enforced the implementation of the Six Nations Elected Council in 1924 (DeVries 2011, 3).

Legal structures, rules of negotiation and power arrangements

Underlying much of the Six Nations action were long outstanding questions about the: accuracy and interpretation of historical records by federal government; accounting for Native funding and missing ledgers; and, the accuracy of non-Native written history.<sup>74</sup> In addition, the Six Nations have always questioned the legal authority of federal governments to create crown land out of the Haldimand Tract, then transfer it to the jurisdiction of provincial governments. Meanwhile the Six Nations have continually felt compelled to use Canadian courts<sup>75</sup> to address their rights when various attempts at negotiations proved ineffective to achieve their goals.

When the DCE was first occupied, land developers looked for assistance through the courts. Repeated judicial injunctions were sought to force the departure of the protestors, but without success. Police initially said they were waiting for negotiations to solve the problem but when they finally launched an unsuccessful assault on the site,<sup>76</sup> the protestors became more

***The Enduring Nature of the Written Word***

*“Though nothing guarantees acceptance of proffered meanings, producers of texts have more power than readers, and they at all times envision a project, whether to entertain, inform, or propagate a viewpoint; furthermore, contexts are ineradicable, existing always together with the author or the text rather than before or outside. Discourse analysis takes place within the larger sphere of social and cultural research, concerned as it is with ‘how discourses help to produce the very categories, facts and objects that they claim to describe’” (Foucault 1972, 49).*

<sup>74</sup> Some non-Native interviewees questioned the accuracy of Native oral history given how easy it would be for “facts” to “evolve” in their detail over time, but a Native interviewee suggested, “Just because it [history] was written down doesn’t mean it was ever true” (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor)

<sup>75</sup> Until 1960 it was illegal to represent a Native in the Canadian court system to support any claim (DeVries 2011, 3). “...the Indian Act made it illegal to raise funds “for the prosecution of any claim. The penalties for any organizer who persisted included fines and jail sentences” (RCAP Vol. 1 1996, 533).

<sup>76</sup> Who really ordered the assault and why they did so is another case of from which side of the debate you ask the question. One non-Native interviewee suggested that provincial politicians secretly ordered the police to attack the site while another believes that senior police management deliberately sent in a small group of poorly prepared officers as “sacrificial lambs” to prove that it would be inadvisable to use force to remove the protestors (Interviewee #14 – non-Native activist).

determined and emboldened to remain in place. Police, who were also routinely deployed to stand between Native and non-Native protestors, were observed to always line up facing the non-Natives. The message sent to the non-Native protestors was that the police were there to protect the Natives from harm, which understandably offended the non-Native protestors a great deal.)

How protestors and police viewed one another was critical to the level of conflict that arose on the barricades. But apart from the one attempt to remove the Native protestors by force, policing focused on keeping people and property safe while recording events for later prosecution (i.e., 24 arrests were made after the fact once the conflict had died down). The lack of immediate action infuriated many non-Native protestors who felt the police were unable or unwilling to undertake their responsibilities to the public. They perceived an indirect influence of politicians and the direction of senior OPP staff designed to avoid another incident like the death of Dudley George at Ipperwash that was still very fresh on the minds political and police authorities. Some of these non-Native protestors saw the police, their superiors and their “political masters” as weak and cowardly. One retired police official said police constantly felt they were in a no win situation in their role to keep the peace while some non-Native protestors saw them as often shirking their duties and indirectly controlled by politicians (Interviewee #7 – retired police superintendent) to “avoid upsetting the Indians” out of a sense of misplaced “white guilt” for mistreatment experienced by previous Native generations for which this generation of non-Natives is not responsible.

The federal tax-free status of on-reserve residents has been a source of frustration for some non-Natives and off-reserve businesses for two reasons. One, for non-Natives the idea that Natives should have the benefit of tax savings seems unfair in this day and age. Additionally, for off-reserve businesses, many non-Natives visit the Six Nations reserve for tax-free gas and

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cigarettes, making it very difficult for variety stores in Caledonia to make a living (Interviewee #7 - retired police superintendent). Tobacco is a major source of revenue for the Six Nations and has apparently made some Natives very wealthy (Interviewee #15 - provincial legislator). Underlying these frustrations is a lack of knowledge in the provincial education system over many generations to explain how and why such tax arrangements were arrived at (i.e., Natives negotiated those arrangements to the best of their ability as access to land they understood was provided to them for their continued use steadily shrank after 1784) (Interviewee #23 - Six Nations negotiator).

One unexpected impact on the Caledonia community (according to some Six Nations interviewees) was a serious loss in revenue to businesses in town due to a decline in shopping in town by Six Nations people. The Natives maintain that a combination of anger with town residents and a feeling of not being welcome by residents sent Six Nations shoppers to other urban hubs in the area (Interviewee #12 - Six Nations leader). Having said this, Haldimand County officials maintain the loss was a consequence of lost tourism resulting from the conflict for which they sought and received compensation from the provincial government (Interviewee #9 - Haldimand County councilor).

In this evolving social dynamic between Natives and non-Natives one sees the push and pull of power arrangements with each side attempting to establish their position through the legal system (courts, police), the political system (meetings between Caledonia residents and provincial officials, the specter of Ipperwash), tax laws (for which some, on both sides, benefit), and buying power (businesses in Caledonia that suffered to some degree for lack of Six Nations clientele). Their worldviews influenced how they each dealt with change (e.g., growing populations, changes in food production, evolving environments) and with conflict. Just as

individuals vary along lines of development, so do societies, which manifests in social organization (LR) and cultural worldview (LL) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 207), as well as behaviour and reaction therein.

The conflict was exacerbated by the power imbalance between government representatives/social institutions and Six Nations peoples. Having said this, effective policies need to bridge the distance between those representing economic, political and institutional interests (e.g., business people, government officials, police) and Native interests and their supporters (e.g., Six nations, environmentalists, unions). At this stage, historical memories and facts are unlikely to influence anyone's belief system easily. People on both sides bring their cultural values to any discussion and this provides the filter through which they hear all details of the Six Nations land claims (or "land rights" depending with whom one is talking). Those supporting non-Native interests likely see concerns such as economic development and jobs as key issues while the those supporting Native interests see the issues as land both as place and space to grow, along with a recognition of financial losses to First Nations dating back decades, as wells as recognition of outstanding treaty matters.

### Social and family structures

One can observe through this conflict, multiple perspectives based upon historical and oral recordkeeping.<sup>77</sup> Each perspective describes a singular context for the colonization of the territory identified for use by the Six Nations in 1784, when Traditional colonists came into contact with the Pre-traditional Six Nations. These Traditional colonists evolved into Modern Settler communities (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 166) and their development impacted the course of the Six Nations culture.<sup>78</sup> While the Six Nations Pre-traditional worldview (grounded in a hunter-gatherer existence and “involution” including integration with land and one another) suited their needs before contact, the new Settlers favoured evolution (e.g., expansion, exploitation) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 143). In the course of continuing contact, the Six Nations faced confusion, frustration and loss that some believe has manifested itself in violence, abuse, addiction and other health issues (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 166).

The people of Caledonia appear to be generally conservative in terms of their worldview with individualistic, rural/ small town values while the Six Nations seem more collectivist and traditional in their outlook. Having said this, some Six Nations members have chosen to live in Caledonia and some residents of Caledonia apparently made a distinction between off-reserve (good) Indians and on-reserve (bad) Indians over the years. One Six Nations interviewee who lived in Caledonia made a point of challenging such views whenever he encountered them among non-Native friends in town (Interviewee #18 – Six Nations law enforcement official).

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<sup>77</sup> Incomplete records (both government and Native) and pressure to accept the validity of written documents over oral history are a major challenge for Six Nations negotiators (Stevens 2013, 149).

<sup>78</sup> Individuals and groups holding a Pre-traditional perspective “ensure their survival through the social organization of strong kinship bond and their intimate knowledge of the natural world”. A Traditional viewpoint includes a heterosexual married family, respect for authority, service, self-sacrifice and strong religious beliefs coupled with a desire for a stable day-to-day existence. A Modern worldview is supported by reason, science, and progress (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 149).

During the conflict, Natives living in town were faced with hard attitudes and family divisions developed in some mixed marriages.

As previously discussed, this conflict appears to have been a difficult issue for local church congregations to support. An open attitude and balanced response to the events in 2006 was not generally apparent according to one Native

clergy who has recently convened meetings with over a dozen church leaders from the community in a process of teaching them about concepts that have been detrimental to First Nations such as “terra

*“I could not believe that people would not listen. There were no Natives in the church and people in the congregation don't seem to notice. The minister at the time was afraid of the Natives. It reflected the minister's upbringing” (Interviewee #13 – non-Native retiree).*

nullius” and the Doctrine of Discovery. In fact, only one church in the area sought to actively engage with the Six Nations community. The remaining congregations remained quiet during this difficult period. According to a retired OPP interviewee, repeated attempts by the police to engage the support of local clergy and their congregations failed (Interviewee #5 – retired police official). Further, these congregations asked that no police cruisers use church parking lots during their operations in the community. One congregation where I attended Sunday morning worship provided insight to this view. Faith groups are typically co-opted by the culture of which they are a part. This suggests that the belief systems that people accept are circumscribed by the broader cultural context of that community. This made for some uncomfortable discussions within this particular congregation. One couple with whom I spoke had just become members of the church and was interested in understanding more about the conflict. Their desire to learn was met with disdain by some of their fellow church members who saw the problem solely through a rule of law lens. From a different perspective, faith issues have had some impact on the Six Nations since contact because of divisiveness on the reserve created by Christian conversion.

The reserve is split among mainline Christians, followers of Handsome Lake (Christian influence), followers of The Great Law (traditional influence) and non-believers.

It is possible that negotiation behaviours were complicated by differing worldviews. Federal officials, guided by Western patterns of diplomacy, sought to establish a basis for negotiation with representatives from the Six Nations who were influenced by customary Native practice.<sup>79</sup> According to their tradition, any member of the Six Nations was invited to attend the procedures creating what seemed for some a “free for all” experience. One former Chief of the Six Nations Elected Council acknowledged a reversal in his thinking about who should have been at the table over the course of the negotiations. In particular he regretted the decision to allow the Confederacy to lead the discussions and wished they had identified professional negotiators to represent Six Nations interests and work out an agreement in a closed room (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief).

#### Access to resources and institutions

At least part of the conflict can be linked to a desire for land to develop, by both Haldimand County and the Six Nations reserve. With growing populations in both communities the need to build homes had been an increasing concern. The province’s Places to Grow / Greenbelt strategy, announced in 2006, supported local residential building. This plan worried the Six Nations with their court cases for land rights in limbo, and areas under claim continuing to be built upon. It was the DCE site that was the final straw for the young people who decided to occupy the construction site adjacent to their reserve in protest to lagging negotiations and

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<sup>79</sup> Early on in the conflict the Six Nations Elected Council agreed that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy would represent the community at the negotiation table. This decision was reversed when Elected Council determined that the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was making insufficient progress with the federal team (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief).

seemingly ineffective leadership on the Six Nations reserve.<sup>80</sup> They also believed the DCE site was part of a larger claim (i.e., the Hamilton – Port Dover Plank Road Claim). Their protest immediately became subject to Canadian law (and police action) despite continuing claims of the Haudenosaunee to being a sovereign people who never agreed to become part of Canada. As an aside, any

“The conflict was about respect and land. A Grand River Notification Agreement was established to create a basis for dialogue amongst the Six Nations and various levels of government, but since it only an agreement to inform, builders weren’t obliged to respond to Six Nations concerns. The boiling point came when yet another residential development site, that is, Douglas Creek Estates, was in the process of removing yet another parcel of land from active discussion and was going to be occupied by non-Native homes. Strategically, it was adjacent to the Six Nations reserve in full view of the Native community as it was being developed and therefore top of mind in the Native community’s psyche” (Interviewee #10 - non-Native journalist).

additions to reserve land in Canada is an extremely protracted process that is controlled by the Indian Act and normally requires many years to complete. Meanwhile, with split jurisdictions over lands in Canada, it is the provincial government who controls the land registry and policies on land development.

Media accounts were often seen as superficial or just plain inaccurate by interviewees on both sides of the conflict.<sup>81</sup> People who attended events wondered if journalists who covered those stories had actually been there, or perhaps were confused as to which event they had attended. This common experience underscores how many people with whom I spoke complained how the Other side had the story all wrong. We each see life’s experiences through our own eyes, which explains why eyewitness accounts can be so flawed. Books authored about

<sup>80</sup> One possible explanation for any delays in the negotiations is the consensus style of decision-making common in traditional First Nations communities. In addition, and for some time, there have been leadership vacancies in the Confederacy. It is the Clan Mothers who choose (or dehorn) the Chiefs of their Nations.

