

Wilfrid Laurier University

## Scholars Commons @ Laurier

---

Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)

---

1995

### Resolving community conflicts with public participation: A case study of a southwestern Ontario community

Rosalba Stocco

*Wilfrid Laurier University*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd>



Part of the [Civic and Community Engagement Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Stocco, Rosalba, "Resolving community conflicts with public participation: A case study of a southwestern Ontario community" (1995). *Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)*. 148.  
<https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/148>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact [scholarscommons@wlu.ca](mailto:scholarscommons@wlu.ca).



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Votre file - Votre référence*

*Our file - Notre référence*

## NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

## AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

**Resolving Community Conflicts  
with  
Public Participation:  
A Case Study of a Southwestern Ontario Community**

**by**

Rose Stocco, B.A. Psychology/Peace and Conflict Studies Option  
University of Waterloo, 1992

**THESIS**

Submitted to the Faculty of Social Work  
In partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Master of Social Work degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1995

©(Rose Stocco)1995



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa, Ontario  
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et  
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa (Ontario)  
K1A 0N4

*Acquiring Your reference*

*Obtenir votre référence*

**The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

ISBN 0-612-11460-0

**Canada**

## **Acknowledgements**

First of all I would like to thank my family. Without the support, energy and stamina of my family the thesis option would not have been possible. It was a challenge for me but it was a challenge for those who had to live with me while I did it.

Many thanks to my sister-in-law, Lilian Stocco for her willingness to proof read the numerous first drafts and Michael Keefer, Katherine Gordon and Jacqueline Johnson for their editorial help with the later drafts. The staff of Eramosa Township provided me with valuable assistance and was always patient with my various requests for documentation. I am grateful for the counsel, I received at various points from committee members Eli Teram, Luke Fusco and Lev Gonick. I very much appreciated Dean Peachy's willingness to act as the external examiner, knowing full well it would result in valuable revisions.

Many thanks to my co-workers at Community Justice Initiatives and many friends, in particular John FitzSimon and Susan Gadbois who supported my efforts and my struggles by offering me "thesis support" and encouragement to persevere.

Finally want to thank the participants of the study who make up the Eramosa Community--a community whose untapped resources are the people who live in it. It is their energy and struggling spirit that is the heart of Eramosa.

## **Foreward**

My past experiences and chosen work unquestionably provided the motivation for undertaking this study. It is quite likely they have also coloured the findings. When I moved to Rockwood with my family in the summer of 1981, my interests revolved around my home, my children and their activities and my friends. In the fall of 1987, the prices of water and sewage grabbed my attention and my interests began to include the community at large.

It was then that I began to attend council and public meetings. As a result, I learned how quickly and readily people become embroiled in controversy. As a trustee for the Village of Rockwood from 1988 to 1991, I came to understand how politicians can easily fall into the trap of believing that all options have been explored even when they have not. In 1990, as a member of Sounding, I experienced first hand the frustrations of trying to be diplomatic and the handicap of being perceived as a small interest group. As a founding member of the Healthy Community Committee in 1992, I learned how difficult it is to gain a reputation of neutrality.

Because of these experiences and others I began to take courses in conflict and conflict resolution. My appetite whetted, I continued to pursue work in the field and presently work as the co-ordinator for Community Mediation Services in Kitchener, Ontario.

## **ABSTRACT**

This qualitative case study of a Southern Ontario urban fringe community demonstrates that unresolved community conflict continues to be played out in the political arena by different actors in on-going disputes. A macro, meta and micro level of analysis reveals that negative patterns of interaction have contributed to a fatalistic attitude to community problem solving. Furthermore, the study confirms that the traditional processes did not address the needs and fears of the residents, thus contributing to the entrenchment and impasses the community faced.

Eramosa Township was chosen for its highly conflictual nature and its extensive public participation practices. Participants from various parts of the township included both long time residents and newcomers. A purposeful snowball sample of 26 participants provided the primary source of information while secondary sources such as newspapers and council minutes were used to compile the historical context.

## **Table of Contents**

<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>The Nature of Conflict.....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Methodology and Design.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Findings - Facing our Shadow.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>Conclusions and Recommendations.....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	
<b>A Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation.....</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>B Map of Eramosa Township .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>C Map of Rockwood.....</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>D Map of Eden Mills.....</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>E Development Proposals for Rockwood.....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>F Population Increases.....</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>G Timeline of Events.....</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>H Location of Study Area in Southern Ontario.....</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>I Sources of Conflict in Study Area.....</b>	<b>153</b>
<b>J Conflict Checklist.....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>K Consent Form.....</b>	<b>167</b>
<b>L Interview Guide.....</b>	<b>169</b>

# **Chapter I**

## **Introduction**

Although there has been a growing trend toward public participation in all levels of government (Troxel, 1993), media and election results demonstrate a growing discontent with the efficiency and competency of governments. Some see increasing the level of citizen involvement as a solution while others argue that it fuels community conflicts. Some claim that due to its highly contentious nature, citizen involvement is economically, politically and socially detrimental to the community.

Conflict, however, is inevitable within any social system or structure. It is therefore unreasonable to expect public participation processes, which link government structures to the social systems at grass roots, to be conflict free. Peck (1987) posits that attempts to sidestep conflict through organization, policy and procedures do not build community. He maintains that inclusivity, commitment and consensus are the prerequisites for a sense of community. Consensus implies participation. Since democracy, by definition, is a social structure characterized by public participation, both conflict and public participation are givens within democratic communities.

According to Sheppard (1992) there are at least three levels of conflict analysis: the macro (institutions), the meta or intermediate (relationships) and the micro or individual level (dispute episodes). Unfortunately, most research has focused on a single level giving us only a piece of the puzzle rather than the larger picture.

This study works with an integrative approach of the micro, meta and macro levels of conflict analysis within Eramosa Township. It examines citizen involvement

and community disputes over the last thirty years. By looking for patterns of interaction, it builds understanding about the roles and dynamics of conflict as played out through the community's participation practices. It explores the sources of conflict in this community and explains how people have attempted to resolve and manage them. By taking advantage of hindsight, a perspective is gained as to what could have been done differently. For, in Eramosa, it just may be that "many of our problems appear insoluble because our conceptions about how to manage an increasingly interconnected world are limited" (Gray, 1989, p. xvii).

Eramosa Township is a small urban-fringe community in Southern Ontario. On the surface it appears that the community was relatively quiet until the installation of water and sewers in the early 1970's. Over the last 10 years it has ousted two complete councils, fired two chief administrators and one assistant administrator and has had two councillors resign--one in fear for her children's lives.

Yet, this community also has a reputation for public participation. It produced the first Colway Theatre<sup>1</sup> style play in North America, with a cast of 128 non-professional actors and the help of hundreds of volunteers. It received widespread acclaim including national media attention and played to sold out audiences for 12 days in a row--a remarkable accomplishment for a community of less than 6,000 residents. The play raised awareness of local issues and hope for determining one's future. It

---

<sup>1</sup> A community play developed and performed by members of the local community under the direction of professionals. They are staged as historical pageants and focus on a chronicled history of the community. The actors play out their scenes on stage, in procession and amongst the audience. The aim of the Colway Theatre style arts is to impart new skills, encourage a sense of personal creative growth, and permit the community to re-claim and strengthen (Little & Sim, 1992).

fostered the growth of a community group called "Sounding" that produced educational workshops and promoted the concept of public participation to the point that council established a Public Participation Advisory Committee in 1991. In spite of these and other recent accomplishments, the mood in Eramosa Township in 1994 was one of discontent and fatalism.

This study has six parts. The first chapter delineates the goals and objectives of the study, and establishes the rationale for studying this particular rural community. The literature review in the second chapter outlines the various definitions and sources of conflict, and how citizen participation can lead to increased conflict and creative problem solving. The third chapter outlines the methodology and design of the study. The fourth chapter delves into the organizational structure of Eramosa and the micro, meta and macro levels of conflict identified in the interviews. The fifth chapter includes the summary and conclusion. The appendices provide the historical background and chronology of the key conflicts within Eramosa Township as recorded in Township Council minutes and newspaper articles.

## **Chapter II**

(literature review)

### **The Nature of Conflict**

Toffler (1983) theorizes that conflict is the direct result of the ever-changing structure of our society. He holds that conflict is a natural response to inter-related phenomena governed by the "convergence of forces or tendencies that produce major change" and contends that "a revolutionary new system for creating wealth cannot spread without triggering personal, political and international conflict" ( 1990, p. 10). Toffler maintains that society is still feeling the impact of the agricultural, industrial and technological revolutions, which he views as ongoing "waves" rather than historical events. These waves are the ongoing global and intimate shifts of power that are transforming finance, politics, organizations and the media thus changing the very nature of power. He posits that each wave disrupts and supplants the older and more familiar methods, transforming work, capital, money and power. The old-style authority and power in business and daily life is breaking apart, causing world leaders to be swept by events rather than imposing order on them.

This chapter discusses the nature of conflict and its sources in the context of the rural and urban-fringe communities. The ramifications of Toffler's evolution are quite evident in the changing rural and urban-fringe communities and offers the background and setting for this case study. Understanding the sources of conflict allows one to develop interventions that deal with the underlying issues (Moore, 1989). A review of the traditional public participation process shows how it fosters tension-filled environments that create winners and losers, and how this constitutes dysfunctional

conflict management. Finally, this chapter explores how new trends in public participation that include conflict resolution processes not only reduce the workload for planning staff but also result in more satisfaction for all parties involved.

### **What is Conflict?**

There are many definitions of conflict. Deutsch (1967) states that "a conflict exists whenever incompatible activities occur" (p. 7). Therefore, if there are two incompatible aspirations for the same property such as a park or an industrial complex, according to Deutsch, we have a conflict. Coser (1968) is much more specific in his definition. He sees conflict as a "struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals" (p. 232). Hocker and Wilmot (1991) define conflict from a communication perspective as an "expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from the other party in achieving their goals" (p. 12). While Coser's definition implies violence, Hocker and Wilmot consider blocking others from reaching their goal as conflict.

Burton (1990) distinguishes conflicts from disputes. Disputes, he writes, are "those situations in which the issues are negotiable, in which there can be compromise, and which, therefore, do not involve consideration of altered institutions and structures" (p. 2). Thus, if a compromise could be reached between those wanting a park and those wanting the industrial complex, according to Burton, it is not a conflict. Conflict he says

"has the potential of being, destructive of persons, properties and systems" (p. 2).

Consequently, the dispute of the park and the industrial complex could evolve into a conflict if one or more party considers or has the potential for being destructive to the other. In addition, Burton (1990) indicates that these issues "are likely to be intractable and lead to behaviours that seriously prejudice the physical and psychological security and the future development of individuals, groups, societies or nations concerned" (p. 2).

Various conflict definitions can be grouped with Keltner's (1987) conflict continuum: (1) mild difference, (2) disagreement, (3) dispute (conflict), (4) campaign, (5) litigation and (6) fight or war. Conflict management then depends on how the conflict is viewed and how invested one is in the issue.

A more neutral and less adversarial view of conflict is offered by Weeks (1992). He states that "conflict is an outgrowth of the diversity that characterizes our thoughts, our attitudes, our beliefs, our perceptions and our social systems and structures" (p. 7). Weeks would then contend that it is our differences that people find threatening. He explains that one cause of conflict in his own community was the "belief that ideas different from the dominant attitudes were wrong or unpatriotic, and should be treated as threats" (p. x). If one views conflict as the "outgrowth of diversity," the intense fear is removed and one is more open to consider new approaches to problem solving.

Conflict has a bad reputation. It brings forward dark and frightening images and many consider the existence of conflict to be a symptom of a dysfunctional family, organization or community. Yet despite its reputation, conflict can just as easily indicate an opportunity for growth or serve as a sign that things could be better. The reality is that

conflict, in and of itself, is neither good nor bad. Like power, it just is. In his book The Physics of Immortality, Frank Tipler tells us that biologists consider conflict as the main cause of brain growth and complexity. What then determines the functionality or dysfunctionality of conflict is not its existence, but how it is managed (Weeks 1992; Evans and Martin, 1991; Burton, 1990; Moore, 1989; Gray, 1989; Moore, 1989; Carpenter and Kennedy, 1988).

Likewise, Hocker and Wilmot (1991) maintain that "interpersonal conflict, when personally directed and responsibly enacted and moderated, can bring together very diverse people. When people maintain enough energetic connection to struggle together, they can transcend their differences" (10). Furthermore, they assert that peace and aggression are not opposite forces: "Love without strife readily results in boredom and indifference because the challenge needed for growth is lacking. Love is not static peace but active involvement with and against one another" (Whitmont, 1986, p. 25).

The term "static peace" implies letting things be or acceptance of what is, but it also suggests that the underlying belief is that nothing can be done. People succumb to this underlying belief individually and collectively within families, organizations and communities. People who feel as if nothing can be done may be realists, but they can also suffer from learned helplessness and defeatism. Communities or organizations who feel as if nothing can be done, are accepting of situations and do not get involved can be classified as apathetic and fatalistic (Borich and Korsching, 1990).

Nader (1993) cautions that "one of the clearest, most serious signs of erosion in a democratic society is the lack of attention paid to major documented problems looming

over the horizon" (p. 15). Furthermore, this neglect of one's government results in government neglecting its society. He urges citizens to involve themselves in the affairs of their government and reminds them that initiatives such as the right to vote almost always started from one or a handful of "citizens who decided to stand tall" (p. 15).

Urging citizens "to stand tall" is rather simplistic and questionable, especially for "fatalistic" and discontented communities. Getting involved in community affairs entails believing that one can make a difference. "The degrees of fatalism and contentment that individual community members collectively feel toward their shared living space can be described as parts of the shared community identity or image" (Borich and Korsching, 1990). A healthy community consists of members with a positive self-image and a realistic sense of their own capabilities (Lackey et al. 1987).

In their study of 22 rural Iowa communities, Borich and Korsching (1990) found that fatalistic communities were less "innovative" than those that were content. In another study of declining communities, they noted that residents tended to evaluate opportunities negatively, let alone believe in their ability to resolve their problems. They found that communities with a positive self-image were more innovative. However, a community content with the status quo can stagnate and deny itself the opportunity for growth of spirit and ability. According to Hocker and Wilmot (1991), such a community would then be unable to maintain the energy to struggle and overcome its differences. It is quite possible that they are attempting to avoid conflict through static peace. Yet, according to Burton (1990), when static peace inhibits future community development, it constitutes a conflict. Thus, the reality is that the

community is in conflict whether it faces it or not. A community that avoids dealing with a conflict cannot claim to be caring and loving. According to Borich and Korsching (1990), it is likely suffering from low self-esteem. The key then is to transform this negative self-image with a positive self-image, by understanding the constraints that contribute to the community's fatalistic perspective.

One way of creating a positive self-image is by slowly building citizen involvement. Beresford and Croft (1993) state that for effective services, participation is a crucial element for:

- community presence
- protecting rights and promoting choice
- recognizing interests and gifts; improving competence
- promoting valued roles.

It is apparent from the literature that involvement of citizens by encouraging the assembly of people with very different values, goals and assumptions has functional value in that people are brought together, information is shared, issues clarified and concerns aired. While the literature confirms that the conflict level increases proportionately with citizen involvement, it also suggests that a community can generate within itself the energy needed to struggle together and overcome differences. This can be done where appropriate conflict interventions are in place and/or with the assistance of a neutral third party. The urban-fringe communities present a setting where the clash of values, goals and assumptions challenge community members to sustain the struggle to overcome their differences.

### **The Rural Urban Dilemma**

"Thirty-seven percent of Canada's Class 1 agricultural land is located within 160 km. of the centre of Toronto and is visible on a clear day from the top of the CN tower" (Interdepartmental Task Force on Land Use Policy, 1980, in FitzSimons, 1985, p. 297).

The demand for rural housing combined with the farming crisis of the eighties has resulted in considerable change to rural communities. Two distinct areas can be identified as a city's suburbs overflow into the countryside. The urban fringe area is where rural land is being turned into housing and industrial subdivisions. The urban shadow area, although still rural, shows signs of change. The general store starts to sell antiques or is turned into an art gallery. Non-farm residences appear between working farms and along rural roads. Farms are purchased by non-farmers. These farms are then either rented to farmers or turned into "hobby farms" (FitzSimons, 1985).

Toffler's work is particularly relevant in urban-fringe communities where three "waves" collide. He suggests that society is in the midst of its third major revolution or wave. The first wave was the spread of agriculture which encouraged people to trade their nomadic ways for land, an extended family unit and a patriarch. The second wave, the industrial revolution, converted people from farmers to urban workers and led to the establishment of the nuclear family. Toffler (1980) predicts that with the third wave technology and information will become the new source of power, and cause the collapse of industrialization. Whenever power is threatened, conflict tends to escalate.

Urban-fringe communities have traditionally been rural in nature and find themselves abutting the expanding larger urban centres. Here we can see the first wave

in farmers' attempts to hold on to the family farm while children consider moving to urban centres for economic reasons; the second wave in the attempt to keep the children home by attracting additional industry into the community, and the third wave in the defunct or struggling industries, the conflict between industry and the environment and the promotion of high technology as the cottage industry of the future.

With the declining rural economy (Winson, 1992) and the pressures for growth from the expanding cities (Little and Sim, 1992), the urban fringe community finds itself in confusion and discord. As city dwellers embark on their "mythic quest" for the quint-essentially quaint rural village in search of "community" they bring with them unrealistic expectations of what country living is. (Globe and Mail, November 30, 1992, p. A20). Seeking the quality of life found in rural cultures and yet bringing in the manners and customs of the urban centres, the different cultures struggle to integrate. These global changes are affecting the community's spirit in every way. In essence, its social, economical, political and environmental fabrics are affected by these outside forces.

Urbanization alters the physical and social fabrics of rural communities. Planning, the responsibility assigned to local government, if poorly done, can destroy the social and visual aspects of a place that made it attractive to all of its residents (FitzSimons, 1985). The growth of population in urban fringe communities can also lead to restructuring of local government. Regional government was deemed necessary for effective planning and administration in some rapidly urbanizing areas in the 1970's (FitzSimons, 1985). However, it has left many rural residents "with a form of local

government they feel to be distant, too bureaucratic and indifferent to their needs and problems (FitzSimons, 1983).

As the rural community's people change so does its organizational structure, community identity and community patterns. New groups form to bring together their communities of interests and values. Long-time residents struggle to assimilate new residents, while new residents try to incorporate their image of rural living with their city values. "The result, for villagers is the destruction of their peace and quiet, and sometimes of the function of the village itself" (Globe and Mail, November 30, 1992 p. A20). Thus, the influx of new people into a community that has been accustomed to a homogeneous way of life, while bringing vitality to a declining community, also brings disruption and conflict as the new residents try to find their niche in the new community.

### **Sources of Conflict**

Moore (1989) proposes five sources of conflict: data, relationship, interests, values and structure. White (1984) offers psychological make up of the individual as a structural aspect to conflict situations while Burton (1990) maintains that disputes are symptoms of underlying, deep rooted conflicts resulting from the suppression or denial of human needs. Moore, White and Burton provide valuable insight of various conflict sources that help piece the bits of the conflict puzzle together.

As Moore (1989) states "[conflicts] do not come in neat packages with their causes and component parts labelled so that the parties, or the intervenor, know how to

creatively respond to them. The causes are often obscured and clouded by the dynamics of the interaction" (p. 26). Mapping the conflict could identify reasons for the conflict, what sustains it and the barriers to resolution. Mapping also indicates procedures to resolve or effectively deal with the dispute (Moore, 1989).

The literature is clear that most conflicts not only have multiple causes but are also affected by the complexity of problems within the relationship of the parties involved. In terms of conflict containment and management, it suggests that focusing on interests and attacking the problem, rather than the person, will lead people to conflict resolution (Fisher and Ury, 1981). Thus, by focusing on interests, the root and hidden side of conflict may be unveiled. In some cases, the conflict is clearly a result of misinformation and misunderstandings. It could also be due directly to the way the organization, community or society has structured itself (Pondy, 1992).

### **Structure as a Conflict Source**

According to Moore (1989), structures that foster power imbalances, miscommunication and misunderstanding lead to conflict. They occur when physical limits prevent people from getting what they want. Moore, (1989) states that *geographic or physical or environmental* factors that hinder cooperation can be alleviated by changing the physical and environmental relationships of the parties, such as changing the closeness and distance. Organizational and physical factors and make up of the individual are components of structural sources of conflict.

### ***Organizational Sources of Conflict***

Governance, processes, norms and goals are examples of how society attempts to bring order in a chaotic world. Katz and Kahn (1978) state that these methods of organizing are based on past antagonisms, immediate differences of feelings, beliefs and interests. Moore contends that they can lead to power imbalances, miscommunication and misunderstandings.

Citizen interaction is determined by the community's structure, that is, its governance, topography, norms and regulations. Government and community norms help keep some sense of order. Governmental change, invariably accompanies social change and history shows an ongoing evolution of municipal, provincial and federal government. All three levels of government determine the rules and norms which in turn determine how citizens and various governments will inter-relate. With each election, the policies change to fit the government of the day. People attempt to organize themselves to avoid chaos based on past negative and positive experiences, beliefs, and interests (Katz and Kahn, 1978). Consequently, people bring value, interest and relationship conflicts into their structures, and their own psychological make up, which can either help escalate or diffuse a conflict (Pruitt and Rubin, 1986). For conflict management, it is important to realize that individuals themselves cannot be changed, but behaviour changes can result by altering the form and structure of the relationship.

### ***Individuals as Sources of Conflict***

White (1984) talks about how the psychological make-up of the individual

contributes to intergroup conflict. He proposes that decision-makers engage in conflict for psychological reasons such as motives that foster conflict, negative perception and attitudes of the adversary, all of which result in cognitive errors. Furthermore, the conflict dynamics themselves produce changes in the parties that encourage further contentious behaviour and curb attempts to resolve the conflict (Pruitt and Rubin, 1986). This in turn affects inter-group relationships. Collective norms and goals which support overcoming the adversary, are examples of the individuals' psychological reactions at the group level while at the community level there will be instances of polarization.

Motives likely to lead to conflict include exaggerated fear of the perceived adversary and macho pride.<sup>2</sup> Defensively motivated aggression results. Accompanied by the emotions of anger, hate and aggression, perception and objectivity become distorted and reinforce both the exaggerated fear and the macho pride. In a community there could be exaggerated fear toward a development proposal or a political opponent. Macho pride can be seen in the hard line stance taken by lobbyists on such issues as abortion, gun control, animal rights or environmentalists.

White (1984) cautions that perceptions, or rather misperceptions, are more likely to lead to conflict than motives, simply because they are more diverse, as was apparent in the case study by Westhues and Sinclair (1974). Misperceptions such as the diabolical enemy image, the moral self-image, pro-us illusion and military over-confidence are due to subconscious motives of anxiety and the need for self-esteem.

---

<sup>2</sup>"Macho pride is seen as a particular form of pride defined as undue satisfaction from, or an undue craving for, an image of one's own group as powerful, prestigious, tough, and courageous" (Fisher, 1990 p. 153).

