

Planning for Skén:nen:
Conceptualizing a Haudenosaunee Culture of Planning

by

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Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén

You will listen carefully for this length of time as I pass the words that come before all else.

All of us will first circle our minds as one people and give thanks, love, and respect to:

Our Mother, the Earth, for all she provides for us;

The waters, for quenching our thirst and providing us with life;

The fish, for how they cleanse and purify the waters and for the food they offer;

The plants, for providing wonders and sustaining life;

The food plants, for providing us with bountiful harvests;

The medicine herbs, for their healing powers;

The animals, for their endless teachings and for the food and warmth they provide;

The trees, for their shelter, fruit, and beauty;

The birds; for their songs and direction;

The four winds, for their refreshing breeze and for bringing the changes of the seasons;

Our Grandfathers, the Thunder Beings, for their awakening of new life in the spring;

Our Elder Brother, the Sun, for bringing the light of a new day;

Our Grandmother, the Moon, for lighting the night sky and governing the movement of the oceans;

Our Ancestors, the Stars, who watch over us at all times;

Our Creator Spirit, who breathed life into our spirits and who gave us the gift of Creation.

Now our minds are one.

Now I have spoken our words. If there is anything I forgot, you have the responsibility to be thankful for it in your own minds. Those are all the words, and so now we can begin.

(Adapted from Bilodeau, 2017)

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this Senior Honours Essay. This is a true copy of the Senior Honours Essay.

I understand that my Senior Honours Essay may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This work is a response to Western planning cultures and Canadian planning cultures in particular which have been complicit in genocidal efforts against Indigenous Peoples. I engage with Indigenous research methodologies and Indigenist planning theory to conceptualize a Haudenosaunee culture of planning. I consult the Haudenosaunee Great Law, Two Row Wampum Belt, and Thanksgiving Address to find elements of peace, rationality, thankfulness, and priority of future generations. I analyze these elements against a framework originally for interpreting Indigenous law, which I reshape to match the context of Indigenous planning. Through this, I interpret Haudenosaunee values as elements of a theory and culture of planning. Finally, I summarize what Haudenosaunee planning theory and practice looks like, ultimately working towards goals of decolonization, emancipation, and spatial justice.

Tags: Indigenous planning, Haudenosaunee, planning theory, Western planning, Colonialism

Niá:wen

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This work would not have been completed without the emotional guidance of my family or my dear friends at the Indigenous Students Association and across campus. Thank you to the Waterloo Indigenous Student Centre for being such a cozy space for my identity to flourish, complete with snacks, coffee, and radical conversation. You are my home on campus. É:so tsi kwanorónkhwa'.

Thank you Dawn for your teachings and guidance.

Niawen'kó:wa táhnon skennenhátié.

She says:

“Use scar-weapons to hold the land around them,”

“Infect tiny bodies with the precious things they beat out of you”

“Remember – they are everything we could have been”

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Under Your Always Light*

A Note on Language

The language used in this work that is not English is the Mohawk language or *Kanien'kéha*. I engaged with these words in this thesis because Mohawk translation to English language is difficult, and words can easily lose their meaning. By engaging with the language in which these concepts are meant to be understood, the original meanings are preserved and respected. All words are defined in-text, and there is also a glossary at the end of this document to provide a list of translations.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As a planning student who is both Mohawk and white, I have struggled to balance my thinking between two worlds with warring histories. My body and mind are both the colonizers and the colonized, both the welcomers and the guests. I study planning theory and practice knowing that the Western culture of planning – the collection of tools and techniques hailed as having built Canada – sustains the structure of colonialism, which is such a difficult and intense relationship that I carry with me wherever I go. Western planning theory and practice have introduced me to the very interesting concept of the public interest, and I find joy in weighing the interests of what is directly relevant to the land and ecology compared to what is important to people and their families, jobs, housing, and so on. The organization of built form is something that will continue to interest me as I move through cities in my life. Still, my relationship to planning as it exists in Canada is difficult. In my studies I have been lectured about how to map, organize, and name geographies and about developing land for profit – land that I know has sacred and spiritual significance beyond what any property value can describe. I am so well-acquainted with these Western theories and practices, yet the philosophy behind them can seem so wrong and insulting.

Alternatively, I am so comfortable with the culture and philosophy behind what I believe can be articulated as another culture of planning: Haudenosaunee culture. However, this culture and others like it have not been taught in my classes as I learn to become a planner. Since time immemorial, Indigenous Peoples have developed intricate and sacred kinship systems between humans and the land that we learn to plan for today. The inherently sacred nature of the land is not considered in Western planning processes, and I recognize this as an injustice against our

Mother Earth. This is the internal conflict and frustration that inspires this work, and I perceive this thesis as a cumulative response to my undergraduate planning degree.

I must share my perspective as the author of this thesis to contextualize my research and share where my perspectives come from. I am a white-coded, Mohawk-European woman. My *Kanien'kehá:ka* (Mohawk) family is Bear Clan. I am one generation out of a clan since I inherit my Mohawk identity from my father and the culture is matrilineal. Our home territory is Akwesasne, though my direct family line has lived off-reserve for several generations. Like my father, my grandmother, and my great grandmother, I have grown up without my teachings or language. I slowly study the language to bring it back for future generations. I also try to live by the Great Law to work towards *skén:nen*, or peace. I acknowledge that I live with 'one foot in each canoe,' and this humbles my experiences as I navigate both European and *Onkwehón:we* (Original People) worlds.

Studying planning has been confusing and somewhat alienating. My peers seem comfortable and enthusiastic learning concepts that organize land into fractions and separate the land from humans with bureaucratic complexities in between. Meanwhile, I have found struggle and displacement. In response to this, I feel determined to have people hear an unsettling perspective that I can offer the profession from a voice that was intergenerationally silenced. This is how my thesis was manifested into reality: from frustration met with diligence.

This work is not a light load to carry. The expectations of the typical research and writing processes are minimal compared to the content of my task; I carry the weight of thousands of years of stories, traditions, and cultures synthesized into one document. There are generations upon generations of Indigenous Peoples buried under this land that I am taught to plan for and build on top of. I do not take lightly the honour I feel to be in the position that I am to research

and write this work. I have high expectations for myself to best articulate *tsi niionkwarihò:tens*, ‘our ways,’ into planning language that can be understood by Western perspectives in pursuit of decolonization.

I have come to learn that because of my identity, it is my responsibility to take on this kind of role as an interpreter of sorts. Because I travel with one foot in each canoe, I know both white and Indigenous worldviews well. My complex identity directly informs my work. This academic work does not exist outside of my body and mind, but rather as an extension of myself to share. I am deeply connected to this work, and I write and share all of it with *ka'nikonhrí:io*, ‘a good mind.’ Otherwise, the teachings I extract and share from my research would be of no use for people to learn from.

I must remind readers that no individual is an expert on Haudenosaunee culture. I bring my knowledge to the table along with other Haudenosaunee working in other fields all over to secure our future together with good minds. This academic work is only one piece of our puzzle that I am honoured to place down.

Problem and Purpose

Western planning theories have informed policies and practices of colonial dispossession of Indigenous Peoples throughout history (Porter, 2010). In Canada, the river is only starting to bend. The Canadian Institute of Planners (‘CIP’) recently released its policy on ‘Planning Practice and Reconciliation,’ which addresses their response to national demands to reconcile with Indigenous Peoples in Canada (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2019). The policy highlights objectives for practicing planners to meet, including upholding Indigenous planning approaches, law, and governance systems. Following this, the Ontario body of professional planners released a document on Indigenous Perspectives in Planning, where findings from an Indigenous

Planning Perspectives Task Force was released. In this document, the Ontario Professional Planners Institute (‘OPPI’) establishes the dark context of planning history in Canada and report on recommendations from the Task Force in the short term and long term (Ontario Professional Planners Institute, 2019). These recommendations suggest OPPI identify steps towards the decolonization of planning in the long term, while formally recognizing their commitment to advance reconciliation in the meantime, among many others. The professional bodies of planners are slowly coming to terms with planning’s colonial past that has effectively turned Indigenous Peoples into a diasporic group on their home territories via colonial dispossession of land, and this thesis plays a role in helping redirect Canadian planning culture.

The challenge I attempt to answer in response to this predicament of Western planning theory and practice denying Indigenous worldviews is to interpret a culture of Haudenosaunee planning theory from Haudenosaunee culture, values, and overall philosophy. I am asking the Two Row Wampum, the Great Law of Peace, and the Thanksgiving Address what they can contribute to be understood as elements of a Haudenosaunee culture of planning.¹ I seek to analyze these important elements and recognize their capacity to build onto a Haudenosaunee theory and culture of planning. By interpreting a Haudenosaunee culture of planning, I hope to add to the understanding that Indigenous ways of planning are viable today just as they were millennia ago. I hope to build on the efforts of Indigenous planners worldwide to make it clear that Indigenous ways of planning are legitimate in both theory and practice.

¹ Like many other Indigenous cultures, in the Haudenosaunee worldview everything carries its own spirit that we can listen to and learn from. Thus, Haudenosaunee values are living with agency and a continual purpose that humans can engage with as they would engage with each other.

Research Questions

In this thesis I work towards answering bigger questions of planning theory around the ontology, epistemology, and methodologies of both Western planners and Indigenous Peoples. I seek to find legitimacy in Indigenous philosophies as having the potential to inform planning relationships, processes, and tools. Through this thesis I am guided by the following questions: Can Western ways of being, knowing, and doing have the capacity to recognize and coexist with Indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing? How can this relationship manifest in the realm of planning?

Ultimately, I seek to determine the viability of Indigenous cultures as producers of planning theory and practice that can attempt to address contemporary planning issues just as Western cultures of planning attempt to do.

Structure of Thesis

I start with this Introduction section to describe who the Haudenosaunee are. I feature a discussion of the history and significance of the three main items of Haudenosaunee culture I will be referring to throughout this work – the Great Law, the Two Row Wampum Belt, and the Thanksgiving Address. Next, I review the current literature on Indigenous planning theory and its relationship to Western planning theory in my Literature Review. Here, I illustrate the existence of a gap that my research helps to fulfill. I then discuss my Methodology where I describe the Indigenous research practices I engaged with as part of a qualitative research framework. My Methods subsection details my framework of analyzing the features of Haudenosaunee culture to be discussed, and I describe how I adapted this framework from existing literature to suit my needs. After this, I describe the important elements of the three main items of Haudenosaunee culture I identified earlier in my Introduction; I call these the ‘kaié:ri

kanen'shón:'a,' or the 'four seeds.' The symbolism and origin of each main element, or 'seed,' is discussed in this section. Next, all elements are scrutinized together against the frameworks I described in my Methods section. I title this chapter 'Ionkwaienthón:hakie Ken'nikatsi'tsá:'sas' meaning 'we are planting little flowers,' referring to the development of ideas being the growth of the seeds. In this section I determine how the elements can be considered components of a planning culture. After a summary of my analysis, I attempt to apply my findings to what could look like a contemporary planning culture that extends beyond theory to reach the practical realm by developing a Haudenosaunee Code of Planning Practice. This provides a practical application of a theoretical exploration. I conclude with a summary of my findings and their meanings for planning, and I write a final reflection which aims to respond to the first, more personal section of my Introduction.