<sup>81</sup> “The mainstream press has portrayed a very negative image of all Six Nations people in their coverage of the reclamation. Reporters cut and edit people’s statements to fit their idea of the truth, often contributing to the fear and mistrust felt by many on ‘both sides of the line’” (Hill, 2009, 480).

the conflict by Christie Blatchford (*Helpless*) and Gary McHale (*Victory in the No Go Zone*) highlighted divisions among non-Natives. These books were written to make a case for inaction by governments and police throughout the period of the conflict. The views in McHale's book were further described in the many YouTube videos he produced attempting to provoke action by the OPP to make his point about a practice of "two-tier justice" in the community.<sup>82</sup> Some felt the accounts by Blatchford and McHale were entirely accurate portrayals of the events in Caledonia while others believed the details were poorly researched and suspect in their accuracy (i.e., based on hearsay). This example highlights earlier comments made about how we receive and interpret information based on our pre-conceived notions of reality.

### Structural Inequality

Structural inequality (or structural violence) looks at how a social system fails to meet the needs of some of its citizens (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 226). Such a society systematically favours one culture over another socially and economically through inequality, exploitation and the control of resources (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 219-220). Attitudes in Caledonia could be described by some as a dominant culture perspective on land, ownership and utilization, which is an aspect of structural inequality, valuing one perspective over another. That people were angry that the authorities didn't effectively storm the DCE site could also suggest structural oppression of the residents of Caledonia. From each community's perspective, the larger system (both provincial and national) functioned to deny some attributes to both Caledonian residents and the Six Nations people. For the residents of Caledonia, this denial was largely seen in the administration of justice: the "Two Tier" system of arrests and charging of non-Natives vs.

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<sup>82</sup> For example, see *Gary McHale arrests OPP officer in Caledonia*, accessed Jan 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jrk6XlqzEqc>.

Natives, as well as the refusal of police of politicians to uphold the law with the protestors on the DCE site. Another example is the “unfair tax free system enjoyed” by the Natives. Some non-Native interviewees told stories of Natives walking into stores and taking out merchandise without payment (Interviewee #2 – non-Native business person), as well as Natives laying on the hoods of non-Native cars with impunity (Interviewee #5 – retired police official). For the Six Nations, these attributes manifested in the relative advantage of non-Natives in education, social stability and financial success juxtaposed against centuries of perceived underfunding for Native education, child welfare, potable water systems and victims services which would manifest in negative impacts in a community. Similarly, seemingly innocent descriptions of the Six Nations as drunken or “fucking” Indians would be seen as systemic racism embedded in the daily conversation of the community. It was even accepted as normal conversation by some Natives who had grown up believing that was an accurate description of their own people. The attitude was seen as inconsequential, or simply a style of “casual” racism by some non-Natives when compared with the overt version observed in some American states.<sup>83</sup>

As land originally identified for use by the Six Nations in the Haldimand Tract slowly disappeared through a series of disputed sales and surrenders, the culture that was so closely tied to land began dissolving along with it. To this day land title disputes remain a complicated issue of connection and need: connection as a value, and need as space to accommodate the growing population of the reserve. As the Six Nations continue to seek title through various means including demands for archeological digs to demonstrate their past occupation of many disputed sites, some local non-Natives question the veracity of those demands. At the same time, the Six

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<sup>83</sup> “Prejudice was normalized in the community...wasn’t considered racism...white arrogance saw economic development and Six Nations were inferior and a throw back to the past...it was OK to “dis” Indians and not even think of it as racism, because everyone was doing it...that was the language” (Interviewee #3 – Six Nations journalist)

Nations question the purity of some of the digs where topsoil is alleged to have been removed prior to conducting archeological investigations of past land use by Natives (Interviewee #3 – Six Nations journalist).

Resistance to change against a more powerful culture may have seemed futile and the Residential School system was seen as further assisting in an assimilation process. As previously mentioned, with no access to courts or the Canadian voting system in earlier days (DeVries 2011, 3), along with laws against the assembly of more than three Native people, and a pass system requiring permission from an Indian agent to leave the reserve, attempts by the Six Nations to influence or direct their own lives seems to have been limited for many generations.

***Memories of Bad Meals***

*The residential school in Brantford, immediately north of the Six Nations Reserve was named the “mush hole” because of the quality of food served to the children there.*

Meanwhile many cultural practices were discouraged or prohibited and children grew up with a limited sense of their cultural roots while they watched their parents deal with their loss of cultural identity in dysfunctional ways (alcohol, drugs, suicide). Many of those children followed suit (as we all learn by modeling the values, attitudes and beliefs of our caregivers whether healthy or not). We are wired to imitate our caregivers as a survival mechanism. The Six Nations see further oppression continued with limited funding for education either in their residential school in Brantford, or on the reserve. To date, federal funding to regain past cultural losses remains unavailable and Native language immersion programs on-reserve are taken from regular monies provided to the Six Nations from Indigenous and Northern Affairs. (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor)

The degree to which the Six Nations are now welcome in Caledonia (e.g., in businesses, secondary school, churches, sports teams, volunteer organizations) has been a mixed experience.

Acceptance has been a combination of: economic need on the part of local businesses; a requirement for high school students to attend school off-reserve because no such institution is available on-reserve; and, a growing desire by some churches and volunteer groups to welcome Native members into their organizations. The one area of shared activity that has remained rife with hostility over the years has been children and youth sports. Many interviewees mentioned the hostility and racial slurs that were regularly uttered at hockey games in years gone by. Competition had been fierce with accusations by non-Natives that the Natives had to win at all costs (i.e., a “we have to beat ‘whitey’” attitude), which included adding overage “ringers” to their teams (Interviewee #2 – non-Native businessperson). Natives countered that they had a reputation for being tough competitors born of their experience playing lacrosse (a particularly rough sport that uses no body protection) that frightened the non-Native youth so much that they were “beat before they started.” (Interviewee #19 – young mixed-race adult from Caledonia) Once again we see competing narratives of “reality.”

In terms of education, the Six Nations have faced challenges in maintaining their language over the years (an important conduit for any group’s cultural knowledge) but, as previously mentioned, they have sought to develop and maintain programs that provide immersion instruction in both Mohawk and Cayuga (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor). At the secondary level, students are paid to attend school. Beyond the unfairness that some Caledonians see in this arrangement, some believe that these youth simply show to at school to sign in, then leave again. A bright light in the post-secondary education program is Six Nations Polytechnic, which provides students with traditional knowledge while preparing them for work in the local economy (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief).

Other factors at play in creating a healthy community are the level of drug and alcohol use on the reserve coupled with mental illness and abuse issues that have been often attributed to the impact of residential school experiences and the loss of culture and parenting skills (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 197). I met many Six Nations people with mixed households, often grandparents caring for grandchildren. The terms “aunt” or “uncle” is often used euphemistically for caregivers somewhat loosely related to their young charges. According to a Six Nations mental health counselor, it made for complicated relationships with the local Children’s Aid Society. Funding to rebuild the community socially has been considered an ongoing challenge for programs on-reserve including child welfare, mental health and addiction support (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor).

While one non-Native interviewee described the reserve as a “crack haven” (Interviewee #2 – non-Native business person), interviewees from the Six Nations did not mention issues with this particular drug. I did observe a lot of roadside signage on the reserve that was very focused on positive messaging and encouraging self-care in the community, for example:

**Healthy Six Nations: Six Points**  
*Exercise regularly*  
*Stop smoking*  
*Eat in a wise manner*  
*Keep your weight down*  
*Be a role model for your children*  
*Pass on your wisdom to your friends*

**Ganohkwasra**  
*Family Assault Support Services*  
*24 hours 7 days a week*

**The Journey Together**  
*Ontario’s commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous people*

*I’m making positive choices in my life for a positive community*

*Take the time to learn more about the Haudenosaunee history, culture and people*

*Let’s remember to treat each other with love and respect today*

### Initiatives to understand and connect with the Six Nations

At the same time as inter-group animosity grew, plateaued, then subsided, a number of ventures were initiated by Natives and non-Natives to seek to explain and understand the conflict.

One early community effort to seek understanding and find common ground between the Six Nations and Caledonia is the Neighbouring Communities Project (Six Nations & Caledonia Communities Document 2007). This citizen-driven initiative used an interview format to create a safe place for people to share their experiences and feelings about the conflict. In each case an interviewee met with two

*“Six Nations community members are now frequenting Caledonia to shop and eat. Caledonians have reached out to SN ... people baked cookies and students brought Xmas cookies and brought them to the DCE site...some business from Caledonia are advertising in Six Nations newspapers...businesses have invited the Six Nations to patronize their stores including flyers on their store windows...for example a Hagarville business encouraged the Six Nations to patronize their ice cream shop in this way (Interviewee #8 – Six Nations businessperson).*

interviewers (one Native, one non-Native). The interviewee would be interviewed by an interviewer that represented their own community, while the alternate interviewer would listen. After each interview the interviewers would summarize what they had learned. The learning continued in a larger forum where information from the interviews was shared and people could then discuss and comment what they have heard in smaller groups then report back to the plenary. The Neighbouring Communities Report was the result of this process. While the process was generally well received by the participants, some observed after the fact that those who attended the meetings were already predisposed to attend and learn. It left the majority of those who were angry about the conflict on both sides detached and unaffected by the initiative.

The largest event that continues to this day is the Pen Pal Project.<sup>84</sup> This initiative seems to leverage the best chance in society against bias if we can address related cultural change through our children. The project started at the time of the 2006 conflict between two elementary schools in the region: one Indigenous classroom on the Six Nations Reserve and one non-Indigenous classroom in Caledonia. At the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this project, 2300 Native and non-Native children participated in its annual gathering at Chiefswood Park on the Six Nations Reserve to share in culturally-informed activities. At this time Indspire<sup>85</sup> is conducting a research study on behalf of a local mental health clinic, Haldimand REACH,<sup>86</sup> to evaluate the impact this program has had on the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours the participants over the past decade.

Another example of seeking to understand is the Grandmothers Tea.<sup>87</sup> This monthly event was started by three Native women who were members of different faith congregations in the region. Its purpose was to explain and calm fears of church members in Caledonia on the meaning and intent of the Six Nations' actions. While focus of the group has evolved over time, the meeting continues to this day (Interviewee #13 – non-Native retiree).

A Six Nations initiative, “Nations Uniting”, designed to create understanding about the conflict, began in an empty church manse on the Reserve. Someone in the community saw an

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<sup>84</sup> Pen Pal Project between First Nations youth and non-First Nations youth inspires relationship and cultural sharing. . Accessed April 30, 2017. <http://penpalproject.ca>.

<sup>85</sup> Indspire is a charitable organization that is dedicated to raising funds to deliver programs that provide tools for indigenous peoples. Accessed April 30, 2017. <https://www.google.ca/search?q=Indspire&oq=Indspire&aqs=chrome..69i57j0l5.4920063j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>.

<sup>86</sup> Haldimand REACH promotes healthy communities through public education and prevention initiatives in collaboration with community partners. Accessed April 30, 2017. <https://www.google.ca/search?q=Haldimand+reach&oq=Haldimand+reach&aqs=chrome..69i57j0l5.9519j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>.

<sup>87</sup> The Grandmothers' Tea at Nations Uniting on the Six Nations land in southern Ontario brings Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal grandmothers together to build bridges between the two cultures. Accessed April 30, 2017. <https://www.facebook.com/UnitedChurchCda/posts/955303627828019>.

opportunity to create a meeting place for people both on and off reserve to meet and better understand the perspective of the other side of the conflict. I spoke with the current program coordinator who is also a former councilor of the Elected Band Council. This coordinator shared a variety of concerns about the shared future of the two populations but also believes “animosity between the communities is currently overblown by people with chips on their shoulders.” (Interviewee #20 – former Six Nations Elected Council member)

Cross-cultural invitations are extended each year to participate in off-reserve events like Canada Day and the Two Row on the Grand paddling festival,<sup>88</sup> along with reciprocal invitations to attend pow-wows on reserve. Sports initiatives have been reintroduced to the community (Six Nations people had pulled their kids from sports teams in Caledonia during the early days of the conflict). Lastly, one business initiative of note is the creation of the ProFit Health Club<sup>89</sup> on the Six Nations Reserve. It has become a popular gathering place for patrons on and off reserve and seen as another opportunity to bring members of the two communities together (Interviewee #4 – non-Native Caledonia resident).

### Other thoughts

Social groups react to conflict in their own ways, “which [are] both informed and constrained by, their structure and complexity” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 204). One could observe through the interviews how each participant’s values, attitudes and beliefs about “their”

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<sup>88</sup> Two Row on the Grand is a paddling festival hosted by the Six Nations on the Grand River. The purpose of Two Row on the Grand is to “re-polish the chain of friendship with non-aboriginal neighbours:” a Haudenosaunee healing paddle. The paddle offers educational events: cultural teachings, interactive dancing, storytelling, environmental concerns and sharing circles. Accessed April 30, 2017. <http://www.grandriverrafting.ca/two-row-grand-river-paddle>.

<sup>89</sup> Accessed April 30, 2017. <http://www.pro-fithealthclub.com/>.

facts of the conflict (and about their adversaries) framed their words and their meaning making processes. Not everyone was at the same level of development in their understanding of the conflict<sup>90</sup> but one can see how they have collectively created a social average of values, attitudes and beliefs within their respective communities and sub-communities (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 207-208). Among the examples of the impact of large-scale social systems, one could also observe how group cohesiveness was high when members shared common attitudes, values, needs, and goals (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 213). The life experiences that citizens brought to the territorial conflict and more importantly, how they made sense of those life experiences, influenced the level of knowledge, thinking style, along with their values, attitudes and beliefs, which in turn, influenced their behaviours<sup>91</sup> as individuals and as a group.