The diabolical enemy image creates the illusion of a monster-like adversary and the more evil the opponent, the more righteous the hero. Again, in some communities this can be the "evil" developer or the demented "tree-hugger." The moral self-image is induced by a tendency to think positively of one's group in comparison to others. The business community and the environmentalists both see themselves as trying to improve their community's quality of life but see the other as preventing the same. As a result, this pro-us illusion leads one to believe that others are more friendly to their group than they are. The pro-us illusion misconception is maintained by socializing with people who are of like mind and with selective inattention to opposite viewpoints (White, 1984). This misconception in turn leads to overconfidence that in turns leads one to behave in ways that are likely to backfire, and to becoming disillusioned when reality sets in.

The way in which decision-makers communicate and interact is usually consistent with their perceptions and images (Fisher, 1990). The complexity of operating rules that individuals use to analyse incoming information to make decisions was studied through two dimensions: differentiation and integration<sup>3</sup> (Suedfeld & Tetlock, 1977; Suedfeld, Tetlock & Ramez, 1977). Fisher (1990) found that policy makers who think in black and white terms tend to be suspicious of coordinative solutions and resort to pressure tactics to coerce concessions from the other party. On the other hand policy makers who think in complex terms will make concerted efforts to see the other's point of view and will look for ways to satisfy the needs of both parties.

---

<sup>3</sup> Differentiation relates to the number of dimensions that are used in interpreting information. Integration relates to the degree and nature of connections among differentiated characteristics. Differentiation is a prerequisite for integration.

Suedfeld and Tetlock (1977) report that in crisis communications became consistently more simplistic as nations moved towards war. Therefore, low levels of integrative complexity are signals of upcoming eruptions. Tetlock's research provides a strong argument for moving to higher levels of complexity in communication for successful dispute resolution and ultimate de-escalation of the conflict.

Because we develop our view of the world through our senses and subjective experiences, it is our perceptions, cognitions, attitudes and values which are important influences on our behaviour and expectations of each other (Deutsch, 1973). Perceptions, motivations and actions are also affected by the interconnection between groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). However, through selective inattention, macho pride, pro-us illusion, over-confidence, etc. misperceptions can create and perpetuate a belief system of being the only "sane" person or group in a "crazy" world .

The make up of an individual, organization or community impacts the way conflict is managed. Moreover, their make up is dependent on their values, beliefs systems and past experiences. The structures determine how and with whom people will relate and share information.

### **Information Conflicts**

Information conflicts are based on different sources, analysis or interpretation of information. For example, consider what happens when conflict between developers and local residents in a rural community emerges when growth is not desired by the residents. Both sides introduce supporting documentation to prove that development would either benefit or hurt the community. Gray (1989) describes the dissension that

began following the growth spurt of 28% over a 15 year period of a small rural community. When a farmer submitted plans for 81 one-acre lots the residents protested. Their concerns included overtaxing an inadequate water supply, access to the riding trails, turning a public road into the entrance for the development, and the breakdown of an irrigation system for a local fruit farmer. This scenario illustrates how the interests and values of multiple parties become intertwined. The dissension which likely begins from a clash in unclear values develops to data conflict between the experts. Each side brings out their own experts which support their point of view. The battle ensues with expert against expert and lawyer against lawyer. When citizens see themselves losing control of a process, the trustworthiness, neutrality and respect for the authority figure becomes questionable and cries of unfair procedures and demands for citizen involvement surface (Lind, 1992).

### **Interests as a Conflict Source**

"Interests refer to the occupational, social, political and economical aspirations of the individual and of identity groups of individuals within a society" (Burton 1990, p. 38). Interest conflicts are caused by perceived or actual competing concerns such as informational, procedural or emotional interests (Moore, 1989). They are difficult to determine within a conflict because traditionally people have only been discouraged from revealing their interests or needs. As stated earlier, the psychological make-up of the individual may prevent him/her from recognizing her/his interests and/or needs (Burton, 1990). Furthermore, people have difficulty distinguishing between interests and

needs. They may say they need to have industry in a community but what they mean is that they need economic security. On the surface their interest appears to focus on bringing industry regardless of its environmental impact. Yet the underlying motive is economic security and the need to be self-sufficient. However residents will talk about the community's need to expand the tax base with industrial or commercial enterprises rather than theirs or their neighbour's need for work. Accessible alternatives that meet this need would not likely be seen as unsupportable. To be forthright becomes the challenge.

People are discouraged from revealing their bottom lines in negotiation; for example, people usually are more likely to speak in generalities and ask for much more than they expect in hopes of receiving what they really want. The relationship between interests and needs is significant in a conflict situation. This is underscored by Burton (1990) who says that the absence of interests or a sense of role, can threaten identity and undermine the social cohesion and sense of sharing. Interest conflicts can be resolved by looking for objective criteria, developing integrative solutions or developing trade-offs, value conflicts on the other hand need room to allow parties to agree to disagree.

### **Values as a Conflict Source**

Values are the ideas, habits, customs and beliefs that are characteristic of communities. Values are acquired, while needs are universal. Toffler's (1983) theory of conflict proposes that existing values are challenged as society develops another system for the creation of wealth and power. Thus the values in an urban fringe community are consistently being challenged as it moves from its agricultural base and through the

industrial or technological wave. Moore (1989) contends that value conflicts are not only the most difficult to resolve but can also mask other types of conflict such as data, relationship, structure and interests.

Where there are conditions of oppression, discrimination, underprivilege and isolation, the defence of values is important to the needs of identity and security (Burton, 1990). He reminds us that wars are fought to preserve cultural values and identities and leaders emerge to defend them. According to Moore (1989), value sources of conflict occur "when efforts are made to define what is "right" in some moral sense" (p. 176).

Sinclair and Westhues (1974) in their book Village in Crisis,<sup>4</sup> suggest that the conflict in a Southern Ontario village was not so much that of newcomers and long time residents but that of class. Generally speaking each class has its own set of values. The authors discovered that the occupations of the newcomers tended to be of higher prestige, education and income than those of long time residents. Their survey shows that attitudes conflicted over educational and occupational differences as well as rural and urban differences. Attitudes and perceptions of each other appeared to be the main contributors to the conflict. The newcomers and political activists were viewed as the "intellectualists" and the long time residents as the "materialists."

Through empirical observation it has been noted that the "intellectualists" or middle class individuals because of their education, skills, time and perhaps income level, are better able to organize and make themselves heard. Those with the time, energy and/or vested interests tend to want to be consulted on the issues that affect them.

---

<sup>4</sup> A history of the conflict surrounding the first apartment building erected in Elora.

Those with less education, time and/or energy are more apt to trust and rely on their leaders to make decisions for them. It is the choice of values which Reich (1966) maintains is at the heart of the planning process.

### ***Competing Values of Participation, Leadership and Expertise***

In a world of limited resources, ingenuity and creativity are required to distribute resources in such a way that people's needs and values will be satisfied. According to Rosenkranz and Specht (1973), there is a cycle of competition among three primary societal values: participation, leadership and expertise. The village in question above not only pitted newcomers against the established residents but it also placed the leaders and their expert advisors against the newcomers who wanted a voice in the planning process. When their lobbying efforts failed, they attempted to gain some control by challenging the leadership role through the electoral process. In essence, they wanted to participate effectively in determining their future.

The values of participation, expertise and leadership contribute to their own undoing. Whenever individuals come together to perform a task, a social interaction pattern and leadership structure emerges (Johnson & Johnson, 1987). The situational leadership theory says that the type of leadership that emerges will depend on the event (Hersey & Blanchard, 1977). Therefore, in any given situation, leadership tends to emerge in an attempt to avoid chaos, but results in centralization of decision-making. While participation implies one person one vote on any issue, this type of involvement was only practical in the 1800's in small town America and numbers alone may make it

unreasonable for today's large urban centres.

Expertise is the supposed counter-agent to corruption and waste, for it represents rationality as the basis of decision-making. Burton (1990) cautions that regional experts do not necessarily understand the full impact of the issues either. Yet the smaller communities are forced to rely on regional experts. Understanding human behaviours at all levels of society is equally as important as knowing the history of the region. Furthermore, Burton warns that experts tend to treat symptoms because they are immediately and politically important. Dealing with disputes in isolation of the relationship level or the macro level is treating a symptom of an underlying conflict. Treatment of symptoms does not ameliorate the situation.

With the increasingly complex nature of our technology, leaders are forced to rely upon the advice of experts who wish to maintain their status in providing counsel (Rosenkranz and Specht, 1973). However as stated earlier, decision-makers' communication and interaction is usually consistent with their perceptions and images (Fisher, 1990). The consultants and experts they ultimately work with will be those whose perceptions fit their own. Therefore, if they tend to think in black and white, they would likely be suspicious of co-operative solutions. Conversely, policy makers who think in complex terms would be looking for ways to satisfy the needs of the parties involved and hence be more apt to explore complex solutions.

The competing values of leadership, participation and expertise come full circle as people demand a fair process which will take their concerns into consideration (Rosenkranz and Specht, 1973). These values are also in competition when people feel

that their needs such as self-determination and identity are threatened.

### **Needs as a Conflict Source**

Interests are negotiable but basic needs are not because they are inherent drives for survival and development (Burton, 1990). Physical needs, such as safety, shelter and food, are essentials. More subjective in nature but equally important are the basic universal needs of security, distinctive identity, social recognition of identity and effective participation in determining one's future (Fisher, 1990). Denial of these or any other element essential to human development results in conflict (Azar and Farah, 1981).

Borich and Korsching (1990) posit that individuals identify with their community. A community image in turn provides an identity and a value through an internal sense of community, comparisons with other communities and the relationship these communities have with each other. Declining rural or urban-fringe towns or villages struggle to regain their dignity and positive self image. Furthermore, declining communities struggle with basic universal needs of security, identity, positive social recognition of identity and self-determination. When human needs are denied, external or institutional constraints as methods of control are ineffective. Moreover, Burton (1990) cautions that alienation occurs in any system where participation and identity are denied. He goes on to say that when rewarding relationships, recognition, security and identity are lacking over long periods, individuals will tend to have a chip on their shoulder. They will perceive injustice and deprivation where there is none and may have tendencies towards aggression. Since "totalitarian political and social leadership

roles tend to attract such individuals" (p. 97), the leaders themselves may inadvertently intensify the conflict situations they intended to de-escalate because the systems do not change. The social and political conditions, such as the absence of participation, sense of control and the absence of identity for minorities (Burton 1990, p. 91), foster alienation, and thus suspicion.

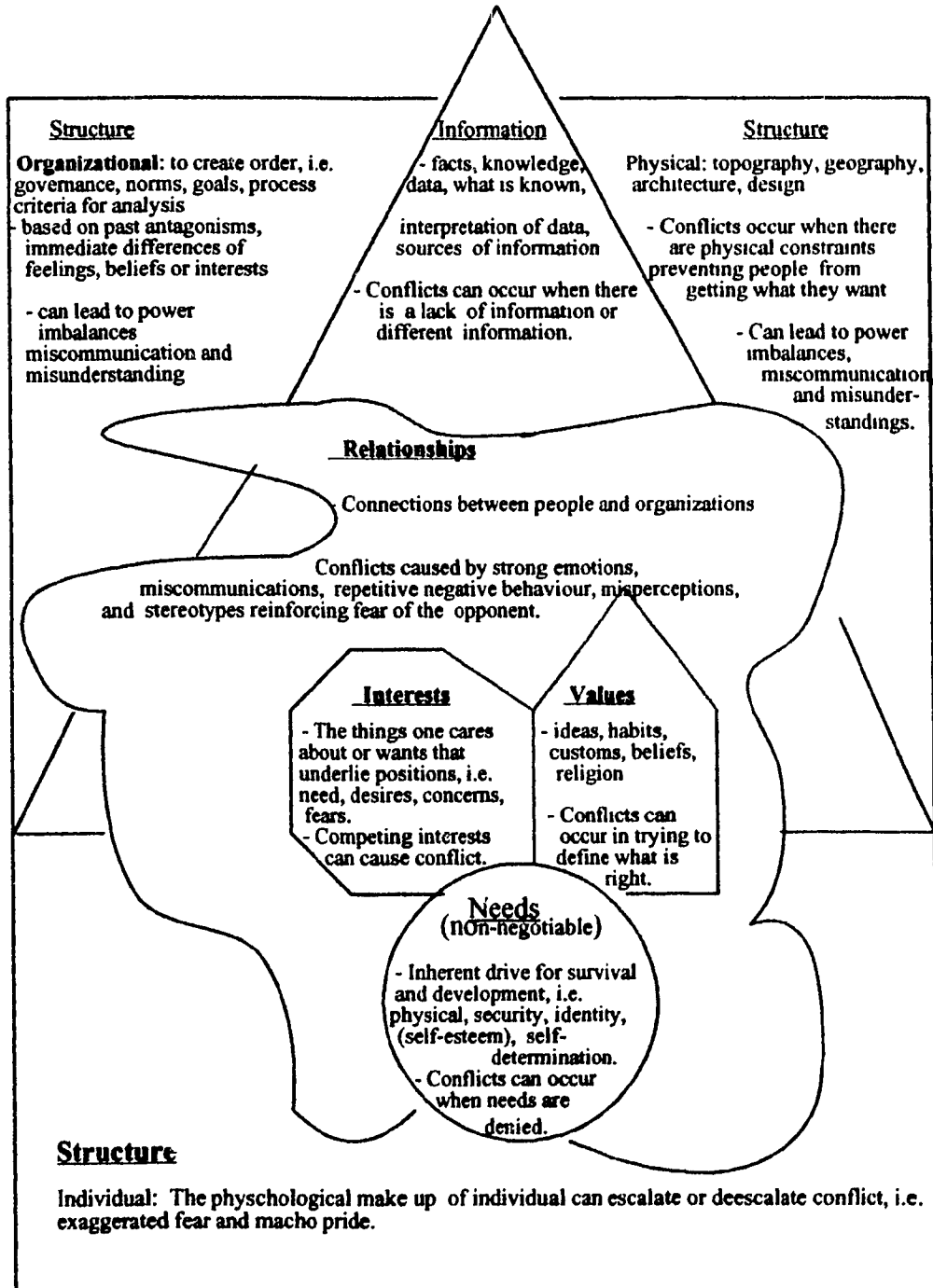
In the urban fringe community newcomers jockey for their place in the sun. However as the community grows, it is the long-time residents that become the minority and feel a loss of control of the community they no longer know (Globe and Mail, November 30, 1992 p. A20). The community's objectives are comprised of needs, cultural and related values, and interests (Burton, 1990). Interests separate people into groupings, often in opposition to each other (Burton, 1990). Needs, values, interests, information and structure all have a profound effect on relationships.

### **Relationships as a Conflict Source**

Moore (1989) contends that relationship conflicts are caused by strong emotions, misperceptions, stereotypes, poor communication or miscommunication and repetitive negative behaviour. When needs are threatened, people invariably react with strong emotions. Exaggerated fear and macho pride, themselves strong emotions, also lead to misperceptions and stereotypes and defensively motivated aggression. Misperceptions and stereotypes mutually reinforce the exaggerated fear and strengthen the perception of the negative relationship.

Individuals join groups to meet their physical, psychological and social needs.

## Sources of Conflict



Proximity and similarity attracts individuals to particular groups. Once people join a group, their identity and self-concept become somewhat defined by the group membership (Burton 1990). Furthermore, Burton (1990) explains that self-concept becomes intertwined with group identification. And the more cohesive the group the more the individual will follow its norms in the sense of perception, attitude and behaviour (Burton 1990). Therefore, how one group relates to another in a conflict situation is dependent on the norms relevant to the inter-group relationship.

For example, when opponents to a development proposal tend to think in black and white terms, any overture by the proponents would be met with suspicion. They may also establish norms that would inhibit "fraternizing." As a result, it is unlikely that these two groups would be able to negotiate a solution on their own. They are more likely to find themselves in the midst of a costly hearing where one side will be declared a winner. The reality is that they have both lost time and money and sometimes there are emotional costs, especially for the party that "loses" at the hearing. The parties have also lost an opportunity to build or restore a relationship. However, if they shared their information, it is possible that one side may decide that there is no issue, or that the other's concerns are valid and require consideration. Perhaps this is why the Sewell Commission<sup>5</sup> and the provincial Bill 163 are promoting dialogue and mediation prior to

---

<sup>5</sup> Municipal Affairs Minister Dave Cooke appointed John Sewell, Toby Vigod and George Penfold to the Commission on Planning and Development Reform in Ontario. The Commission was asked to recommend changes to the planning process, including legislative and policy changes to promote good planning into the land-use development process. The Commission developed their report through a widespread consultation process.

any Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) hearing<sup>6</sup>.

Conflict, however, is inevitable at the best of times; in an urban fringe environment it should not only be expected but planned for. The lack of integrated conflict management in these situations can only result in serious dysfunction within these communities. Since most people are uncomfortable with conflict and avoid it where possible, it is not unusual to deny its seriousness or intensity or to scapegoat those who insist on facing it. That too, is a struggle between values and beliefs; that of facing issues (you are either part of the problem or part of the solution) versus that of not hurting others (don't rock the boat). What is implied by these two values is that someone must be hurt in order to solve the problem. In other words traditional problem solving with its adversarial public hearings and governance creates winners and losers at the expense of productive conflict resolution.

In order to design effective interventions one needs an analysis and assessment of critical situations. The literature identifies various sources of conflict. Based on the literature review conflict sources can be categorized as: structures, information, interests, values, needs and relationships. See diagram on previous page.

### **Conflict Resolving Trends**

Although Peck (1987) and Moore (1991) agree with Toffler (1990) that conflict

---

<sup>6</sup>The Ontario Municipal Board has a wide range of powers relating to local government, mainly hearing applications for approval of zoning by-laws, official plans, hearing appeals and issuing orders creating, altering or dissolving municipalities. The 1972 Report of the Select Committee on the Ontario Municipal Board suggested that the Board was involved more often than necessary because of the failure of councils and their citizens to resolve issues locally (Tindal 1988).

is inevitable they also insist that it is not necessarily a sign of dysfunction; they maintain that conflict is necessary for building communities: "If there were no differences between people, there could be no community. But differences alone do not make a community. Community is forged out of a struggle by people to determine how they can live together" (Moore, 1991 p. 1). Peck (1987) states that chaotic fighting is better than pretending cohesion; it shows vitality, although it may be painful.

Bregha (1975) advises that accessibility to decision-makers and their procedures will continue to be questioned until a mutually acceptable pattern for conflict resolution is developed. Without it, confrontation will escalate, resulting in further alienation, decreasing efficiency, and loss of faith in the system. The Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) has been considered the neutral outside party and ultimate decision maker. It has been alleged that the public has more confidence in the OMB than in elected officials. Reich (1966) contends that the OMB is a structure that allows politicians to abrogate their responsibilities. Furthermore, Penfold (1993) holds that the OMB hinders the possibility of conflict resolution at an earlier stage of the process. He states that the OMB itself is a source of power imbalances because local residents usually lack the expertise and money to present an effective case. Conflict is inherent in Ontario's current planning system because there is little in the way of consensus building or mediation of disputes (Penfold, 1993). One way of reaching consensus is for parties to move the dispute from positions to interests (Fisher and Ury, 1981). Yet the OMB as it has traditionally functioned has not been amenable to helping people move from positions to interests.

Perhaps it is in response to these struggles that literature from the late 1980's and 90's reveals a different pattern emerging for resolving public disputes. Visionings and interventions with third party neutrals have been added to the list of ways citizens can now involve themselves to influence the decision-making process in a non-adversarial way. Residents have the opportunity to build common goals by focusing on building the future they would like for their community.

Interaction, a newsletter published by the Network for Conflict Resolution, regularly features single issue conflicts overseen by third party neutrals. It shows that a new pattern of resolving issues while building relationships is emerging.

Evans and Martin (1991) view public consultation as a possible channel for conflict resolution. They suggest that the present change in democracy is public driven and is striking at the heart of the existing power relations. Solutions proposed without citizen involvement tend not to be accepted and fail, resulting in wasted energy and time. They maintain that public consultation involves real power sharing when all participants have the ability to influence issues through negotiation. Furthermore, they state that power sharing strengthens democracy and that although people want more say, they do not necessarily want more decision-making responsibility.

Evans and Martin (1991) maintain that the predominance of poor consultation practices have resulted in mistrust. The problem, therefore, lies within ineffective and poorly managed consultation programs. They point out that public consultation can also be a disguise for stakeholder management by keeping people busy with the illusion that they can influence decisions. When that happens conflict is inevitable.

Evans and Martin affirm that all consultation should include conflict resolution strategies which recognize:

- the range of opinions and solutions
- the need for discussion in a non-confrontational arena
- acceptable decisions whereby everyone gains something.

Furthermore they insist that good public consultation is mediation that involves:

- voluntary participation
- specific decisions
- agreement to negotiate
- a neutral third party who works towards consensus building
- binding decisions
- decisions that consider the needs of the whole.

They further argue that even those outside the process should be allowed to have influence over the outcome because everyone needs to feel ownership in the consultation.

Dukes (1993) concurs with Evans and Martin that there is a need to change our traditional methods of resolving public disputes. He states that there is a growing field and increased acceptance of public dispute resolutions from private parties, and in all levels of government. Dispute resolution is a process that seeks optimal accommodation of differing interests. It is a transformative practice mainly concerned with the allocation of resources and balancing power. It has the potential to alter government and institutional cultures. It can help overcome three sets of community problems:

disintegration, alienation from institutions and government, and the inability to solve public problems and resolve conflict (Dukes, 1993).

Public dispute resolution has three goals:

- to inspire, nurture and sustain a vital communal life in an engaged community;
- to invigorate institutions and government practices;
- to enhance society's ability to solve problems and resolve conflict (Dukes, 1993).

Furthermore, Dukes maintains that dispute resolution:

- supports a standard for public discourse that empowers people to articulate their needs and explore their differences in productive ways
- moderates powerlessness and alienation through inclusion
- fosters caring by nurturing bonds forged through mutual engagement and acceptance of responsibility
- acknowledges the importance of administrative, legislating and legal institutions
- sees institutions as potential channels for meaningful citizen participation
- addresses focal issues such as class, race and gender
- embraces opportunities to reveal injustices
- allows for the creation of sustainable relationships.

Dukes cautions that if the dispute resolution field does not cultivate the discovery of relatedness it will be just like any other social movement. Furthermore, he states that the creation of consensual, problem solving forums and the education of citizens and officials in negotiation are not enough to create vital communities. Sustainable democracy, he argues, needs to have the capacity to engage different viewpoints,

confront difficult issues and resolve difficult problems.

Weeks (1992) maintains that the best way to resolve conflict is through a conflict partnership approach based on communication and human behaviour. Since our communication patterns and actions escalate conflicts, by revising them we can then resolve our conflicts through a conflict partnership approach.

As stated earlier, people can either facilitate or frustrate community leaders and their policies. One does not need to look very far or very deep to find such examples. It is also understood that people are more likely to comply with any law or policy that they helped create. When people come together it is a given that there will be conflict. The possible sources of conflict are as diverse as there are people. It is important to stress that conflict is not necessarily a sign of dysfunction but can be a sign of vitality and health.

### **Citizen Participation**

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (see Appendix A) presents various forms of citizen participation ranging from non-participation to degrees of power. History has shown that the masses have moved from the acceptance of slavery to demanding more involvement in the decisions that effect them. Each movement towards self-determination does not come without struggle.