Chapter 2: The Haudenosaunee

The rotinonhsión:ni or Haudenosaunee (colonially known as the ‘Iroquois’) are an historic confederation of six nations inhabiting the Northern New York and Southern Ontario regions at the base of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario (see Figure 1). The Haudenosaunee Confederacy is comprised of the *Kanien'kehá:ka* (Mohawk), the *Oniote'á:ka* (Oneida), the *Ononta'kehá:ka* (Onondaga), the *Kahoniokwenhá:ka* (Cayuga), the *Tsonontowane'á:ka* (Seneca), and the *Thatiskorò:roks* (Tuscarora) nations (Hill S. , 2017).²

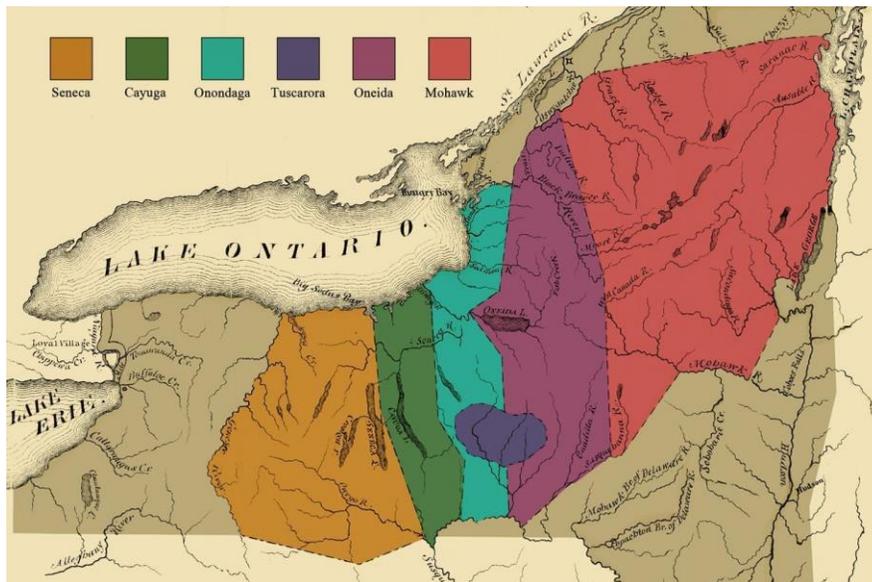


Figure 1: Map of Haudenosaunee territory by nation circa 1720. Image by Eric Doxtator, 2017

The Haudenosaunee are bound together in law by the *Kaianeren'kó:wa*, or the ‘Great Law of Peace,’ which serves as the constitution. The *Kaianeren'kó:wa* addresses virtually all of Haudenosaunee laws, governance, and culture including roles and responsibilities, naming conventions, treaties with other nations, clan systems, council processes, and so on. The

² The Tuscarora Nation joined the confederacy in the 1700s. Before then, the confederacy existed as the League of Five Nations.

Kaianeren'kó:wa is a thorough document, describing not only the operation but also the history, culture, and philosophy of the bound nations. It was first recited on August 31st, 1142, making the Haudenosaunee the oldest living participatory democracy on Earth (Johanansen, 1995).

For this thesis, I have identified three main items of Haudenosaunee cultures³ which I have high respect for and engage with often. I chose these items mainly for their personal significance, but they are also incredibly important to the Haudenosaunee. The three main items I have identified are: The Great Law, The Two Row Wampum Belt, and the Thanksgiving Address. The significance, symbolism, and history of these three main items are described below. Throughout the rest of this work, the names of these three main items will be referred to in Mohawk.

Kaianeren'kó:wa - The Great Law

The Kaianeren'kó:wa governs all cultural proceedings and marks the founding of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Because Haudenosaunee cultures operate with oral tradition, the Kaianeren'kó:wa does not traditionally exist as a physical document. As such, consulting it in text-form can be problematic as it lacks cultural grounding via oral telling and it lacks the nuance of the speaker through their voice. Some textual interpretations do exist, and for my research I consulted two: *Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace* by Kayanesenh Paul Williams (2018), and *The Constitution of the Five Nations* by A. C. Parker (1916). Because the Kaianeren'kó:wa exists traditionally as an oral retelling of law and governance over generations, consulting more than one text version of the Kaianeren'kó:wa ensures a lack of bias in interpretation.

Kayanesenh's work (2018) surveys plenty of interpretations including both oral and text

³ I am using 'cultures' as a plural word here to reflect the fact that, while the Haudenosaunee are sibling nations bound together in one unified confederation, there are cultural nuances among the six nations individually.

versions, giving a thorough summary of the Kaianeren'kó:wa in its entirety. My following description of the Kaianeren'kó:wa is drawn from these two sources.

The Kaianeren'kó:wa was adopted by the Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga after 'The Dark and Troubled Times' of intense physical and psychological warfare. Thadodaho, an extremely powerful Onondaga warlord, was responsible for a vast number of deaths, including the many daughters of a warrior named Hiawatha. It is legend that the magical and mean Thadodaho had snakes in his hair among other inhuman features. To console the grief of his loss, Hiawatha developed a method using white wampum to clear his eyes to see, open his ears to hear, and clear his throat to speak without grief. Ultimately, this ceremony called the Condolence Ceremony accomplishes a clearing of the mind. This ceremony remains an incredibly sacred and central to the perseverance of Haudenosaunee after experiencing grief.

Hiawatha becomes a disciple of the Peacemaker who had arrived on the shores of the Bay of Quinte to stop warfare among the five nations in the form of a democratic confederacy. Together, Hiawatha and the Peacemaker met with the *Rotiíáner* (chiefs) of the Oneida, Mohawk, Cayuga, and Seneca nations under one longhouse to discuss their matters as a grand council. The Onondaga needed to be convinced to join this council, so Hiawatha and the Peacemaker sought the assistance of Tsikónsaseh, who would be the first *Iakoiáner* or 'Clan Mother.' (Note that the word for Clan Mother is the feminine equivalent of the word for Chief: 'roiáner' is one individual 'Chief,' whereas 'iakoiáner' is one individual Clan Mother: the equivalence of genders is built directly into Haudenosaunee roles and languages.) Tsikónsaseh was responsible for stopping the war by combing the snakes from Thadodaho's hair and singing the Hiy Hiy song to help bring his body to what is normal and human. For her commitment to peace, the

Peacemaker gave her the responsibility of choosing which men became chiefs – since this time, it has been the Clan Mothers who continue to make this incredibly important decision.

Because of Tsikonsaseh's noble actions, Thadodaho's mind was cleared to rationality, and his rage has left his body. The newly assembled rotiiá:ner of each nation each brought strands of wampum together, which the Peacemaker wove into the belt of the confederacy – the Hiawatha Belt. This action was performed under a total eclipse of the Sun, enabling historians to estimate with relative accuracy when and where this historic moment occurred: August 31, 1142 in what is now a football field in Victor, New York (Williams, 2018). At the time, there was a tall white pine tree, The Tree of Peace, under which the rotiiá:ner buried their weapons of war and the Peacemaker shared the Kaianeren'kó:wa for the first time. With this, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was established.

Ultimately, the Kaianeren'kó:wa is an all-encompassing force of governance, law, and culture among the Haudenosaunee. In its abundance, it captures so much of what it means to be a Haudenosaunee person. While it is a political document, it does not separate the spiritual from the political, and because of this connection it is incredibly holistic in its approach to how Haudenosaunee should conduct themselves.

Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha - The Two Row Wampum Belt

The Two Row Wampum Belt or *Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha* in the Mohawk language is physical evidence of an historic agreement between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch on how they would proceed with nation-to-nation trading relationships beyond 1613 when it was reportedly signed (Hill, 2013). The relationship's structure is simple: the belt depicts two long strands of purple wampum beads in between three strands of white wampum beads (Figure 2). One of the purple strands is representative of a Haudenosaunee canoe, and the other is

representative of a Dutch (or European) ship. The three strands of white beads are all representative of the ‘river of life,’ comprised of peace, good mindedness, and strength. The purple strands remain parallel with one strand of white in between, representing how each vessel may carry through the same waters while each tending to their own matters in a ‘brother to brother’ relationship without the interference of each other (Keefer, 2014).



Figure 2: Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha on elk and deer hide with dried tobacco. Image by Katie Turriff, 2020

It is Haudenosaunee oral tradition that the significance of this wampum belt continues to reflect a relationship between the Haudenosaunee and colonial bodies of people at large despite its beginnings with only the Dutch (Doxtater, 2011). This equitable relationship depicted by the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha has not been reflected in Canadian history, and this is especially true of the theory and practice of planning in Canada.

There has been plenty of scholarship deciphering the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha against different contexts (Morito, 2012; Muller, 2007; Van Ittersum, 2018; Bedford & Workman, 1997; Doxtater, 2011; Mika, 2011; Mercer, 2019). Its popularity is understandable,

because at face value the relationship is very easy to comprehend, and it suggests a simple aspiration of equity and balance. It must be remembered, however, that the complexities of the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha are real, as we have learned throughout history. If the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha were truly that simple, we would be living it. The intricacies of the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha relationship should not be taken for granted. It is studied in this thesis for its significance in Haudenosaunee diplomacy and its quiet intricacy.

Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen - The Thanksgiving Address

The *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* means 'the words that come before all else,' and is also referred to in English as the Thanksgiving Address. Appropriately, it was the first major piece of Mohawk language I learned. When it was taught in my language class, my teacher shared that its words are the most important words you could say in the Mohawk language, and that it is the most important aspect of Haudenosaunee cultures (Bilodeau, 2017). The *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* and its teachings form the basis of Haudenosaunee cosmology (McDowell, 2001).

Scholarship on the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* describes that it teaches the beliefs of interrelatedness and interdependency of all elements of Creation and can be used as a teaching tool and as a way of understanding our place in the world (Blaser et al, 2004). There is also the belief that if the natural world is not shown the appreciation, love, thanks, and respect that the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* offers, they will leave and no longer serve their purpose on Mother Earth (Blaser et al, 2004).

The *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen* is spoken out loud at the beginning and end of any important event or at the beginning of a new day to greet it. There is no right or wrong way to say the *Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen*, as it is essentially a spoken list of everything the speaker is

particularly thankful for as they greet the day or event. As such, the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén could be anywhere between thirty seconds long to beyond forty-five minutes. It is up to the speaker to determine what they will be speaking about in the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén and it is the responsibility of the listeners to acknowledge the items being thanked. Because there is no set version of the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén to be recited, to speak it is not a mindless activity. Rather, it requires active thinking with energy and purpose. It takes considerable effort to improvise such an important set of words before an important crowd, and this is a vital aspect of the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén – it demands respect to be done actively and with intention.

The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén starts with an acknowledgment that everyone gathered is called to listen and be engaged during the time the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén is spoken. The speaker then requests everyone will ‘*entitewahwe’nón:ni ne onkwa’nikòn:ra*’ meaning ‘circle our minds together’ to give thanks, love, and respect to Creation. The speaker lists one particular element of Creation they are thankful for (it could be the people gathered at the event, the moon, the waves of the ocean, the blades of grass under the Speaker’s feet, and so on). The speaker concludes that passage by saying ‘*é’tho niotónhak ne onkwa’nikòn:ra,*’ meaning ‘now our minds are one,’ to which the gatherers make some vocal response, typically a simple ‘yo’ to remark their acknowledgment. The speaker then continues the same process for the next element of Creation they are thankful for, starting with asking everyone to circle their minds and ending with an acknowledgment by the gatherers. When all has been given thanks and acknowledged, the speaker then notes that all of the words have been spoken. The speaker will add that if there is something people believe the speaker has forgotten, the gatherers have the responsibility to be thankful for it in their minds by themselves. The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén ends here, however long it takes.