Conflicts within tight knit groups, such as tribes or bands, are treated as a serious threat to their cohesion and survival. So when conflict does occur it has a large impact on the social order (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 214). When the group is threatened by an outside force, internal issues are left aside as the group comes together protect itself as happened when the police came on the DCE site to arrest the protesters. Geography played a significant role in this conflict given that the location of the protest site was directly adjacent to the Six Nations reserve (the reserve was considered “off limits” for the police). The Six Nations had their share of internal squabbles but they were put aside during the conflict and the Six Nations Elected Council attempted to find common ground with the Confederacy in the negotiating process. As time passed and Confederacy wrangling and intractability stalled talks the Six Nations Elected Council became frustrated and took back control of the negotiation process. Also as the conflict subsided, internal

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<sup>90</sup> Each interviewee experienced the conflict from their own perspective, belief structure, which influenced their emotional reactions and behaviour during the conflict.

<sup>91</sup> Social systems influence our behaviors (UR quadrant). The same holds for our values and internal sense of meaning (UL quadrant)” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 221).

bickering on the reserve was seen to return to its old prominence in the social fabric of the reserve. Over the long-term though, the fight with the federal government has helped to keep the level of social cohesion high on the reserve even as people go about their daily routine. Conflict appears to have served the Six Nations by encouraging the creation of new “institutions, technologies and economic systems” (e.g., Six Nations Polytechnic, a recreation complex and seniors/childcare centre, a fire station, a paramedic station, a tobacco industry) and “foster innovation and change” (e.g., Indigenous herb garden, recording studio, tourism centre) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 214).

As youth on the Six Nations reserve grew into their adult lives they learned their cultural values, attitudes and beliefs. While the Elected and Confederacy councils seemed hamstrung by Canadian government intransigence and on-reserve governance conflicts, these young people felt they needed to take on a leadership role because the formal leadership also appeared mired in inter-group or intra-group animosity. In other words, the conflict didn't materialize out of thin air. It was grounded in a deep sense of injustice of which Caledonian residents were largely unaware and for which they therefore felt understandably blindsided and, for some, deeply betrayed. It would appear that the Six Nations have always had a low profile in Caledonia. A lack of an ongoing relationship, and therefore understanding, between municipal council and Six Nations Elected Council prior to the occupation/reclamation may also have been a factor in the conflict.

The worldviews of opposing groups are infused with their own values (McGuigan & Popp BR 2106, 224). For example, land takes on a different meaning when viewed from a Western perspective of Crown/private ownership vs. Native peoples who feel “owned by the

land” (i.e., land use vs. land care). Those holding a Traditionalist worldview<sup>92</sup> are not pre-disposed to accept the Postmodernist’s<sup>93</sup> focus on human needs through equality and social justice. We thus are challenged in finding common language with which to discuss our differences but also the ability of others to understand the complexity of our own perspective on life (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 225). Some members of various non-Native stakeholder groups hold a Modernist worldview with faith in the accuracy of land transfer records and the rule of law even though recent negotiations have revealed the problems with some historical decisions (e.g., the Native land flooded to create the Welland Canal). A Self-authoring mindset is needed to look beyond the circumstances that some non-Natives may take for granted (e.g., education, income, health), and that may impact Native ability to come to the negotiating table as fully functioning participants (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 228). But even if there is an intention to overhaul the social system entirely, there remains the risk of recreating the wheel because changes are guided by old ways of thinking, and changes grounded in old worldviews and related cultural values may not be questioned or challenged (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 227).

Differing values, abilities and preferences between Caledonian and Six Nations residents helped fuel the conflict. But, the Caledonia territorial conflict is as much about the substantive problems of multiple interests accessing a diminishing land resource and a concomitant degradation of those properties as it is about a struggle between worldviews, evolution, and involution (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 172). When seen as a disagreement of cultures and worldviews between the residents of Caledonia and the Six Nations, instead of a logical debate fashioned through positions and interests, communications have a tendency to become instinctive

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<sup>92</sup> Characterized by a “faith in a higher order, black-and-white sense of morality, self-sacrifice for the sake of the group” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 151).

<sup>93</sup> Described in terms of the “birth of environmentalism, multiculturalism, and a new spiritual sensitivity (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 151).

and irrational. This is because those disagreements threaten the identity needs<sup>94</sup> and values of those involved (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 169). The conflict also highlights the impact of worldviews that do not recognize and incorporate the useful “values, abilities, and preferences of previous worldviews” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 172). Examples would be: the preservation of flora and fauna; the knowledge of the medicinal qualities of plant life; the value of caring for one another in a collective; or, the governance structure of the historic inhabitants.

The challenge for all those who feel victimized on both sides of the conflict is in recognizing the value in developing a compassionate grieving process to acknowledge and accept their losses (e.g., a “remembrance formation”) (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 171; Montville, 1993, 119). Not doing so leaves individuals and groups emotionally frustrated or broken. For some residents of Caledonia, this may manifest in latent racism shared with their children. For the Six Nations, past trauma is shared with new generations that carry a grudge toward the dominant society and unable to move on or develop as complete fully-functioning human beings (Volkan 1987, 925).<sup>95</sup> Members of a dominated group are left unable to form effective relationships with the dominant group in perpetuity. It may be that some members of the Six Nations have to come to terms with losses they can never recover; found a way to grieve that loss in a healthy manner; and, move on to a more positive future while continuing to engage the Settler communities in the area. In the meantime, it leaves one to wonder what the impact of unresolved grief might be having on the social cohesion and long-term effectiveness of the communities of Caledonia and the Six Nations.

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<sup>94</sup> “The complexity and evolution of the context defines identity, the need, and the need’s satisfier.” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 163)

<sup>95</sup> A similar resentment may be carried by the children of the dominant culture toward Natives who have caused physical or emotional distress particularly those who may have held unfavourable views of the Native community prior to the conflict in 2006.

As one observes the consequences of land claims processes, one sees the way in which the relationship has been fashioned and has evolved between the Elected Band Council and the Confederacy, and the mood of the residents of Caledonia before and after the 2006 conflict. The Caledonia conflict is molded within issues about the meaning of land, land ownership<sup>96</sup> and development<sup>97</sup>, diminishing land availability, as well as the fears of multiple interest groups within and between the Six Nations and the residents of Caledonia (e.g., Six Nations vs. land developers; Six Nations vs. federal and provincial governments; Six Nations Elected Council vs. the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; Native vs. non-Native protestors).

The Left-Hand vs. Right-Hand Perspective comparison in this chapter discussed how individuals and groups made meaning of the conflict grounded in their own identity perspectives (Left-Hand), and how those same individuals were seen to act out those meanings both on the barricades and in the media. Governments, the justice system and the media were all seen to have failed the protagonists in the conflict by not neither respecting nor upholding each sides view of reality as these institutions each attempted to undertake their responsibilities to the satisfaction of their respective masters (Right-Hand).<sup>98</sup> In the Upper-Left quadrant, we saw how Natives and non-Natives felt betrayed by their “so-called” friends who sided with their own identity group in face of the conflict. We also learned how meaning-making is influenced by the level of complexity in mindset shown by the interviewee. While Instrumental thinkers saw black and

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<sup>96</sup> Caledonia residents tended to believe that ownership issues in the province had been sorted out long ago (e.g., “the 999 lease is a Res myth”) (Interviewee #2 – non-Native businessperson) and don’t understand how any issues with Six Nations territorial conflicts should still exist.

<sup>97</sup> The Ontario *Places to Grow Act* helped to trigger the conflict. Six Nations members worried that development would swallow up land under claim before these issues could ever be resolved (Simpson 2012, 66).

<sup>98</sup> In each case, the leadership of these organizations were ultimately attempting to interpret the needs of the local population as they best understood the collective values, attitudes and beliefs thereof within the often unstated, but understood to be authorized, framework of their respective institutions. In other words, they were all attempting to “answer to the people.”

white solutions to the Caledonia conflict (e.g., swift and robust law enforcement), Socialized actors wished to play down the impacts of the events and “wish” things back to normal.

Individuals with a Self-authoring mindset were willing to listen spend time engaging others in discussion to understand motivations and seek solutions (e.g., convening community meetings to allow all points of view to be aired for the purpose of learning and moving forward).

In the Lower-Left quadrant we looked at how structural barriers impacted the cultural continuity of the Six Nations in terms of evolving needs, satisfiers and meaning making; and, their high context cultures. At the same time, we saw how residents of Caledonia felt seriously blind-sided by the occupation of DCE and felt abandoned at some level by all institutions they believed should have quickly recognized and addressed their concerns (e.g., removing barricades, arresting Natives and making things right for all those who had been harmed by the events surrounding the conflict). Instead, what they experienced was a reluctance among the authorities to take action; “two-tier” justice with the OPP; and, biased media coverage.

In the Upper-Right quadrant we discussed human behaviour as well as body and mind aspects of conflict. In particular, we looked at views around residential schools, communications and conflict resolution skills, observable behaviour (rational or emotional), physical health and threats to identity. There were non-Natives who believed that residential schools were not anywhere near as bad an experience as Natives made them out to be, while Natives viewed them as nothing short of an instrument of cultural destruction. Efforts to communicate and resolve conflict appear to have been ineffective on the barricades and at the negotiation table for lack of strong leadership to either mediate or facilitate structured, respectful and safe dialogue. Emotions therefore ran high (some would say dangerously so) which seems to have been the major concern of politicians and the OPP in their approach to addressing the conflict. Community dialogue

initiatives were successful to the extent they informed people already of a mindset to listen, but the reach of these discussions seem to have been limited and characterized as “preaching to the choir.” Meanwhile media coverage was observed as largely inflammatory and ill-informed. In the midst of the acrimony, there were those on both sides that observed a loss of clearheaded influence over their community, which they saw manifested both in the verbal and physical assaults perpetrated against one another in the immediacy of the conflict, as well as in the more hidden and longer standing effects of drugs, alcohol and domestic violence most apparent on-reserve.

Finally, in the Lower-Right quadrant we studied the collective social aspects (e.g., institutional behaviour) and some related theories of the conflict (i.e., social evolution and large-scale social systems) along with the nature and impact of structural inequality. The conflict was discussed from a variety of perspectives including: governance configurations; legal structures, negotiation approaches and power arrangements; social and family structures; access to resources and institutions; and structural inequality. We also discussed the efforts of many institutions to understand and connect with Six Nations people. The chapter concluded with some general analysis. We now move on to consider what can be learned from this data and look at some of the proposed solutions offered by study participants.

## CHAPTER 6 - LEARNINGS AND REFLECTIONS

Instead of discovering a clear difference in opinion between the communities of Caledonia and the Six Nations there were actually four defined categories that could be described, along with influencing roles/characteristics within those groups, as follows:

- 1) Strong supporters of Native rights (7) including leaders, a negotiator, an activist, a law enforcement official, and a businessperson (all from the Six Nations), along with a non-Native journalist working for a reserve newspaper.
- 2) Sympathetic supporters of Native rights (7) including journalists, a union representative, a provincial legislator and some participants that were significantly influenced by mixed (Native – non-Native) marriages.
- 3) Sympathetic supporters of non-Native rights (4) including law enforcement officials, a provincial legislator, and a businessperson).
- 4) Strong supporters of non-Native rights (6) including activists, a municipal councilor, a businessperson, and a communications consultant).

It is interesting to note that every interviewee agreed that the Six Nations had experienced mistreatment by past governments. Where they disagreed was: how much of an impact that mistreatment had on the Native community over the centuries; how much Natives needed to accept their circumstances today as self-inflicted; how the Natives should have handled any justifiable issues they had with governments; and, what solutions were required for Natives and non-Natives to live in harmony.

Strong supporters in groups 1 and 4 tended to feel most victimized by the system. They were inclined to see politicians and/or police as having failed them. For non-Natives, this sentiment was experienced in the immediacy of the 2006 conflict. The general view of this group

was that community relationships were harmonious prior to the conflict and could have been returned to normal had legislators and law enforcement acted quickly and decisively on the first day of the occupation. For them, the problems were caused by a handful of Natives seen either as misguided and ill-informed of the status of land claims in the region, or as opportunists preying upon “white guilt” to extort land from Canadians rather than engaging as regular citizens in the local economy. More specifically, some saw Native claims as baseless and grounded in historical myth while others viewed the DCE occupation as part of a deliberate strategy to endlessly assert ownership over land title; or, simply ask for large amounts of money to see how much they could get from the government. They also commonly believed that money would never find its way to the people on the reserve. An example of this belief is reflected in the cliché, “the Chief’s driveway is always paved.” Meanwhile, strong Native supporters viewed the failure of governments and law enforcement as dating back to 1784. They also felt betrayed by the attempted raid on the Kanonhstaton site early in the occupation (they believed they had an understanding with the OPP that no attempt to remove the protestors without prior warning) (DeVries 2011, 10). Both groups tended to seek solutions through the court and prosecution processes. This is where Instrumental attitudes and behaviour were observed as most prevalent.