Nader (1993) gives numerous advantages to involving oneself in the democratic process. Participation, he argues, is fulfilling. He states that people want to be complete human beings by integrating their value system with social activity. They can do this by

becoming involved in the affairs of their government. Citizen involvement, he explains, also provides opportunity to socialize and discuss topics of interest and help bring them to fruition. Additionally, there is the pleasure and opportunity of learning and integrating many bits and pieces of information. Overall, Nader presents a rather pleasant and inviting proposition. He adds however, that active individuals are seen as deviants and receive little or no recognition for their contribution to maintaining the democratic system. Rather, they tend to be viewed as wavemakers and trouble makers. This in itself is enough to question becoming involved.

Connor (1984) presents a more intimidating picture of citizen involvement. He explains that political activism, often modelled on the Saul Alinsky approach, has tended to be more adversarial in nature and its success questionable. This approach "usually resulted in fermenting internal conflict within the sponsoring agency and the latter caused the embattled bureaucrats to barricade the gates against the barbarian hordes" (Connor, 1984 p. 55).

"Constructive citizen participation" was considered an integral part of an organization's planning and decision-making process as early as 1971 (Connor, 1984). However, Connor reports that positive public participation has been seen as an impossible ideal. Naturally, this perception has been based on previous experience that resulted in "fermenting internal conflict" and "barricaded gates."

There are reactive participation processes traditionally practised in modern democracies such as public hearings. Their highly adversarial nature provides valid reasons for donning a suit of armour. It is much safer to state a position than reveal one's

needs or fears. Public hearings are dysfunctional means of conflict management because they are inclined to generate more anger that causes conflict to escalate rather than diminish. They are structured so that opposing points of view will clash rather than build consensus. Even our language sets the tone as we set out to "fight city hall."

In addition, most of intervener funding is used for legal services to have the opponents "fight" through the court system. Lawyers have been schooled in an adversarial approach to dealing with conflict. This process tends to create winners and losers and most often more losers than winners. For, in the end, everyone pays for the high cost of legal services. And losers can find ways to stall, avoid or get even. Often, the public hearing, although meant to give people the opportunity to raise their concerns and voice their thoughts, becomes, as Connor (1984) states, the "last of the great blood sports."

Surveys, delphi techniques, and nominal group techniques are other commonly used participation methods used for citizen participation. They are also the traditional conflict management tools used in public processes that promote compromise and settlement rather than resolution. Resolution implies full dialogue, building understanding of the various perspectives, finding common ground and a mutually agreed upon solution that encompasses the interests of both parties. Settlement implies a compromise, that is giving up something for something else. Having to give up something can result in resentment, especially if the decision was made by someone else. This resentment may result in residue feelings which may resurface with the next issue.

Nonetheless, if one were to view conflict as Weeks (1992) urges, as an

"outgrowth of diversity," one is less likely to feel threatened. After all, "variety is the spice of life." So, where does all this friction originate? What makes it so difficult to come to terms with another party? If communication is the answer, why is dialogue not working?

### **Summary**

Conflict is embedded structurally in organizations and indeed within the makeup of individuals. An individual experiences internal conflict over competing interests, needs and values as well as with the competing interests, needs and values of other individuals. This creates a natural ongoing tension. Psychological factors, such as conflict producing motives, negative perceptions and adversarial attitudes contribute to the escalation of conflict. Conflict producing motives include exaggerated fear, macho pride and anxiety. Examples of negative perception are the pro-us illusion, military overconfidence, diabolical enemy image and moral self-image. The term "adversarial attitudes" refers to the psychological tendency to create order and consistency by constructing the image of an adversary or enemy through biased selection of data.

Individuals gather with those of similar interests and goals to form a group. Groups may enter into conflict with other groups for competing interests, needs and values. Once ineffective conflict management and containment is in place, whether by the individual, group or organization, relationship and information conflicts result and conflict escalates.

When a relationship is threatened even hard data is questioned. This affects the way information is related and perceived, which in turn affects the relationship or lack thereof. When a relationship has been damaged or not had an opportunity to develop, trust is minimal and respect breaks down. Without trust and respect the road to conflict resolution is unlikely. At best, it would be slow and arduous.

Appropriate conflict management is multidimensional. Building or reestablishing trust and respect is accomplished by helping people see each other as individuals with similar needs and fears. The opponent then becomes human and approachable. When this happens people risk and share their needs and fears. In a safe environment they begin to risk further and participate in processes where understanding is built. Since people make decisions based on the information they have, being able to understand the other's viewpoint and needs is a precondition for moving towards determining their future together. This leads to better relationships and agreements that take into account the needs of the parties involved.

## **Chapter III**

### **Methodology and Design**

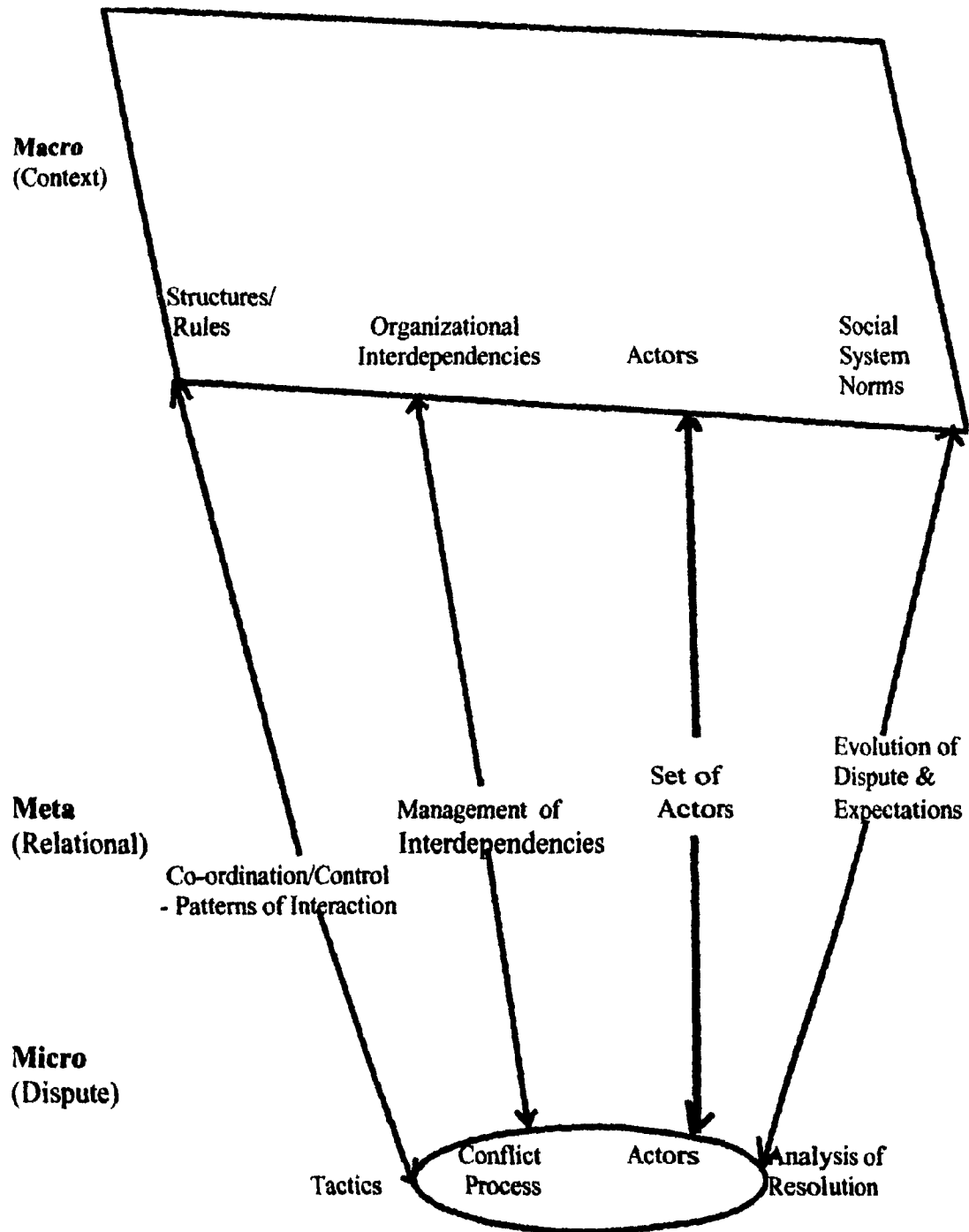
#### **Why a Case Study**

As can be seen, it is usually a combination of problems that contributes to disputes. Research of participation and community conflict has tended to focus on the analysis of single issues. As Sheppard (1992) states, there needs to be a multiple level of analysis to better understand the nature of conflict. This study will explore three levels: the macro or institutional level, the micro or single disputes, and the meta or the relationship level (Sheppard, 1992). See diagram next page.

Through the macro level the structures, rules, organizational inter-dependencies, and norms that exist in and between social systems that evoke conflict will be investigated. This level also addresses who the key players are and whose interests are being served. These structures affect relationships as they set people up as adversaries rather than foster joint problem solving.

The analysis of conflict at the intermediate level focuses on the relationships between disputants and how they learn to manage their inter-dependencies over time. The conflict is defined by a set of actors, the evolution of disputes over time, the evolution of expectations, the patterns of interaction and the problems associated with the co-ordination and control of the dispute (Thomas, 1976). However, in order to

### Levels of Analysis



understand the relationships, more attention needs to be given to individual disputes.

The dispute itself is the microscopic level of conflict. The study of the dispute involves examining its management arising from the relationship context in the larger social system. It also means the analysis of the resolution, the nature of the disagreement and conflict tactics (Sheppard 1992). At an issue per issue analysis, conflict sources such as those described earlier can be helpful in developing a conceptual road map to assist in resolving disputes and revealing the hidden side of conflict.

Eramosa Township was chosen as a viable case study because of its expressed commitment to extensive public consultation, its reputation for a bottom up approach and its geographic location. My experience has shown that although Eramosa is a community that has involved itself in policy development, residents seem to experience more strife with each other and their politicians than is the case in surrounding municipalities. Why is this so? What is happening? What is sustaining this atmosphere of conflict? How is the conflict structurally embedded? How does it affect township residents? Whose interests are being served in maintaining the conflict?

"Eramosa Township is seen as a vocal minority" when compared to the rest of the province. If one were to view the recently released documentary of Eramosa Township, "Dignity and Grace" one would be left with the impression that this community has reached the ideal state of community as defined by Moore (1991).<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if

---

<sup>1</sup> "A community is the means by which people live together. Communities enable people to protect themselves and to acquire the resources that provide for their needs. Communities provide intellectual, moral, and social values that give purpose to survival. Its members share an identity, speak a common language agree upon role definitions, share common values, assume some permanent membership status, and understand the

one were to follow the history of Eramosa, one would find a community with a progression of never-ending struggles that have been an economical, social, environmental and political burden to its residents. One might describe Eramosa as having two personalities, that of a loving caring community and the other of an angry antagonistic crowd. If one were speaking of an individual, Eramosa may be said to have a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde personality. Eramosa Township is perceived by many as an atypical community and warrants the time and energy of a single case design.

With such complex problems, there is a need for information that helps to explain the phenomena and identify areas for possible interventions. The patterns that emerged can help account for how this community has developed its public participation practices. These questions can best be answered through a qualitative case study. Marshall & Rossman (1989) explain that qualitative research explores the intricate patterns and processes of the community where relevant variables are not yet identified.

Furthermore, a case study is "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1989, p. 23). Wilson (1977) states that human behaviour should be studied in situation because it is significantly influenced by its setting. Also, one cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which thoughts, feelings and actions occur. With its exploratory nature, field study research can investigate the processes and meanings of events.

---

social boundaries within which they operate." (Moore, 1991 p. 1)

The approach is qualitative as opposed to quantitative, as the thesis will describe and analyse the social and political structure of the community and its conflict process over the last 30 years. The community's history as it relates to the subject and the people who have attempted to address the community's issues were explored through personal interviews with key participants. My bias was curbed by asking open ended and probing questions and not offering an opinion on the subject. Newspapers and council minutes were used as secondary sources of data.

### **Unit of Analysis**

Eramosa Township was the unit of analysis as it was the township itself that was under scrutiny. Its issues, sociological and demographical profile, history, structure and conflicting behaviour were examined. Although the study focused on issues that occurred within the lifetime of key participants, references to issues pertaining to the last seventy years were made. The study concentrated on issues that followed the water and sewer debate that began in the 60's. Policies and events outside of Eramosa's realm of influence that have had an affect on the township were also considered.

### **Selection of Participants**

A purposeful snowball sample of 26 participants who are residents or who have been, or still are associated with Eramosa Township were interviewed. The majority of key participants were familiar with the events of the last 20 - 30 years. The participants' length of residence varied from eight years to life time residents and descendants of the early settlers. Eramosa Township consists of two villages, a hamlet and outlying rural areas, and each site has different populations and concerns. Therefore, at least one

participant from each area was selected so that each area had some representation in the study. Key participants were asked to give suggestions as to who should be interviewed.

The participants included:

**Four Politicians:** past or present members of the township council, or the Board of Trustees for the Police Village of Rockwood and Eden Mills.

**Four Committee members:** past or present committee members of township council.

**Four Bureaucrats:** those who have worked for the municipality or the ministries.

**Two Proponents of development<sup>2</sup>:** those who actively advocate development.

**Three Political Activists:** representatives of lobby groups.

**Eight Observers:** interested people both inside and outside the township.

**One Representative from the business community:** an individual familiar with the business organization.

### **Data Collection Techniques**

This research included participant observation of public and township meetings, semi-structured interviews with 26 individuals familiar with the history of the township, examination of its structural organization, and supporting documentation including previous research and history books.

---

<sup>2</sup> Please note that there is not a category for opponents to development because no one says they are opposed to development. Residents say they are asking for "slow growth, sustainable development which fits with the character of the village." These people will be found in the "political activist" category.

The interviews were semi-structured to allow for flexibility and so as to not impose upon the participants my own bias. The chronology and issue by issue analysis of disputes based on sources of conflict, found in appendices G and J, was developed from Eramosa Council Minutes and local newspapers dating from January 1, 1965 to December 31, 1994. Some key participants agreed to be tape recorded while others preferred note taking. The tapes were transcribed and coded for macro, micro and meta analysis. The interviews lasted anywhere from 45 minutes to four hours. Risks to the interviewees were minimal as their wishes were respected and any information that identified the source is not in the written document. Their participation in this study was identified only with their consent. A journal was kept for notes and observations of meetings and my feelings and perceptions associated with the interview or meeting.

A copy of the interview guide (Appendix L, p. 169)), consent form and the participants' information letter (Appendix K, p. 167) can be found in the appendices. Participants were contacted by phone and asked if they would consider being interviewed for this study. The study and the process was explained and anonymity assured. The reason for the consent form was explained. Two participants questioned the need for the signed consent form and expressed reluctance to sign it. They said that the requirement to sign it was a conflict in itself.

### **Data Analysis**

The research was built upon existing theory of conflict and conflict resolution. Originally I had hoped to be able to find the one or two main sources of conflict in the community and quickly found that it was difficult to ascertain "the one source" of

conflict as it became evident that all conflict sources could be identified within each dispute.

The analysis of the data was subjective as it was based on the participants' judgement, my discretion and the urban-fringe culture. Data analysis involved determining the nature of the disagreement, the actors, the conflict tactics, analysis of the resolution, community norms, solutions and analysis of the solutions from primary and secondary sources. The identified conflicts were mapped using the same categories. Patterns that emerged from the interviews were verified by secondary sources such as minutes, newspaper reports and previous writings of the township.

The following experts in the field of conflict resolution and public participation offered their perspectives on the findings. Draft copies of this study were made available for comment.

Sylvia McMechan: The Network for Conflict Resolution, Waterloo.

Jan Sanders: PEOPLEnergy, Toronto.

### **Benefits of the Study**

Conflict research has primarily focused on one level of analysis. Examination of all three levels provides deeper insight and understanding. It also offers the possibility of developing interventions that truly address the issues.

The benefits are primarily to the community as the study should, hopefully, create some awareness and understanding of the different perspectives. The study is an examination of a community's struggle so as to better understand today's events. If

Eramosa can accept its struggle as part of community building process, then perhaps the community as a whole can also be proud and take credit of its many accomplishments.

Community development practitioners and those interested in conflict resolution could apply the same methodology of conflict analysis to other organizations and communities. The outcome of community initiatives can be determined by how communities resolve conflict. This study will attempt to show that dealing with disputes in isolation results in only treating the symptomology of conflict but is no real remedy.

Most of all, this study benefited me. Speaking to so many different people with such diverse views validated my belief that it is very hard to distinguish between what is "right" and "wrong." All the participants had a valid and "right" point of view that I could understand and relate to. It is unfortunate that this community has not yet created a mechanism for people to share those view points in a way that is safe for both the speaker and the listener. If so, we just might be able to hear what everyone is trying to say.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The field research occurred in my community; therefore, past experience and knowledge of the area are both a strength and a weakness. This fact may have prevented noting cultural assumptions and practices. To diminish this possibility, a review of related research of the area was undertaken. Due to this community's highly conflictual nature, suspicion of the researcher curbed sharing some information. On the other hand, some participants were interested and eager to participate. Some wanted to assist me in my studies and others simply wanted to develop a better understanding of what was

happening. This research presents the viewpoints of 26 participants on how this community deals with or has dealt with conflict. Other participants would likely add another perspective and had the study focussed on collaboration it would have generated a quite different response.

One needs to keep in mind that this is a case study of one community and its findings cannot be generalized to any other community. However, the findings can be "generalizable to theoretical propositions" (Yin, 1984 p. 21). Thus, it can be said that other small urban fringe communities with a similar political structure in Southern Ontario may be prone to similar experiences. Should these communities have other similar variables such as a history of negative patterns of interaction, they will experience difficulty in expecting positive outcomes from its residents. They can become susceptible to entering a downward spiral of expectations and seeing a negative image of their community.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Facing our Shadow**

#### **Highlights**

- 1966 Police Village trustees request that the township explore a water and sewer infrastructure for Rockwood.
- 1968 The planned water and sewer infrastructure is expected to meet Rockwood's growth needs. Opposition to commercial development and the proposed smaller 50' lots emerges.
- 1970 Ratepayers form a group and protest the proposed water and sewer infrastructure. Community newspapers report support for growth.
- 1972 The OMB rules in favour of a water and sewer infrastructure for Rockwood.
- 1974 Building is put on hold until the water and sewer system contract is signed. It was questioned whether the proposed system would accommodate any new subdivisions. Opposition to use of tax dollars for a community centre.
- 1975 A water and sewer system committee recommends to proceed with the project and a resident places an injunction on the township to prevent same. Eden Mills trustees are asked to put requests for repairs to the bridge, etc. in writing.
- 1976 A water and sewer system is installed. Council endorses the community hall proposal.
- 1978 Minutes note that the water and sewer system is forced upon the township one and one half years earlier than planned. Extensive public input sought for the Rockwood Secondary plan. The business community seeks growth.
- 1980 Residents express concern for the removal of Billy Gordon's Hill. Only 2 residents attend the "All Candidate's Night."
- 1982 Residents oppose the removal of a historical barn near the Academy.
- 1983 Council accepts cash in lieu of parkland and residents oppose the facade of the proposed seniors building. Anonymous letters result in approximately 200 people attending a council meeting.

- 1984 Residents form a group to advise council, and oppose a proposed Inn.
- 1985 Concern is expressed over a cancelled agreement between Council and a local service club.
- 1987 Council withdraws support of the Eden Mills Pond Renovations.
- 1988 Residents oppose the cost of water and sewers. Opposition is registered against a trailer park and a residential development proposal. The entire council is replaced at the polls. Rockwood's population increases by 37% in one year.
- 1989 The Planning Advisory Committee resigns en masse. Opposition to two commercial plazas is noted. The OMB rules against the Eden Mills Secondary Plan. The community protests the "firing" of the township clerk. Residents oppose the location of the hydro substation.
- 1990 The OMB approves a townhouse complex. County government and residents disagree as to the feasibility of restoring the Eden Mills Bow String Bridge. The deputy-reeve resigns in fear, a residents' association calls for a municipal coup and the location of the library is in dispute. The community play comes to fruition and residents organize in response to development and growth concerns.
- 1991 All council members defeated at the polls. The idea of a ward system receives community disapproval.
- 1992 Council members are alleged to have conflicts of interest. The chief administrative officer and his assistant are asked to resign.
- 1993 Council and developers agree to work out their differences with the assistance of the provincial facilitator. Eramosa faces five OMB hearings. Residents request a provincial commission of inquiry into actions of council. A councillor is accused of detrimental alliance by the reeve and deputy reeve.
- 1994 The Police Village of Eden Mills and Rockwood are dissolved with much resistance from residents of Eden Mills. The OMB chair suggests a mediator. The OMB approves 144 units between two developers. Petitions are presented to council in support of the Eden Mills Bow String Bridge. The incumbent reeve wins by 18 votes and then resigns on principle.

The structure of Eramosa, i.e. its settlement patterns, its political organization, its social rules and its community leaders, contributes to today's crisis. Appendix H, page 152 shows the geographical structure of Eramosa Township that decreases the potential for community building with its three major settlements in the south of the township leaving the north as a vast rural area.

In some ways it is helpful to look at Eramosa Township as a family consisting of five siblings: the rugged brother of Rockwood, the aloof brother of Everton who rarely involves himself in community issues, the articulate sister of Eden Mills who is continually vigilant to protect herself, the farming brother trying to survive in a changing world, and sister gentry in the countryside trying to escape the evils of the city. Each has its gifts and strengths, yet the sibling rivalry has created resentment. Each has its own organizational structure, interests, culture, relationships with the township council and each other.

Eramosa is a community in conflict. To appreciate the complexity and depth of this community's conflict one needs to look at it from different angles. For a more in depth understanding of the events, concerns and their conflict source analysis, please refer to the more detailed Timeline of Events (Appendix G, pages 131-151) and the Sources of Conflict in Study Area (Appendix I, pages 154-164) A review of both appendices assists the reader in understanding the perceptions of the participants and the feeling within the community.

The starting point of this analysis is the participants' perception of Eramosa Township, for it provides the context within which the events have and still continue to

unfold. Perceptions reflect the relationships between individuals and organizations. The relationship determines the individual's expectations, and often also the outcome of the events.

These perceptions present a glimpse of the evolution of relationship expectations. Although most participants spoke quite fondly of the past, there were some whose memories were bittersweet. Were relationships between Eramosans much more pleasant in the past? If so, where did the negativity and fatalism of today come from? If not, how can Eramosites move beyond the negative self-image? The focus of this study is to systematically examine how macro, meta and micro factors have each fuelled and perpetuated conflict rather than assuaged and resolved it. The macro level of analysis looks at who the players are, where and how the conflict fits together. The relationship level examines how the players relate to each other and why. To study the relationship level means to map the conflict at the micro level, for it is through the observations of several disputes that the patterns emerge. Mapping the conflict involves examining the conflict tactics, management of the dispute from the relationship context in the larger system, the nature of the disagreement and the analysis of the resolution.

### **The Participants' Perception of Today**

Most participants, with the exception of most of the bureaucrats, expressed serious concerns about some of the elected officials and events within the township. Long time residents added comments which compared today's Eramosa unfavourably with its past. This is evident in the following statements on topics ranging from

newcomers to the quality of municipal councillors, from the economic health of the township to the relationship between the villages of Eden Mills and Rockwood. Most of the following statements are direct quotes while others are paraphrased for the sake of brevity.