The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen focuses on the mind, and features the idea of having the minds of the group circled and ‘one’ altogether. The Mohawk word for this idea is ‘*ska’nikòn:ra,*’ with ‘ska’ being the root word for ‘one’ and ‘nikon’ being the root word for mind. This value speaks to the Haudenosaunee worldview that to be best engaged in society, one requires a ‘good mind.’ When in a group together, that is typically translated to the idea of ‘one mind,’ meaning that everyone is working with one good mind together as a whole. By acting with a good mind and with one mind as a group, peace can be better achieved, and it is with peace that we can be truly thankful for Creation.

Opportunities for Further Analysis

There are plenty more ceremonies, values, stories, traditions, cosmologies, treaties, and major historic events that I could analyze to contribute more elements to a Haudenosaunee culture of planning. I relied on my pre-existing knowledge and my confidence, and chose the items I am most familiar with. I believe it would be disingenuous of me to research new items in the time that I had – I believe this would result in me passing along information without a truly good mind. I welcome future scholars to use my methods to continue research on conceptualizing a Haudenosaunee culture of planning. With more rigorous analyses of more elements of Haudenosaunee culture, I know the findings would strengthen viable Haudenosaunee planning theories and practices. I am merely starting what could become a major project in interpreting Haudenosaunee values in the realm of planning – it could be quite the decolonization project.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Indigenous planning theory is slowly becoming more widely researched and explored around the world, and its legitimacy is coming to light especially in the Canadian context. The initial policy from CIP (2019) and policy suggestions from OPPI (2019) are essentially the beginnings of Canadian planners formally identifying the need to embrace Indigenous traditions in the planning profession. Existing literature on the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Western planning cultures identify the need for Indigenous Peoples to own the capacity to determine their own planning goals for themselves in pursuit of decolonization. As mentioned in my purpose statement, I aim to support Haudenosaunee self-determination and decolonization by constructing a theoretical framework for the identification and analysis of Haudenosaunee ways of planning. As Borrows suggests in his book *Canada's Indigenous Constitution* (2010), our interpretive legal communities will widen and legal traditions will improve as more people participate in understanding and applying Indigenous legal norms – I am confident that the same thing can happen in a planning context.

There are three main topics I discuss in this literature review to illustrate the gap in planning theory that my research helps to fill. The first is an analysis of existing Western theories of planning and how they are equipped to include the identities, values, and histories of Indigenous Peoples. In this section, I go over established theories and determine to what general extent they can include Indigenous interests. The next section involves a discussion on Indigenous planning theory featuring a description of *Indigenist* planning theory. This section acts as a response to Western theories of planning where I review what Indigenous and *Indigenist* planning theories exist, offering an understanding of how they set up the theoretical

space for my research to build on. Finally, I discuss the big and crucial ideas of decolonization, emancipation, self-determination, and spatial justice. This section is vital as it is these big ideas that my research ultimately aspire to. Here I offer a quick comment on how existing theories help to push the agenda of Indigenous spatial justice, followed by a summary of my literature review.

A literature review of this sort of content must start with a nod to the true beginnings at play here when Europeans colonized and settled these lands. This is the firestarter: the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and planning theories that developed from Western cultures has roots in colonial expansion and domination founded in *terra nullius*, described as the fantasy of unoccupied and pristine land destined to be worked by Europeans (Sandercock, 2004). Porter (2010) identifies that planning is not only complicit in colonialism, but also exists as a fundamental practice of colonialism by dominating discursive practices resulting in marginalization, oppression, and systematic dispossession of Indigenous Peoples. After original conquest, marginality and exclusion have been a constant fundamental reality for Indigenous Peoples across the world, as noted by Hibbard, Lane & Rasmussen (2008). A branch of planning theory attempts to address colonialism: ‘post-colonialism’ is described as less of a theory and more of an attitude or initial consideration of critiquing alternatives to existing planning regimes imposed by colonizers upon colonized peoples (Allmendinger, 2017). Post-colonial theorists are working to revisualize the diffusion of planning knowledge to something more participatory or borrowed rather than imposed as part of an ongoing process of planning cultures, and are attempting to adapt planning changes to Indigenous concerns (Allmendinger, 2017).

While it is a start, post-colonialist planning theories are still formed from Western epistemologies and methodologies. There is limited capacity, then, for true Indigenous emancipation from colonialism through planning theory by-and-for Indigenous Peoples

themselves. Post-colonialism may assist Western planning cultures in coming to terms with their historic pasts, but there is little opportunity for furthering meaningful decolonization through post-colonialist theories and methods as active decolonizing work should be a physical and direct response to the theft of land (King & Pasternak, 2019). Alternatively, engaging with planning theory that comes from Indigenous cultures is more amendable to decolonization efforts.

Indigenous planning theories surpass the limitations of post-colonial planning theory to find Indigenous spatial justice by Indigenous methods rooted in Indigenous ontologies, epistemologies, and methods of self-determination. To demonstrate this, I survey some Western planning theories I found to have the potential to see Indigenous planning traditions thrive at face-value. From initial readings of Western planning theory, I found that Hoch's pragmatic theory, Davidoff's advocacy theory, and Habermas' theory of communicative rationality can help identify how power and organization may influence planning outcomes. There exists some potential here for Indigenous Peoples to contribute to the conversation about experiences with colonial powers, but it is limited by how entrenched these theories are based in a European and Western understanding of land as a commodity, something that generally goes against Indigenous worldviews across the globe.

Power relations are discussed in Hoch's pragmatic theory, specifically with a focus on developing trust between communities as a part of achieving pragmatic goals (Hoch, 1984). Perhaps there is an opportunity here for trust to be developed between Indigenous and Western communities. Davidoff's advocacy theory focuses on greater public involvement and relates to pluralism, with the main tenets being that power is fragmented and decentralized in society, and that power dispersal in society is desirable (Davidoff, 1965). There is a capacity for this to relate to Indigenous differences in society, but there are major limitations in this theory in

understanding large power differences between colonized and colonizer groups. Finally, Habermas' communicative rationality as the basis for the theory of communicative planning advises planners to carry out their practice with truth, righteousness, and comprehensibility that is free from the exercise of power and with all actors being equally and fully capable of making arguments (Habermas, 1984). Again, major difficulties exist here in assessing Indigenous Peoples' ability to champion 'power' at the same scale of settler society, and this theory glosses over entrenched inequalities in society that can not be solved with truth, righteousness, and comprehensibility alone.

One specific theme in Western planning theory that stands out is rationality. As I previously described, Habermas' theory of communicative rationality involves truth, righteousness, and comprehensibility free of power and maintained with equality among actors. This definition of rationality places emphasis on process. Furthermore, the rational-comprehensive model of planning is another spotlight on the concept of rationality: it incorporates a procedural outlook on planning methods involving very qualitative elements such as data review, projections, estimates, models, and so on (Planning Tank, 2015). The concept of rationality in Western thought typically relates to using reason when making decisions, a main element of the Enlightenment (Allmendinger, 2017). It seems the focus of Western ideas of rationality are on the respect of using reasoned procedure to get to decisions, especially as it is rooted in modern thought. How Indigenous Peoples conceive of rational thought may be quite different considering the radically different epistemological plane Indigenous Peoples think on. The Haudenosaunee concept of rationality is discussed later in this essay, but this short discussion provides an overview of the Western roots for this concept.

These theories play a large role in guiding how Western planners carry out their duties in practice, and how they reflect on the planning decisions they make. There is little room for Indigenous Peoples to become involved in Western planning processes, let alone be given the opportunities to see their planning traditions thrive at-large in pursuit of decolonization. This short review of Western planning theory proves the need for Indigenous planning to be prioritized for seeing Indigenous emancipation and true decolonization come through in a spatial sense for the benefit of Indigenous futures.

While Western planning theories developed over time with violence and domination, Indigenous planning theories are rooted in Indigenous cultures' Creation Stories, perspectives of land, perspectives of relationships, and cosmologies. These theories have developed to be sacred worldviews since time immemorial, and they continue to directly inform Indigenous cultures today. The key element to understanding the difference between Western and Indigenous theories of planning is to understand that 'planning' as a word by itself should not be understood as being attached to any individual culture. Matunga, in *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (Walker et al, 2013), suggests that 'planning' is a human activity that is done across all cultures, and it is therefore critical that Indigenous Peoples define what it means for themselves in response to dominating Western theories of planning historically and forcefully assigned to them and their territories. Jojola (2008) identifies that the distinguishing feature of Indigenous planning is its priority placed on traditional knowledge and cultural identity – in comparison, there is little cultural identity directly applied to and informing Western planning tradition. Jojola describes Indigenous planning as both an approach to community planning and an ideological movement, considering its ability to emancipate Indigenous cultural identity and traditional knowledge through territorial jurisdiction (Jojola, 2008).

Parallels between Indigenous law and Indigenous planning can also be drawn to make conclusions about Indigenous planning's potential. An Anishnaabe legal scholar, Borrows emphasizes the need to engage with Indigenous philosophies to achieve adequate realities for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples (Borrows, 1997). He finds that Indigenous justice can be found when Indigenous planning is led and judged by Indigenous principles, and he suggests that by legitimizing Indigenous philosophies, environmental systems, and social systems are also given a voice due to the intrinsic relationship between the two (Borrows, 1997). Borrows is a key figure in the Indigenous Law Research Unit at the University of Victoria, which have published analytical frameworks for restating an Indigenous body of law (Indigenous Law Research Unit n.d.). They are used as a main tool for research analysis in my methods section. There are plenty of parallels to draw between legal principles and planning principles as they both place emphasis on social ordering. While developing ideas for this research, I consulted plenty of work on Indigenous law and policy to prepare me for writing on Indigenous planning (Borrows, 1997; Borrows, 2010; Peters, 2011; Borrows, 2017).

One way to view Indigenous planning theories is with an *Indigenist* perspective. Stemming from academic theory on 'Indigenism,' Rigney (1999) characterizes Indigenist methods as being composed of three fundamental and interrelated principles: resistance, political integrity, and privileging Indigenous voices. By extending and adapting these ideas from research methodology in general to planning more specifically, we can understand Indigenist planning as a means of achieving Indigenous justice in the spatial sphere. Those who primarily benefit from Indigenist planning theory are Indigenous communities themselves, and second to them are Western planning cultures. By considering Indigenous planning tradition as legitimate

forms of theory and practice, Western planning cultures can develop the capacity to foster equitable goals of planning which Indigenous planning theory inherently achieves.