Sympathetic supporters in groups 2 and 3 seemed to share a more complex understanding of the conflict and were able to see that each side had a valid case, while still harbouring concerns with some attitudes and behaviours on each side of the barricades. All but one of this group were non-Native (the exception was a young adult from a mixed marriage). People within this group sought solutions by seeking to understand through discussion and shared projects (both social and construction-related). Here there was a tendency toward more of a Self-authoring mindset. Those supporting the non-Native perspective (focusing on the rule of law)

had a more difficult time making meaning of the Native outlook though they all worked very hard in their roles to find a solution that would bring harmony to the situation. Those supporting Natives seemed more aware of the details of the issues surrounding the conflict and to believe Natives had suffered historically from structural oppression and multi-generational trauma that left some frozen in time and others struggling to improve their lives.<sup>99</sup>

In learning from each side of the conflict, it became clear that the most impassioned individuals saw land as a place for current and future generations to grow and neither wanted to let go of their version of history, or of the best way forward. But this conflict is no more than just being about land than marital disputes are “just about the laundry.” It’s about different traditional worldviews and how they will guide the future (i.e., a predisposition toward economic development contrasted with cultural connection and environmental protection). On one hand there were those (e.g., politicians, developers, businesses) who saw the *Places to Grow Act* as a positive step forward in terms of economic benefits for the entire region. When this vision was challenged with Haudenosaunee symbols (i.e., flags) erected on the DCE site, the Canadian flag became an important symbol of solidarity for the non-Native activists grounded in their Canadian values, attitudes and beliefs about what it means to be a citizen and the importance of respecting the rule of law. Then there was the discursive battle (i.e., whose discourse would prevail). For example, Native protestors renamed the DCE site, “Kanonhstaton” (the protected place). In the media, Confederacy supporters referred to their land “rights” rather than land “claims” (i.e., Haudenosaunee ownership of 29 sites in the region was never in question in the minds of the Native activists).

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<sup>99</sup> Our values, attitudes, beliefs and related behaviours are all taught to us from an early age as true and appropriate. Questioning and changing those touchstones as adults (whether Native or non-Native) requires awareness and is a difficult task that many prefer not to consider.

There was also the battle over whose truth should prevail (e.g., the meaning of the Haldimand Proclamation; the basis for colonial sovereignty; and, the motivation for the 1924 imposition of an elected band council). For the non-Native protestors, the rule of law, trumped all other approaches to resolving any issues surrounding Aboriginal issues and that written history<sup>100</sup> and available government documentation held sway in the Canadian court system over any oral history that the Six Nations presented for consideration. For Native supporters any such dismissal of traditional practices for passing on knowledge from generation to the next was insulting to their culture.

In all the ensuing actions and discussions non-Natives have pursued security for their jobs and homes along with assurances that their world will be put back in order, and an end to discussions about outstanding Native issues that seek further powers and privileges. Natives, on the other hand, have sought economic security, community sustainability, respect for their unique identity, and a mutual understanding around treaty responsibilities in perpetuity for the benefit of future Native generations (DeVries 2009, 192-193).

As previously mentioned, certain residents in Caledonia were under the impression that they and the Six Nations were all on good terms before the DCE occupation took place, and that the trouble had been stirred up by a handful of provocateurs. But for local social service organizations that were always in contact within their overlapping jurisdictions, there seemed to be a historical disconnect amongst people within the communities. In fact, while the local citizens had friendships with the Six Nations, there appear to have been unspoken rules attached to those relationships. The Six Nations felt a general indifference from the residents of Caledonia. At least they sensed an unconscious bias, if not ignorance in the strict sense of the word (i.e., simply not knowing about Six Nations history, particularly among newcomers to the

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<sup>100</sup> Documented "'facts' [have been] written and controlled by colonial governments" (DeVries 2011, 162).

town). A Six Nations woman suggested to one non-Native interviewee for this study (and a supporter of Native rights) that “she should recognize her privilege, own it, then do something about it.” (Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor)

At the same time, the claim process has shown little progress over the past ten years and some community members on both sides of the conflict remain angry and bitter. These circumstances are further complicated by archeologists who have found evidence of old Native sites that can’t be developed by municipalities, thereby limiting economic growth in the area. Development approval processes are also difficult among the Six Nations and it’s been challenging to introduce real estate initiatives on the reserve (e.g., getting approval for a Tim Horton’s franchise). Some worry that things could “go bad” quickly and Six Nations personalities who have struggled to keep a lid on things in terms of violence are tired of the fight and feel like stepping aside should some event spark another occupation/reclamation. There is some concern about a “three strikes your out” condition after Oka, Ipperwash and Caledonia.

The mood in the region seems to have improved over that past decade through the healing process provided by time. It’s become clearer to some Caledonia residents that there has been a long-standing social divide within the community (e.g., Six Nations people weren’t working with a major employer in town; Caledonia businesses weren’t generally advertising in Six Nations

*“Time has helped heal relationships between the communities...the DCE site is not being developed...if someone tried to stir things up though, it all could go sideways...for the moment, people are going about their daily lives...Caledonians come to the reserve for gas and smokes (tax free) as they did before the conflict erupted...Six Nations youth attend high school off-reserve and things have settled down at school...if someone were to “dust up” something, it could start all over again” (Interviewee #8 – Six Nations businessperson).*

newspapers) but changes have been coming to alter those circumstances. As previously described, various initiatives focused on creating connections have been undertaken (e.g., the

Pen Pal project, Grandmothers Tea, Nations Uniting). Work to date has shaped relationships and friendships from which sustainable partnerships could be built. A recent initiative created in support of community cohesion was a new program for Six Nations people to enter the trades (e.g., pipefitter, plumber, welder) (Interviewee #4 – non-Native Caledonia resident).

Governments and the media were criticized by virtually everyone in this research. Governments were seen as being influenced by specific interest groups (including the media), both in the immediate past and throughout their complex relationship with the Six Nations in the evolution of Canadian history. Rather than demonstrating leadership, as well as respect and concern for those groups most in need thereof (both sides would claim this), politicians were seen as consistently abdicating responsibility and “punting” issues about the Six Nations to the next party in power. Meanwhile the media were viewed as being driven by a business model often focused on the spectacular rather than providing a balanced and well-researched explanation of all the issues. It was important for the residents of Caledonia that their experience be accurately reflected in the news as it was for the Six Nations’ long-standing issues with the recognition of their rights be accurately portrayed. Typically, each side felt their positions were poorly understood and represented, or outright fabrications.

It seems that at some level throughout their relationship with recurring waves of Settler communities, the Six Nations have not understood or been unable to articulate the way they have felt mistreated. In the meantime, they’ve adopted a legal narrative based on a rights-based approach. Such an approach may have some validity but also may not be the whole story. The cultural “dismantling” that took place through contact; through the continuing harm; and, how that unpacked itself over the centuries, seems to have had an equal impact on the social cohesion and functioning beyond any violation of their rights. For certain residents of Caledonia, this

conflict challenged their sense of self, of identity, how they understood conflict, and how they understood Aboriginal people. Some seem ready to make a leap toward a new understanding while others are clearly holding onto their deeply held views. Some people on both sides of the conflict need to ask: what is going on here; why I am I struggling with this; and, why are they struggling with me?

This conflict may be as much a symptom of a deeper ill that exists between Indigenous people and Canadians: specifically, the rights-based judicial system that has impacted both communities exists in the Lower-Right quadrant. In this quadrant we see the effects of a structural-functional process. This is where the rules and regulations for courts exist but it is not the place to pursue or achieve reconciliation. Resolution cannot be achieved in the court system. The courts are typically designed to create winners and losers but not durable long-term solutions. Solutions will be found in a problem-solving process with a psycho-dynamic nature, much like the Aboriginal-based “restorative justice” approach where one can get down to trauma, hurt, the loss of self, loss of culture (individuals from both communities could benefit from such a process but it requires more vulnerability than most might care to risk). The impacts of those experiences linger in the hearts and minds of the Six Nations to this day.

*READINESS TO RECONCILE BASED ON A QUADRANT ANALYSIS*

While not a widespread vision in discussions with members with both communities, there appears to have been a determination and intentionality among a significant minority in finding a way forward to closer ties and ways to leverage those ties into greater social cohesion, economic progress and environmental stability between the communities of the Six Nations and Caledonia.

In assessing a willingness to reconcile since the conflict erupted in 2006, my discussions identified some indicators of readiness. First of all, there are pockets of “awareness” within the community achieved through such activities as the Neighbouring Communities initiative, Pen Pal Project, Grandmothers Tea, Nations Uniting group, The Annual Canoe challenge, mixed marriages, mixed dating, etc. that encouraged inter-cultural exchange. In each case there is a clear interest and perceived benefit to understanding the perspective of the Other community and its worldview.

Factors that would enhance progress toward a readiness to reconcile include: a growing individual and collective desire to resolve issues: a Left-hand focus. This would require two strong leaders, one from each community who are willing to meet privately to begin discussions to create a shared future for the benefit of both Caledonia and the Six Nations. This idea is modeled on a story of two African leaders who followed this approach in bringing two warring communities together at the risk of either of their membership accusing them of selling out to the enemy: though the consequences they risked (e.g., serious physical harm or death) were well beyond that which leaders of most First World countries would face in similar circumstances (e.g., public shaming, a “loss” at the polls). Another factor to consider would be individual and collective statements of mutual interest in growing cross-cultural initiatives: a Right-hand focus. It will necessarily begin with one person (much like when single individual said to a trusted

friend, “this situation is not right” to trigger the Caledonia conflict). In this case, one leader extends a positive gesture toward his or her counterpart (Redekop 2002, 295). Notably, during the Caledonia conflict, individuals seeking to understand the perspective of the other on both sides during the conflict were either discouraged from speaking or reprimanded by their peers for doing so. In addition, it would be important for federal and provincial government policies and initiatives to resolve territorial conflicts while increasing assurance for developers and other businesses for a stable economic future in the region: an approach that shares durable benefits across the two communities. Finally, openness could be encouraged through expressions of regret from Six Nations people to Caledonian residents of the hurt that the town suffered at the hands of some members of the Six Nations (e.g., serious and minor assaults and property damage; long term losses to the local economy; deep fears instilled in the children of the town; and, difficulties experienced in travelling through the community during the time of the barricades). These words would be coupled with an acknowledgement of past wrong doings perpetrated upon the Six Nations by residents of Caledonia or past governments (e.g., latent racism; fragmented culture; impact of residential schools on families; “casual” racism; and, misappropriation of funding intended to support the Six Nations as part of an agreement to relinquish [or lease] portions of the territory identified in the Haldimand Proclamation) (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 51-52).

*CHALLENGES TO ACHIEVING RECONCILIATION*

This study was originally designed as an Integral readiness assessment, or a reconciliation willingness inquiry, to get a mandate to move further with study (i.e., establish a readiness, an openness, and a vision), and to then identify resources to support such a process. It was important to realistically assess where people were in their thinking on the subject before considering such an activity. However, it was also important to exercise some degree of caution, because emotions don't necessarily have a sense of time and some memories can trigger reactions as if a distant temporal experience happened only yesterday (Redekop 2002, 288).

Probably the greatest impediment to resolving this conflict has been the nature of the asymmetric relationship (Nadler et al 2008, 2) between the Six Nations and successive federal and provincial governments over the last two centuries. As proximate border concerns with the Americans diminished after the war of 1812, the strategic value of the relationship with the Haudenosaunee declined. As an example, the value of the Confederacy as a military ally and particularly as a buffer to American invasion in southern Ontario seems to have become increasingly unnecessary. In the meantime, the focus of the government of Upper Canada turned to nation building westward, while increasing numbers of new colonial and loyalist populations arrived looking for land to settle in the region. With all the resources that the colonial government had at its disposal to occupy and direct land development, along with the focus and pressures that government faced to create a nation-state that came to be known as Canada, the interests of the Six Nations appear to have become increasingly irrelevant. And as time passed, the ability of the Haudenosaunee to negotiate their relationship seems to have virtually dissolved.

A second challenge to resolution lies in the divergent worldviews of the Native and non-Native communities. When defence issues were paramount in the early days of colonial

governments the differences in the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours between Natives and non-Natives could be papered over. As non-Native populations grew and occupied more land, the challenges of ignoring those differences have increased and the presence of the Six Nations has grown increasingly difficult for the alternative visions of both nation builders and land developers.

With a notable exception or two, there has not been ongoing communication between the leadership of the two communities despite their adjacent geography. Members of the community have been in regular contact (e.g., Six Nations students attending secondary school in Caledonia; Caledonians visiting the reserve for tax free gas and cigarettes; sports competitions such as hockey; mixed marriages on and off-reserve; Natives shopping and working in Caledonia). But while sharing resources and social contact, there has not been a focused strategy to build community together.

Another challenge is the factionalization of governance on the Six Nations reserve. Not only has there been a historical divide between the Six Nations Elected Council and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, but within the Confederacy there appears to be a power struggle among sub-groups and personalities that is draining the effectiveness of the Six Nations to speak with one voice in the rights they seek, and how to achieve them.

Tobacco-related income on reserve has created some wealth that is being directed to purchasing property off-reserve. This activity is creating concerns for the non-Native community because it appears to be part of a broader initiative of the Six Nations to negotiate access to parcels of land off-reserve in exchange for allowing building on properties under dispute with the federal government (e.g., the new Empire Homes residential development northeast of

Caledonia).<sup>101</sup> The issue is compounded by the fact that both the Six Nations Elected Council and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council are both approaching the same developers to make deals in return for unimpeded access to development projects. As previously mentioned, these arrangements are seen by some non-Natives as a form of extortion.