"There are no more long time residents, all new people." "It's almost like being in the city now, nobody knows anybody." "Caring is interpreted as being nosy by new people." "There are a lot of people that I don't know and I guess that's partly from being away. As we grow older people don't seem as friendly."

There are more people involved making the "job of the councillor impossible." "People are more educated" and "seem to be more aware." "People get elected and minority groups (have too much) influence. Maybe we should go back to the way it used to be." On the other hand people are too busy to involve themselves on committees. But then again, why bother, because "nothing happens." "Some councillors are approachable but then there is a wall." "We suspect people's motives and so use outside chairs." "Committees only get what council has already decided to give them." "It's a real dilemma, I feel I should "work on community issues but that takes time away from the family and yet it helps the family." "There are "ego issues with those making decisions." "It's like pulling teeth to get people to run for council." "Good people don't come forward for council." "Once people get in power they believe they have the wisdom of Solomon." "Planning is done in little chunks." There are "nine portables at the school." People still complain about "taxes being too high."

"Business people don't speak up anymore; they have to protect their business."

"No one is listening to each other." "We don't give ourselves enough credit." "People don't shop in Rockwood. They believe that the selection and prices are not competitive." "We lose the sense of community by shopping elsewhere."

"There seem to be different rules for Eden Mills and Rockwood." "Eden Mills feels left out." "Eden Mills has changed, used to be many old families." "The rural areas feel ignored and looked down upon."

The changes have been attributed to the change in our global society as well as the local community. "Today they jump around and change their politics with almost every election." "There is a decline of religion and discipline." "Our lifestyle is no better than 100 years ago." "Today people just call the police." People are afraid of lawsuits. "Liability hurts volunteerism."

### **Memories of the Recent Past**

In the 70s, "things came and went because people could sit and discuss openly." There were not the same pressures from government. People had heated discussions but "were still friends." It was still an agriculturally based community where "baseball was important." People could talk about controversy and a "good chair mediated the discussion." Business people were outspoken and would discuss and present their views, whether on development or on the bypass for the highway.

The 70s showed the signs of strain between the new and long time residents. It was apparent in not only the perception around the damage done to the park fountain, but also in the water and sewer issue. New people started to move in and "I can still remember when Lloyd Dwyer Park was vandalised." It was "new people who didn't

care, that vandalized the park." "People were resentful of outside opinion, even expert opinion." It was the first time that it was noted that "council made all the decisions" and "environmentalists weren't liked."

If time and distance make the heart grow fonder, then it should not be surprising to discover that most participants remembered only the best of the past. It is helpful to understand how participants remember their community because while newcomers will compare their new community with others they have lived in, long time residents are more likely to compare today's Eramosa with the Eramosa they remember.

### **Perceptions of Days Long Gone**

Generally speaking participants painted an inviting and warm picture of Eramosa prior to the 1960s. In spite of Eramosa's demise as a thriving farming community and Rockwood's reputation as "a stagnating and dying village" and "retirement village for farmers and their widows," what participants remembered was a close knit and caring community. They remembered "you would share things. Farmers would buy thrashers together. There would be wood bees, corn bees, quilting bees. "Our Saturday night entertainment was listening to the hockey game with our dad." " Families were closer, life more stable." "Many people did things for nothing." "People could pay their taxes with their labour." "When someone was sick, people would pitch in and they wouldn't keep track. "

"In Eden Mills, the community kind of looked after the kids. If you got into trouble, it was just like your mother giving you a slap--if one of the neighbours did it. So you couldn't misbehave without someone knowing it." "It was considered an honour to

be asked to help out at the Eden Mills Fall Fair."

Although the men were considered the "boss of the wagon," Eramosa had its share of women activists in either the Women's Institute or the Temperance Movement. As one participant said, "There was always some woman ready to spearhead things." The temperance movement 60 years ago saw the women organize to have congregations sign "abstinence cards." People were asked to sign cards stating that they would abstain from the use of alcohol. Although the men signed the cards, it was not unusual to find a bottle of their favourite brew in the barn. There was no hotel but there were bootleggers.

Everton used to have a post office, a general store and a bus that went through to Guelph once a week. They even had a winning softball team. The woods surrounding Everton used to feel safe enough that people brought the animals kitchen scraps.

Most participants recalled conflict nostalgically. Their most heated issues seemed to have been the church, municipal drain works and the provincial and federal elections. Conflict associated with municipal elections was remembered with laughter and stories of the heated debates of Nomination Days. There is no doubt that conflict had its darker side. "There were lots of conflicts but they weren't advertised. Things were kept quiet." There are stories of an unwed mother kept locked inside the house until after the birth of the child. On the other hand, "people weren't afraid of telling their opinion" and "problem dogs were shot." There is no nostalgia surrounding the conflict that split the Presbyterian Church and tore families apart.

Community life in the early 1900s, according to Here and there in Eramosa revolved around the churches. One participant explained that 70 years ago people

attended church twice in one day so they'd rub elbows with their neighbours in the morning and in the evening. They took their religion very seriously. While there was much conflict throughout the nation over uniting Methodist and Presbyterian congregations into the United Church, the conflict was particularly acerbic in Eramosa, pitting the politically influential Presbyterians (an ex-reeve and warden, an ex-MPP, the postmaster and township treasurer, two future reeves and wardens) against religiously influential Presbyterians (the church elders) who were opting for church union (Day, 1953). The result, ironically, was that the attempt to create a united church split the Presbyterian congregation and created two bitterly opposed churches.

Participants say that "for years there was a lot of dissension in the village between the Presbyterian Church and the United Church which there isn't now, thank goodness. People wouldn't talk to each other for a while. Families split up. Brothers and sisters were divided." "My grandmother and mother would talk about it. They went to the United Church and of course my grandmother was very strictly religious. Whatever she did was religious. My dad couldn't see that, that you should be so objectionable about the Presbyterian or the United Church. It was a church and that's what you should look for. But a lot of people didn't overcome that for years." One participant said that what helped people get past their differences was the intermarriages of their children.

Whether these perceptions of Eramosa are accurate is not the issue, the point is that many key participants in this study displayed a general feeling of alienation, discontent and negativity towards today's Eramosa.

What they are pointing to is unresolved conflict which affects almost every aspect of community life within Eramosa. Where did this all begin? Generally speaking participants believe that life in Eramosa was not always so contentious.

### **Macro Level Analysis of Eramosa Township**

Types of structures, rules, organizational interdependencies, norms that exist between social systems, processes or understanding over many actors and the actors themselves are the components of a macro level analysis. This level of analysis has three main components: the psychological make up of the individual, the organizational format and the geographical structure. Eramosa's physical and organizational structure is one that fosters power imbalances and physical limitations that prevent people from getting what they want. Moore (1989) tell us that this alone would lead to conflict. Maps of Eramosa, Eden Mills and Rockwood depicting physical barriers to community building can be found in appendices B, page 125, C page 126 and D page 127.

#### ***The Geographical Structure of Eramosa Township***

Eramosa Township, 19.2 kilometres long and approximately ten kilometres in width, consists of the villages of Eden Mills and Rockwood and the hamlets of Ospringe, Everton and Barrie Hill. The most southern section of the township is urban in nature while the north is mainly agricultural. Residents living in the north are more likely to associate with Fergus than Rockwood.

The village of Rockwood is nestled between the town of Acton and the city of Guelph. One can drive to either in 10 minutes, to Fergus in 20 minutes or to Toronto in an hour. Originally known as Brotherstown, Rockwood was founded by Quakers. Its

boundaries, unchanged since 1903, consist of 800 acres. The dissolution of the police villages was seen as a threat to the boundaries of both Rockwood and Eden Mills.

The map of Rockwood shows a community physically divided by a river, railroad tracks and the conservation area. The majority of new residents live south of the conservation area or northeast of the railroad tracks, adding challenges to their assimilation into the community.

Eden Mills, four kilometres west of Rockwood, is a village of 500 acres on the townline of Eramosa and Nassegaweya, which is also the dividing line between the counties of Wellington and Halton. It became a police village in 1930. Originally 300 acres of the village were in Eramosa and 200 in Nassegaweya. In 1974, it was amalgamated to Eramosa Township by choice. In its early years Eden Mills carried a large flour and grain trade. The small original homesteads along the river banks contrast with the newer larger lots. The Eden Mills community has experienced slow growth.

Everton, seven kilometres north of Rockwood, in the Seventh Concession was once a thriving little town with unfulfilled big dreams. The founding fathers had hoped that Everton and Rockwood would become the Minneapolis and St. Paul of Ontario (Day, 1953, p. 121). Today, Everton consists of approximately 87 homes, an estimated population of 194 and one restaurant. Rockwood is down river from Everton and Eden Mills is down river from Rockwood. Because Eden Mills is on septic systems thus deriving their drinking water from wells is down river from both communities. Its residents have a vested interest in what happens in both Rockwood and Eden Mills. If the river becomes polluted, their wells which have already been declared as

contaminated would be further threatened. It was for this reason that one resident chained herself to a pillar at the municipal offices during the water and sewer debate. She was hoping to draw attention to the probable pollution of the river should Rockwood build a primary treatment plant. This act received national attention. The Ministry of the Environment eventually intervened and had sewage piped to Guelph to save the Eramosa River.

Shiloh, Oustic, Barrie Hill, and Drumhill were all once prosperous hamlets that today consist of a few houses. Barrie Hill and Oustic also have a church. Eden Mills, Everton and Rockwood are situated on the Speed River with Eden Mills siting on a flood plain. All three are considered natural beauty spots with deep pot holes, a winding river, high overhanging rocks, surrounded by agricultural land and cedar, pine and spruce.

Rockwood has an aura of mystery surrounding it. Long time residents talk of underground caves that are perhaps more like an underground maze. It is reported that one can enter in one cave at one end of the village and come out at the opposite side of the river, at the other end of the village. A favourite diving spot at the conservation area was once "tested" for depth by youth. They plunged a 40 foot pole in an attempt to reach bottom and found instead an underground current that could easily sweep their pole away and no bottom.

The landscape that long time residents are proud of is also what attracts newcomers to the area. The vocal newcomers who are actively involved in trying to preserve the landscape are seen as the "tree-huggers" trying "to keep everyone else out" now that they have moved into the township.

***Impact of Geography on Conflict in Eramosa***

The layout of the township is such that community building becomes difficult. The rural areas feel that the focus of attention is in Rockwood. Eden Mills has a need to pay attention to how Rockwood chooses to grow. As one participant said, "Eden Mills is the mouse and Rockwood is the elephant, if it rolls over, Rockwood can squash us." Being down river from Rockwood and still on septic systems, Eden Mills residents see a need to be diligent to ensure that their water quality is not further contaminated. Rockwood, Everton and Eden Mills, in the southern portion of the township, have "urban" interests while the rest of the township has farming and other rural interests.

Rockwood, the largest settlement area, contains more than one third of the township's population and expected to continue growing. Appendix F (page 129) offers a comparison of the population of the villages and the township and their growth patterns.

In 1993, 38.4 % of the population lived in Rockwood as compared to 26% in 1983. Rockwood faced the largest increase at 37% growth in one year but it was not the only community in Wellington County that faced major growth. The township's five year growth at 26.2% was comparable to the growth of the town of Fergus at 26.5%. Rockwood's proximity to Toronto and to two major highways -- the 401 and Highway 7--makes it most susceptible to the population overspill from the Greater Toronto Area and thus continued growth.

Eramosa township is a declining community trying to rise again. It has changed from a strong agricultural economic base to one in search of an economic base.

Although agriculture is still Eramosa's biggest industry, it has slowly eroded away. In 1965, the Census of Agriculture showed 295 farms with 40,647 acres of land. In 1976, there were 206 farms with 34,542 acres of land. A 1990 article in the local paper shows 17 development proposals, most on designated or formerly designated agricultural zones. Appendix E (page 128) demonstrates how Rockwood in particular was under siege by numerous development proposals. Thus, the economic structure of the community has changed: Eramosa's strong agricultural base experienced the full impact of industrialization through the farming crisis of the 80's.

According to newspaper reports and some participants, growth was seen as beneficial to the community in the 1970s. The community could not decide to accept industrial or residential growth. As a result, industry is almost non-existent and most of what does exist is related to the struggling agricultural economy. Although Eramosites could not agree on the type of growth, residential growth ensued. So too did a struggle between residential development and environmental concerns. This struggle was played out mainly through the political arena by the community's key actors.

### ***The Individual as a Structural Conflict Source***

The actors in this study are the representatives of the various provincial ministries, developers and township residents within their various roles of councillor, activist, developer, business person, interested observer and/or service club representative. From the participants' comments, it should be noted that all issues contained to some degree elements of macho pride and misperceptions. The majority of interviewees spoke of situations where they thought the politicians, residents, residents

groups, bureaucrats, etc, were either dishonest or lacked integrity. They cited the following examples: Sounding<sup>1</sup>, which presented itself as speaking for the community, part of which disagreed. Publicly, "The Spirit of Shivaree"<sup>2</sup> which was hailed as "an unmitigated success and a wonderful process for bringing people together," but privately was condemned by some because "the community was rallied to put up walls, spout bigotry and insult a local family without moral or ethical justification."

The "diabolical enemy image" is strong. Participants didn't mince words. "Some of these members of council are mean spirited and evil." "The alleged conflict of interest against 'John Doe' was malicious and mean spirited." "Minutes are written so the public doesn't know what's happening." "I felt personally hurt and maligned." "Paranoia is simply a heightened sense of perception and my own feeling is that it is true." "There was a personal agenda against 'John Smith' " I had a problem with 'John Brown' since day one, because he had a grudge. I also maintain that he has a major conflict of interest, but that doesn't seem to bother anybody." "Rumour has it that..." "They didn't gain our respect and trust and we watched them closely." "That's the reason why the water is out of the dam...to be cantankerous, why else would he do that?" "That, 'John White' sure cost Eramosa a whole pile of money. That created a whole lot of dissatisfaction in the township." "Mistrust and stuff, being told one thing and then finding out the opposite." "They don't listen, I don't think they can be influenced in anyway." They are a bunch of

---

<sup>1</sup> A residents group which came together in 1990, as a result of a workshop organized with the assistance of the Ontario Rural Learning Association. It focussed on land use planning issues.

<sup>2</sup> A community play that looks at the community's history to gain perspective on its current problems. The play involved a cast of over 100 actors with no previous acting experience and close to 1,000 volunteers involved in various aspects of the play from writing, fundraising, designing costumes, etc.

bureaucrats and technocrats, narrow minded in their actions." "Even with today's council there is too much self interest and enforcing of personal values on the township." "Mr. White," basically likes to cause a lot of conflict." " He liked to divide and conquer." "They acted just like gods, that's happening a little bit right now."

Pro-us illusion was evident with the councils of 1985-1988, 1988-1991, and at least the reeve and deputy-reeve of 1988-1991 who seemed surprised with the election results.

According to White (1984) these examples of negative perceptions and attitudes of the adversary result in cognitive errors. This is apparent in Eramosa. There is a perception in Eden Mills that the rest of Eramosa is out to get them. To those outside of Eden Mills it appears that Eden Mills residents are "spoiled brats" wanting their own way. The people of Eden Mills believe that if the world outside of Eramosa knew the truth they would understand and support them.

Two local participants did not share these views. One individual felt that once an issue was dealt with, it was done. It was also this person's perception that Eramosans have come to like the facade of the seniors' housing complex that was once the object of contention and referred to it lovingly as "Grandma's Quilt." Although, if the issue with the Rockwood swimming hole was also done, it is interesting to note that this same individual did not have kind words for the person seen as responsible for Rockwood's loss of access to its old swimming hole. This tells me that there is still negative residue with that issue for her. It may be settled but perhaps not resolved.

There was a time that one trusted or mistrusted a person because one knew the

family. One participant shared the story of two unsuccessful candidates, discussing their demise at the polls. One explained away his loss to not being well known in the township, the other to being too well known in the township. Those days are gone. Today few know the families. In a community which is growing rapidly, where unwritten rules are difficult to ascertain, misperceptions and diabolical images quicken cognitive errors. Individuals naturally gather with those of similar interests, goals and comfort level. Once they are in a group, others identify the group based on its members and vice versa. In Eramosa, the "tree hugger" was associated with "Sounding." The newcomers were associated with anti-development, vandalism and not wanting change either in the landscape or the way things should be done. The Lions Club was identified with Rockmosa Community Centre and the people of Eden Mills fall into the categories of tree huggers, anti-development, newcomers and everything those groups embody.

### ***Organizational Structure***

The tiers of government --police village, township, county and province--- obviously make a simple issue complex. The community's fragmentation has been blamed on the development issue and how it is forced to be played out through the existing planning process and its bureaucratic layers of governance. When the township receives a planning proposal, the planning staff check to ensure that township staff have the required information before putting it on the council agenda. An appropriate deposit is required when council calls the required public meeting. Staff notifies everyone within 120 metres of the proposed site and circulates the proposal to all the ministries for comments. Any comments collected are available for the public meeting. If there is no

objection at the public meeting then a planning report from consultants is requested. If there are no objections, then the proposal goes on the agenda for discussion purposes. If everything is in order, council either asks staff to draw up the appropriate bylaw or Official Plan Amendment, or deny the application based on prematurity. If there is an objection, council can choose to proceed or not, based on the advice of their lawyer or on the number of objections. According to council minutes, past councillors have advised developers the approval of their proposal was dependent on the response of the public.

Should council agree to proceed, residents can then file an appeal with the Ontario Municipal Board for a fee of \$125.00. If council decides to not proceed with the development, then the developer has the option of appealing to the Ontario Municipal Board. In either case the taxpayers pay for the cost of the appeal through their property taxes because a solicitor represents the township at the hearing.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Eramosa Township and County Planning*

Eramosa Township is part of the lower tier of municipal government and Wellington County is considered the upper tier. The role of the county is to provide services that the townships, villages and towns cannot effectively provide for themselves. Eramosa Township pays 15% of its taxes to the county towards services such as hospitals, social services, roads and planning.

Due to growth pressures, Eramosa worked closely with the county's planning

---

<sup>3</sup> Although everyone agrees with planning in principle, the present planning process is both a challenge and a frustration to municipal councils. It provides the opportunity to develop long term goals and objectives and establish planning policies and controls to ensure orderly growth. However, it can also embroil the council in never-ending discussions with other bodies concerning appropriate policies for the community. Tindall (1988) states that almost every planning proposal is rejected in practice by a substantial portion of the community (p. 80).

department until the council hired its own planning consultant. The county comments on any development proposals within Wellington County. If something is considered not in the interest of good planning, the township would be advised. In Eramosa's case the county would trust that the local consultant will do most of the detailed work to ensure that proposal fits within both the township and county Official Plan.

Gary Cousins with the Wellington County planning department explained that the county plan aimed for local consensus in identifying all the local plans, environmentally sensitive areas, wetlands and areas of environmental and scientific interest. The County Official plan of 1992 has made a commitment for better protection of farmland as well. It focussed on environmental and resource issues such as gravel extraction and settlement patterns. "There is some fairly strong encouragement to the economic development of the county and greater opportunity for job creation and sensible growth within the county" (Cousins, 1994).

However, macro level analysis of the township's organizational structure shows that the conflict in Eramosa goes much deeper than whether it should grow. Taking into consideration the different needs of the people of Rockwood, Eden Mills and the outlying rural areas, Eramosa created for itself an organizational structure that allowed each area to concentrate on its own needs and interests. Rockwood and Eden Mills were police villages until December 1994, each with its own set of trustees. The main purpose of police villages was to allow communities which were too small to be incorporated as villages to provide urban type services in a rural area. In Rockwood the trustees also filled the role of hydro commissioners to oversee the Rockwood Hydro utility. Up to

1994, the police villages of Eden Mills and Rockwood elected three trustees to provide urban type services. The township had yearly elections up to 1966 and by-elections from 1967 to 1981. The elections began to take place every three years beginning in 1983. The election of trustees allowed the villages some self-governance but this also resulted in giving elected officials double messages. For example, the same year that the township elected the former president of the Ratepayers Association and a strong opponent to the water and sewer infrastructure, the residents of Rockwood elected as their trustee a supporter of the suggested water and sewer system who was accused of insulting the Ratepayers' association members. Trustees have been accused of not keeping in mind the good of the township, especially when they resisted the dissolution of the police villages. The trustees saw themselves as representing the interests of their village constituents while the township councillors saw themselves as representing the interests of the whole of the township. When the various pockets of the township perceived themselves as alienated and looked down upon by the others, it was not uncommon for their conflicts, to be played out through the township councillors. The Eden Mills Bridge issue offers an excellent example. See Appendix G, (1975, page 135; 1977, page 136; 1983, page 140; 1986, page 143 and 1988-94, pages 145-151) and see Appendix I, page 160 for an analysis of the Eden Mills Bow String issue. Three township councillors said the most fiscally responsible solution was to replace the bridge. However, the residents and trustees of Eden Mills saw the 1994 decision to replace the bridge as punishment for opposing the dissolution of the police villages.

### **Role of Township Council**

Eramosa is governed by a township council consisting of a reeve, a deputy reeve and three councillors. The local government has some regulatory powers. It can license business activity, exercise various controls, dictate property use and decide how a neighbourhood can develop (Tindal 1988). The main responsibility of the township council is to provide services through township staff.

Virginia Sinnott, the present township clerk of Eramosa Township, says that the role of staff is to implement council's policies. Administration makes the technical recommendations and council attaches the political aspects and tailors it to Eramosa Township. Some councillors get overly involved in the administration while others concentrate solely on policy. She believes that a healthy balance is advisable for smooth operations, whereby council sets the policy and asks staff to work out the details. Some community members believe that past council infighting and the clerk firings have been attributed to councillors overly involving themselves in administration.

The township uses standing committees, advisory committees and ad hoc committees. The Eden Mills Bridge and Road Committee was an ad hoc committee whose sole purpose was to explore and make recommendations to council regarding issues relating to the road through Eden Mills and two bridges including the Eden Mills Bow Bridge. This committee was dissolved once its mandate was achieved. Advisory committees have no authority; they can only advise the council who can choose to either accept or disregard their recommendations. A Planning Advisory Committee established in 1988 took the place of the Planning Board disbanded by the province in

1983. Some participants believed that development problems came to light in Eramosa only after the province disbanded the Planning Board. The Planning Advisory Committee re-installed in 1988, experienced mass resignations in 1989 and was dissolved by council in 1991 and as of June 1995 not yet replaced. The Heritage Advisory Committee (L.A.C.A.C.) has been active and relatively stable since 1975. In 1991, a Public Participation Advisory Committee was introduced, and in 1992 a Healthy Community Committee. The Healthy Community Committee continues but has chosen to no longer be a committee of council seeking partnership instead. This particular committee found that being a committee of that particular council meant compliance to council rather than equal partnership.

Standing committees have some authority. They are given a budget and the right to make decisions within that budget. Council controls their budgets. In Eramosa Township, the Library Board and the Parks and Recreation Committee have some of the privileges of standing committees in that they have a budget with some freedom to administer. Sometimes committees and councils have difficult relationships when residents, committees and councils are not clear on their roles as when council chooses to not accept the recommendations of an advisory committee or when council arbitrarily makes decisions around budgets, although technically it is their right and their responsibility.