Hirini Matunga also addresses these ideas of Indigenous planning in ways that could be interpreted as ‘Indigenist.’ In ‘Theorizing Indigenous Planning,’ the first chapter of *Reclaiming Indigenous Planning* (Walker et al, 2013), Matunga theorizes the aims of Indigenous planning as ‘political autonomy and advocacy,’ ‘environmental quality and quantity,’ ‘social cohesion and wellbeing,’ ‘economic growth and distribution,’ and ‘cultural protection and enhancement.’ Matunga’s view is that these aims exist under a rubric of self-determination, and that in practice they must be carried through by Indigenous Peoples according to their laws and traditions as an internal dialogue. Coupled with the idea of self-determination as a goal, Matunga also theorizes that an ultimate goal of Indigenous planning should be for the repatriation of Indigenous lands and cultures to their original owners currently alienated via colonial processes, by using traditional Indigenous planning processes as a means of emancipation. This argument is understandably common with Indigenous Peoples seeking justice in the face of colonialism across the world, most commonly summarized in the quick adage, ‘land back.’⁴

In terms of achieving true decolonization, it is arguable that planning (just perhaps not Western planning) is one area of human nature where it can truly happen. As argued in Tuck and Yang’s pivotal piece ‘Decolonization is not a Metaphor’ (2012), decolonization is solely about repatriation of Indigenous land and life. Decolonization does not exist as a method for making other systems such as schools more ready for Indigenous populations to thrive. They argue that this turns decolonization into a metaphor via settler moves to innocence, and that in reality

⁴ In the Mohawk language, this could be translated as ‘taontaionkhiionhónston,’ meaning ‘for them to return the Earth to us.’

decolonization means spatial emancipation (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Therefore, the planning profession itself may not be in the position to be decolonized in terms of its structures, policies, practices, and so on. Those elements will always exist as being of Western thought and development. However, because planning is a system of spatial tools where decolonization of Indigenous land and life can be achieved, Indigenous planning theory and practice must be researched and practiced appropriately to properly achieve this goal. Ugarte (2014) suggests that the decolonization of planning should begin in a discursive fashion such that it is theorized and then materialized in practice. Her work also emphasizes the need for decolonization to be as ubiquitous as colonization was pervasive, meaning the decolonization of planning attitudes and realities must be done per the broader social, political, and institutional contexts that fuels planning regimes. Additionally, Simpson (2014) describes that the decolonization originally set in motion by Indigenous ancestors cannot be carried out unless a generation of land-based and community-based intellectuals and cultural producers is made – it is my understanding that Indigenous planning can manifest this generation of Indigenous planning leaders.

The big idea of decolonization is a manifestation of the other big ideas: emancipation, spatial justice, and self-determination. Real, radical decolonization is the sum of these terms – again, it can be easily described as ‘land back.’ This is not only some quick motto of Indigenous resistance, but also a major theoretical and practical response to the tireless machine called colonialism. This essay serves as a means for achieving that radical decolonization that Indigenous Peoples need to effect emancipation, spatial justice, and self-determination *for* time immemorial moving forward. With this literature review, I see a prime need for research like mine which takes all of this theory and attempts to use it productively with a body of sacred Indigenous knowledge to physically carve out a tangible, individual Indigenous planning theory:

Haudenosaunee planning theory. As I had mentioned, Indigenous planning theory is a growing movement of ideas and practices, and it is well understood that for Indigenous justice to be realized, work like mine must be done.

Chapter 4: Methodology

To properly conduct myself with the Indigenous epistemologies, I practiced my methodology with an Indigenous approach to research. I approached my readings and tasks with an understanding that Indigenous knowledge systems are legitimate ways of knowing, collectivity as a way of knowing assumes reciprocity to the community, and Indigenous methods such as story, song, and wampum belts are a legitimate way of sharing knowledge (Strega & Brown, 2015). By grounding my thinking with this understanding of how knowledge can be structured and shared, I could open my mind to more holistic interpretations of the Indigenous content I worked with. I also engaged with Tuhiwai Smith's approach to Indigenous research methodology where decolonization is the objective (1999). Smith aligns decolonization with self-determination as a goal of social justice expressed through the processes of transformation, decolonization, healing, and mobilization of Indigenous Peoples, and determines these are critical elements of a strategic Indigenous research agenda.

I also quickly recognized my approach to research was going to be qualitative. I familiarized myself with qualitative research theory to better understand how to gather my knowledge for qualitative analysis. Informed by Indigenous research methodologies, I worked with a context-sensitive and interpretive approach to content analysis to effectively interpret the material I worked with. By using an interpretive approach, I could treat social activity as text that could be analyzed on a layer-by-layer basis (Berg, 2009). This approach allowed me to appreciate the differences between my researched items and consider them all together against the context of Haudenosaunee planning.

With an approach to knowledge acquisition directed by the principles of both Indigenous and qualitative methodologies, I could gather research in a content- and context-appropriate way. I prioritized gathering sources on Indigenous theories of planning, law, policy, and governance. I accumulated a broad scope of sources that helped situate my refined ideas amid other general Indigenous scholarship. I coded the textual content I collected in an open-coded fashion by identifying key concepts of the sources, which I then quantified to determine the manifest content of the data (Van den Hoonaard, 2015). The most popular codes I identified included ‘relationships,’ ‘colonialism,’ ‘culture,’ ‘law,’ ‘treaties,’ ‘government,’ ‘historical analysis,’ ‘land management,’ ‘Aboriginal-Crown relationships,’ and ‘Haudenosaunee.’ Because of the high-level nature of the open-coding technique I used, some codes required sub-codes for more apt identification of concepts. For example, under ‘relationships’ I identified subcodes ‘hierarchal,’ ‘restorative,’ ‘paternalistic,’ ‘responsible,’ ‘ethical,’ and ‘sacred,’ to name a few. Many of these subcodes were developed as latent content; they were interpreted from the data’s underlying themes rather than pulling out specific words and concepts.

After coding my text sources, I could grasp a succinct understanding of what information I had collected in text form. This high-level interpretation of collected concepts during the research phase helped identify which codes, or themes, were common in my research and Indigenous planning scholarship at-large to an extent. These themes helped me develop a physical network of idea linkages of specific ideas. I covered a wall with taped up sticky-notes with jotted-down ideas pulled from my research, some of which were connected with taped embroidery thread. I could physically walk around my ideas, point to them, highlight and connect words, and rearrange and add notes as my thoughts continually evolved, developing a reiterative process.

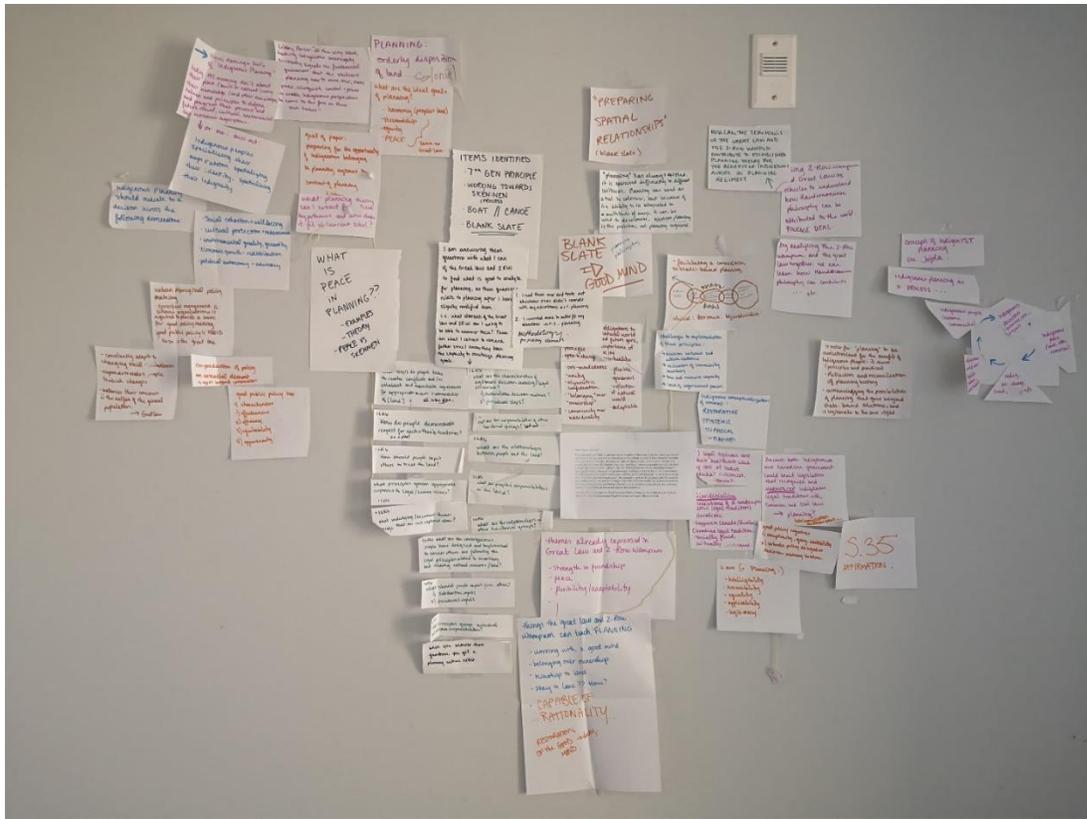


Figure 3: My wall of notes. Image by Katie Turriff, 2020

This process carried out through a habit of writing in addition to note-taking and idea-organizing. I would rewrite my research question and problem statement multiple times, each in slightly different ways or with slightly different points, until my work amassed to something more challenging and exciting than before. To this effect, I essentially developed a reciprocal relationship with my work; I would learn from my research, which would develop into notes, which would emit ideas, which I then would consider against my research, and so on. This resulted in a cyclic development of ideas tangling upon each other, which I then pulled through, organized, sorted, and coded to arrange and identify specific relevant themes. With my established habit of writing, these ideas were thoroughly thought through in repeated cycles, which finally developed into this written thesis.

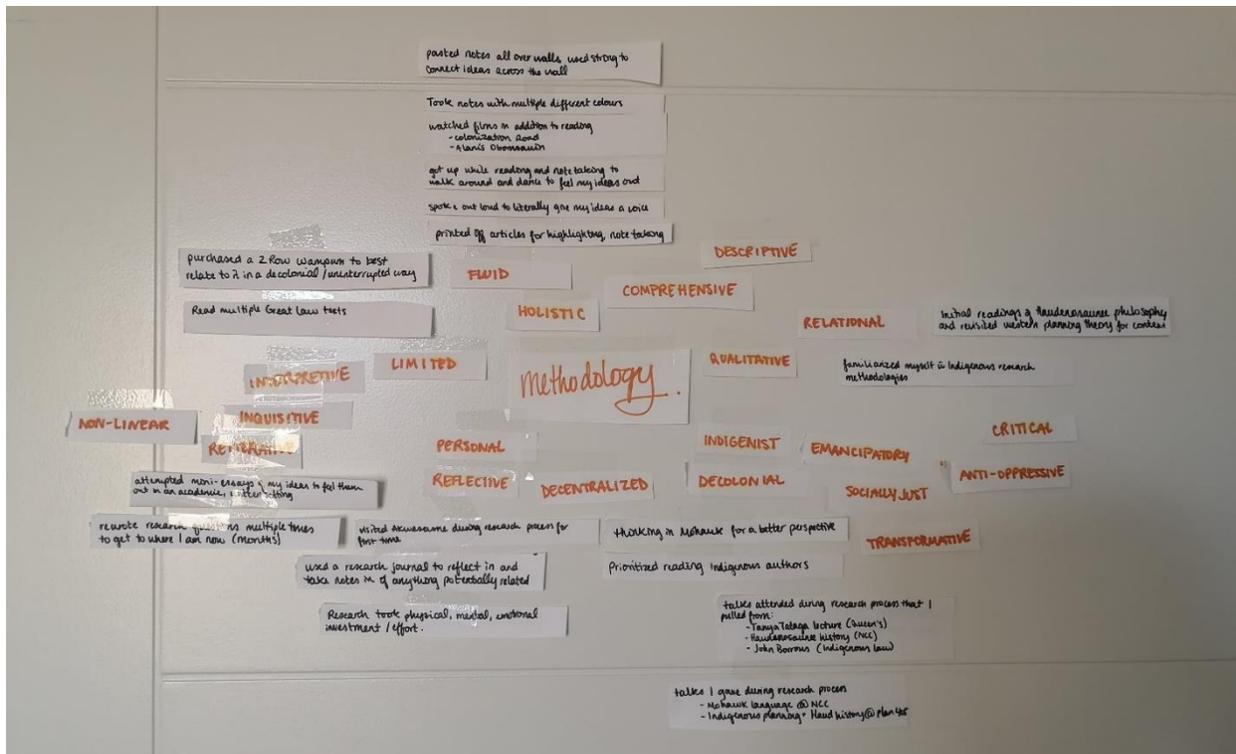


Figure 4: My methodology mind map. Image by Katie Turriff, 2020

Methods

As identified in my Introduction, the general research questions guiding my research and writing of this thesis involve considering a new relationship between Western ways of planning and Indigenous ways of planning. To help answer that, my thesis helps to determine the viability of Indigenous Peoples as producers of planning theory that can address contemporary planning issues in practice. To get to this understanding, I must first identify elements and values of Haudenosaunee culture that are relevant to a spatial analysis, and then further question those elements to determine how they can contribute to a planning culture.