Lastly, all stakeholders both Native and non-Native face the understandable human fear of change. Novelty-fed anxiety creates a difficult circumstance within which to listen with the intent to understand: a key skill in addressing any conflict. Even if the status quo isn't the most desirable option, for many it can seem better than any number of imagined worse case scenarios (which humans instinctively generate in their minds as a survival tactic). Such imagined fears include a loss of: a personal (or community) vision; physical resources (including land); and, influence or respect (e.g., harm to individual or collective integrity manifested in agency or shame/guilt). It's worth pointing out here that individual and collective conflict-related behaviours and decisions have taken place in the recent and distant past that could leave the more mature personalities among various stakeholder groups feeling awkward about their connection to those events in the cold light of day. Many among each group might be persuaded to agree that they wished certain events could have unfolded differently since 2006 (some would say since 1784).

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<sup>101</sup> Avalon Caledonia Empire Communities website. Accessed 2017-05-14.  
<https://empirecommunities.com/community/avalon/>.

*OPTIONS AND CONSEQUENCES OF PURSUING RECONCILIATION*

While there is no apparent imperative to reconcile between the communities (and some interviewees have gone on record as saying it will be a long time, or, they never will), the potential benefits of increasing levels of positive relationships or positive peace (i.e., an absence of structural violence) include community harmony revealed in high social cohesion, and strong, equitable growth opportunities (economic and environmental) manifested in social justice (Galtung 1969, 183). Other benefits include living together in mutual respect and seeing the Other as an important part of the community despite differences in worldview.

Alternatively, these communities can continue to exist in a condition characterized by latent hostility. Such a negative peace (i.e., an absence of personal violence) (Galtung 1969, 183) carries a persistent risk of future hostilities (i.e., a relapse). The enduring consequence for the combined populace is poor social cohesion and an inefficient economic and environmental management model for the local region.

*AQAL-INFORMED STRATEGIES FOR ADDRESSING STRUCTURAL CONFLICT*

Moving toward reconciliation will require leaders (both formal and informal) with a Self-authoring capacity to create a common vision and discuss high-level solutions. One approach is Duke's 4-point framework (modified using an AQAL approach). In this design, social structures impact all quadrants. As suggested by McGuigan and Popp, "Left-hand cultural worldviews and values inform the Right-hand social relationships and subsequent structural barriers, and vice versa." In addition, parties need to learn how structural forces impact conflict then create strategies to mitigate the structural violence. Also, support movements and groups can make important contributions in recognizing and addressing structural issues in an inclusive manner.

Finally, it is important to identify key issues that contribute to structural violence in terms of the Left-hand (learning how violence is perpetuated) and understand how complexity of individuals (both leaders and followers) impacts social injustice and power imbalances on the Right-hand (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 230).

### *SOLUTIONS*

As long as we continue to simply judge and label the Other (from each side of the conflict), solutions will elude us. We are dealing with intricate social structures in such cases, and in these complex systems, relationships are fundamental. In addition, there must be a pattern of events that makes action possible. Unfortunately, complexity is often synonymous with political inertia and civic resignation. But while some view such outlooks as perpetuating the status quo, others see an opportunity for change (Westley et al 2007, 6-8).

Solutions to protracted conflicts lie on a continuum from conflict settlement through conflict resolution to reconciliation. In the case of conflict settlement, hostilities end with no attempt to understand the causes or consequences of the experience: the focus being on addressing interests and sharing resources. Conflict resolution looks at relationships between adversaries with a view to building trust and cooperation that supports mutual self-interest. Reconciliation is grounded in identity changes experienced by opponents wherein each no longer sees the Other as a negation of

A former Six Nations councilor approached the United Church of Canada to use an abandoned manse on the Reserve as a healing centre, which became the "Nations Uniting" initiative for Natives and non-Natives to understand each other. This former councilor believes that "community" is built through time and over many culturally sensitive discussions especially those between the Six Nations and governments. This interviewee also feels that the only way to move ahead is to return to the negotiating table that includes representatives of both Six Nations Elected Council and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council (Interviewee #20 – former Six Nations Elected Council member).

themselves, recognizes the perspective of the Other without entirely agreeing with it, and seen as contributing to the core identity of each party (Nadler & Shnabe 2008, 40). An exploration of the Caledonia conflict with interested identity groups provides a sense of where the community now rests on the continuum just described with a view to considering what the future may hold with or without a focused intervention.

### *READINESS TO RECONCILE*

Using Redekop's framework for analysis let us begin with prerequisites (i.e., vision, mandate, resources, and freedom from threats) (Redekop 2014, 83-84). A variety of visions have been suggested through the hopes expressed by various interviewees including:

*"a shared future including health care, education, resources and economic development...the kinds of things all of us want" (Interviewee #16 - provincial legislator)*

*"would like to see the DCE site used for a communal purpose...a joint project for gathering and healing that would serve as a model for the rest of Canada" (Interviewee #19 - young mixed-race adult from Caledonia)*

*"support for healing, according to our ways (emotional, mental, physical and spiritual), and honouring of treaties" (Interviewee #25 - Six Nations mental health counselor)*

*"a reset of the negotiation process (with the federal government) with a new framework that includes partnerships, nation to nation relationships, revenue sharing, land sharing, and resource sharing" (Interviewee #23 - Six Nations negotiator)*

*"Six Nations will come together and grow economically" (Interviewee #21 - former Six Nations Chief)*

*"create a process recognizing that DCE is Crown land (not native land) that respects all peoples and histories" (Interviewee #1 - local development financier from Caledonia)*

What is missing at this at this stage is any movement to seek a mandate to pursue a reconciliation process. Based on discussions with a local MPP and a provincial negotiator, the current Ontario government would be open to resourcing any such initiative. Work would need

to be done beforehand to create emotional safety within some sub-communities to assure them of sufficient support to represent their constituencies.

The meta-requisites (i.e., teachings of blessing, GRIT—Gradual Reciprocate Initiatives in Tension-Reduction, institution building, process skills and support of the “Third Side”—bystanders, donors, human resources) (Redekop 2014, 85) are at an early stage of development in these communities. The resources exist within the communities to develop, continue or expand current initiatives. For example, the Grandmothers Tea provided an early opportunity for Six Nations women to share their knowledge of Native issues with non-Native women to allay the latter’s fear of losing their property in Caledonia. GRIT can be seen in the Pen Pal project that began as the initiative of one mixed-blood Native teacher to find a non-Native classroom to try out an initiative in inter-racial understanding. Institution building is one that relies heavily on the continuing work of the current federal government to work through long-standing issues with Six Nations negotiators with a view to creating a new partnership where rights and respect go beyond political wording. Process skills were apparent among many of the people with whom I spoke in the community. Any formal reconciliation process would benefit greatly from the participation of these people. The Third Side could involve a variety of groups in the community (e.g., clergy, 18+ Pen Pal graduates). With the right supports and a deliberate strategy, key individuals could contribute to bridge-building across communities.

Since 2006 a variety of discursive and symbolic processes (Redekop 2014, 83) have been undertaken by members of each community in terms of truth-telling, dialogue, expression and acknowledgment of loss and woundedness (e.g., early community therapy sessions, Neighbouring Communities Project). What is less clear is how much change has occurred in term of transformation of attitudes, remorse/apology/willingness to make reparations, openness

to mercy and forgiveness, reframing of memory and story. These processes would likely require a far more intentional initiative where facilitators would be invited by respected leaders of both communities to undertake a formal, long-term (i.e., a year) project to engage the business community, municipal councilors, clergy, social agencies, educators, service clubs, etc. in a deep reflective process of learning and a commitment to sharing knowledge among their constituents. Such an initiative would require a great deal of preparation to foster the necessary support that would be grounded in the imaginable benefits of improved regional growth economically, culturally and environmentally.

In terms of the result areas previously described, I spoke with many people who have suffered emotionally since February 28, 2006. These include people who have lost (or resented) cross-culture friends due to a lack of mutual support during the early days of the conflict. Some mixed marriages and extended family relationships have also been sadly divided by the events. Personal healing then is something that would nurture social cohesion within and across communities. Finding safe approaches to understanding another's behaviour offers the possibility of reconciliation sometime down the road. Seeing others through different eyes broadens this understanding to those who we see as being from another community even if we don't know them personally. The idea of changing structures can go some distance to reducing systemic bias (i.e., the rules and social norms we see as just the way things are) when they become part of the rule of law, or simply normalized through time and discussion in the same way that attitudes in Canadian society have slowly changed around seat belt use, smoking, or drinking and driving. "Feeling" justice through forgiveness, mercy and restitution cannot be legislated. Many a person has left a courtroom knowing that someone will "pay for their crime" yet feel the consequence as a hollow victory. Any sense of relief can only arise, if ever, through

time and self-reflection. For those who have felt victimized the value of forgiveness is ultimately for themselves as they release the anger, sadness, etc. that they may have carried over a lengthy period with little respite. The notion of transcendence wherein one moves beyond feelings, structures, etc. and sees oneself as part of a greater whole (Redekop 2014, 80-82) can only come with a strong Self-authoring mindset that still recognizes and accepts their own imperfections as a contributing member of the larger community. Restorative justice initiatives may provide the best opportunity to support people through an individual or collective healing process.

Intragroup divisions (e.g., Six Nations Elected Council and the Haudenosaunee Confederacy; Haudenosaunee infighting) have worked against the creation of intergroup cohesion on the Six Nations reserve since the conflict erupted. Divisions are reflected in the two on-reserve newspapers<sup>102</sup> on the reserve representing the views of the Elected or Traditional

councils. At each level, a respected leader will need to take a small step to build initial trust (i.e., a GRIT proposal) toward a similarly respected leader from an opposing group to commit to a process of understanding and renewal. This may not work the first time, or even a second time. Mature patience and respect would be key to guiding such initiatives.

Until recently attempts to mediate any

***Being/feeling heard***

*In making meaning of conflict, it always helps to ask:*

- *How important is it for any of us to be/feel heard?*
- *Why is important for each of us to be/feel heard?*
- *What happens inside (viscerally) when we feel heard?*
- *How does feeling heard affect/influence our thinking & behaviour?*
- *Can we tell our opponent's story so articulately (without necessarily agreeing with any or all of that story) that they agree with our description of their issues?*

solution have struggled for of someone respected from both Six Nations and Caledonian

<sup>102</sup> The Two Row Times (Accessed 2017-05-14. <https://tworowtimes.com/>) supports the views of the Six Nations Elected Council whereas the Turtle Island News (Accessed 2017-05-14. <http://theturtleislandnews.com/>) favours the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council (Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief).

communities (e.g., an attempt by former Ontario premier, David Petersen, to find common ground with the help of a peace offering in the form of a parcel of land —the Burtch Tract—led nowhere) (Hill 2009, 482). Moving forward will require in-depth planning, a venue, and participants representing all significant stakeholder groups. Experience among those participants in facilitated activities could help speed various processes. Observers who had a calming effect on the more acrimonious personalities might help to keep hostile discussions in check later in the process but there must be an opportunity early on for people to be heard and understood (with or without agreement). These are early days and progress in the region will benefit immeasurably from the political will of the federal government to settle long-standing issues around Native rights.

#### *SUPPORTS FOR A RECONCILIATION PROCESS*

Based on the interviews of this study, a variety of initiatives could help move a reconciliation process forward. Most importantly, evidence of moving forward on both sides in addressing land rights issues would help to dissipate continuing animosity between the communities. This would need to be seen as fair and equal treatment by engaged federal and provincial governments while managing expectations on both sides of the conflict. A conscious strategy to mitigate outside influences (i.e., those without a direct interest in the conflict) would be important to any such process. It would also include finding a mutually agreeable future for DCE/Kanonhstaton. A parallel initiative would be the creation of a network of moderates who have ongoing trust and respect of their peers as part of a broader strategy of community building through ongoing initiatives and milestone events leading to a facilitated conference and follow-up activities. The Six Nations would benefit immeasurably from working toward a strong unified

leadership and reduced animosity between on-reserve newspapers. This development could be coupled with an undertaking of ongoing meetings between the Six Nations Elected Council and Haldimand Council to discuss day-to-day issues of common interest. Such meetings could serve to develop a mutually beneficial process to build community that seeks local solutions. At the same time, Caledonia should continue to grow and maintain a welcoming attitude toward the Six Nations in town. While not understood as a clear value to all, for some at least, developing an attitude of “abundance” to replace one of “scarcity” would go some distance changing attitudes around access to community resources, especially land. A scarcity mentality reveals itself in zero-sum attitudes, whereas what is needed is new thinking that “stretches the sandbox” of discussion while finding mutually agreeable solutions that can be even more beneficial to all parties. Early in the process, as mechanisms are created to build trust, it would be very helpful to create a forum to discuss the short and long term impacts of the 2006 conflict, and provide an acknowledgement of harm perpetrated by both sides without attempting to justify the precipitating behaviours. This would require participants with a level of emotional intelligence who are able to listen with the intent to understand before seeking to be understood.