***Interdependencies: Eramosa Township as a Creature of the Province***

Eramosa Township Clerk, Virginia Sinnott explains, "the municipalities can only do what is designated to them through the Municipal Act. If no authority is given to

them through the Municipal Act, then responsibility for that action lies with the province." The province controls the transference of grants and subsidies.

John Curie from Municipal Affairs explains that local governments are set up by a statute of the province. Thus, "they are creatures of the province, in that we can do virtually anything we want with them. If we decide that the township of Eramosa is no longer a good structure of local government, then we can simply legislate whatever new structure we want." However, Curie explained that the Ministry of Municipal Affairs has always taken the position that as long as the local government is legislating within its legal power, then the province ought not interfere because the council is empowered to make decisions. Municipal Affairs is also of the opinion that the council is the best body to make those decisions because it is clearly the closest to its own constituents and electorate.

He explained that a council is elected to lead. However, council should be leading after a social contract has been established. The social contract is a process that allows people to express their will." With a social contract, council would then know where they should be leading to" (Currie, 1994). The provincial ministries, including Municipal Affairs, act as resources to the township but also have the authority to step in, if and when they suspect serious misconduct in their particular administration.

Municipal Affairs was consulted by the council of 1988-1991 to assist the councillors in bringing some order. Municipal Affairs was contacted by the constituents in regards to both the council of 1988-91 and 1991-94 to investigate possible misconduct. In the first case, they were also consulted by the council who advised to

hire a consultant to do an organizational review. In the second scenario, the constituents' petition was forwarded to the Lieutenant Governor who did not see grounds for a Commission of Inquiry.

Over the years, various ministries have worked with Eramosa. The Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation has been much involved with township affairs, especially with the building of the Rockmosa Community Centre. Both the Lions and the township council consulted with this ministry as needed. The major difficulty that the Lions Club faced over the building of the Rockmosa Community Centre was the constraint placed upon them by the provincial government. That is, in order to qualify for grant money the building had to be deeded to the township; forcing upon the Lions and the council a relationship where one group did the work and the other was given the power to dictate. The Eden Mills Community Club and their ball park association today, find themselves in the same predicament as the result of the dissolution of the police villages.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Food has the ultimate authority in designating the class level of land for agriculture. In Eramosa those interested in rezoning their land from agricultural to residential first must determine the class level of agricultural land. Considering that this was once a strong agricultural community, some question why people can no longer make a living on land that seemed to provide a profit in the past. Others question the appropriateness of the land's zoning, especially if there is some hope for residential development. It is the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food that one must convince that the land should not be classified as Class 1 Agricultural Land if one

wants to develop it. One farmer offered the following explanation: "Some farms should never have been used for agriculture, should have been bush for wildlife. It's not feasible for some of this poor land to make it into good land. Lose a lot of our original habitat, I guess, it's all part of progress."

### **Meta Level Analysis**

The meta level of analysis is intertwined with both the macro and micro levels. For example, it becomes difficult to segregate problems of co-ordination and control from interdependencies. Patterns over time can become community norms. Key players when they join groups become a set of actors. Strong emotions that are a symptom of the meta level can only be seen by examining the actual dispute. Thus, the meta level is more than just the relationships between the organizations and the actors, it is also connects the macro and micro level of analysis. It is through the meta level that the consequences of conflict patterns over time are identified and the evolution of expectations become apparent.

### **Patterns and Norms of Conflict Behaviour**

The participants' memories, particularly when combined with other historical data are important in a meta analysis as a means of discerning the individual patterns of behaviour and interaction which surface during conflict in Eramosa. The following is a distillation of eight common patterns and norms which appear frequently in conflict situations in Eramosa.

***Pattern of Avoidance***

One of the major societal norms guiding conflict was that if you cannot get along, you separate yourself from the group. The Church Union of 1925 is an early classic example of a volatile split in the community that had divided families. More information of the Church Union can be found in the micro level analysis section. The practise of not dealing with the issues still continues to be practised through resignations and the suspension of committees without attempts to work issues through.

***Insider versus Outsider***

Unwritten and unspoken rules are not quickly apparent when one moves into a community. They are made more difficult to ascertain because long time residents accustomed to a more homogenous community take time to interact with newcomers. As one individual said, "it used to be that we could take our time to look someone over to decide whether or not they fit in."

The transient nature of new people led at least one participant to not actively pursue relationships with newcomers. He found that in any one year on one particular street there were up to six families moving out.

Long time residents were perceived as keeping newcomers at arms length, and discouraging them from expressing opinions about the community. One participant said that he learned that "you have to be careful who you step on. There are toes you can step on and toes you can't and toes you don't go near."

In this small community everyone is related to someone. One is expected to take people aside and talk about the problem over a cup of coffee at a local donut shop, etc.

One participant described the norm this way: "Love your community. It's like siblings, we'll fight but don't let anyone else come in and fight."

Hiring from within the village is a norm that is changing as the community changes. In 1978 more than 100 ratepayers protested the hiring of a village secretary from outside of Eramosa. Today, as the demographics change, hiring from within the village is preferred but no longer the norm.

Initially, entrance into Eramosa Township was easier for developers. Over the years it became less acceptable to speak to a developer informally out of council chambers. The council of 1988 chose to meet with developers only at council meetings. The council of 1991 chastised a councillor who reported that he had met with a developer. During a council meeting in 1993, the reeve handed an unopened letter from a developer to the clerk and stated that he would not receive unsolicited correspondence from developers.

Newcomers to Eramosa often establish their place in the community by assuming the role of lobbyists and protesters. This is apparent in numerous issues. Although there were not as many newcomers at the time of the water and sewers controversy and there were some long time residents involved, the newcomers were the most outspoken and quoted in the paper.

Newcomers protested the building of Stone Barn Estates<sup>4</sup>. The Stone Barn proposal was approved by council and the Planning Committee but it was newcomers

---

<sup>4</sup> The Stone Barn Development refers to rural estate housing which originally included a 100 room inn and conference centre. The Inn was to incorporate a historically significant stone barn, but the developers tore it down against the wishes of the residents. The Conference Centre was never built and the developers filed bankruptcy.

who were vocal. One objector was also seen as responsible for the loss of a local swimming hole by fencing the property and preventing access to the river.

When the township council of 1988 - 1991, consisting mainly of newcomers, asked for a fraud audit and began to experience difficulty with the township clerk, a long time resident, the community was shocked. Long time residents felt that they knew their people, but they did not know these new people that they had voted in. Had the new council accused the former councillors and clerk of incompetence but played by the "rules," they might have received some support. Long time residents have been heard to express some disquiet when a new resident becomes a spokesperson for the community.

Newcomers challenged council for changing its position regarding the support of the Eden Mills Pond Association. The "Sounding" group that successfully lobbied council for a new Official Plan rather than update the old one and to give the public an opportunity to participate in the process, was initiated by a long time resident but the group itself consisted mainly of new people.

### ***Expectations of Altruism***

In Eramosa Township, one is expected to give and not expect anything in return. Receiving something in return discounts the giving and results in suspecting the actions of the individual. "They all want something in return, so don't say you're giving" when in fact you are negotiating for something.

This pattern is apparent in numerous issues. It is acceptable for trustees and councillors to devote hours of time towards the administration of the community for a small honorarium. Given the norm it is not surprising that when council approved the

payment of honorariums for the Planning Advisory Committee in 1989, a deputation consisting of former councillors questioned the concept. The restoration of the Eden Mills Pond Association is muddled because it is believed that the owner and the immediate neighbours stand to gain through increased property values. Contributions by the Lions to the community were questioned when a politician was alleged to have accused the Lions of drinking and having a good time, while giving little back to the community. In 1989, when the issue of gaining after hours access came forward, the council of the day was told that the politician is expected to take time off work to fit in with the regular office hours of the township. Paying theatre professionals for their services for the community play "The Spirit of Shivarree" while the community volunteered their time contributed to mistrust.

They stressed the community getting together and that it would be a volunteer deal. It was volunteer deal for some. And some people made out like gangbusters on it. That doesn't sit very well with me.

### ***Pattern of Frugality***

Eramosa residents are frugal. Keeping taxes and rates down has been an underlying theme since at least 1910. Day (1953) writes the following about the Rockwood and Oustic Telephone Company:

For 44 years service was maintained, possibly at rates that were too low. In 1950, the directors advised the subscribers that the system had fallen into disrepair, funds were not available for replacements and the company intended to fold up.

High costs and the inability of seniors to pay was a reason for opposing water and sewers. While Nassegaweya Township gave the Eden Mills Community Club a \$2,000 grant for renovations of their hall, in 1973, Eramosa Township offered the club a loan to be repaid in two years. The building of a sports complex was billed as a "high-priced extra" in 1975 and was stalled for another two years. The community opposed spending tax dollars on the project.

The council of 1979 refused a \$1,000 grant to a service club for Camp Belwood for the Retarded on the principle that taxpayers' money should not be used for a service club. In 1980 cash was accepted in lieu of parkland because parkland requires maintenance which would cause a raise in taxes.<sup>5</sup> Volunteer firemen had to forgo a raise in 1981, in order to pay for beepers. A 105 page study of the Eramosa Fire Department in 1988 reported that fire loss in Eramosa was \$96.25 per capita, while the fire loss of Wellington County was \$29.27 per capita and the province \$27.12. The township though spent \$22.22 per capita cost for fire service while Wellington County spent \$42.68.

### ***Adherence to Higher Authority***

It has been customary for people not to run against incumbents and when they did the voters tended to favour the incumbents. In looking over the nominations for council seats, it was not unusual for a councillor to allow his name to stand for councillor, deputy reeve and reeve and then withdraw his name if the incumbent chose to remain. It was

---

<sup>5</sup> The acceptance of cash in lieu of park land created a perception of a "phony deal" worked out with the developer. This was part of the reason that this particular council was turfed out at the next election.

acceptable for two councillors to run for the reeve or deputy reeve positions. In the case of a long time resident or newcomer vying for office, the long time resident has traditionally fared better at election time.

Overall, the community norm is to not expend energy on an issue that the province or the county has already decided upon. Residents tend to accept decisions providing the perception of higher authority is established. This was the case in the dissolution of the police villages which was perceived to have been dictated by county government and the province, the dissolution of the township school board which was attributed to the province, and in the final analysis, the acceptance of water and sewers for Rockwood which was attributed to a decision of the Water Resources Commission.

Eramosans use legal intervention to address power imbalances. The introduction of lawyers and the legal process is the last resort of the losing side. OMB hearings and the threat of such hearings, though lamented as expensive, are commonplace and not confined to disputes between developers and the township but also the villages and the township, as well as the 1994 dissolution of the police villages. In this last instance mediation was tried with some success.

### ***Compliance With the Group***

One should not "push a point," but "should play by the rules" and be as "apolitical" as possible. "You can't always get what you want." "Why should he cause a problem? So I was against him." Business people will not express their views on development because one "never knows who the next person coming in to your store is or where they stand on the issue." Low key expression of feelings is admired and seen as

indicative of a logical, rational position. To deviate from this norm is to court disaster as the 1989-92 Council discovered when its members repeatedly engaged in heated open debate with each other.

### ***Pattern of Council Infighting***

Council infighting was probably the most destructive conflict pattern in Eramosa. Elements of it appeared in 1976 but was most pronounced from 1988-94. In 1993, council infighting went as far as the reeve writing to a councillor's employer to ensure the councillor's position on council did not constitute a conflict of interest. Many interpreted this as an attempt to damage the councillor's reputation with his employer. In 1994, the electorate was chastised by the resigning reeve for re-electing to office this same councillor. This pattern has escalated although it has cost politicians their seats.

### ***Acceptance of Violence***

This pattern seems to be contrary to the pattern of avoiding dissent but comes through quite strongly. Both the threat and reality of violence in Eramosa's conflicts are real. Politicians and residents alike appear both to expect and to accept mistreatment. Council members are expected to regard threats as part of the job. More than one politician has been alleged to having received a death threat. The deputy reeve of the 1988-91 Council resigned, fearing for her life after receiving threats that her house would be burned down. A campaign sign was shot full of holes during the 1991 election.

These patterns have coloured the perceptions, attitudes and expectations of what individuals presume to experience in similar situations (Deutsch, 1973). These experiences may also tell them that this is how they are expected to behave if they find

themselves in their adversaries' shoes. The acceptance and expectations of mistreatment is a given by both the politicians and the residents. One resident advised council in 1992 that his 34 years of mistreatment by past councils has given him reasons for apprehension and mistrust of council. He expressed his hopes that the present council would be different. Thus, the belief remains that it does not matter who gets into office, they all develop the "wisdom of Solomon."

### ***Problems of Co-ordination and Control***

The township's organizational structure and hierarchy contributed to problems of co-ordination and control. The water and sewer utilities, the unique layer of governments and the township's relationship with the county and the provincial ministries add to the confusion. On a macro level, institutional analysis shows how conflict resolution is hampered so that conflicts remain ongoing.

The complexity of the interrelationships between government structures also impact the township's conflicts. The Ministry of Environment is the overseer of Rockwood's water and sewer infrastructure. The township's contract with the City of Guelph is to simply treat its sewage so the township consults with the ministry regarding any difficulties with the system. Although the township is responsible for maintaining the infrastructure and providing the day to day water and sewage services, it is Rockwood Hydro that bills the customers.

Knowing who is responsible, knowledgeable and/or accountable seems to create much confusion and conflict within Eramosa. Developers who corresponded with the city of Guelph and the Ministry of the Environment stated that they were told that there

was sewage capacity. The township council reported that the same sources told them differently.

The township is transversed by village roads, township roads, county roads and provincial highways. In Rockwood, a retailer needs to meet both township and Ministry of Transportation (MT0) requirements. The bridge in Eden Mills was on a county road until the county gave responsibility for the bridge and the road back to the township. The bridge as it is does not meet county standards, though it does meet township standards. Provincial planning documents make exceptions for heritage structures with respect to such things as width standards. The mandate of the County Roads Department is to ensure the smooth flow of traffic . To do that, they require a two lane structure. The goal of the people of Eden Mills is to restrict the flow of traffic which means that the people of Eden Mills must lobby the township council, the county and the province for any action.

Knowing who is responsible for what has been somewhat alleviated through the dissolution of the police villages. Today, if you have any questions you go to one source--the township office who will redirect you to the appropriate department.

### **Summary of the Meta Level Analysis**

In reviewing the history of the township in light of its patterns of frugality, insider versus outsider, adherence to higher authority, disassociation from those one disagrees with, it is not surprising to see why this community would not consider building a sports complex or exploring a potential partnership for the restoration of the

Eden Mills Pond Association. The sports complex might have cost the community more money than the existing community centre. It was also seen as an unnecessary luxury rather than a positive asset or investment for the residents and their children. A partnership with the Eden Mills Restoration Association would have meant a partnership with the articulate newcomers to the community who had not yet proved that they were willing to contribute. However, high expectations of altruism meant that the property owners abutting the pond should not have benefited in any way. After all, the former owner of the property managed to maintain it on his own while the mill was a functioning business and the community benefited. For this same reason, the newcomer who blocked access to the Rockwood swimming hole was not expected to fence off his property. However, as seen in Appendix G, Timeline of Events, pages 131-151 and page 160 of Appendix I, Sources of Conflict, the ongoing conflict faced by the Lions and Lioness Club with the various councils, the council of the day may have done the Eden Mills Pond Association a favour in refusing to sponsor their project. The association can now boast of a community building project that increased community pride and community cohesiveness at no cost to the Eramosa taxpayer. See page 160 for more information regarding the Eden Mills Pond Association.

It is not surprising, in view of the patterns of violence and council infighting, that people hesitate to run for government, or that miscommunication is rampant when mistrust, isolation, and distancing are patterns, or that development issues rapidly move to OMB hearings when developers are socially excluded. Legal intervention is seen as the only option. The patterns work together to create and exacerbate conflict.

Decide, defend and then do tends to be the typical pattern of our democratic processes (Conflict Clinic, 1991). Eramosa's pattern is not quite as rigid. Decide, defend, renegotiate and then either find an alternate legal way to push it through or defer to the Ontario Municipal Board to make the ultimate decision has been the common method of resolving public issues. The dissolution of the police villages was the first time that the Ontario Municipal Board referred the issues back to the trustees and township councillors to resolve, either on their own or with a mediator. For more information regarding the community's resistance to dissolution see Appendix I, Sources of Conflict, page 154. Some believe that there was a need to compromise to avoid further legal costs and so some see a settlement rather than a resolution. The dissolution may not have initially cost Eramosites much financially, but the emotional costs were high, especially for the people of Eden Mills. These patterns are not obvious if only one issue is explored. It is by exploring numerous issues at the micro level that the patterns become clear.

### **A Micro Analysis**

Macro level analysis provides the larger context within which the conflict evolves, but Moore (1989) tells us that structural conflicts are caused by destructive patterns of behaviour and interaction, unequal control, power, authority or resources. Relationship conflicts that are characterized by strong emotions can be uncovered at the meta level of analysis. Throughout the entire history of the township, strong opposing views become apparent through dispute behaviours. The history of Eramosa as

recorded in Here and there in Eramosa and as shared by some of the long time residents paints a community that experienced as much destructive conflict as it did cooperation.

In reviewing Eramosa's past one can see that intense conflict has been common. Therefore to say that the conflict of the last 30 years is an aberration and the result of the influx of new people is not accurate. There is something more underlying the events of Eramosa Township. Through the micro level of analysis, one gains insight of the specific behaviour that can impact the structures that maintain the conflicts. Eramosa like any other community or organization has rules and norms. Breaking the unwritten and unspoken rules that govern how people are expected to behave leaves people confused and expecting the worst from each other; thus creating an environment ripe for misunderstandings, misperceptions and more confusion, leading the participants to believe that they are at an impasse. Patterns of avoidance and infighting, coordination and control that emerged from the church conflict--the earliest conflict participants still recall--have continued to be played out.

### ***Church Issue***

The way the community dealt with conflict within the church in 1925 reflects the patterns of interaction of modern day Eramosa. In 1848, with a population of 1,972 there were 13 different religious denominations listed (Day 1953). Here and there in Eramosa shows that religious differences tended to be resolved by creating a new church, in other words, conflict was not worked through, it was avoided. It is interesting to note that the group that chose to remain Presbyterian rather than join with another church was the smaller group but its members were those with political influence.

Relationship conflicts are caused by strong emotions, misperceptions,

stereotypes, poor communication, miscommunication or repetitive negative behaviour (Moore 1989). As stated earlier, splits within congregations were already an accepted way of dealing with differences of opinion. Strong emotions were involved as families divided over the issue.

The churches union appears to have been a value laden conflict. Value conflicts may hide an underlying conflict (Moore 1989). A minister from another community stated that it was his experience that so many splits were a result of personality clashes rather than a real difference in theology. Whatever the reason behind the split in the Presbyterian church, it demonstrates how structural, relationship, and value conflicts can lead to interest conflicts or vice versa.

Interest conflicts are caused by perceived or actual competitive interests. These competitive interests can be psychological, substantive or procedural (Moore, 1989). The church and its records became the point of contention. By the family rifts, it seems safe to assume that the emotional costs of the dispute would have been high. This brings me to question how the Presbyterian Church made the decision to join the United Church and why did Day (1953) believe the issue was much more intense in Rockwood than elsewhere?

### ***Municipal Drain works Issue***

The municipal drain works are examples of interest conflicts of a substantive nature. They were ongoing but affected a small group of people at any one time. A farmer or group of farmers would petition council for municipal drain works for their property. Others would oppose it because they didn't want it or need it. If it went

through their property and it was deemed that they would benefit from it, then they too would pay their share of the costs whether they wanted it or not. Council minutes show one person who opposed the petition in 1968 and was still having issues with it in December 1979. These issues were resolved by council through arbitration and are good examples of adherence to higher authority. It appears that there was objective criteria for assessing the situation and then experts developed integrative solutions that addressed the needs of all parties. This system must have worked relatively well as there was only one persistent and vocal resident objecting to a decision that he perceived as not in his favour.

### ***Election Issues***

Federal and provincial politics seem to have been the most intense. They likely included value, interest, information, relationship, structural and needs conflicts.

Emotions were strong and the pattern of acceptance of violence emerges. "My dad told me about a fist fight at the provincial elections." "Tory and Grits fighting one another in the Town Hall, don't think it happened with municipal politics." Who won the election may determine who would be able to find work. "There was a running battle between the liberals and the conservatives. If you wanted a job, you would go to your MP or MPP." The importance of political affiliation was also obvious in Here and there in Eramosa. People were described according to both their church and political affiliation. Participants who remembered these heated debates would chuckle as they reminisced and spoke about some of the "awful personalities."

This attitude carried over to municipal elections but not to the same intensity.

Although the Nomination Day meetings got quite heated there was not a major turnover of council until the 1988 and 1991 elections. The Nomination Day meetings were described by one participant as being similar to today's Ratepayers meeting. Another compared it to religious beliefs.

"That was a big day in the Township. My golly you'd see your friends from the east and south of every corner that was going. I found back years ago when they came out, it was a big meeting. It was very political. You would have your Liberals and Conservatives. It was like some of our religions. If you were liberal, you never changed your mind. There was always friction. Somebody was always doing something."

Residents would get together once a year to hear from their councillor what they had done and why they had done it. Council minutes were available and at the end of the discussion people were nominated to stand for office for another term. Participants painted a vivid picture of Nomination Day. "You had to be careful as to what you said, or you might be nominated for office." "They were the ideal place for people who had beefs to get vocal about it. "They usually complained about taxes being too high or the conditions of the roads." "It wasn't uncommon to roast the road superintendent."

Generally speaking, prior to the 80s, although many were nominated for the various positions, few ran for office and acclamations were not unusual. Even though there were annual elections, it appeared from both the council minutes and the record of council members in Here and there in Eramosa, that people remained in office for more than one term. Experience as a councillor appears to have been a prerequisite for running for reeve. Being a politician in Eramosa was a position of honour.

"Councillors used to be down to earth and realistic." "It used to be an honour to be a politician. People trusted politicians." "Decisions were made that were a benefit to the whole community." "We would vote for people without going out to meetings." "People felt they knew the families and the individuals running for council well enough to not have to attend Nomination Day meetings."

"In those days the candidates were given support and not nagged." "Issues were discussed." "You knew the families who were honest." "It used to be people got elected and they looked after things."

"As members of council we were judge, jury and policeman. We were everything. I didn't feel I could be judge, jury and policeman." "We had some awful personalities." "The trustees and council didn't fight." "As trustees we did what we had to even "dug graves myself."

"Women weren't activists. They prodded their husbands but then their husbands would do what they wanted when they were out." "People were not as involved, people did their own thing and went their own way."

The belief is that development did not have the opportunity to become an issue because "developers were told no right off the bat rather than have them spend money."

It appears that community conflict was contained to the Nomination Day meetings and the Federal and Provincial elections. Although there were large turnouts to these events, residents were not too quick to change their elected officials. Participants believed that overall, residents were not willing to involve themselves in the day to day operations of the township other than making their councillors accountable at the

Nomination Day meetings. "Of course if they had a squabble with their neighbour they would try to get a lick in. So they never got around to discussing issues that should have been discussed, like policies of council." This last comment suggests Eramosites tended to focus on the smaller picture and interpersonal disputes rather than the larger picture and the overall objectives of the township.

### ***Planning and Development Issues***

Almost every issue that Eramosa has faced since 1966 can be linked to planning and development. See Appendix G (pages 131-151) for a more detailed timeline of the issues or Appendix I (pages 153-164) for issue breakdown under sources of conflict.