To engage in that process of identifying and questioning those elements, I turned to work being done on Indigenous legal theories and orders. I reviewed the University of Victoria Indigenous Law Research Unit’s (ILRU) analytical frameworks of engaging with Indigenous law (Indigenous Law Research Unit, n.d.) (Appendix B). They have published two frameworks:

one focuses on environmental issues and the other focuses on human and social issues as these two themes relate to Indigenous law. The frameworks operate with a set of questions one seeks to answer, effectively articulating Indigenous legal principles and traditions as a summative restatement of a body of law. I considered these questions against the context of planning and spatial organization as opposed to legal orders in general. What helped guide me through this recontextualization was considering them against Hirini Matunga's framework captioned 'Indigenous planning as a process' (Walker et al, 2013, p.15). In this framework, Matunga notes that planning is a process involving people, place, knowledge, worldviews, decisions, and process. I attempted to involve these components in my thinking to ensure my adapted framework reflects a planning process as opposed to a legal process, while keeping the Indigenous context intact.

To redefine the scope of the questions from legal to planning, I first identified which questions provided strong opportunities for analysis of planning elements. To do this, I looked at which questions addressed the sustaining the interests of land over time, socially preparing for the future, maintaining territorial boundaries, and identifying decision-making processes over land and people. As per my established methodology, I maintained a context-sensitive approach while making these decisions; I kept in mind that the questions should be able to be answered by a Haudenosaunee worldview relevant to planning theory. I also grounded my decisions in my commitment to an Indigenous research methodology, where I reminded myself that these questions can be answered by Indigenous ways of knowing, including the Kaianeren'kó:wa, the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha, and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen.

After initially identifying the appropriate subset of questions from the ILRU Framework (Appendix B), I continued to adapt those questions to meet my specific needs. To do this, I

further spatialized the realm of the questions. I considered the following questions as I worked on this task of reshaping: ‘how can this be reflected to meet the needs of planning?;’ ‘while cultures of law may be able to answer this, how can a culture of planning answer this?;’ and, ‘how can this question be modified further to achieve a rich answer in the planning context?’ By restructuring the questions, I could develop a set of questions directly relevant to Indigenous planning instead of Indigenous law, while preserving the overall context and intent of the question. Instead of restating a body of law as was the intention of the original set of questions, I could begin to restate a culture of planning with this framework of analysis.

I came out of this process with five finalized questions to scrutinize the Kaianeren’kó:wa, the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha, and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen for answers describing a Haudenosaunee theory and culture of planning. They are as follows:

1. *How do people demonstrate respect for the land?*
2. *How do people resolve conflict and establish agreements for appropriate stewardship of the land?*
3. *What responsibilities do people have to their community?*
4. *What are the relationships between people and the land?*
5. *How do people plan for the future?*

These questions will be used as a tool for analyzing the elements of the process of skén:nen, the concept of rationality, the value of gratitude, and the prioritization of planning for future generations which I have pulled from the Kaianeren’kó:wa, the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha, and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen. By scrutinizing these values against my adapted questions, I can determine how they may exist as a contribution to a planning culture. After this, I will synthesize them under another framework to summarize the derived Haudenosaunee

culture of planning. For this section, I will be using Hirini Matunga's framework captioned 'Planning as an outcome' which identifies that a culture of Indigenous planning exists under a rubric of self-determination (Walker et al, 2013, p.23). By condensing my findings concerning this framework, I can effectively restate the Haudenosaunee values I analyzed as a culture of planning in a way that is entirely Indigenist in nature.

Limitations

Haudenosaunee cultures follow oral tradition, and I recognize my methods are limited in their capacity to fully engage with Haudenosaunee traditions without the opportunity to consult knowledge keepers. These sacred conversations would unlock a greater perspective as to how Haudenosaunee theories of planning exist. In my limited capacity of engagement, I purchased a Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha (beaded in Six Nations of the Grand River Territory) to consult its meaning traditionally to mitigate these limitations invoked by a lack of clearance to study people in person. While I could not engage with Haudenosaunee theory in the best way possible, I did what I could with a good mind and with good intentions, and I am honest about how I conducted my work throughout this thesis.

Chapter 5: Kaié:ri Kanen'shón:'a

The common elements of Haudenosaunee culture that I identified by engaging with the Kaianeren'kó:wa, Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha, and Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen are: the process of skén:nen; the concept of rationality; the virtues of thankfulness and gratitude; and the priority of caring for future generations. These elements are discussed further in the sections below, and are analyzed against the frameworks outlined in my Methods section to determine how they can exist as elements of a culture of planning.

The title of this chapter is *Kaié:ri Kanen'shón:'a*, which means 'four seeds.' I am framing it with this language because these values are rooted directly in the natural world just like true seeds, and they will grow into viable elements of a Haudenosaunee planning culture with my analysis in Chapter 6.

The Process of Skén:nen

'*Skén:nen*' is a Mohawk word that can most directly be translated to 'peace' in English. Williams (2018) addresses that 'skén:nen' typically means peace, tranquility, or rest when applied to a people, but also means health, soundness, and a normal functioning condition when applied individually. Skén:nen is a method of living and relates directly to the Kaianeren'kó:wa. Historically, the greeting among Mohawks was '*shé:kon skennen'kó:wa ken?*' This was to ask if the person was still acknowledging peace, or in other words if they were following the law. Therefore, the concept and practice of skén:nen is vital to the day-to-day life of the Haudenosaunee.

Skén:nen is defined as the human activity of striving for universal justice by way of righteousness and reason as a unified people (Blaser et al, 2004). It is understood that when we work towards achieving skén:nen, we develop a *ka'nikonhrí:io*, or a good mind. Furthermore, when we work with a *ka'nikonhrí:io* towards skén:nen, we develop *ka'shatsténhsera*, or strength. The social levels of these three pieces in practice are slightly different than one another: *ka'nikonhrí:io* is an individual responsibility, *ka'shatsténhsera* is achieved at the community level, and skén:nen is the outcome that exists beyond people as an optimal way of life throughout Creation. These three tenets can not exist without the other: one word that could be used to describe their philosophical relationship is 'triumvirate,' meaning the three tenets share authority of meaning amongst each other. In this case, they seem to share an equal but procedural authority.

'Ka'nikonhrí:io' goes deeper than referring to a 'good mind,' it is a righteous way of thinking (Williams, 2018). By 'righteous,' Williams is referring more to what is agreeably correct, right, and good: 'righteous' in this context should not be understood with its common English connotations (Williams, 2018). To engage with *ka'nikonhrí:io*, Onondaga clan mother Frieda Jacques suggests we must perceive of it as a discipline where we actively question the intent of our actions in pursuit of the opportunity to clear our minds and hearts to be open to the will of the Creator (Freeman, 2015). Freeman (2015) adds that someone who engages in developing *ka'nikonhrí:io* is provided with a cultural identity and a sense of belonging to the land, the way of life, and to each other as Original People. Lafrance and Costello (2010) add that *ka'nikonhrí:io* involves using a pure mind in all interactions one experiences. They describe that 'good mindedness' is the state of engaging in *ka'nikonhrí:io* allows peacefulness to spread, while supporting *ka'shatsténhsera* among people.

Like the words ‘skén:nen’ and ‘ka’nikonhrí:io,’ ‘ka’shatsténhsera’ should also be considered to have more fluid of a meaning than how we understand the concepts of ‘strength’ or ‘power’ as English speakers. Ka’shatsténhsera is defined as strength or power that is achieved by engaging with ka’nikonhrí:io. Freeman (2015) suggests ka’shatsténhsera can only be manifested by gathering together people who work with good minds, and can only be accumulated by giving power away and empowering others. When continuing discussion on power in general, Freeman also suggests that skén:nen is the only true power on Earth; all other figments of power are illusions and abuses of the idea of power (2015).

The process of skén:nen, inclusive of the associated concepts of ka’nikonhrí:io and ka’shatsténhsera, is rooted in the Kaianeren’kó:wa and made purposive in the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha. The Kaianeren’kó:wa establishes skén:nen as an ultimate goal to aspire to, and the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha uses the process of skén:nen as a main goal in the relationship between Onkwehón:we and Dutch settlers (or, as the purpose of the Belt is understood more generally today, European settlers in general). It is in the Kaianeren’kó:wa and the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha that we most apparently see the process of skén:nen referred to, but because of its importance throughout Haudenosaunee society it exists as a soft foundational element of the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen as well.

In describing the Peacemaker’s journey to share the goals of peace among the original five nations, the Kaianeren’kó:wa defines the trinity of skén:nen, ka’nikonhrí:io, and ka’shatsténhsera. The Peacemaker shares this vision of peace with the Haudenosaunee, and defines it as a permanent objective as opposed to an achieved state of being. As discussed before, this was accepted by the Haudenosaunee after some conflict, and thus the Kaianeren’kó:wa was adopted.

In the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha, the process of skén:nen is manifested in the three rows of white beads that surround the two rows of purple beads. Together, these rows are representative of the 'river of life,' simply referring to the general life and times that Onkwehón:we and European peoples find themselves in together. As described earlier, one purple stripe represents a Haudenosaunee canoe, while the other represents a Dutch/European ship, symbolic of their principles, cultures, laws, languages, and general way of life. As these lines are parallel, they never touch, meaning these two cultures do not interfere with each others' matters. Each of the three white strands of the River of Life are individually representative of the process of skén:nen: one is symbolic of ka'nikonhrí:io, another is symbolic of ka'shatsténhsera, and the third is symbolic of skén:nen. By placing the vessels in the river of life as made up of the process of skén:nen, this emphasizes not only the importance of working towards skén:nen as a goal in life in general, but it also defines how the relationship between the Haudenosaunee and Europeans should be conducted. Not only do their vessels never cross the defined parallel purple lines ensuring non-interference, but they are to conduct their relationship of independence with one another with a ka'nikonhrí:io and ka'shatsténhsera, working together towards the mutual goal of skén:nen.