The worldview and level of capacity in complex thinking of each disputant must be considered and acknowledged, otherwise they will drop out of the process and the result will be compromised. As cultures (and their members) evolve they can become more outward looking and see themselves in Others. In due course, values, morals and ethics, as well as cognitive abilities and interpersonal awareness lead us to develop an ability to understand more complex worldviews. Worldviews have a nested quality to them (Beck and Cowan call them “meme stacks”) (Beck & Cowan 1996, 63). For example, we would do well to remember and retain the values of Indigenous communities respecting the needs of the environment for themselves and

future generations. Another example are restorative justice practices developed by those communities in the search for durable solutions dating back to a time when there were no Western-style justice systems in place to arrest, prosecute and imprison those who behaved outside the norms of their Native community. But no worldview or value system embraces all of the answers of life. As with the four quadrants, they are most useful when each is used to inform the other (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 164-165). In the end, cultural change is about changing need satisfiers rather than the needs themselves (Max-Neef 1992, 200).

Some additional, and more practical actions include encouraging more economic initiatives such as the local fitness centre and golf course investments and shared research on how each community contributes to the Other's economy. Another important front on which to work would be to continue building knowledge of Six Nations history in education through provincial schools and local initiatives (e.g., provincial programming, Six Nations elders, media training). Providing federal funding for Native culture including language, healing processes and ceremonies would go some distance to showing respect and recognizing its value to Canada. Finally, for those willing to take a look at themselves and their community cohesion, it might be useful to take a deep look at the impact of trash talk in sports events and to encourage mixed race sports teams. Slurs, racial or otherwise, directed at opposing teams should be seen as perpetrating old, unconscious stereotypes. Given the importance attached to sports in these communities, turning this page could be strong step in the direction of building respect and cooperation between the communities.

Restructuring a conflict resolution process could increase the level of creativity brought to such a discussion. In seeking a resolution to conflict on the Fraser River over access to its salmon stock, stakeholders sought to change the channel on the process. After many years of

negotiations through the federal government with multiple bureaucrats at the helm, a stand-alone institutional forum was created called “The Salmon Table.” This institution was designed to seek a solution to divided interests among the Stó:lō First Nation<sup>103</sup>, a commercial fishery, sportspersons community and local environmentalists. The new process moved jurisdiction away from the government and created a new way of interaction among the identity groups. Essentially, these groups took over the process of discussion with a newfound sense of control and influence by restructuring their relationships (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 223).

Another resource for learning and sharing ideas about improved relationships is to think in terms of relationships that overlap cultures (e.g., solid friendships amongst youth that withstood the worst aspects of the conflict; mixed marriages; culturally diverse workplaces; initiatives to bring cultures together to build, play and learn). These special bonds could form the critical mass for transformative change in a community. Pratto and Glasford describe a “superordinate category” designed to contain intergroup reconciliation between adversaries (i.e., everyone feels they are a part of the in-group) (Pratto and Glasford 2008, 6).

In Wallace Warfield’s Continuum of Community Relations “there is a positive correlation between the nature of relationships between public officials and identity groups, degree of identity inclusiveness in policy formulation, and their corresponding negotiating postures” (Warfield 1993, 184). The history of the protagonists plays a role in “policy conflict” as much as the present-day issues impacting a conflict (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 168). One wonders how the shared history of Haldimand County Council, Ontario and Canada and the Six Nations Elected and Traditional Councils affected their respective relationships and communication styles before, and after the conflict erupted?

Criteria for assessment of discrete community actions (including spending) must be

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<sup>103</sup> Stó:lō means “the River People” in the Coast Salish language (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 83).

established and agreed to in advance along with a conflict resolution model. Will actions that one takes be justifiable to the Other? How is ongoing relationship-building to be sustained?

“Doing nothing” is always an option, but what are the risks and possible consequences of such a decision?

In the case of the Caledonia conflict, one can imagine a staged approach wherein a series of meetings are held to create a climate of trust among identity groups (i.e., instrumental reconciliation). Over time, it may be that opposing camps may also come to see how their own actions, however self-justified, have had an impact on the Other as each side re-humanizes their opponent and contemplates the value of the apology-forgiveness cycle (i.e., socio-emotional reconciliation) in seeking durable solutions. Keefer has suggested the creation of non-Native left-leaning groups and institutions in the area to support Six Nation issues in their search for social and economic justice (Keefer 2015, 7). One could invite moderates to meet and dialogue over what’s been achieved to date (e.g., community meetings such as the Neighbouring Communities project, the Grandmothers Tea, the Pen Pal project, private discussions, government initiatives) as a starting point for further initiatives. This meeting could provide that basis for creating a critical mass of support on both sides of the conflict. Various interest groups could serve as a coalition that proposes and coordinates shared development (e.g., economic, education, health) initiatives that encourage interaction on the turf of both sides of the discussion. In considering ways to connect with people though, it’s worth remembering how we all feel comfortable engaging with new ideas and experiences in different ways, at different times, and on different levels which suggests multiple, continuous and varied opportunities for the communities to come together, recognizing how hard this can be, in practice, when individuals and families are often just managing their lives day-to-day.

One possible path forward is through a formal intervention strategy guided by a neutral third party (TPN) experienced in community-based conflict resolution processes.<sup>104</sup> Those trained as “third party neutral” (TPN) interveners create a safe environment within which protagonists have an opportunity to speak openly and feel heard. The role requires strong facilitation skills and in-depth knowledge of the conflict. It also requires a vision for change but one to which the TPN is not wedded. This is because solutions must come from the participants if they are to own and maintain an agreement to move forward together. The TPN ensures the process and rules of conduct are respected: rules that are agreed to by all participants at the start of the process. He or she must also seek out everyone who should be included in the process. Those not invited “will be heard from” at a later date in one way or another. All participants must be seen as respected individuals with an equally important narrative to share. Preparation is essential and all participants are introduced to the process through one-on-one meetings. Participants must represent and maintain the ongoing respect of key sub-groups in the community throughout the process (e.g., gender, age, class, race, sector). Where “high heat” situations are possible, it can be helpful to first train participants in experiential, non-issue related conflict resolution processes (Redekop 2002, 328-329).

The DCE/Kanonhstaton site remains a source of deep animosity among some members of both communities. Unless and until common ground can be found to create an agreed-upon future for this land, that unhealthy community divide will remain, perhaps for many generations. Among those non-Natives who supported either Native and non-Native perspectives, many proposed shared options for the site. These included a: parkland and community gardens,

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<sup>104</sup> There are facilitators across Canada experienced in change processes designed to find positive solutions to Native/non-Native conflicts. For example, Diamond Management Consulting worked closely over a ten-year period with the many stakeholder groups interested in sharing the salmon fishery on the Fraser River in British Columbia to create the Salmon Table (described earlier in this study).

meeting place, high school, sports centre, seniors centre, cultural centre, and medical centre. The cultural centre would be a place to educate and celebrate diversity in Six Nations history, ceremony, language and arts. The medical centre would be a place where Western and traditional healing practices could be integrated (e.g., addiction treatment centre, traditional healing centre, sweat lodge, hospice). One thing that was made clear by various interviewees though is that while the community needs to heal, the “Feds need to show up” to sort out the land issues, and people are waiting. Some references to the federal government’s role and responsibilities include:

*“The Federal government remains responsible to address treaties in a fair and expedient fashion based on 21<sup>st</sup> century realities...they need to remove irritants (e.g., tax rules) and make it difficult to reverse good work in positive legislation.”(Interviewee #16 - provincial legislator)*

*“Education is vital, as is the federal government getting back to the negotiating table...rather than shove it under carpet for another generation to deal with.” (Interviewee #3 - Six Nations journalist)*

Regardless of how governments decide the future of DCE /Kanonhstaton, developing a communal hub shared by both communities, as described among the many possible development ideas put forward by both sides of the conflict, might be appreciated as an olive branch to future relationships, irrespective of a final decision.

### ***SUMMARY THOUGHTS***

In exploring the perspectives of each interviewee I discovered a pattern of supporters across the spectrum from those strongly supporting the Native worldview to those supporting the non-Native worldview. While everyone agreed that the Six Nations had been mistreated by

colonial and Canadian governments over the years, those supporting the non-Native perspective were less inclined to attach much meaning to such experiences and suggested the Natives needed to come to terms with their circumstances and move on: that nothing would be gained by continuing to live in the past. It came down to whose interpretation of reality should prevail. At the extremes of the continuum of views, Natives were seeking recognition for past wrongs, and respect and support for a return to their cultural way, while non-Natives were seeking a return to the status quo and punishment for those perpetrating harm upon the town. Time and pockets of conversation and interaction appear to be maintaining an uneasy peace in the community but it is unclear what it would take for that peace to break down.

The pockets of conversation and interaction just mentioned appear to provide the most promising base for visionary leadership utilizing a defined framework to begin a deliberate process toward creating a brighter, more socially cohesive future in the interests of community reconciliation. Challenges to such a process include the asymmetry of the Native – non-Native relationship (e.g., an imbalance in financial resources available to negotiate change); the divergent worldviews (e.g., involution vs. evolution) of the communities; a lack of intentional, ongoing communication between the leadership of Caledonia and the Six Nations; factionalization within the Six Nations leadership (e.g., Elected Council vs. the Confederacy); and non-Native concerns about an illegal tobacco economy on the reserve (e.g., dangers of criminal elements).

Continuing to co-exist, as some have come to accept over the past decade, is clearly an option (i.e., a status quo relationship that appears to manifest as “negative peace” in some quarters of each community). What is unclear is the level of animosity that continues to exist between the communities and what it would take to trigger another overt conflict. On the other

hand, a deliberate reconciliation process has the potential for a positive peace where each sees the Other as contributing to a greater whole socially, economically and environmentally.

A mandate to pursue reconciliation does not exist at this time but provincial support appears to exist for such a process. Meta-requisites are at an early stage of development (e.g., current mediated/facilitated discussions between federal and Native negotiators). Discursive and symbolic processes seem to be a bit of a patchwork with early initiatives toward mutual understanding showing promising support for change, but without any clear measure of how attitudes have shifted over time. A look at result areas suggests a need for: safe processes to nurture personal healing through a rebuilding of relationships; social marketing aimed at mitigating systemic bias; time and reflection; and, nurturing a Self-authoring mindset to support transcendent values, attitudes and beliefs in and between communities. I suggest that any movement toward reconciliation would necessarily require a professional team skilled in inter-cultural change management processes.

As a final summarizing comment for this chapter, recommendations for future research include studies on: community leaders providing the impetus to a broad community dialogue and leveraging the human resources of their organizations to move the yardsticks from an operational perspective; support to key organizations in the community to provide leadership in community change; understanding the needs and impact of those supporting the status quo; and, the role of youth<sup>105</sup> as early adopters in change processes. My concluding thoughts about this project now follow.

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<sup>105</sup> Some interviewees place their greatest faith for the future in their youth as being those with the greatest potential for vision, mutual respect and understanding for the Other (Interviewee #20 – former Six Nations Elected Council member).

## CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

Twenty-five interviews and a dozen off-the-record discussions over a six month period have provided a wealth of information and insight to the shared experiences of the residents of Caledonia and the Six Nations before and after February 28, 2006: far more than can be shared in this thesis. Feedback from interested readers of this study coupled with what has necessarily been left out of this study will form the basis for future research (e.g., comparisons of initiatives to develop Native – non-Native relationships over time with other territorial conflicts such as Ipperwash and Oka).

This study has provided a perspective on how individuals and their identity groups from these two communities have made-meaning of the events around the 2006 occupation/reclamation of Douglas Creek Estates/Kanonhstaton. In particular, it has become clear that the impact of the conflict has affected people in a variety of ways based on their connection to their identity group(s). For “strong” supporters on either side of the conflict, the issues were clearly a result of the Other side being “in denial” or guilty of “ill will”. Sympathetic supporters of either side generally recognized that solutions were complex and work needed to be done to understand Native issues, though the level of “sympathy” varied between those who were more sympathetic toward the residents of Caledonia compared with those more sympathetic toward the Six Nations community. The range of attitudes toward the Six Nations during the conflict, were grounded in the level of complexity (i.e., Instrumental, Socialized, Self-authoring) that each person brought to the discussion. Making meaning of the conflict as an individual or as a group (a Left-Hand perspective) then was a function of how one interpreted its observable events based on history and context (a Right-Hand perspective). Those who have sought to find a way forward between the communities are generally still committed to making a difference

though some have felt they have put a great deal of effort into the process without seeing significant change in the past decade.

Government and media were not seen by either community as generally effective in bringing a level of understanding or effective solutions to the conflict. Having said this, steps were taken by the provincial government to cool the animosity in Caledonia by purchasing the DCE site from the Henning brothers. Of course, some felt this was an easy way out (with taxpayer's money) whereas they felt that a solid show of force early in the conflict would have settled things efficiently. More recently, the federal government has been quietly working with Six Nations negotiators and a mediator/facilitator to establish a basis for further discussions based on what the Six Nations have called a "reset" of the negotiation framework. Meanwhile, it remains an open question how the media can benefit the communities in the future. Perhaps they could begin by highlighting current and new initiatives that demonstrate how the communities are working together for a brighter future realizing it is in everyone's best interest to grow together. There may be an opportunity for on-reserve and off-reserve media to work together on this matter.