Consider the following conflict summary:

In order to become an incorporated village, Rockwood needed to grow. Local newspapers reported that the new growth that could be accommodated by the new water and sewer infrastructure was seen as positive by the community. According to some participants, growth would not only allow the community to survive, but also regain its old dignity. A housing study revealed the need for seniors housing and a positive attitude towards growth. A newly formed service club introduced the concept of a sports complex.

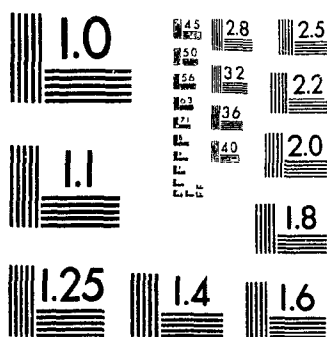
Not everyone believed that growth was good for Rockwood. Some saw the installation of the water and sewer infrastructure as a tool to change the quiet character of Rockwood. Residents made their first appeal to the Ontario Municipal Board in hopes of stopping the project, and lost. Still, they persisted with an unsuccessful appeal to cabinet and then brought an injunction against the township. Again, the courts ruled in

favour of the installation of the water and sewer system. It could be said that both sides won as the pipeline to Guelph ensured the preservation of the river and Rockwood's growth was now limited to the capacity of the pipeline and Guelph's sewage treatment. Once the infrastructure for water and sewers went in, more growth was necessary so that the system could pay for itself. The process took 12 years and the water and sewer controversy still continued. Many questioned whether the infrastructure was really needed and a debate commenced between the developers' engineers and the township's engineers regarding the capacity of the system. This debate was played out in the local papers and at council meetings, public meetings, and private meetings between representatives of the various stakeholders. It continued until 1994, where developers and the township finally agreed as to the capacity of the system during an Ontario Municipal Board hearing. See pages page 156 and pages 131-151 for more information regarding the ongoing water and sewer debate.

As a result of the expected growth, a bypass was suggested by the Ministry of Transportation to avoid future traffic problems associated with the expected population increase. Eramosa said no to the bypass and then faced Ministry involvement again when residents petitioned for a traffic light almost 20 years later. For more information on this issue see page 159.

After the installation of water and sewers the community appeared to have accepted the situation and settled down. It was not until 1982 that people began to speak up and question the removal of a hill and a historic barn associated with the Rockwood Academy. A ratepayers group formed and began to question the decisions of their

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET  
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



## PRECISION<sup>SM</sup> RESOLUTION TARGETS

councillors. They questioned the appropriateness of the facade of the seniors' housing project. The following year residents unsuccessfully appealed to the Ontario Municipal Board (OMB) to prevent a subdivision and the building of a conference centre.

In 1988 and 1991 all members of council were replaced. Many attributed their replacement as being related to development issues and the request for more public participation. In 1989, the OMB ruled in favour of the residents who opposed a trailer park. In 1990, another developer was successful in convincing the OMB to approve a townhouse complex. In 1990, the deputy reeve resigned fearing for the safety of her family. She was a newcomer perceived by some players as an opponent to development, responsible for council infighting and the firing of the township clerk--a long time resident.

The population growth resulted in a need for a new hydro substation and a new library. The location of the library became an election issue in 1991 and the opposition to the hydro substation resulted in an OMB appeal. Residents opposed its location and questioned its necessity. The hydro commissioners averted the hearing by finding an alternate location. See page page 164 for more information.

In 1992, residents again through the OMB opposed rural estate development on the outskirts of the village of Rockwood. The 1994 OMB hearing saw both the township and the developer claim a victory and two subdivisions were approved with some constraints. These subdivisions would eventually add over 600 homes to the area.

Trustees used lawyers and mediators to balance the power with the township council to oppose the dissolution of the police villages in 1994. The dissolution was

opposed by some because it was seen as a method of removing boundaries, thus leaving the villages open for further development. It was also seen as a threat to community identity and loss of local control. Some saw the ongoing movement to save the Eden Mills Bowstring Bridge as a development issue, others connected it to the community's identity and the quality of life. Analysis of the bridge issue can be found on page 160.

To address economic growth, Eramosa Township designated a section of land southeast of Rockwood as industrial but has not attracted industry. Some of the reasons for industrial inactivity came forward during one of the Strategic Planning workshops: expensive and unreliable hydro, lack of alternative energy forms (gas<sup>6</sup>), unreliable and inadequate communications systems, inadequate sewage systems and lack of control over them, inconsistency of direction from local councils, lack of focus, transportation and distribution difficulties and the size of the community were but some of the problems cited. If the community wants to develop or attract even light or cottage industry the above challenges need to be addressed.

Designating land for industrial or residential growth may be the first step for growth but without the community on board to try to overcome the obstacles very little can be accomplished. Rockwood was, and perhaps still is expected to take much of the growth because of the expansion of the Greater Toronto Area. The 1986 Official Plan Amendment No. 2 allowed for growth to reach 2,500 by 1990. According to the draft background study of the police village of Rockwood a population ranging from 3,627 to 5,265 is estimated for Rockwood for the year 2016. Very little growth is expected to

---

<sup>6</sup> Gas was available in Rockwood by the winter of 1994.

occur in the rural portion of the township.

The complexity of planning issues has had an impact on conflict within Eramosa. On the one hand, it fosters destructive conflict, resulting in apathy; and on the other hand simply designating land for residential and industrial growth has resulted in citizens involving themselves by attending public meetings in large numbers. Since public meetings are confrontational, they discourage dialogue and information sharing, and since issues are not simple, conflict is not worked through and eventually the township, the citizens and the developers find themselves once again at an Ontario Municipal Board hearing. Residents of Eramosa Township have had no hesitation in forcing OMB hearings. See page pages 156 and 158 of Appendix I for more information regarding concerns with growth and development.

It should be noted that the OMB is a macro level conflict resolution tool that itself encourages conflict as evidenced by the fact that every application pushing for development since 1988 has resulted in an OMB hearing.

### **Summary**

Most disputes, especially development issues, were managed by legal means. The number of OMB hearings the community faced and faces demonstrates that these issues are not yet resolved. The community has a pattern of asking for outside intervention and yet resenting outsider involvement. Major issues have not been resolved internally; rather, people work around each other rather than with each other, leaving people divided. The Eden Mills Bridge issue is still open. The traffic light issue

was negotiated with the Ministry of Transportation. The highway 7 bypass decision was accepted with some resentment towards those who pushed and won their point. The Rockwood Nursery School<sup>7</sup> and the Squires Lodge<sup>8</sup> dispute seem to have fizzled out. Council infighting was resolved with the council of 1988-91 through the use of a third party. Council infighting with the Council of 1991-94 was not worked through but controlled by voting some members out of office in the 1994 election. If the reeve's two legal sized page letter of resignation is any indication, the result of this election has left behind many wounds. The community can expect the conflict between those who lost the election and those who won to continue being played out in the political arena. Already there are stories and rumours. Putting them to rest will be difficult, especially, if people would rather believe the worst. An analysis of the conflict of interest concerns can be found on page 162 of Appendix I.

There is no question that Eramosa would like to improve the way it handles its conflicts. Many of the participants' comments suggested that they wished to see a process that worked more productively for the community. They realized there was no magic solution, that "there is no perfect person," "even input from people who disagree is part of the solution." Still there was a "need to find a way to get beyond suspicious minds." "Need to develop a process that will funnel conflict into healthy input and

---

<sup>7</sup> The Rockwood Nursery School was pursuing alternative accommodations in 1990-91 and wanted to use the old township offices on highway 24. Council members refused stating that the location could be dangerous to nursery school students.

<sup>8</sup> Squire's Lodge also known as "Grandma's Quilt, Joesph's Coat, or the Rockwood Monster is a seniors housing complex that received opposition because of its multi-coloured aluminum siding facade. see page 159 in Appendix I for more information.

outcome." The community needs "a presence that supports government and doesn't fight," to have "groups that kick up the traces and do this and that. Without them you would have people like Hitler; although you won't get what you want," "to have a council that will "demonstrate in a factual way that people can influence." They made stabs at solutions - referenda, some kind of "feedback system that takes into account continuous change, round table discussions, a chair that mediates, positive feedback for council, opportunities for education and information on local planning issues."

On the basis of macro analysis, it appears that Rockwood has no choice but to accept development, although experts and residents disagree as to whether the terrain can safely accept more development. As you can see in Appendix H, page 152 Rockwood is located straight in the path of the Greater Toronto Area. The community can not afford to continue to bring every developer to an OMB hearing. However, is the question one of whether or not Rockwood should accept development? Or should the question be, how should Eramosa resolve its planning and development concerns? If the latter, then the challenge is to establish mechanisms that would not recreate the negative patterns that disallowed dialogue and resolution in the past. An analysis of the development dispute can be found on page 158 of Appendix I.

On the surface, the conflict in Eramosa appears to result primarily from development issues, yet Burton (1987a) cautions that protracted social conflict is not necessarily rooted in the loci of economics and power but in the frustration of compelling social needs. In Eramosa, chaos does contribute to conflict but it is not the only factor.

The villages had each been struggling for local control in their own way. Eden Mills had been successful by relying on volunteerism rather than tax dollars. No township tax dollars were used for the Eden Mills Community Club or ball park.<sup>9</sup> Rockwood has been seeking autonomy through incorporation since 1952. According to Day (1953), discussions were already underway for application for full village status as the required population was expected to be reached shortly. The population of the village was 700 -- 50 short of the required population for incorporation. Incorporation meant that the village would have its own reeve and council rather than three trustees.

One can see that many of the conflicts resulted when residents tried to be heard and have some control in the way the community was to change. This was apparent in both the water and sewer debate and the building of the community centre. Some believed that it would be an asset to the community while others feared that it would affect their tax dollars. Both sides wanted a say and both believed that they had the answer. Other conflicts were due to misperceptions and misunderstandings between groups and individuals while others were simply value differences.

Although it appears that Eramosa is a fatalistic community with many negative patterns, Eramosites can take heart. Eramosites have many accomplishments of which to be proud and the emerging patterns seem to lean towards optimism and hope.

---

<sup>9</sup> In 1995, following the dissolution of the villages, the township council designated \$13,000 for the Eden Mills ball park.

### **Emerging Patterns**

There are glimmers of change. The Library Board practices decision making by consensus. The Eden Mills Pond Association is seen as an "example of a cooperative association where things worked wonderfully." Pioneer Day is a day when the residents pitch in to have one day of family merriment. The Rockwood Eramosa Business Association, a group of business people who have gone from being very vocal in the 1970's to being very quiet and inward-looking in the 80's and early 90's, has become a group with an inclusive membership. They have adopted a philosophy of community building rather than business building. It is starting to bear fruit. Of approximately two dozen items put forward in 1993, they have made inroads into close to three quarters. There are a number of informal groups and individuals that work quietly for the betterment of the community. One might mention, for example, a retiree, who on his daily walks brings with him a garbage bag and stick to pick up garbage along the way. We must also consider the Town Hall Restoration Committee, which organizes events every year to pay for the renovations to the hall, and the Eden Mills Community Club, which sponsored a play group, a garden club, a baseball club, etc. The Eden Mills Writers Festival is another example of success in a small community. The first year 130 people came, in 1993 about 1700 people, and in 1994 the figures were around 2,000.

While patterns of conflict are inevitable, as some of the emerging patterns show, they need not be destructive and dysfunctional.

### **Changing Attitudes and Expectations**

It is important to note that real change can only occur at the individual dispute level because it is here that the macro, meta and micro components come together in real time as an event and because it is only at this level that attitudes tend to be questioned and change. Attitudes, it should be noted, are the precursors to patterns, so that if the attitude changes, so does the pattern of interaction. The following is a brief overview of some of the attitudinal changes that have been occurring in Eramosa that will affect the outcome of future issues.

#### ***Attitudes towards Development***

In 1978, a survey of Rockwood's attitudes showed that the community was divided as to the type of growth it should face. Forty-two percent favoured industrial growth while 43% favoured residential growth, while another study of farmers and non-farmers done by University of Guelph students in 1979 demonstrated that the majority of people (61% - 68%) were opposed to further residential development. A petition by a number of business people asked that Rockwood's population be 5,000 by 1990 or the business community would face dire consequences. The consultants provided the township council with three options and council chose the middle option--a population of 1,700 by 1985. In November, council planned for a population of 1,770 for 1990. The consultant suggested council consider an alternative plan for a population of 2,500 by 1990. The actual population in 1990 was 2,097. Rockwood's major growth of 37% in one year occurred in 1988. It tapered off over the following years to approximately 10 and then to about 2.7%. See Appendix F, page 129 for a comparison of growth patterns.

Many have the perception that the councils of 1988 and 1991 were voted in to stop or slow down development. Both councils passed bylaws to prevent meeting with developers anywhere but in council chambers. Meeting or talking with a developer outside of official township business was perceived as unethical. This attitude was held by both long time residents and newcomers. It became obvious with the election of 1994 that views of the community and candidates had changed. The majority of candidates said they believed in round table discussions with developers. One candidate said that when he worked for Revenue Canada he met with all types of people, that did not make him a tax evader and so meeting with developers had yet to make him a developer. He also remarked that his Visa bill had not decreased. He was returned to office.

#### ***Attitudes towards Citizen Participation***

Voting once a year, sitting on a committee or running for office were the most common forms of citizen participation. It was 1966 when the Rockwood trustees put forward the concept of water and sewers and that same year Eramosa township elected Jimmy Milne the first councillor from Rockwood. The water and sewer issue did not become controversial until the late 60s and early 70s. The pattern that has emerged since the water and sewer issue is one of first lobby for your issue, if unsuccessful run for office, if still unsuccessful file for a board hearing. The council of 1988-91 consisted solely of newcomers or first-generation residents of Eramosa. Prior to 1988, the majority of councillors tended to be long-time residents. In 1991-94 the township council consisted of long-time residents and those in the township less than 20 years.

With this change in the mix of council some of the customary ways of dealing with business and people changed.

The ladder of citizen participation proposed by Arnstein (1969) reflects the change in attitude towards participation experienced in Eramosa. Originally Eramosites were quite content to be told what was happening and have the councillors explain their decision on Nomination Days.

Councillors should be elected in and then left alone to do their job. They should not be "nagged." If they are not dealing with an issue demand an answer. "There are too many interest groups today making the job of the councillor impossible."

Nevertheless, acceptance of council as the decision maker has been challenged since the 1970s when the first ratepayers group formed. Residents began to insist that information be made available so they could offer advice to council. Eramosites of the 70's wanted to be consulted. Citizen groups become the training ground for councillors. Out of the citizens groups came new councillors.

Unfortunately, the citizens groups, regardless of intentions to be helpful, ended up in a power struggle with the council. The power struggle moves into the council chamber when the incumbents are challenged at the following election. Supporters for the community centre have won the election in spite of the community's strong message of not using tax dollars to support it. In the election of 1970 the residents elected a strong supporter of water and sewers and a strong opponent to water and sewers. In 1988, when the hot issue was development, the electorate again voted for a supporter to the two proposed development proposals and an opponent to the same development

proposals. The 1988 candidates ran on a platform of ensuring the free flow of information to encourage citizen participation. In 1991, the candidates proposed more than the sharing of information and were strongly promoting citizen consultation and "listening to the people."

Although all the successful candidates of the 1991 election appeared to have the same message of much public consultation, the result was a divided council. They had established a Public Participation Advisory Committee but the controversial issues of the Eden Mills bridge and the dissolution of the police villages were not handled by this committee. The committee saw itself as the disseminator and gatherer of information.

Councillors disagreed about their roles. Some said they were elected to lead and make decisions, others that the public had a voice in that decision making. Some participants felt that the committees were a form of placation since they believed that the committees only got what council had already decided to give them.

The election results of 1994 again showed a community very much divided. Only one of the candidates who supported the idea of direct democracy and referenda won the election but so too did the candidate who said that if elected he would make the decisions for the electorate. In fact, he received applause. There was only an 18 vote margin between the reeve and the challenger. The deputy reeve and two winning councillors talked about continuing and enhancing the consultation process while another suggested more debate before making a decision. The idea of partnership in decision making was first introduced in the 1991 election and discussed in the local newspapers and by some of the candidates in the 1994 election.

The citizens of Eramosa are asking for the opportunity to control their own destiny. This is not unusual. In some ways, the people of Eramosa had more control over what their councillors did when they were accountable every year.

Residents have involved themselves with the affairs of their municipality through the annual Nomination Days, the building and planning of the Community Centre, the water and sewer facilities, the building of the library, the hydro substation and residential and development proposals.

Eramosites have always been passionate about their politics. In spite of the heated debates, residents spoke fondly of Nomination Days which were seen as an opportunity to make their councillors accountable for their actions. Although elections were held yearly, councillors were repeatedly returned to office.

Residents initially involved themselves in recreational planning. The Lions had a vision to fill the need for a community centre and invited residents and council to explore with them how they could build a sports complex. Unfortunately, the rest of Eramosa did not see it the same way. The sports complex was downgraded to a community centre.

Planning decisions in Eramosa basically followed the pattern decide, announce, defend, renegotiate, and then apply legal pressure. Legal means was used by both local government and residents. Eramosa residents have been successful in preventing or stalling what they disapprove.

## **Chapter V**

### **Conclusions and Recommendations**

The inevitability of conflict does not necessarily mean broken relationships and a pessimistic view of life. Yet in Eramosa, conflict has pitted brother against brother, village against village, newcomer against long time resident, council against trustees, residents against council, businessmen against residents and residents against residents

This case study of Eramosa Township has shown that:

- Eramosa's political, organizational and geographical structure hampers conflict resolution,
- attempts to sidestep or suppress conflict may result in increased tension,
- people continue to involve themselves in issues that are important to them, demonstrating the importance and need to build processes that involve them (McMechan, 1995),
- solely bringing people together does not decrease the conflict; in fact, the existing public processes builds expectations that are not met and so escalates the conflict (McMechan, 1995).
- tension between newcomers and long time residents has resulted from disrespect, misunderstandings of community norms and unclear and changing expectations,
- negative patterns of interaction resulted in fatalistic community expectations and vice versa, and,

- it is difficult to ascertain the originating conflict source and each conflict tends to encompass numerous sources.

Eramosites have tended to manage conflict or attempt to resolve it, mainly by sharing data which results in settlement rather than resolution. When issues are settled, they are dealt with by those in positions of power. They are done to you rather than with you. Whereas resolution means to come to a decision, solve or decide. Resolution implies that the parties affected make a win/win decision, that is a decision that meets the needs of the parties involved. With a win/win decision, people are not left feeling that they compromised themselves in order to get something else. They know that they found their own answers and were not disempowered by having a "resolution" imposed upon them. Settlements rarely take the interests behind the positions into consideration and so there is less opportunity to get what the person needs or wants. The Eramosa Township Council many times "settled" the Eden Mills Bridge issue. An "amen" was even added to the end of a council "notice of motion" as if to put the seal of God and put the issue to rest. Yet, this issue is likely very much from resolved. Even if the bridge is demolished and replaced, the process that has been used to come to this decision has created winners and losers. Those who believe that this was a way of punishing Eden Mills will see the actions as a confirmation of their beliefs and the Eramosa and Eden Mills communities will have one more rift to heal. How can one settle needs, values or relationship issues? In Eramosa, settling issues left too much room for bitterness and resentment which like the churches union will take a long time to resolve.

Misperceptions have allowed conflict to escalate in Eramosa resulting in entrenchment in their positions instead of common interests. There is an image and stereotype of each community of interest. Deutsch (1983) reminds us that perceptions, cognitions, attitudes and values are important influences on behaviour and expectations of each other. White (1984) explains that it is these influences on behaviour that lead to conflict. These perceptions or misperceptions have residents of Eramosa conclude that their adversary -- whether it be the developer, the councillor, the tree hugger or the "fascist" committee member -- is the diabolical enemy. The speaker for whatever issue believed s/he spoke for the silent majority and, should the issue come to an election or referenda, the community would support it. This turned out to be erroneous with the support for the sports complex, the water and sewer issue and during the elections of 1988, 1991 and 1994.

There is an inherent lack of understanding between each community of interest which is exacerbated by the hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of government that impedes the free flow of information and opportunity for relationship building. Conflict management in a democratic society is rule by the majority--or rather rule by the representatives that the majority voters chose. When conflict became inevitable with council, the politicians, instead of opening up dialogue, consistently tried to shut it down by disbanding the committees or taking control. Instead of *clearing* misconceptions, these behaviours tended to reinforce the belief each had of the other, thus, adding to the ambiguity, moving towards a self-fulfilling prophecy and creating a paradox. In spite of the determination to decide their own future, Eramosites have repeatedly sought

outsiders to resolve their issues through Ontario Municipal Board hearings.

In many cases, it appeared that the community as a whole was either not sure, or else did not have an opportunity or mechanism to work towards an agreement people could live with. Eramosa continues to elect people who represent both sides of the issue. This resulted in each person believing that s/he was elected based on his/her election promises and trying to fulfil them, only to be caught up in an interpersonal struggle with someone representing another viewpoint. Each party believes that he or she is "right." Although this is a good way to have a small group of people debate the issue publicly, it creates another dilemma because rather than work towards understanding and common ground, the candidates tend to continue to fight the issue based on their position. Perhaps it is because a change in position is seen as losing face, or not being consistent. Regardless of the reason, councillors who remain entrenched in their position are not working for the township; in fact, they are only doing more harm to the community and also to themselves and the political profession. For it is their arrogant insistence of being "right" all the time, even in the face of mounting contradictory evidence, that has caused the electorate to become disenchanted and to facetiously claim that all politicians end up with the "wisdom of Solomon."

It is time for councillors of Eramosa to move beyond being "right". It is time for them to move into the mediator's role. In order to establish a "social contract" as described by John Currie, leaders need to establish that there is a common vision based on the common ground that residents want what is best for themselves and their community. It is only through community building and conflict resolution that leaders

will be able to establish an understanding that there are many ways to achieving this vision. Such a role entails holding the faith on behalf of those in conflict, in that they would come out in a transformed state if they committed themselves to working the conflict through (McMechan, 1995). It has been my experience that those in the midst of conflict find it difficult to believe that *together* they will be able to find a solution that will benefit both parties. Disputants, however, tend to have faith that the mediator will ensure fairness and find the solution. However, the mediator's role is to facilitate a process whereby the participants find their *own* solution.

Legally and technically, it is the council that must make the decision. But this does not exclude the possibility of experimenting with community involvement in the decision making process, which could be accomplished with an attitudinal shift. At present, the political will to enter into a decision making partnership with the community, whether it be through the "social contract" or through townhall meetings does not yet exist in the Eramosa community. Perhaps, the time has come for elected officials to take on the role of "mediator" and work with the community to build understanding while having faith in their community's ability to struggle and work through controversial issues.

In Eramosa, the politicians may as well plan for public involvement because the residents will involve themselves anyway. Controversy takes much energy, and according to Peck "chaotic fighting is better than pretending cohesion" (p. 199) because it shows vitality or, as Jim Martin says, it is a sign that things could be better. "For a community, a crisis often signals the need to enter a new phase of development" (Shaffer

and Anundsen 1993, p. 226). The struggle for the last 30 years can be said to be one of need, the need to determine one's future. One municipal government after another has denied this evolution in democracy and has been unable to deal with the resulting conflict. That denial could destroy the very cohesiveness Eramosites are trying so hard to nurture and protect. Ironically, the community agrees that there is a need to build a sense of community. The long time residents remember cohesiveness from their community of long ago, while newcomers flocked to the countryside in search of it (Globe and Mail, November 30, 1992, p. A20).