The Concept of Rationality

The concept of rationality is defined generally as using balance and reason to determine one's actions (Collins Dictionary, n.d.). In Haudenosaunee tradition, rational thinking is another potential element of planning that reflects on the powers of the individual mind. The concept of rationality is not separate from the concept of ka'nikonhrí:io, but rather complements it to offer some insight into Haudenosaunee ontology. Grey (2008) describes that in Haudenosaunee tradition, humans are benign individual creatures naturally endowed by Creator with the power

of rational thought, the need for autonomy, and the desire for peace. Grey continues to say that people are individually particular but interconnected amongst each other, and everyone possesses equal endowment of the potential for rational, balanced thinking with reason and emotion (2008).

The concept of rationality can not be discussed without discussing its origins. John Mohawk (2010) reminds us that it was the Peacemaker who originally offered to the Haudenosaunee the idea of rationality. The Peacemaker suggested that all humans possess the power to be rational thinkers, and that this rational thinking can help create peace among people. Mohawk (2010) suggests that the Peacemaker defined the idea of rational thinking as having the status of a political principle.

This concept of rational thought is a major element to the origin story of the Kaianere'kó:wa and the Haudenosaunee Confederation. We see this with the use of the Condolence Ceremony to release grief from Hiawatha's mind and with Tsikonsaseh's singing of the *Hiy Hiy* song to remove the rage from Thadodaho' spirit. It is with this origin story that the concept of the universal ability for rationality is developed from: the idea that every human being has the capability of having rational thought and of having their mind restored to goodness and righteousness.

This basis of rational thought allows for the capacity of engaging in ka'nikonhrí:io to grow. Because an individual naturally can use balanced reasoning in their thoughts, it follows that they can use this basis of balanced reasoning in their efforts to consider their every action and determine their intent. Without rational thinking, ka'nikonhrí:io would be more difficult to achieve, making ka'shatsténhsera and skén:nen all the more out of reach. The concept of rational

thinking thus provides a strong basis of the human capability to be good people who do good things.

Interestingly, the concept of rationality in Haudenosaunee ontology also focuses on the use of a procedure to achieve an outcome, similar to Western ontologies as I explored in my literature review. However, Haudenosaunee thought directly attaches ‘rationality’ to a spiritual understanding of the world, while the Western understanding of rationality relates to progress and the yearning for useful outcomes. Furthermore, the emphasis in Haudenosaunee thought is placed on the individual’s mind as owning rationality as an inherent trait, and this is an understanding we don’t see in Western interpretations. Western interpretations seem to disregard the influence and capacity of the individual’s mind when making decisions within procedures advancing towards some idea of ‘progress.’ This difference helps illustrate the nuance between Haudenosaunee (or more widely, Indigenous) and Western epistemologies and ontologies, showing how it is important to consider how Indigenous ways of knowing could influence Indigenous ways of planning compared to the Western ways.

The Virtues of Thankfulness and Gratitude

It is told to the Haudenosaunee as part of the Original Instructions that a major responsibility they are born with is to give thanks to Creation (King, 2007). One main way of expressing this is by reciting the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén as a greeting to Creation before any important issues are discussed or at the beginning of any gathering of people together. Haudenosaunee are called to be grateful and show respect for Creation to reflect that they are not higher than Creation, but merely a part of it. This responsibility does not exist without consequence; should Creation not be shown the love and appreciation it is deserving of, elements of Creation may ‘disappear’ (King, 2007). This is not metaphorical – we see this happening often

around the world with forests destroyed and species going extinct after we disrespect habitats and fail to play our roles and attend to the needs of ecosystems. The importance of giving thanks therefore goes beyond voicing it, but exhibiting it in our behaviour. Thankfulness is not limited to the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén, those words are merely a reminder of the importance of being thankful and having gratitude. Haudenosaunee are called to be stewards and show respect to Creation through every action, too.

It follows, then, that thankfulness does not exist on its own, either. It also contributes to the process of skén:nén, specifically the element of working with ka'nikonhrí:io. Without showing respect for Creation, it is doubtful that someone can truly work with ka'nikonhrí:io individually, and with ka'shatsténhsera at the community level. Without giving thanks, love, and respect – the main collective verb in the word 'teithinonhwerá:tons' in the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén – we can not effectively reach for skén:nén as a common goal. The importance of being thankful grounds us as humble beings in our collective search for skén:nén, and connects us with the Creation we are so thankful for.

The Priority of Caring for Future Generations

A key consideration for Haudenosaunee is caring for the future generations. Specifically, the Kaianeren'kó:wa marks the Haudenosaunee priority of planning for the future seven generations. In her book *The Clay We Are Made Of* (2017), Susan Hill argues this is 'the greatest duty established under the Great Law,' and she shares the words *onhwentsiakón:shon taienkonsohtonnión:tie ne wahsenhnensewenráte*, meaning 'the unborn progeny of the nation' (page 45) to describe its significance. She explains that it is a Haudenosaunee understanding of life that all generations of humans and animals come from the Earth as it is our Mother, and

therefore we have an inherent obligation to caring for the land as it is equivalent to caring for our immediate family.

A key principle to the Haudenosaunee is the Seven Generations Principle, stemming from the Kaianeren'kó:wa. Williams (2018) explains that it is a responsibility of Chiefs to consider the effects of their decisions on the seven generations ahead of them. Not only does this principle support a healthy conscious of future considerations, but it also helps with political stability; Chiefs are not called to think about themselves or their immediate family, but to emphasize their decision-making on their future kin, the benefactors of today's decisions. By considering future repercussions that far ahead, there is confidence in a Chief's decisions during their life term as Chief.



Figure 5 Five generations. Image by Lura Turriff, August 1997

When I was an infant, my mother took a beautiful picture of me being held by my mother, behind him is his mother/my grandmother, then beside her is her mother/my great-grandmother, then on my grandmother's other side is *her* grandmother/my great-great-grandmother. That is five generations in one photo! My great-great-grandmother passed when I was eight, and my grandmother passed when I was 21; my great-grandmother and my father are still here. My family had a clear five-generation vision during those eight years of all of us coexisting where we could interact with each other old and young and consider all our interests at the different stages of life we were at. I was the youngest, set to inherit the Earth my great-great-grandmother and her generation had helped prepare for me and my generation. Still, we only had a five-generation vision, and we are continuously called to prepare for those we don't yet know. In his book on the Kaianeren'kó:wa, Williams (2018) suggests that to truly consider the seventh generation, our thoughts must go beyond our physical capacity – my family's physical capacity at that one point was a remarkable five generations, but only five generations. Williams (2018) uses the metaphor of a river and suggests our thoughts and considerations must go downstream and around the bend in that river: we must prepare for what is around that bend to ensure we are safe, healthy, and vibrant Peoples.

Of course, this element of Haudenosaunee culture and philosophy does not exist on its own. It is also supported by the principles of working for skén:nen, the concept of rationality, and gratitude. It takes ka'nikonhrí:io, an element of skén:nen, to best prepare for the future seven generations by thinking with goodness and clarity. That goodness and clarity can only truly occur with the basis of rational thought that humans are naturally born with. Additionally, the concept of gratitude is extended towards those future seven generations; would we be making positive preparations for their arrival if we were not thankful for them? And how can we plan for

them accordingly if we were not showing our respect and gratitude for Creation along the way?

All these elements come together in one manifestation that is Haudenosaunee culture, fluid and strong in all of its teachings.

Chapter 6: Ionkwaienthón:hakie Ken'nikatsi'tsá:sas

The title of this chapter is Ionkwaienthón:hakie Ken'nikatsi'tsá:sas, which means 'we are planting little flowers.' This Chapter serves as my analysis, and its title flows from my previous title 'kaié:ri kanen'shón:'a,' or four seeds. Here, the seeds are flourishing after being nourished with the care required to help them grow. Little flowers are an apt metaphor for the results we are beginning to see: they are little, meaning they could continue to grow with further research and further analysis (as I had mentioned earlier, this thesis could be the start of a large decolonization project); flowers are also givers of medicine that we can experience by either looking at them and feeling good, or ingesting their leaves, roots, fruits, and so on. I am saying 'we' are planting little flowers to refer to all of the scholars and teachings I have consulted to get to this point of my work. I consider myself a compiler of all of this research that is before me as I engage in qualitative methodologies and practices to articulate a Haudenosaunee culture of planning.

It is easy to comprehend from the English word itself that 'planning' is an activity that inherently focuses on the future. In both theory and practice, planners are called to consider how their decisions today will remain relevant, useful, and sustainable in future times, whether that is six months down the road or decades upon decades later on. In Western cultures, this planning analysis for the future could look like demographic analysis, economic projections, and ecological targets. However, for Haudenosaunee, the concept of planning is rooted in the understanding of planning for the next seven generations. This concept places a major emphasis on understanding both family and land as kin as opposed to the disconnect of things like statistical analysis: it is more of a relational, fluid, and personal approach to understanding how

to develop plans. This is not to say that Haudenosaunee planners today would not be looking at demographic trends, economic projects, and so on in the development of official planning decisions for their territories in practice while working inside the realm of Haudenosaunee planning theory. However, these tools can be more culturally relevant when grounded in the traditional, sacred theory of considering the future seven generations. This is a major element of what could be considered a Haudenosaunee culture of planning in both theory and practice.

I admire Hirini Matunga's approach to defining planning as having always existed in all cultures (Walker et al, 2013). He notes we only call it 'planning' because that is simply the established English word for a concept that exists in cultures globally. Matunga's theorized definition of planning suggests it is flexible, allowing for cultures to develop their own meaning of planning after a *tabula rasa* (or 'blank slate') definition by design. After some translation, I believe the Mohawk word for 'planning' could be *tsi niionkwarihò:tens*, which translates roughly to 'our matters.' This word refers to the general content of Haudenosaunee culture and governance. *Tsi niionkwarihò:tens* is simply the affairs or proceedings that we all play a part in organizing and protecting for future generations, and that is where the planning element comes in. *Tsi niionkwarihò:tens* is vague, indeed, but it is purposefully so as it encompasses the entirety of Haudenosaunee cultures within one concept: the concept of planning can not be separated from other aspects of life as everything is bound together in Creation.

The blank slate approach to understanding planning theory is similar to the Haudenosaunee concept of the capability of rationality. If planning has the capacity of a blank definition in the absence of an attributed culture like Matunga suggests, then planning is only colonial when a colonial culture is attached to it. When different cultures are attributed to planning theory and practice, the definition of planning may take on the form of that associated

culture. Therefore, planning can be not only rational, but perhaps also emancipatory in an Indigenous context. In a Haudenosaunee context, planning may have the capacity of achieving rationality and then goodness, relating to another central concept of the ka'nikonhrí:io.

I acknowledge that the four seeds I planted in Chapter 5 are growing into little flowers. Plants need nourishment to grow, just like ideas need analysis to develop reliability. Therefore, the elements are described below as answers to my questions developed from the ILRU frameworks (n.d.) that I described in my Methods section. I am carefully tending my garden of Haudenosaunee planning theory.

How do people demonstrate respect for the land?

Showing respect for the land is innate to Haudenosaunee. Haudenosaunee are one with the land, and understand that they come from the land as human beings. Showing respect is therefore a lateral process against the backdrop of a kinship system; there is no hierarchy at play. Human beings are of no higher importance than the trees that offer shelter or the rocks that shimmer on the bed of running streams. Haudenosaunee are called to remember this, and to remember it with action; we must give thanks to Creation for all of its plentiful abundance that helps us survive and thrive.