Seeing where the support lies for understanding and change, it is clear there are a significant minority of individuals within Caledonia who see the value and importance of seeking a better, shared future between Caledonia and the Six Nations. In addition, there exists provincial government interest in making this happen. The communities need leadership with a vision that perceives their Other as having an important co-contribution to make to the whole region, and have the ability to capitalize on the resource groups that are willing to support positive change in the region: an important goal of reconciliation.

What remains unknown is a sense of the vision and cohesiveness, direction and vision of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (both the Chiefs and the Clan Mothers). Their contribution will be key to a positive future. Another gap in knowledge is the level of community resources available to support a formal plan, one that would pick up where the Neighbouring Communities Project left off. Talking is always the first step toward durable, positive change, which may reveal where community resources do exist.

Solutions will be found between Caledonia and the Six Nations through: self-awareness; courageous expressions of vulnerability; an understanding of each Other's stories, all of which begins with those who demonstrate a Self-authoring mindset. Finding those within each identity group with the most complex worldview will be most able to understand the thinking of others within and across groups.

Cross-cultural training alone is not the answer (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 172). It's extremely important to identify and extract the negative myths each community holds of the Other. It is no more likely that most Caledonians are thinking, "we know our ancestors stole most of your land...too bad...get over it...so what if we're predators...life is full of winners and losers", than Six Nations peoples are thinking, "we want everything for nothing because we can ask for it and get it...it's simply an attitude we all carry in our genes." Anecdotal evidence needs to be recognized for what it is (i.e., a basis for ill-informed solutions) and removed from each community's narrative while these communities co-create a joint positive narrative for their shared future. This will help in constructing a space where negative views—ranging from resignation to the status quo, to a continuing, deeply felt sense of injustice—can be addressed in order to build a positive peace between the communities.

Conflict and change are mutually reinforcing beginning with gestures and responses that will guide a transformation in thinking and values that impacts social systems and institutions and initiates their disruption and deconstruction (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 231). It seems the Caledonia conflict was inevitable because relationships in the community were not as they appeared on the surface. Feeling threatened or violated at the level of our basic identity and sense of boundaries is fundamental to conflict. The AQAL perspective shows how boundaries and identity are not only psychological experiences, but are the bases for our deep sense of connection to others through our sense of place, our skin colour, our cultural heritage, or our spiritual practice (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 3).

Perhaps early and professional mediation/facilitation support would have addressed issues before other agendas began impacting the negotiation process. What becomes possible when looking at conflict through the prism of Integral consciousness though, is the ability to see what different developmental mindsets have to offer in understanding a conflict through different perspectives, experience, cultural identities, values, and meaning. We also see how our culture, structures and systems inform our individual understanding and behaviours and how our understanding and behaviours influence our culture. We can also observe ourselves changing in the process (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 235). Making efforts during change and conflict to learn about our adversaries and the challenges they face in life can go a long way to understanding and communicating more effectively with them.

The difficulty with changing behaviour or gathering more information is that it is not enough. We need to adapt and change in terms of how we approach and make meaning of the task before us. This is very challenging for most because it may involve changing the way we think about life and how we participate in a shared existence. For those of us who are willing and

able to step outside their comfort zone, this transformational learning process becomes an evolutionary practice that can improve the level of complexity of our perspectives and identities, and guide us to make better sense of the intricacy of our world. While it is typically an uncomfortable process, we can grow in understanding about our internal conflicts (i.e., the competing needs that exist within us) “and allow the problem or conflict to solve us” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 236). In order to consider reconciliation, the leadership and their supporters on both sides of the Caledonia conflict are faced with the challenge of significantly changing their perspectives in order to truly understand the worldview of the Other.

The feedback derived from discussions during this study was used to build a more complete picture of the conflict and to, possibly, offer the basis for positive change in the community through understanding. At a minimum, this could provide the foundation for developing a respectful co-existence among interested identity groups. As previously suggested, out of conflict comes change, which is something to hope for in this conflict. Solutions will involve transformation (not the conflict but the people). In such a process, the disputants are changed through the experience of conflict: it nudges them to confront their comfortable perspective. As Kegan has stated: “conflict is a challenge to our pretense of completeness...we think we’re done...as it pushes us into unknown territory” (Kegan 1994). In other words, we can be limited in our ability “to experience our own ‘Otherness’ – as the consequence of our over-identification with any single worldview” (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 150). Change will need to be supported with a perspective of reconciliation and compassion in mind.

Neither side to this conflict is blameless in terms of threats, provocations or assaults perpetrated upon the Other. And for every incident in which someone was threatened or harmed, either physically or emotionally, there were multiple issues leading up that moment that need to

be considered, understood and addressed. The discourse on both sides of the conflict alone, served to inflame the conflict and encourage retaliation in word—spoken or written— or in deed. Further, neither side will be able resolve this conflict on their own. There is a need to find a way to sit on the same side of the table looking at the shared problems faced by both communities. Each incident that can be satisfactorily (however imperfectly) addressed creates another step toward reconciliation. The more steps, the greater the critical mass of positive energy that will build over time. Coming together in a spirit of openness and compassion (which includes an awareness, understanding and respect for the triggers of the Other) will provide a basis for the tough discussions that need to take place: first to be heard without being interrupted; then to consider a strategy to heal; then to operationalize the plan; and finally, to maintain the plan with policies and procedures designed to quickly address sudden disputes before they develop into conflicts. At the end of the day it's not about winning, it's about seeking a brighter shared future.

The Caledonia territorial conflict is a wicked problem:<sup>106</sup> one that defies straightforward solutions. For those who think the initiatives proposed in this study are ineffective and unlikely of success based on past efforts, these questions remain: “How does life look today in Caledonia and the Six Nations communities? How much worse could it get? How much better could it be?” Self-awareness and understanding of the Other, and a willingness to be vulnerable, will provide fertile ground for indwelling ideas from which an emergent creativity<sup>107</sup> can flourish. Neither

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<sup>106</sup> Wicked problems are seen as somehow intractable, requiring complex solutions using an open-system approach, and must be continually revisited because their solutions are impermanent (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 26). Open systems exchange information and energy with their environment as compared to closed systems that do not interact with their environment (McGuigan & Popp 2016, 30).

<sup>107</sup> Emergent creativity suggests a process involving complex systems within which no single explanation can fully describe the relationships, dynamics and variations therein. A community is an example of such a complex system. These systems generate themselves in that they materialize from the interchange of a number of factors. When enough elements occur simultaneously and there are enough linkages among those elements, circumstances are right for something new to emerge. However, the results and consequence cannot be determined in advance (Rioux & Redekop 2013, 115).

group is entirely in a position to create an outcome acceptable to all but in realizing that, what we believe to be true defines who we are and how we behave “on the barricades”, we can provide a trigger for awareness that guides communities to a better future (economically, socially and environmentally) for themselves and for their children.

### ***RECOMMENDATIONS/SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH***

A variety of future research initiatives could bring further understanding to this significant territorial dispute. These include the application of this study process to existing and future conflicts; implementing an actual facilitated process to existing and future conflicts for both practical and research purposes; initiating a deeper study within individual identity groups recognized as possibly benefiting from such a process, addressing vested interests in the status quo; and, developing an understanding of views of the youth in each community.

#### Application of approach to the analysis of existing and future conflicts

In applying the knowledge of the approach and findings gleaned from this research, one could make use of the knowledge therefrom to take a proactive approach with other communities facing similar challenges. In other words create connections and understanding between groups at odds with one another before conflict erupts.

#### Implement an actual facilitated process to existing and future conflicts for both practical and research purposes

Forward thinking members of the leadership in both communities could take the first tentative steps to co-create a shared vision of the region and address impediments to a continuing dialogue. For example, a representative with a strong interest in building community cohesion

from each council could begin meetings once a month to share perspectives and ideas, then discuss and operationalize social, economic and environmental plans in the region through a planned approach developed with key support staff in each community

Initiate a deeper study within individual identity groups identified as possibly benefiting from such a process

Ideas and lessons learned from this experience could be transplanted within key identity sub-groups struggling with their own complex issues (e.g. the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the Men's Fire, church communities who were divided in their reaction to the conflict). Supporting such groups in finding their own solutions particularly around internal governance issues and developing practical visions that can dovetail with the larger regional perspective would not only help these struggling groups but also benefit the larger communities of the which they are inescapably a part.

Address vested interests in the status quo

This discussion would begin with identifying who are the individuals (or groups) with special interests in the current situation. This could include both legitimate (businesses not wanting to rock the boat by entering into an uncomfortable discussion) and illegal (smoke shop owners wanting to keep their income stream intact) perspectives. Once identified, ideas could be brainstormed on if, and how, these vested interests could be co-opted into the process of discovering an improved future for the regional community. If these individual or groups have no interest in joining the larger vision of the community (i.e., they appear focused on their own agendas), then it would become a matter of determining how mitigate the influence of such interests. Recognizing and accepting our unique individual and group needs, those whose views

exist on the periphery of the larger community can be given a voice and time to express their visions and describe in detail how those ideas could unfold.

Develop an understanding of views of the youth in each community

Early adopters play a major role in any change process. Future research should seek referrals to young leaders in each identity community. What values, attitudes and beliefs are evolving among the next generation of the Six Nations and residents of Caledonia populations (e.g., Millennials)? It would be interesting to speak with participants of the Pen Pal project that are now adults (i.e., 18+). How they make meaning of the events since 2006 will surely impact the shared opportunities for their respective communities.

**APPENDICES**

*APPENDIX A – SIX NATIONS ELECTED COUNCIL APPROVAL*



**IN CAMERA GENERAL COUNCIL  
MOTION MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Ethics Committee  
Dayle Bomberry, Senior Administrative Officer  
Gary Phillips, Director of Finance  
BCR File

**Cc:** Shirley Johnson, Executive Assistant to SAO  
Carol Martin, Council Secretary

**FROM:** Rebecca McComber  
Assistant to Director of Finance

**DATE:** March 23, 2016

**MEETING DATE:** March 22, 2016

**RESOLUTION NO:** ICGC#186/03/22/2016

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Moved by Roger Jonathan and seconded by Lewis Staats that the Six Nations Elected Council approve Norm Desjardins application to conduct research titled ``How did we arrive here and what next: Making Meaning of the Caledonia Land Claim Dispute and Reflecting Upon the Future of the Community``.

ALL IN FAVOUR

CARRIED

SIX NATIONS COUNCIL

  
Administrative Assistant  
To Director of Finance

*APPENDIX B – RECRUITMENT GUIDE***Introduction**

Hello, this is Norm Desjardins calling. I'm a recently retired researcher and a 2<sup>nd</sup> year Masters student at the University of St. Paul in Ottawa. (name) suggested that you might be someone who would be interested in participating in a study I am conducting in Caledonia to learn how community members understand, or make sense out of, the events surrounding the 2006 land claim dispute between the Six Nations community and the non-Aboriginal population in Caledonia. I would also like to learn what a preferred future might look like for the larger community in the aftermath of those events. The study will provide an opportunity for participants to:

- Share - openly express their experiences, feelings and actions related to the land claim dispute in a non-judgmental environment (security)
- Examine – consider the perspectives, and explanations for the behaviour, of others (i.e., supporters and opponents) and how those viewpoints and actions may have guided the subsequent outcomes, including the current circumstances, of the community (education)
- Imagine - contribute to further research (social, economic and environmental), and to consider potential action to mitigate the effects of the land claim dispute, in support of future change initiatives (community development) (e.g., create a vision of a preferred future; provide input to process requirements)

Is this a good time to chat?

(If the candidate is interested but unavailable to speak at the time of the call, see if you can ask the following screening questions, then arrange an alternative time and date to call back)

Thank you.

### **Screening questions**

Before I take more of your time I would like to confirm some details for study:

- Are you at least 18 years of age?
- Were you directly involved or in some way affected by the 2006 land claims issue during, or after, the protest?

### **Explanation of the study**

The study I am conducting is designed to learn how those impacted by the conflict understand, or make sense of, the events surrounding the occupation/reclamation of land upon which the Douglas Creek Estates / Kanonhstaton development began. Also, for those interested, I would like to discuss possible futures<sup>108</sup> to which the community might aspire in the interest of peaceful co-existence.<sup>109</sup> In addition, the study is designed to learn about the needs and interests of the community in gauging and cultivating the level of its societal health as it relates to any lingering ill-will between Six Nations people and the non-Aboriginal population in the region.

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<sup>108</sup> This portion of the discussion will include a series of “probing” questions about how such “possible futures” might be achieved.

<sup>109</sup> The study is informed by each participant’s sense of the level of the social cohesion within the community of Caledonia.

Participants will be asked a series of questions about experiences they have had in their interactions with any members, or groups within the local population with whom they were in conflict over the issue. Questions will focus on how you understand, or make sense of, your experience during the conflict and, based on your sense of the community today, what your preferred vision might be for a shared future for all residents in, and around, Caledonia.

Discussions may take place in person or by phone (including Skype) at the convenience of the participant. In some cases, the discussions may take place in small groups. For those who prefer complete anonymity, interviews will be conducted one-on-one.