For the last 30 years and especially the last nine years, Eramosa has faced one crisis after another. Public participation practices whereby residents organize their own events such as Pioneer Day and the Writers Festival have been immensely successful. The Public Participation Advisory Committee was successful with their public meeting regarding concern for Highway 24 but it was the Eramosa Business Association that worked out the concerns for the Highway 7 traffic lights. Public participation as traditionally practised, such as the OMB hearings and even the election process has not helped this community deal with issues. In fact, attempts to involve the public have resulted in adversarial stances and entrenched positions. Negative patterns of interaction were well established prior to the water and sewer debate.

Overall, conflict has been managed through various degrees of tokenism (see Appendix A, Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation). Ad hoc committees have been struck to appease or deal with controversial issues like the Eden Mills Bridge, but when the opinions of the committees and of elected officials clashed, a method for working

through the issue did not materialize. Even when people came together to air their issues and concerns, as the Lions and the various groups and individuals have done over the years, relationships were not bridged. The decisions tended to be made top down, because legally the councillors are "responsible." What is implied is that because the elected officials are responsible, the electorate is not and so the elected official has the "right" to decide for the electorate. That of course is what many say constitutes representative democracy. The outcome of representative democracy in 1994 has meant that three people hold positions for which they were not elected. The resignation of the reeve resulted in the appointment of the deputy-reeve to the reeve's position, a councillor to the deputy-reeve's position and a defeated candidate to the empty council seat. The fact that three people have been appointed to positions for which they were not elected will disempower this council. When issues become controversial, residents will remind them that they were not voted in and so do not necessarily have the blessing of the community. Although technically and legally they represent the township's electorate these comments provide a psychological restraint, forcing them to continually prove themselves worthy of their non-elected positions.

Disagreements with council and within service groups or committees have been managed by either resignation, suspension or disbandment, none of which allow for increased dialogue and resolution. All contribute to broken relationships, rumours and polarization. The repetition of these negative interactions has brought about low expectations and low self-esteem for the Eramosa community.

Residents tended to expect the worst and found it. Eramosa's challenge is to look

beyond the expectations of finding the "diabolical enemy" in others. Deikman (1990) warns that if a community views all outsiders as potential enemies and operates in perpetual crisis mode, or the founders refuse to share power after a community has become stable and has expressed a desire to assume greater responsibility, there is cause for concern. At root of this type of behaviour lies excessive fear and projection of what they fear most onto others. People may see themselves as righteous; that is, as never unkind or politically incorrect. Examples of all such behaviour in varying degrees can be found in Eramosa Township. Regardless of whether the participant was a member of a resident group, interest group, developer, bureaucrat or politician, all saw themselves as operating above board and many saw members of other groups as having devious hidden agendas. It is only through clear communication that power plays, hidden agendas or other shadow issues can be resolved (Shaffer and Anundsen 1993).

Strategic Planning has been the buzz word for creative action. It is supposed to help participants move beyond their differences to common goals and objectives. Participants are expected to "eagerly cooperate in sharing their problems; collect information to test their assumptions; and, when a high-level principle suggests terms for agreement, relinquish private interests" (Baum, 1994 p. 251). It doesn't happen and did not happen in Eramosa, because there was no mechanism for individuals to move beyond their differences and their positions.

Add to this, unrealistic expectations of what the township council can do, and lack of understanding of the degree to which the council is controlled by provincial, federal and municipal restrictions. You then have a situation where uninformed

participation creates and perpetuates a state of constant conflict. Urging citizens to get involved in the affairs of their government is a good first step but if there is no mechanism within the community to deal with differences, the result can be frustration and negative expectations that result in hopelessness and apathy. This case study shows the need for conflict resolution interventions that account for and acknowledge the various sources of conflict. It also reveals a need for dedicated people who understand the nature of conflict and *know* that there are no quick fixes who are willing to persevere (McMechan, 1995). Believing that mediation is the answer, in and of itself, is a pitfall for in such deeply entrenched conflict situations, mediation as the only conflict resolution tool would be unrealistic (McMechan, 1995). Jan Sanders of PeoplEnergy, who facilitated the Strategic Planning process in conjunction with the Healthy Community Committee, agreed with McMechan.

Sanders stated that knowing what she now knows about the Eramosa situation, she would have either worked with the township council or with the committee. She noted that the committee's energy was being sapped because they were focussing on trying to heal their relationship with council. She believes that it may have been wiser for the committee to have broken ties with council much sooner and worked on projects that required no money. If council was to have remained involved, she would have asked for a clear way of working with them because "a 3 - 2 split vote is not healthy" (Sanders, pers. com. May 1, 1995). She suggested "recognizing what is sapping your strength and energy and then moving elsewhere." She also noted a need for Eramosa to celebrate its successes.

The Conflict Clinic of George Mason University cautions that some tools will only work to resolve certain disputes. "Misdiagnosis may lead to application of the wrong approach with poor results" (p. 15). Technically trained people often frame disputes as information conflicts and try to resolve them by providing data. However, one cannot resolve relationship, value and interest conflicts through sharing data. The Eramosa conflicts offered various shades of all conflict sources. Therefore, a resolution process should be multi-dimensional.

Nader (1993) stated that one of the most serious signs of erosion in a democratic society is the lack of attention paid to major community issues. Eramosa cannot be accused of inattention to its politics and this is certainly a positive sign. The struggle in this township reflects the struggle between the competing values of leadership, expertise and participation and is illustrative of changing values. With appropriate conflict management tools, the issues arising from these changing value conflicts could be very productive for the community.

The intensity of the conflict has escalated so much that people are now saying that they are tired of the fighting. Hopefully this will lead them to enough frustration to start dealing with the issues in a more productive way. Residents are insisting on climbing up the Arnstein's ladder of participation. It used to be that politicians were expected to look after the affairs of the community and overall the residents did not interfere. With higher levels of participation there must be more and better conflict resolution devices.

### **Recommendations**

Eramosa Township needs to find a way to fight constructively rather than destructively. Unless it finds a way to deal with its issues up front rather than through rumours and avoidance and the traditional processes, it will continue to lose out on all the opportunities that present themselves.

The first step, as has been illustrated in this thesis, is that conflict needs to be looked at through a multidimensional model which integrates the macro, meta and micro levels of analysis. In itself, this goes a long way to depersonalizing issues, particularly when the analysis keeps in mind Toffler's (1990) theory that a new system for creating wealth will trigger personal, political and international conflict. Eramosa's eroding agricultural base automatically implies conflict. While those in favour of development propose growth, those concerned about the impact of growth maintain that Eramosa is geographically and hydrogeologically unsuitable for much more development. The area is believed to be demonstrably environmentally frail due to its karst terrain, and its river at bacterial capacity. They question the impact of development on ground water and promote the buffering of a heritage river. Eramosa Township is a perfect example of the urban-fringe community in discord and confusion.

Weeks (1992) maintains that the best way to resolve conflict is through a conflict partnership approach based on communication and actions that build trust and teamwork. Eramosa has many interest groups and each devotes time to its community of interest. There needs to be much more interaction between all the groups. A study of community

leaders has shown that most community leaders in Elora belong to more than one community of interest (Stocco 1993). Multiple membership permitted each group to plan without need to formally consult with each group as the membership would facilitate the natural flow of information. Multiple membership also helped to break down barriers, avoid miscommunication and clear up misperceptions.

Eramosa needs to move away from adversarial public meetings whereby people are inclined to give their point of view and then council makes an arbitrary decision. "Not only do people not say what they mean, but often they are not consciously aware of their intentions and some of their unconscious interests conflict with their conscious aims, collaboration and agreement on any collective purposes" (Baum, 1994, p. 251). Furthermore, people in organizations resist analysing or solving problems (Argyris and Schon 1978; Argris 1982). Decision-makers rely heavily on what they believe they have heard and what they already know. But since people hear only what they want to hear, it is no wonder that the outcome tends to be negative.

Public meetings with two way dialogue where people's feelings and needs are heard, where the community understands and hears what the politician needs would be a major step towards integrative solutions. It is this form of relatedness that alternate dispute resolution is based upon (Duke, 1993). It is through relatedness that a true conflict partnership can be built. Our public hearings and public meetings need to change their format to allow for community building.

There is no point in bringing people together if there is no clear mechanism for hearing each other so that value and interest differences can be acknowledged. People

need to move beyond the either/or mentality before coming together. They can do this by delving deeper into their concerns for the other's solution. The conflict check list (Appendix J), can help politicians, bureaucrats, residents and experts in exploring needs, anxieties and fears prior to meeting. This type of preparation would reduce defensiveness and foster active listening. It would also give decision-makers something to focus on rather than the either/or solution.

Clear expectations of the purpose of the meeting could prevent future conflict. Politicians sometimes consult simply because they are obligated by law. This case study shows the need for conflict interventions that account for the various sources of conflict. Eramosa has experienced value, information, need, relationship, structural and interest sources of conflict. It is difficult to ascertain the underlying conflict without looking at the evolution of the conflict. Mapping the conflict would help clarify the actors, the problem, the dispute behaviour, the sources of conflict, the needs and fears of each actor or sets of actors and the rules by which they operate.

In order to reach consensus, participants need to be willing to share what their underlying interests are. In negotiations people tend to start out high and work towards a compromise, but that does not mean that each side gets what it needs. Negotiations will become stuck when needs are involved because needs are non-negotiable.

Politicians should not be chairing public meetings unless they are perceived as neutral by all the parties. The chair of any meeting should be a neutral party, or if no such animal can be found, the meeting could be chaired by two or three individuals who could plan the agenda and host the meeting together. Rather than bring residents

together to deal with the "problem" why not bring residents together to look at possible "opportunities" that the situation presents?

*The challenge lies in defining how decisions would be made. How does a council and community agree as to who the experts are? Who provides the leadership? The Eden Mills Bowstring Bridge offers an excellent example.*

*Should the bridge be saved or restored? One expert suggests that it would be foolish to replace it while another says it would be foolish to restore it. The residents of Eden Mills interested in saving the bridge bring forward experts that say the bridge should be saved. The county and the township bring forward experts who state that not only it should be demolished but also it is more economically feasible to do so. In a community that prides itself on its frugality, heritage becomes another "high priced extra."*

*The criteria for deciding whether or not the bridge should be saved has not been agreed upon. Which experts should be consulted? How do we decide on who the experts are? What is important to the people who want to save the bridge? What does the bridge represent to them? What is important to the people who don't want to save the bridge? Can integrative solutions be found? Only if all the parties work together to address these issues, discuss them openly, and agree that it is important to find a solution that does meet everyone's needs first can an integrative solution be found. There is no single public involvement technique that works in every situation. Each community needs to devise its own for each situation.*

*Involving the residents in such a process would be time consuming and some*

would argue costly, but I would challenge that it would be less time consuming to put the effort up front when an issue comes forward than after the fact. The Office of the Provincial Facilitator has been established for the purpose of diverting land use planning cases from the Ontario Municipal Board. The provincial facilitator, Dale Martin, works with the stakeholders to work out possible solutions to their impasse. Even though, he was not "successful" in Eramosa, the office has indicated a high rate of success which explains the high level of customer satisfaction. Of 300 urban development projects, 70% have resulted in successful outcome. It should be noted, however, that the last OMB hearing was scheduled to last three weeks but was completed in less than three days. This was due to the opportunity to negotiate both prior to and during the board hearing.

Therefore, an alternative dispute mechanism would be much more efficient, especially if one takes into account the endless time and energy Eramosites expended in fighting and the resulting OMB hearings trying to prove each other wrong. The social costs to the community have resulted in a township that has a history of protracted social conflict, low self-esteem and little faith in its ability to work co-operatively.

The solution to conflict situations does lie with the individual, because the individual can control his/her reactions to the situation. Therefore, rather than resign, disband or suspend a committee, the individual can choose to work the situation through. It is the individual who acknowledges the differences, who can come to understand the other's point of view, empathize or put her/his fears aside. Just as each negative outcome can add up, so too can each positive outcome. Eramosites have to start building small

successes by resolving one issue at a time. How can they do that? As one writer to the February 7, 1995 issue of Eramosa Eagle said:

It is healthy and productive to have conflict, as long as we face it head on and keep focussed on the issues rather than only our emotions. It is easy to write people off because of a few things that you don't like about them. I've decided to turn over a new leaf and will begin concentrating on the 80% of the things that I like about each person. As far as the other 20%, perhaps it is my own prejudices and personality traits that created those dislikes in the first place (p. 5).

## References

- Aquino, K. Steisel, V. & Kay A. (1992). The effects of resource distribution, voice and decision framing on the provision of public goods. The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 36, 665 - 687.
- Agranoff, R. & Radin, B. A. (1991). The comparative case study approach in public administration. Research in Public Administration, 1, 203-231.
- Amy, D. (1987). The politics of environmental mediation. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Argyris, C. (1982). Reasoning, Learning and Action. San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.
- Argyris, C. & Schon, D.A. (1978). Organizational Learning. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.
- Arnstein, S. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. AIP Journal, July, 216 - 224.
- Azar, E.E. & Farah, N. (1981). The structure of inequalities and protracted social conflict: A theoretical framework. International Interactions, 7, 317-335.
- Baum, H. (1994). Community and consensus: Reality and fantasy in planning. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 13, 251-262.
- Beresford, P. & Croft, S. (1993). Citizen involvement: A practical guide for change. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.
- Borich, T. & Korsching, P. (1990). Community image and community innovativeness. Journal of Community Development Society, 21, 1 - 17.
- Bregha, F. J. (1971). Community development in Canada: Problems and strategies. Citizen participation: Canada: A Book of Readings. Edited by James A Draper, Toronto: New Press.
- Bregha, F. J. (1975). Public participation in planning policy and programme. Ministry of Culture and Recreation.
- Brown, D. (1992). Normative conflict management theories. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 13, 303 - 309.
- Building on Success. (1994). Office of the Provincial Facilitator Customer Service Survey--1993. March/April Issue.
- Burke, E. (1983). Citizen participation: Characteristics and strategies. In R. Kramer & H. Specht (Eds.), Readings in community organization practice, (pp. 105 -126). Engelwood cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Burton, J. (1987a). Resolving deep-rooted conflict: A handbook. U. Press of America.
- Burton, J. (1990). Conflict Resolution and prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Carpenter, S. L., & Kennedy, W.J.D. (1988). Managing public disputes: A practical guide to handling conflict and reaching agreements. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Cochrane, D. (1991). Consultation and the development of educational policy in Saskatchewan. Education-Canada, 31, 22-27.

Community Problem Solving Case Summaries. Volumes I (1988) Volume II (1990), Volume III (1992). Programme for Community Problem Solving, Washington, D.C.

Connor, D. (1984). Citizen participation training in Canada: An action agenda for the anxious eighties. Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 3, 53 - 62.

Cornelius, H. & Faire, S. (1989). Everyone Can Win. Australia: Globe Press.

Coser, L.A. (1968). Conflict: III. Social aspects. In D.L. Sills (Ed.) International encyclopedia of social sciences, 3, (pp. 232-236). New York: Crowell Collier and MacMillan.

Cousins, G. Wellington County Planning Department. (Personal communication, July 25, 1994.)

Currie, J. Ministry of Municipal Affairs. (Personal communication, June 6, 1994 and February 8, 1995).

Dauer, E. (1992). Addressing the litigation impact of public legislation through mandated dispute resolution. Forum. Published by the National Institute for Dispute Resolution.

Davis, D. (1982). Participation in community intervention design. American Journal of Community Psychology, 10, 429 - 445.

Day, F. (1953). Here and there in Eramosa. Guelph: Leaman Printing Co.

Deikman, A. J. (1990). The wrong way home: Uncovering patterns of cult behaviour in American Society. Beacon Press.

Designing and Managing Public Involvement Processes. An institute specially designed by the Conflict Clinic Inc., 1991 for the National Conference on Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution. Charlotte, NC.

Deutsch, M. (1969). Conflicts: Productive and destructive. Journal of Social Issues, 25, 7-41.

Deutsch, M. (1973). The resolution of conflict: Constructive or destructive process. New Haven: Yale U. Press.

Deutsch, M. (1983). The prevention of WWII: A psychological perspective. Political Psychology, 4, 3 - 32.

Devine, I. (1984). Organization crisis and individual response: New trends for human service professionals. Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health, 3, 63-72.

Duimering, R. (1992). Community-based sustainable development. A case study in community regeneration and the implementation of sustainable development in the community context. University of Waterloo.

Dukes, F. (1993). Building a sustainable democracy: The role of public dispute resolution. The Interaction, 1, Spring Issue.

Dunbar, E. and Morris L. (1983). Building rural community participation in the planning process: Is it possible? Social Development Issues, April 174-184.

Dykeman, F. (Ed.). (1990). Developing an understanding of entrepreneurial and sustainable rural communities. Department of Geography, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B.

Eramosa Community News January 1988 - March 1994.

Eramosa Township Council Minutes 1965 - 1994.

Evans, D. and Martin J. (1991). Public consultation as a conflict resolution strategy. A paper presented by J. Martin at the National Conference for Peace and Conflict Resolution in Ottawa.

Fisher, R. (1990). The social psychology of intergroup and international conflict resolution. New York: Springer-Verlag New York Inc.

Fisher, R., and Ury, W. (1981). Getting to yes: Negotiating agreement without giving in. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

FitzSimons, J. (1985). Urban Growth: Its impact upon farming and rural communities. In A.M. Fuller (Ed.) Farming and the rural community in Ontario: An introduction. Toronto: Foundation for Rural Living.

FitzSimons, J. (1983). Issues in a Rural Urban Fringe. Studies in Rural Adjustment, Report No. 15; University School of Rural Planning and Development, Publication No. 122, University of Guelph.

Gerson, D. (1991). Participation in social development for the 1990's: Yes, but how? Social Development Issue, Spring Issue.

Gilbert, N., Rosenkranz, A. & Specht, H. (March 1973) Dialectics of social planning. Social Work, 8, 78 - 85.

Gray, B. (1989). Collaborating, finding common ground for multiparty problems. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Guelph Daily Mercury January 1965 - December 1994.

Head, W. (1971). Ideology and practice of citizen participation. In J. A. Draper (Ed.) Citizen Participation: Canada: A Book of Readings (pp. 14-44). Toronto: New Press.

Hersey, P., & Blanchard, K. (1977). Management of organizational behaviour: Utilizing human resources (3rd ed.) Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Higgins, J. (1992). The Healthy Community movement in Canada. B. Wharf. (Ed.). Communities and Social Policy in Canada (pp. 151-180). Toronto: The Canadian Publisher

Hocker, J. L. & Wilmot, W.W. (1991). Interpersonal Conflict. Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.

Johnson D.W. & Johnson, F.P. (1987). Joining together. Group therapy and group skills. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.

- Kahn, R. & Boulding E. (Eds.). (1964). Power and Conflict in Organizations. New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Katz, D. & Kahn, R. (1978). The social psychology of organizations. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Keltner, J.W. (1987). Mediation: Toward a civilized system of dispute resolution. Annandale, VA: Speech Communication Association.
- Kochan, T., Katz, H. & McKersie, R. (1986). The transformation of American industrial relations. New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers.
- Kolb, D. Putnam L. (1992). The multiple faces of conflict in organizations. Journal of Organizational Behaviour. 13, 311 - 324.
- Lackey, A. S., Burke, R. & Peterson, M. (1987). Healthy Communities: The goal of community development. Journal of Community Development Society. 18, 1-17.
- Lees, Ray. (1972). Politics and Social Work. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Ley, D. (Ed.). (1973). Community participation and the spatial order of the city. B.C. Geographical Series No. 19. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited.
- Lind, A. E. (1992). Procedural justice and procedural preferences: Evidence for a fairness heuristic. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Association of Conflict Management, Minneapolis.
- Little, E. J. & Sim, R. A. (1992). Dramatic action: How Eramosa Township faced its problems. Published by the Ontario Rural Learning Association in cooperation with The School of Rural Planning, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario.
- Local Round Tables on Environment and Economy. A Guide. (1991).
- Luby, G. L. (1991). Community empowerment: Trusting your community to decide what's best. Municipal World. November Issue.
- Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. B. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.
- Maynes, C. & the Ontario Environment Network (1989). Public consultation: A citizens handbook. Toronto.
- McMechan, Sylvia. ( Personal communication, April 24, 1995).
- Moore, C. (1991). A working paper on community. Presented at The National Conference for Conflict Resolution.
- Moore, C. (1989). The mediation process. Practical strategies for resolving conflict. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Nader, R. (1993). Developing a civic culture. Edges. 5, 12-16. Excerpted with permission of the Canadian Association for Adult Education from Nader's 1988 address to the CAAE.

- Negandhi, A. (Ed.). (1972). Conflict and power in complex organizations. Kent State University.
- Nowlan, P. & Nowlan N. (1970). The bad trip: The untold story of the Spadina Expressway. Toronto: New Press.
- O'Brien, J. & Tyne, A. (1981). The principle of normalization - A foundation for effective services. London: Values Into Action.
- O'Brien, J. & Lyle, C. (1987). Framework for accomplishment: A workshop for people developing better services. Georgia, USA, Responsive Systems Associates.
- Ontario Healthy Communities Project. Regional Forum Report. September, 1992.
- Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion. (1986). Achieving health for all.
- Parfit, J. (1986). The Health of the City, Oxford 1770-1974. Oxford: Amate Press.
- Pascall, C. E. (1991). So you want to be my partner. A paper presented by the Deputy Minister to the Premier's Council on Health, Well-being and Social Justice.
- Pateman, C. (1970). Participation and democratic theory. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Peck, S. M. (1987). The Different Drum: Community making and peace. Simon & Schuster Inc. New York.
- Penfold, G. (1993). SCRO News: Partnership planning and negotiation. Interaction. 1. Spring Issue.
- Pondy, L. (1992). Reflections on organizational conflict. Journal of Organizational Behaviour. 13, 257 - 261.
- Pruit, D. & Rubin. J. (1986). Social Conflict: Escalating, stalemate and settlement. New York: Random House.
- Rahim, A. (1985). Managing conflict in organizations. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Rapaport, A. & Bornstein, G. (1989). Solving public good problems in competition between equal and unequal size groups. Journal of Conflict Resolution. 33, 460 -479.
- Reich, C.A. (1966). The law of the planned society, Yale Law Journal. 75, 1227-1270.
- Roszak, J. (1988). Community development in the workplace: Bridging factions with the participatory process. Journal of Community Development Society. 19, 121-134.
- Sanders, J. (1995). Personal Communication, February 11 and May 3, 1995.
- Schaefer, A. W. & Fassel, D. (1988). The Addictive Organization. San Francisco: Harper Row, Publishers.
- Schindler-Rainman, E. & Lippitt, R. (1980). Building the collaborative community: Mobilizing citizens for action. Riverside, California: University of California Extension.