The principle of skén:nen teaches Haudenosaunee to work with ka'nikonhrí:io as individuals to achieve ka'shatsténhsera at the community level. Working with ka'nikonhrí:io must be met with using the ability to be rational thinkers we are born with as human beings. When we think rationally – clearly and with reason – we can fully engage with ka'nikonhrí:io to think with a good mind. When we think with a good mind, we can properly show respect for Creation, specifically through the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen.

Showing respect for the land is not separate from showing respect for people, as all are together in the bounty of Creation. By making preparations for the future seven generations, Haudenosaunee show respect for the land, as well. It is a Haudenosaunee responsibility to consider the future seven generations in all actions, and typically this means being a good environmental steward. If the land is taken care of, the future people will be taken care of, and if the future people can thrive, then the land can thrive. This is the kinship system that requires proper respect for the land to be shown by decision-makers today, so that future Haudenosaunee can continue to inherit the goodness of Creation.

How do people resolve conflict and establish agreements for appropriate stewardship of the land?

Haudenosaunee have historically emphasized making the effort to establish good negotiations between parties on important matters. Of course, the Kaianere'kó:wa establishes a plethora of principles, practices, and procedures for how to go about mitigating conflict and establishing good relations in council (Williams, 2018). In terms of the kaié:ri kanen'shón:'a or 'four seeds' discussed above, however, one 'seed' stands out as instructing conflict resolution techniques for the benefit of land stewardship. This is the process of skén:nen against the context of the Two Row relationship. In this relationship, we can see how the European ship does not interfere with the Haudenosaunee canoe while travelling down the River of Life together. Each vessel is bound by the promise of working towards skén:nen with one another as the principles of ka'nikonhrí:io, ka'shatsténhsera, and skén:nen surround the ship and canoe, holding them accountable for non-interference with each other. This treaty relationship is therefore an established agreement of respect for people, respect for people translates to respect for land through Creation as discussed in the previous section.

Furthermore, with the use of the rational mind which is intrinsic to all human life, the capacity for patience, reason, and clarity is abundant and influences decision-makers in Haudenosaunee communities. If the rational mind is used to develop ka'nikonhrí:io when entering into productive relationships between parties, and if future generations are also considered when those parties attempt to establish agreements for the benefit of the land, there is little opportunity for conflict between the parties to thrive in those conditions of healthy individual being and healthy communication. We know from the process of skén:nen that if everyone is working with ka'nikonhrí:io individually, they can develop ka'shatsténhsera at the community level, paving the way for skén:nen to bloom in all interactions.

What responsibilities do people have to their community?

One of the main ways in which community responsibility is exhibited amongst the Haudenosaunee is through the priority placed on future generations. Caring for future generations is an extension of caring for the immediate community, as future generations are an extension of the current existing community. By considering the future seven generations in decision-making processes, Haudenosaunee take responsibility for ensuring everything they will need will be available to them – not only supplies one may think of today like water and food, but the less physically tangible things like language, culture, traditional knowledge, and customs are also considered. This is a major responsibility to the intergenerational Haudenosaunee community.

Of course, preparing for the future seven generations does not exist on its own. It requires Haudenosaunee use their rational thinking to develop ka'nikonhrí:io and ka'shatsténhsera for skén:nen. It also requires Haudenosaunee practice gratitude for Creation, for you can't

adequately prepare for the future in good conscience (i.e., with a good mind) if you are not paying respect and giving thanks for what you already have at the moment.

What are the relationships between people and the land?

Haudenosaunee have developed sacred intimate kinships with the land since time immemorial. The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen is a main vehicle of understanding that relationship and maintaining the responsibilities we have as a partner in that relationship. By addressing the natural world in thanks, we recognize that human beings are not above the natural world or below it, but rather in a fluid mechanism of equality with it. There is a major aspect of reciprocity that the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen reminds us of; Creation gives us what we need such as food, shelter, abundance, tools, warmth, and spirit, while we respond by utilizing what we need and paying due respect and honour that Creation naturally deserves. That relationship is participatory and constant, and puts human beings and Creation at an equal playing field in terms of engagement and responsibility: both parties have tasks to maintain the relationship that they are obligated to fulfill, and both benefit from the fruit of that labour. Consequences exist for if we do not uphold our end of this sacred agreement; should we neglect our duties and disrespect Creation, Creation will withhold its duties to provide shelter, food, and warmth among other obligations by way of having species disappear, forests chopped down, etc. The relationship must be honoured to see it continue through to the future generations.

How do people plan for the future?

This seems to be the ultimate question as it relates to planning theory and practice. So to effectively answer it would be to engage all the ‘seeds’ I discussed: the process of skén:nen, the concept of rationality, the value of gratitude, and the priority of future generations. Together, these ‘seeds’ tell the story of how Haudenosaunee plan for the future.

The first component to answering this question is to address the concept of rationality, as this is taught to be the most basic human quality that Haudenosaunee (rather, human beings in general) possess from birth. It is an inherent human trait to have the capacity to think clearly and with reason. With rationality, one can develop a good mind and a righteous way of thinking within themselves. When engaging in ka'nikonhrí:io, Haudenosaunee can take proper steps before making decisions in a way that is clear of ill-intent and open to the will of Creator. When people engage with a good mind together, they can develop ka'shatsténhsera, or strength/power, which manifests as simply the powerful force that is the good mind on a community level, beyond working individually. With these two elements in possession by a group, skén:nen becomes an ever wanted goal, a tranquil of the world to aspire to where people are healthy, acting with good intentions, and achieve an overall harmony at a grand scale.

The concepts of a rational mind and skén:nen (encompassing of ka'nikonhrí:io and ka'shatsténhsera) are met with gratitude as the next component of describing how, overall, Haudenosaunee plan. With the concept of gratitude, Haudenosaunee are called to remember that Creation is a powerful force that plays an incredible role in sustaining and supporting human life. That powerful force is not to be dismissed, but rather Haudenosaunee are called to be humble with their human selves and honour Creation with respect, thanks, and love. This levels Haudenosaunee with the Creation that surrounds them, and encourages the continuation of a reciprocal relationship between Haudenosaunee and Creation. Maintaining this reciprocal relationship is an intergenerational responsibility of the Haudenosaunee, and this is where the priority of future generations come in to fully summarize how Haudenosaunee plan. Haudenosaunee are called to consider how their every action and decision affect life on Earth seven generations ahead; how they may access food, how they may drink water, how they may

engage with their family, how they may create art, speak their language, hunt, engage in politics and diplomacy with other nations, and so on. When considering the future seven generations, the best way to ensure they will be cared for is by using rational thinking and a good mind when making decisions. Therefore, these four ‘seeds’ work in harmony with each other to achieve an understanding of how Haudenosaunee plan for the future, and so the garden is grows.

Summary

Matunga offers a framework for interpreting Indigenous planning as a process or approach. He describes that by understanding Indigenous planning as an activity, linkages can be developed between Indigenous communities and defined ancestral places (Walker et al, 2013). In his framework, Matunga addresses the elements which work as a part of the Indigenous planning process. He identifies people, place, knowledge, values and worldviews, decisions, and practice as elements of this process. I go through this framework in an attempt to summarize my findings – or, to continue the metaphor, gather a bouquet of my little flowers.

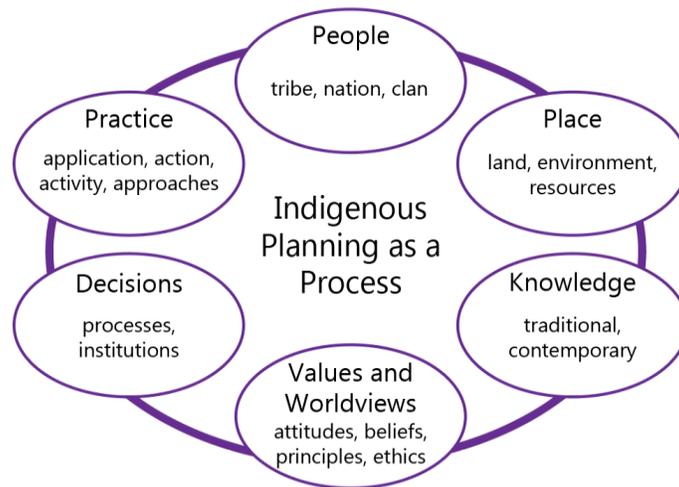


Figure 6: "Planning as a Process" by Hirini Matunga in Reclaiming Indigenous Planning, 2013

The ‘people’ element is rather easy: this is a Haudenosaunee culture of planning, encompassing Haudenosaunee values, traditions, sense of place, cosmologies, and so on. This is

inclusive of Haudenosaunee nations, including Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, Cayuga, and Seneca Peoples. The ‘place’ element is a little more difficult to determine, as there are questions to be asked about what ‘place’ is for Haudenosaunee as land policy and tenure has changed dramatically over the past couple of centuries (Hill, 2017). In keeping with my Indigenist methodology, I am reminded that decolonization is always an objective (Smith, 1999). With this Indigenist approach, I’m considering Haudenosaunee ‘place’ to exist beyond colonial borders of reserves and international borders to suggest that ‘place’ encompasses traditional Haudenosaunee territory just as much as it does contemporary reserve locations. This would include historic trade routes, traditional shared hunting territories with other nations, sacred grounds, and so on.

For ‘knowledge,’ I have identified that Haudenosaunee knowledge comes from a variety of sources. I extracted knowledge from the Kaianeren’kó:wa, the Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha, and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén, which I understand are good sources in learning tsi niionkwarihò:tens, or Haudenosaunee matters. However, there are so many more sources of both traditional and contemporary knowledge that could be further analyzed to better carve out a Haudenosaunee culture of planning. There is incredibly important knowledge nestled in songs, medicines, language, ceremonies, recipes, stories (especially our Creation Story), crafting techniques, hunting practices, and more. Even in contemporary Haudenosaunee cultures, people are learning and exercising new culturally relevant pedagogy for teaching the language, relationships between Canadian and Haudenosaunee politics are being formed, artists are developing new techniques and patterns, and Haudenosaunee resistance to colonialism is evergreen. There is knowledge to be found in all of this, and I am of the view that all of it has at least some capacity to relate to a planning context in both practical and more abstract ways.

I discussed Haudenosaunee ‘values and worldviews’ when I interpreted the Kaié:ri Kanen’shón:’a, or the four seeds. I explored the importance of the land to the Haudenosaunee as kin, and the values placed on future generations. I discussed the process of skén:nen, and identified that this suggests a worldview of people requiring a good mind to work for peace together in strength. Still, there is so much more to understand about Haudenosaunee values and worldviews coming from all the knowledge that could be learned from the traditional and contemporary knowledge repositories I identified above. The “decisions” element plays out largely via the processes outlined in the Kaianeren’kó:wa as what is lawful in Haudenosaunee society and what is proper decision-making. This “decisions” section should also consider the roles and responsibilities of Haudenosaunee as they are also defined in the Kaianeren’kó:wa.