All discussions will be confidential. If permission is granted by the participant, the meeting will be recorded to ensure the interviewer can prepare an accurate summary of the discussion for reporting purposes. Recordings will be destroyed immediately upon completion of each interview summary.

Participants are not obligated to continue this study once they agree to participate and may withdraw from the project at any time, even after the discussion takes place should they wish to withdraw any or all comments made to the interviewer.

Individual discussions will be 45 minutes and group meetings (i.e. 2 – 5 persons) will last 90 minutes at a venue and time that is convenient for the participant.

All participants will be provided with a final copy of the project.

Would you be interested in participating in such a study?

(If candidate declines to participate, say...)

Thank you for your time and have a good day.

(If candidate agrees to participate, say...)

Thank you. When would be a good time to schedule this discussion? Would you prefer a face-to-face meeting either in-person or by Skype? May I have an e-mail contact to send you a reminder note a few days before the scheduled time?

(If the interviewer senses a possible willingness from the candidate to encourage others to participate in the study, ask...)

Is there anyone you know that you feel might be interested in participating in such study that you would like to suggest? Do you think they would like to be called directly or would be best if I provided my contact information for you to pass on to them?

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this important study. Have a good day.

### **Supporting notes**

If asked say: The program that I'm enrolled in focuses on the study of large-scale conflict both domestic and international. My interest in this project is add to the current research on domestic conflict between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities.

*APPENDIX C – LETTER OF CONSENT*

**Title**

Making Meaning of the 2006 Caledonia Land Claim Dispute and Reflecting Upon the Future of the Impacted Communities

**Researcher**

Norm Desjardins, 613-658-2016, norm.desjardins2@gmail.com

**Thesis Advisor**

Vern Neufeld Redekop, School of Conflict Studies, Faculty of Human Sciences, St. Paul University, 613-236-1393 (ext 2369), vredekop@ustpaul.ca

**Invitation to Participate**

I understand that I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Norm Desjardins

**Purpose of the Study**

I understand that the purpose of the study is to understand how community members understand, or make sense out of, the events surrounding the 2006 land claim dispute between the Six Nations community and the non-Aboriginal population in Caledonia. I would also like to learn what a preferred future might look like for the larger community in the aftermath of those events.

**Participation**

My participation will consist of a one-on-one or small group interview. Individual discussion will last up to 45 minutes while small group discussions may last up to 90 minutes in duration. During this time participants will be asked to respond to a series of questions that will provide an opportunity to:

- Share - openly express their experiences, feelings and actions related to the land claim dispute in a non-judgmental environment
- Examine – consider the perspectives, and explanations for the behaviour, of others (i.e., supporters and opponents) and how those viewpoints and actions may have affected any subsequent outcomes, including the current circumstances, of the community
- Imagine - contribute to further research (social, economic and environmental), and to consider potential action to mitigate the effects of the land claim dispute, in support of future change initiatives in support of community development) (e.g., create a vision of a preferred future; provide input to process requirements)

Interviews will be scheduled for a place, date and time convenient to the interviewer and each myself.

**Risks**

My participation in this study will entail that I share personal experiences surrounding the 2006 Caledonia land dispute, and this may cause me to feel emotional, during the discussion. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these risks, which have been assessed as minimal by the thesis committee overseeing this study. In particular, I will be provided with a reference to a local agency trained in addressing memory triggers that may cause emotional discomfort during the discussion.

**Benefits**

My participation in this study will allow me the opportunity to share my personal experiences with a view to increasing knowledge and understanding of the land claims dispute from multiple perspectives, its impact on the community, and to contribute to a vision of a better future for the community.

**Confidentiality and anonymity**

I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. Further to this I have been assured that, if I agree to participate in a mini-group sessions, all other participants in my session will also be required to adhere to this agreement of confidentiality. I understand that the contents will be used only for the preparation of a report where no individuals will be identifiable and that my confidentiality will be protected.

My name will not be incorporated into any text created from the interview. The only possible reason where the protection of confidentiality may be breached is where a legal obligation exists to protect the safety of the participant or someone else is considered be at risk as identified during the conversation.

### **Conservation of data**

I have also been assured that the data collected from the interview; *both hard copy and electronic data (e.g., tape recordings of interviews, notes, etc.)* will be kept in a secure manner. Specifically, records will be maintained on a password-protected laptop in password protected Word files. Only the researcher will have access to this information, which will be held after the completion of the study on the St. Paul University Campus for 5 years in the care of the thesis supervisor (Vern Neufeld Redekop).

### **Voluntary Participation**

I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be deleted from the researcher's laptop.

### **Information Sources**

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor. If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Office of Research and Ethics, Saint Paul University, 223 Main Street, Ottawa, ON K1S 1C4 Tel.: (613) 236-1393.

If I have need of support as a result of any memory triggers that may cause emotional discomfort during the discussion I may contact:

| Six Nations Support Services   | Other Support Services   |
|--|--|
| <p>Six Nations Mental Health Services 110<br/>1745 Chiefswood Rd.<br/>Ohsweken ON</p> <p>Phone: 519 - 445 – 2143</p> <p>Six Nations Crisis Line</p> <p>Toll Free: 1-866-445-2204</p> | <p>Haldimand-Norfolk REACH<br/>Family Services 111<br/>101 Nanticoke Creek Parkway<br/>Townsend ON</p> <p>Toll Free: 1-800-265-8087<br/>Phone: 519-587-2441</p>  |
| <p>Child &amp; Family Services<br/>15 Sunrise Court Ohsweken</p> <p>Phone: 519 – 445 – 0230</p>  | <p>Community Addiction and Mental<br/>Health Services<br/>Haldimand Community Support<br/>Centre 112<br/>103 Inverness Street<br/>Caledonia, ON</p> <p>Toll Free: 1-866-487-2278<br/>Phone: 905-765-4408</p> |
| <p>Ganohkwasra Family Assault Support<br/>Services<br/>1781 Chiefswood Road Ohsweken</p> <p>Phone: 519 – 445 – 4324</p>  |  |
| <p>New Directions Group Addiction<br/>Counselling<br/>1769 Chiefswood Rd, Ohsweken</p> <p>Phone: 519 - 445 – 2947</p>  |  |

<sup>110</sup> Provides counselling services at no cost to members of the Six Nations community

<sup>111</sup> Provides fee-for-service counselling for adults, couples and families. Ask for Family Services intake. There is also a weekly Walk In Counselling Clinic to see a therapist for a single session consultation. The clinic is on Tuesdays from noon until 8:00 pm. Final sessions begin at 6:30 so visitors need to arrive at that time.

<sup>112</sup> This is a free 24/7 crisis service for adults through the Community Addictions and Mental Health Services of Haldimand-Norfolk (CAMHS-HN).

**Available Documentation**

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep. I wish to receive a copy of the final report at:

**E-mail address**

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**Acceptance**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree to participate in the research study entitled, “Making Meaning of the 2006 Caledonia Land Claim Dispute and Reflecting Upon the Future of the Impacted Communities”, conducted by Norm Desjardins of the School of Conflict Studies, Faculty of Human Sciences, St. Paul University, which research is under the supervision of Vern Neufeld Redekop.

**Participant's signature**

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**Date**

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**Acceptance (mini-group participants only)**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree that I will keep strictly confidential all information shared among participants during this mini-group session.

**Participant's signature**

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**Date**

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**Acceptance**

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree to the recording of this interview for the sole benefit of recalling important details of the discussion. Once such details have been synthesized into a summary record of the meeting, the researcher commits to delete the audio record immediately following completion of that written summary.

**Participant's signature**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Researcher's signature**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date**

\_\_\_\_\_

*APPENDIX D – INTERVIEW GUIDE***Introduction**

Thank you for participating in this interview/discussion today

**Explanation of the Study**

The study I am conducting is designed to gain an understanding of the social, economic and environmental well-being of the community of Caledonia. In particular, I would like to learn about the needs and interests of the community in improving its level of well-being as it relates to the after-effects of the Caledonia land claims dispute in 2006.

You will be asked a series of questions about experiences you have had in your relations with community members with whom you were in agreement, or perhaps, in conflict, as a result of the dispute. Questions will focus on your experience of living in Caledonia, your assessment of the level of harmony in the community, and, your thoughts on steps that could contribute to making improvements to that level of harmony.

All discussions are confidential. You have agreed to the recording of this interview so the interviewer can prepare an accurate summary of the discussion for reporting purposes. This recording will be destroyed within the next 48 hours.

You are not obligated to continue this study and may withdraw from the interview at any time during the discussion. All comments made to the interviewer will be destroyed should you decide to withdraw from the study.

The discussion will last approximately 45 minutes (for individuals) / 90 minutes (for small groups)

Is there a particular way in that you would feel most comfortable being referenced or quoted in the study (non-native resident, business person, government official, Native leadership)?

Do you have any questions before starting the discussion?

### **Synopsis**

On February 28, 2006 a group of Aboriginal members of the Six Nations Reserve occupied the residential building site of Douglas Creek Estates / Kanonhstaton in Caledonia. What followed was a difficult period of conflict involving actions aimed at pressuring governments to address outstanding land claims issues, and counter actions by some local citizens in an effort to return their community to some sense of normalcy. Many interest groups emerged representing an array of views on both sides of the conflict. Among the various positions represented, there were groups that included Aboriginal members who opposed any civil disobedience (which the land occupation represented), and non-Aboriginal members who supported the Six Nations land occupation as part of a larger concern over the level of development in the region and its impact on the local environment. In June 2006 the Ontario provincial government purchased the

property owned by the developer of DCE in an attempt to diffuse the animosity created by the continuing land occupation, and for which there was no immediate solution in sight.

Negotiations in the community have been set aside and court actions, initiated by the Six Nations, continue to this day in an attempt to arrive at an agreeable settlement to this and other unresolved issues with the federal government.

### **Themes, questions and probes, objectives and rationale**

*Depiction of the experience (i.e., awareness/perception embedded in terms of understanding, as expressed through lived experience)*

1. Could you share your experience of the land claims dispute?
2. What behaviour did you observe of groups opposed to your views on the conflict?
3. What was life like for you before the occupation/reclamation of the Douglas Creek Estates development/Kanohstaton site in Caledonia?
4. What was the general mood in your community prior to the land occupation/reclamation in 2006?
5. How would you measure the quality of the relationship between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals?

*Issues (i.e., root causes) and potential for resolution (i.e., is their sufficient interest and political will)*

6. What are the most important issues for you regarding the land claims dispute?
7. What do you think would help to resolve the issue(s) in everyone's best interests?

*Level of interest and perceived capacity to address the aforementioned issues (e.g., to increase social harmony through the development of a vision of how things could be transformed)*

8. What is your greatest hope/concern for the future? What do you think is the greatest hope/concern for the future for those with whom you have been at odds?

*Approach to a facilitated process (i.e., in terms of strategies and tactics)*

9. Given your knowledge of Caledonia, what shared initiatives for each factor you've previously identified to me do you feel would be important to a reconciliation among those at odds within the community?
10. Have initiatives been undertaken in the community to remedy the (negative) impact of the events we've been discussing? If so, to what end? At what stage are these initiatives? What are your perceptions of their effectiveness?

*Final thoughts*

11. Do you have any final thoughts you would like to share?

**Conclusion**

I would like to thank you very much for your time today. The thesis paper that I prepare based on this study will provide a foundation for future research to better understand how communities might reconcile after internal disputes that have involved violence, or the threat of violence. More specifically, it could support future plans to develop a reconciliation process for the community of Caledonia should interested citizens see value in creating a community of understanding geared toward the development of an improved social capacity, an economically successful region, and an environmentally sustainable community.

This project must be presented to the (thesis review committee) by (date) and defended by (date). If you wish to receive a copy of the final report, I would be happy to provide to you if you could provide an e-mail address to which I may send the document. I will commit to send the formal document to you no later than (two weeks following my defence).

If there are other members of the community that you think would be interested in joining in this study, I would appreciate a virtual introduction to ask for their participation

***APPENDIX E – ANONYMOUS REFERENCE SYSTEM***

Mini-group #1 – Mixed-raced educator, emergency service manager, government lawyer

Interviewee #1 – non-Native development financier

Interviewee #2 – non-Native businessperson

Interviewee #3 – Six Nations journalist

Interviewee #4 – non-Native Caledonia resident

Interviewee #5 – retired police official

Interviewee #6 – communications consultant

Interviewee #7 – retired police superintendent

Interviewee #8 – Six Nations businessperson

Interviewee #9 – Haldimand County councilor

Interviewee #10- non-Native journalist

Interviewee #11 – non-Native activist

Interviewee #12 – Six Nations leader

Interviewee #13 – non-Native retiree

Interviewee #14 - non-Native activist

Interviewee #15 – provincial legislator

Interviewee #16 – provincial legislator

Interviewee #17- non-Native journalist

Interviewee #18 – Six Nations law enforcement official

Interviewee #19 – young mixed-race adult from Caledonia

Interviewee #20 – former Six Nations Elected Council member

Interviewee #21- former Six Nations Elected Council Chief

Interviewee #22 – non-Native activist

Interviewee #23 – Six Nations negotiator

Interviewee #24 - Caledonian married to a Native

Interviewee #25 – Six Nations mental health counselor

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