Finally, the ‘practice’ element includes application, action, activity, and approaches. I am keen to leave this element undefined as on-the-ground methods that advance a decolonization agenda may change in effectiveness over time. This is also in the spirit of self-determination. Still, I will explore the practice element to a limited extent in my next section where I discuss how these findings and their analyses could be implemented into planning practice via preliminary means of setting up for effective planning outcomes. This is done with a look at how these findings can support a Code of Planning Practice.

Haudenosaunee Code of Planning Practice

After analyzing the potential for my identified elements of Haudenosaunee culture, I am now testing out my theoretical conclusions of what could be considered elements of a Haudenosaunee planning culture. The main purpose of this section is to test my findings in practice and to offer some guidance to the open question of the ‘practice’ element of Matunga’s

framework of Indigenous planning as a process (Walker et al, 2013). In this section, I will apply my findings to the development of a Haudenosaunee Code of Planning Practice.

This organization of planning culture into a tangible praxis is inspired directly by how planners in the Province of Ontario and across Canada organize and apply their Western planning culture into practice (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2019 & Ontario Professional Planners Institute, 2019). I am using this way to organize my application for planning practice because it is familiar to me, easily recognizable, and I believe it is an effective way to share knowledge by synthesizing a wide array of values in text form, especially for this textual work.

1.0 Responsibility to the Interest of the People

1.1 Sustaining Creation is in the Interest of the People

Haudenosaunee people must always honour Creation when they engage in planning activities. It is in the people's best interest that Creation is maintained. Creation includes the land, water, land and water animals, plants and medicines, air, soil, stones, and all of the natural wonders gifted to us on Mother Earth. These are kin. Creation also includes the spirit of all of these things gifted to us. These kin have spirit just like us. It is the responsibility of Haudenosaunee people who engage in planning activities to consider the relationships that exist between elements of Creation, including us as human beings.

1.2 Responsibility to the Future Seven Generations

It is also the responsibility of Haudenosaunee people who engage in planning activities to consider how their decisions impact the future seven generations of people, as it is also in their best interest that Creation is maintained and sustained for the benefit of the past, present, and future.

2.0 Responsibility to Good Practice

Haudenosaunee people who engage in planning activities are called to work rationally, with clarity and reason. The sacred balance of skén:nen must be prioritized in every action and decision made. Therefore, every action and decision made individually must be done so with ka'nikonhrí:io, and every action and decision made as a group must be done so with ka'nikonhrí:io and ka'shatsténhséra. To do so requires making decisions with a good conscience, purity of thought, and hesitancy by questioning the intent of all actions.

3.0 Responsibility to Creation

Creation is the first planning client. Haudenosaunee people who engage in planning activities must acknowledge that everything they do has an impact on Creation. Creation is sacred, and must be acknowledged as so. Haudenosaunee people who engage in planning must be shown respect and gratitude towards Creation. The lands, waters, skies, and all living beings must be given the highest priority when considering planning decisions. If they and their spirit are not shown the respect they deserve, they will fail to do their duties to reflect how we have failed to do ours.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Through displacement, genocide, and oppression aimed at Indigenous communities by way of Western planning regimes, Indigenous Peoples across the world continue to engage in their traditional ways of life and embrace contemporary means of exercising their cultures. Still, there are limited means of effective decolonization to happen under current planning regimes informed by Western theories that have supported to domination and subjugation of Indigenous Peoples. Where is the justice for Indigenous Peoples within these theories? How can decolonization and emancipation happen within these Western cultures of planning? I am not entirely convinced they can.

Rather than focusing on post-colonialist theory in an attempt to revisit, re-examine, and critique these Western cultures of planning, I dived into what I was confident could be articulated as a different culture of planning after being intrigued with Matunga's idea that 'planning,' as a word, is truly blank. It is only the Western culture attributed to it that brings the ill-effects towards Indigenous Peoples as Western culture of planning are rooted in colonialism. Surely, if an Indigenous culture were attributed to the blank slate of 'planning' instead, emancipation and decolonization can happen.

After heavily engaging with Indigenous and Indigenist planning theory, I embarked on the discovery – or, perhaps world history could consider it a rediscovery – of Haudenosaunee planning values, methods, traditions, principles, and practices. By engaging with sacred texts, objects, and principles guided by Indigenous methodology, I could extract knowledge relevant to planning context and planning discussion. Working towards skén:nen, having rational thought, giving thanks and respect, and prioritizing the future generations in all that Haudenosaunee do

were pulled from the Kaianeren'kó:wa, the Tékeni Teiotha'tá:tie Kaswéntha, and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen to develop a Haudenosaunee culture of planning with the help of scholarship on Indigenous law and Indigenous planning. The findings were applied to develop a code of Haudenosaunee planning practice to go beyond theory and engage with practice.

The ultimate finding from all of this research, analysis, and discussion was that Haudenosaunee are natural planners in every role they undertake. The elements of Haudenosaunee culture that extend to develop a culture of planning are not, and should not be limited to people who identify as 'planners,' but they are the responsibilities of *all* Haudenosaunee. The next question to be asked, then, is whether Western planners – specifically those of European descent who directly benefitted from colonialism in their family lines – are ready to engage with this articulated Haudenosaunee planning culture in how they think about planning and how they act as planners. Are planners who engage in Western planning theory committed to decolonization and emancipation of Indigenous peoples? What role do they play in that, and how are they situated as actors in Indigenous planning theories aimed towards those goals? These are incredibly big questions that have a domino effect on Western planning culture as a whole. To respond to this, I ask all planners to think of what is best for the land and its original caretakers. Whichever course of action best ensures their sustenance is the course of action I believe should be taken. My thesis on conceptualizing a Haudenosaunee culture of planning contributes to this discussion, and I am honoured to place this piece of work down.

Kanenhí:io Wakienthón:hakie

Kanenhí:io wakienthón:hakie, I am planting good seeds. What is my perspective now? I have crafted my space in a corner where I feel comfortable, finally, with planning theory and practice, even if it is not the type of theory and practice that is dominating these lands I live,

work, and play on. I have worked with a good mind. I believe I have helped work towards skén:nen with this academic work. I have planted good seeds with this thesis for not only myself, but for the future of planning in Canada.

This work was manifested from frustration and disappointment, and I don't think those feelings have entirely left my mind, but rather they have been organized into something more productive. I could take those feelings, identify my problem with planning, and contribute to a solution, and I feel very positive about that. Still, I continue to be one person carrying two stories, and I will continue to be that person for the rest of my life. I will continue to carry those two historically warring identities with me into every classroom and office building as I continue my planning career. Perhaps, though, I will be more confident with myself after having completed this summative work. I feel closure after having done this research, analysis, and discussion. I am planting good seeds.

Where does this work leave me? Rather, I should ask where will this work take me. I continue to acknowledge that I live with one foot in each canoe. However, I have a better understanding of what this means as a person studying and working in planning. I have a better understanding of how to translate that into planning theory, and how to translate that into a relationship between planning and Western theories and practices of planning.

I hope I contributed some feelings of unsettlement and discomfort, followed by feelings of intrigue among many, many learnings of what it can mean to be a planner in pursuit of decolonization and Indigenous emancipation through one particular planning culture. I hope I articulated tsi niionkwarihò:tens well. Ultimately, I hope I have inspired other Indigenous planning scholars and practitioners to carve out their own spaces within the daunting realm of planning, knowing their culture is legitimate and their ancestors were planners, too.

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Appendix A: Glossary

Entitewahwe'nón:ni ne onkwa'nikòn:ra – we will circle our minds together.

É'tho niitónhak ne onkwa'nikòn:ra – Now our minds are one.

Iakoiá:ner – Clan mother.

Ionkwaienthón:hakie – We are planting / we plant it.

Ka'nikonhrí:io – A good mind.

Kahoniokwenhá:ka – Cayuga People. “People of the great swamp.”

Ka'shatsténhsera – Strength. (Other translations include ‘strength in unity’ and ‘strength in friendship.’)

Kaianeren'kó:wa – The Great Law.

Kaié:ri Kanen'shón:'a – Four seeds.

Kanenhí:io – Good seeds.

Kanien'kéha – Mohawk language.

Kanien'kehá:ka – Mohawk People. “People of the flint.”

Kaswéntha – It flows. (Refers to the Two Row Wampum Belt.)

Ken'nikatsi'tsá:'sas – Little flowers.

Niá:wen – Thank you.

Niawen'kó:wa – Big thanks; thank you very much.

Táhnnon skennenhátie – And have peace.

Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen – The Thanksgiving Address. “The words that come before all else.”

Oniote’á:ka – Oneida People. “People of the standing stone.”

Onkwehón:we – Original people. (Refers directly to Haudenosaunee people but can be used to refer to all First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Peoples.)

Ononta’kehá:ka – Onondaga People. “People of the hills.”

Rotiiáner – Chiefs. (Rotiiáner is plural; roiáner is singular.)

Rotinonshión:ni – Haudenosaunee. “They build the longhouse.”

Shé:kon skennen’kó:wa ken? – Is there still great peace? (Traditional greeting).

Ska’nikòn:ra – One mind.

Skén:nen – Peace.

Skennen’kó:wa – Great Peace. (Refers to the Great Law of Peace.)

Taontaionkhiionhónston – For them to return the Earth to us.

Tékeni Teiotha’tá:tie Kaswéntha – Two Row Wampum Belt. (Full name.)

Thatiskorò:roks – Tuscarora People. “People of the shirt.”

Tsi niionkwarihò:tens – Our ways / our matters.

Tsonontowane’á:ka – Seneca People. “People of the great hill.”

Wakienthón:hakie – I am planting / I plant it.

Appendix B: Indigenous Law Research Unit Frameworks

Analytical Framework: Environmental Issues

<https://www.uvic.ca/law/assets/docs/ilru/narrative-environmental-issues-framework-2019-07-15.pdf>

Analytical Framework: Human and Social Issues

<https://www.uvic.ca/law/assets/docs/ilru/Narrative%20Human%20Issues%20Framework%2010.24.16.pdf>

Identified Questions

This is the subset of questions I identified from these frameworks linked above as having relevance to planning as part of my research method.

From the Analytical Framework for Environmental Issues: 1.a.; 1.b.; 1.c.; 2.a.ii.; 2.b.i.; and 3.a.

From the Analytical Framework for Human and Social Issues: 1; 2.

Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén

You will listen carefully for this length of time as I pass the words that come before all else.

All of us will first circle our minds as one people and give thanks, love, and respect to:

Our Mother, the Earth, for all she provides for us;

The waters, for quenching our thirst and providing us with life;

The fish, for how they cleanse and purify the waters and for the food they offer;

The plants, for providing wonders and sustaining life;

The food plants, for providing us with bountiful harvests;

The medicine herbs, for their healing powers;

The animals, for their endless teachings and for the food and warmth they provide;

The trees, for their shelter, fruit, and beauty;

The birds; for their songs and direction;

The four winds, for their refreshing breeze and for bringing the changes of the seasons;

Our Grandfathers, the Thunder Beings, for their awakening of new life in the spring;

Our Elder Brother, the Sun, for bringing the light of a new day;

Our Grandmother, the Moon, for lighting the night sky and governing the movement of the oceans;

Our Ancestors, the Stars, who watch over us at all times;

Our Creator Spirit, who breathed life into our spirits and who gave us the gift of Creation.

Now our minds are one.

Now I have spoken our words. If there is anything I forgot, you have the responsibility to be thankful for it in your own minds. Those are all the words, and so now we can close. Niá:wén.

(Adapted from Bilodeau, 2017)