- Scott, J. (1985). Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shaffer, C. R. and Anundsen, K. (1993). Creating community anywhere. New York: Putnam Publishing Inc.
- Shaftoe, D. (Ed.). (1993). Responding to changing times. Environmental mediation in Canada. Waterloo: The Network for Conflict Resolution.
- Sheppard, B. (1992). Conflict research as schizophrenia: The many faces of organizational conflict. Journal of Organizational Behaviour, 13, 325 - 334.
- Sim, R. A. (1988). Land and community: Crisis in Canada's countryside. Guelph, Ontario: University of Guelph.
- Sinnott, V. (1995). Eramosa Township Clerk. *Personal Communication*. January.
- Spencer, L. (1989). Winning through participation. Meeting the challenge of corporate change through the technology of participation. For the Institute of Cultural Affairs. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendal/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Stocco, R. (1993). A report written for the Elora Centre for Environmental Excellence.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). Basics of qualitative research. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Suedfled, P., Tetlock, P. (1977). Integrative complexity of communications in international crises. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 21, 69-184.
- Suedfled, P., Tetlock, P.E. & Raminetz, C. (1977). War, peace, and integrative complexity: UN speeches on the Middle East problem, (1947-1976). Journal of Conflict Resolution, 21, 427-441.
- Susskind, L. & Cruikshank, J. (1987). Breaking the impasse. United States of America: Basic Books.
- Taylor, D. M. and Moghaddam, F. M. (1987). Theories of intergroup relations. International social psychological perspectives. New York: Praeger.
- Thomas, K. (1992). Conflict and negotiation processes in organizations. In: Dunnette, M.D. (Ed.). Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, Second Edition (pp.889-935). Palo Alto, CA.: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Tindal, C.R. (1988). You and your local government. Second Edition. An Ontario Municipal Management Development Board Publication.
- Tipler, F. (1994). The Physics of Immortality. New York: Doubleday.
- Todd, M. (1992). Finding villages in the city. Globe and Mail. November 30, 1992, p. A20.
- Toffler, A. (1990). Powershift: Knowledge, wealth and violence at the edge of the 21st century. Toronto: Bantam Books.
- Toffler, A. (1983). Previews and premises. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc.

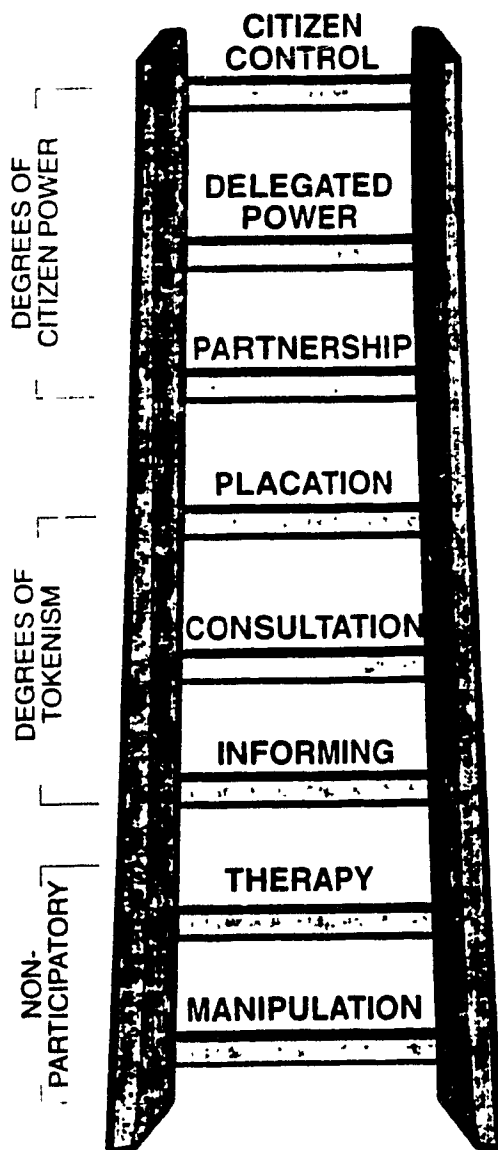
- Toffler, A. (1980). The third wave. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc.
- Tomain, J. (1989). Land use mediation for planners. Mediation Quarterly, 7, 163 -173.
- Tripp, C. (1985). Intraorganizational conflict mediation: The effects of communication, complaints, compliance and confidence. Mediation Quarterly, 7, 83 - 99.
- Troxel, J.P. (1993). Participation works: Business cases from around the world. Alexandria, Virginia: Miles River Press.
- Ury, W. L., Brett, J.M. & Goldberg, S.B. (1989). Getting disputes resolved. Designing systems to cut the costs of conflict. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Weeks, D. (1992). The eight essential steps to conflict resolution. Preserving relationships at work, at home and in the community. New York: G.P. Putman's Sons.
- Westhues, K. & Sinclair, P. (1974). Village in crisis. Cultures & communities: A Series of Monographs. Community Studies. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada Limited.
- White, R. (1984). Fearful warriors: A psychological profile of U.S. - Soviet Relations. New York: The Free Press.
- Whitmont, E. (1986). Return of the goddess. New York: Crossroads.
- Wilson, S. (1977). The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. Review of Educational Research, 1, 10-17.
- Wondolleck, J. (1985). The importance of process in resolving environmental disputes. Environmental impact assessment review (pp. 341-356).
- Yin, R. K. (1989). A Case Study Research. Newbury, California: Sage Publications.

## Appendix A

## Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

The ladder was developed as a typology to help explain the relative power people exercise as they "participate" in decision making.

The bottom two rungs, 1) manipulation and 2) therapy describe levels of non-participation. Their objective is to "educate" or "cure" participants.



The next two rungs 3) informing and 4) consultation are considered tokenism that allow the have-nots to hear and have a voice. They still lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded. Participation at these levels offers no assurance of changing the status quo. The following rung 5) placation is a higher level of tokenism because it allows for giving advice while those in power maintain the right to decide.

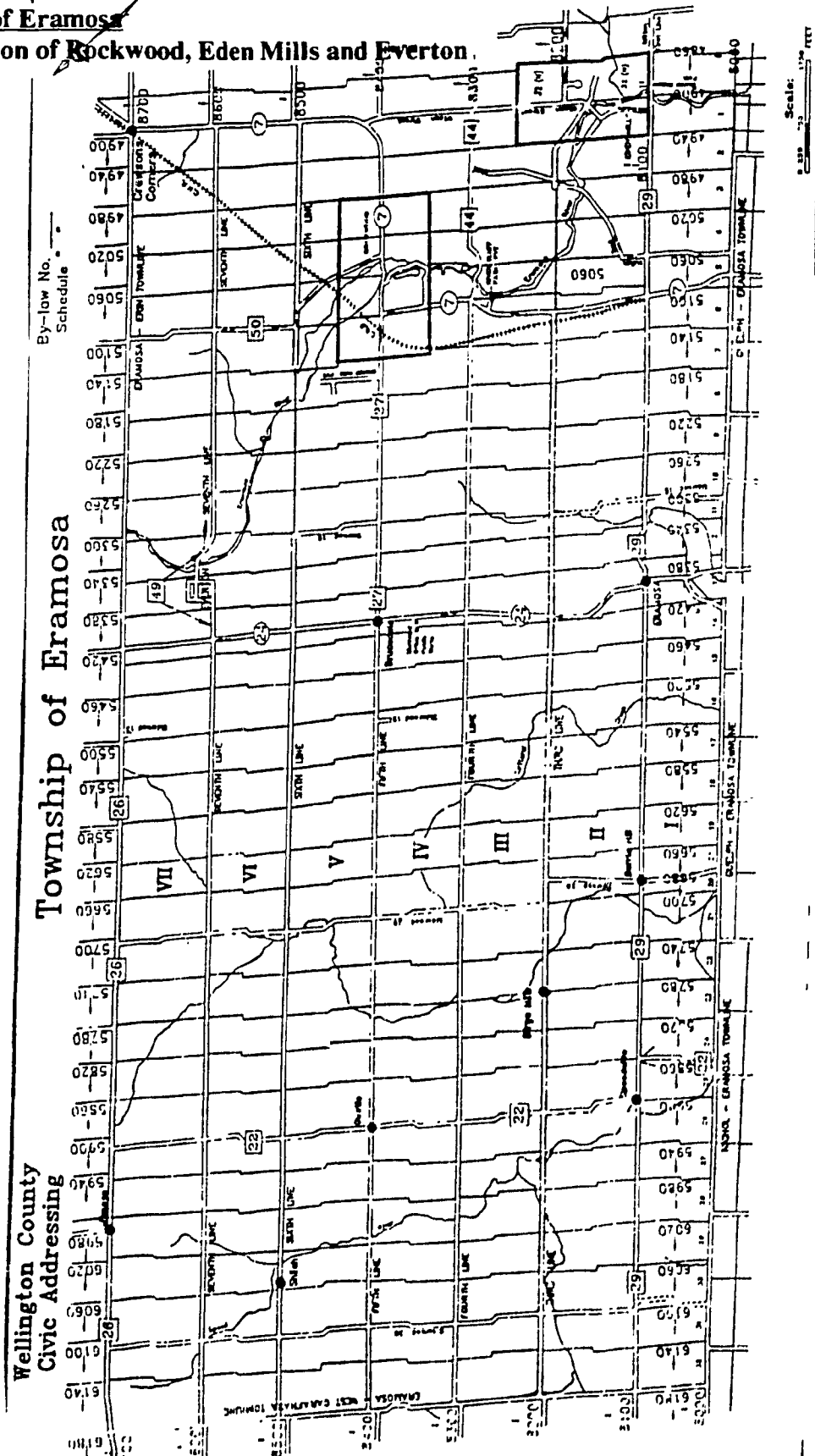
Through 6) partnership citizens can negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. 7) Delegated power and 8) citizen control allow the have-nots to obtain the majority of decision-making seats or full managerial power.

This ladder is a simplification but it helps to illustrate that there are significant gradations of citizen participation. Knowing these gradations makes it possible to understand the demands for participation of the have-nots and the gamut of confusing responses from the powerholders.

## Appendix B

**Township of Eramosa**

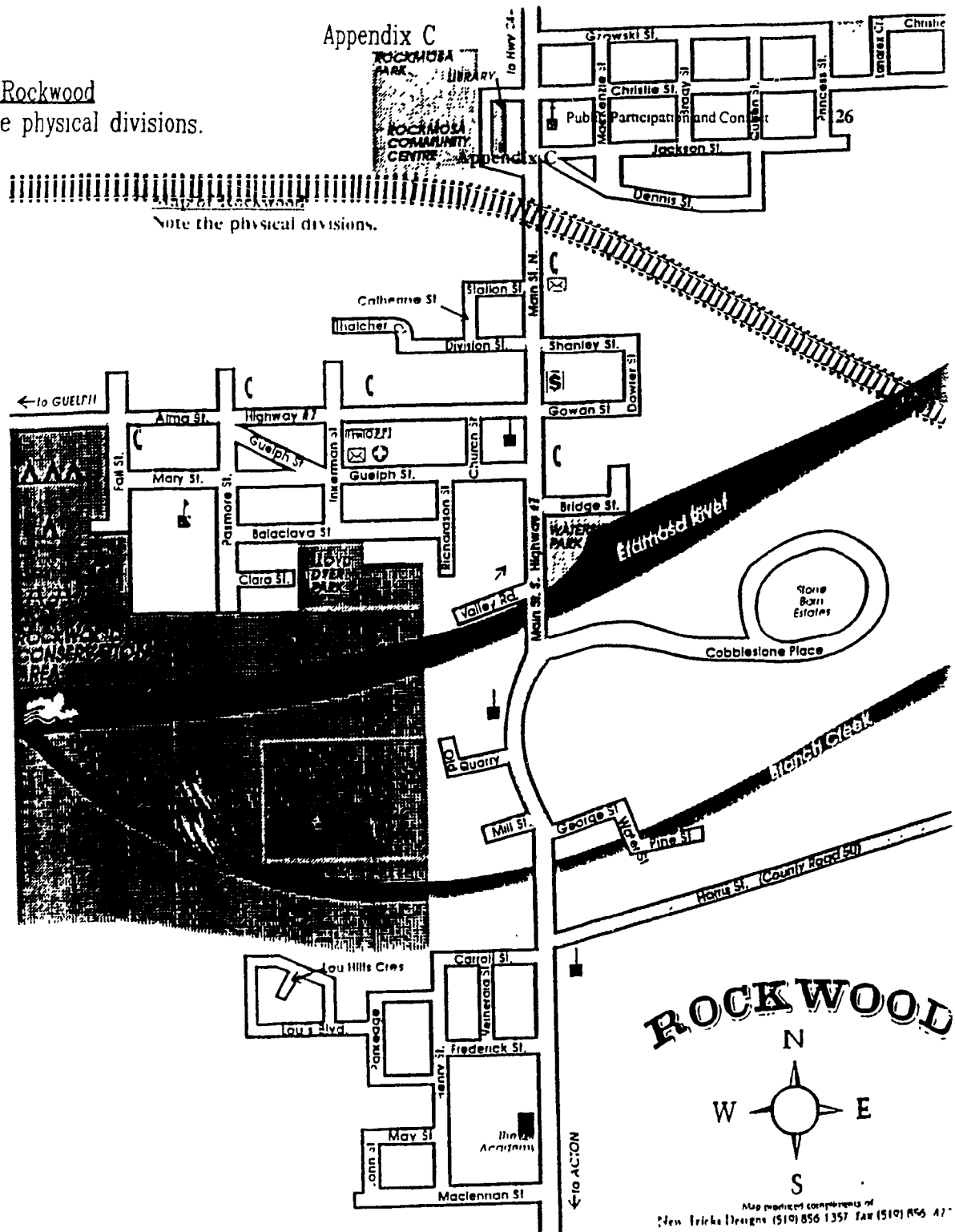
Note location of Rockwood, Eden Mills and Everton.



## Appendix C

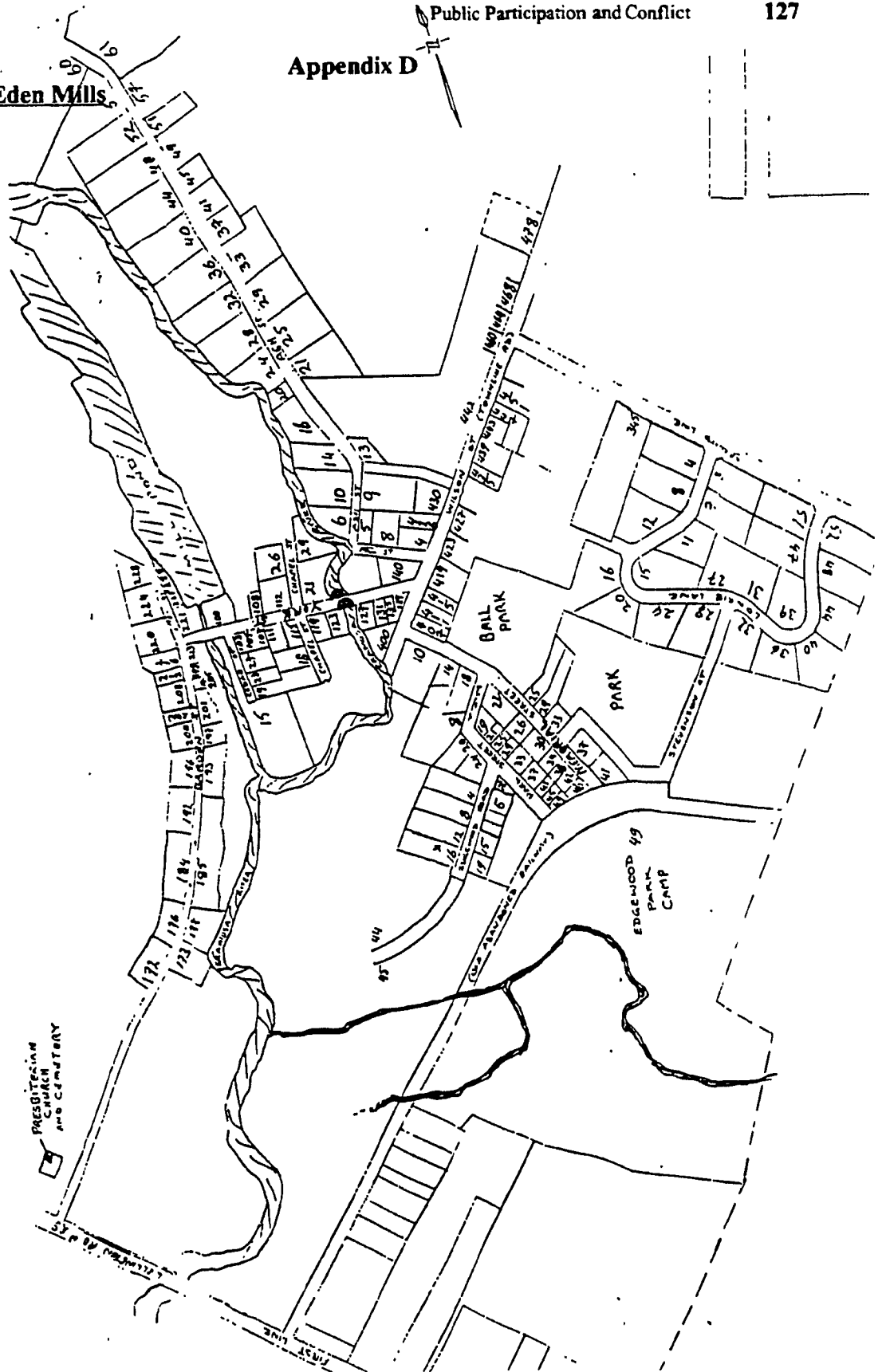
Map of Rockwood

Note the physical divisions.



Appendix D

Map of Eden Mills

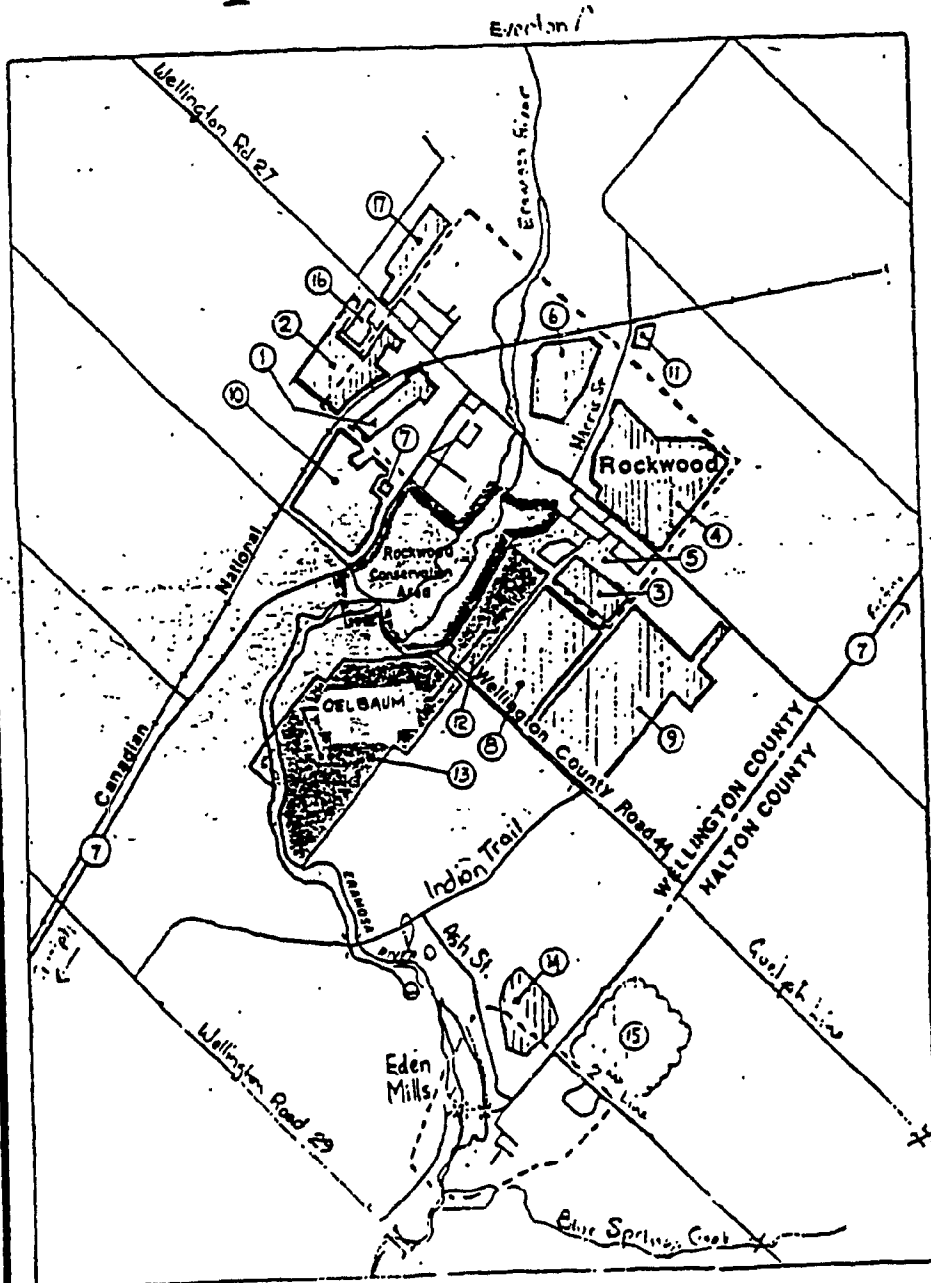


## Appendix E

Development Proposals for  
Rockwood, Ontario

Eramosa Community News  
Monday, January 27, 1991

# To sprawl or not to sprawl



## Legend

Proposed within  
Rockwood Village

1 Drexler	51
2 Bonner	36
3 Bernandi	164
4 Seaton	494

Unbuilt within  
Rockwood Village

5 Parkedge	53
6 Stone Bain	6
7 Landrex	15

Outside Rockwood  
Village (n/incl.  
Oelbaum)

8 Bernandi	61
9 Burns	449
10 Bonner	107
11 Robson	144
12 Oelbaum East	53+
13 Oelbaum West	not specified+

Eden Mills

14 Ritchie Fontinch	19
15 Dunbar	?
16 Catholic School*	
17 808826 Out. Ltd.*	
Approx. 1599 units +	
Oelbaum	

Note: Information  
compiled from

- x Developer's presenta-  
tion to Eden Mills  
Trustees
- o Developer's Concept  
Plan
- \* Rockwood Back-  
ground Study, 1990
- + OMB Application,  
1991

That's the question being directed at the Oelbaum OMB hearing at Rockmosa this week and next. The Township wants development contained within Rockwood's village limits, and maintains in conjunction with City of Guelph and the County of Wellington that developing south of the village would blur the separateness of Eden Mills and Rockwood. The boundaries of Rockwood and Eden Mills are shown by dotted lines. Proposed Developments are identified in solid and striped sections. The Oelbaum development in question (12) on the map is seen as pivotal as it is feared that if the Township loses this case, it has effectively lost jurisdiction over the whole. Oelbaum conten

## Appendix F

Table 1

## Rockwood and Eramosa Population Increases

Area	1976	1981	1983	1985	1986	1987	1988	1990	1993
Rock-wood	959*	—	1133 (2.6)	1291 (7.0)	1277 (-1.0)	1288 (0.9)	1759 (37)	2097 (19.2)	2274 (8.4)
Eden Mills	332*	—	355 (0.9)	370 (2.1)	370 (0)	379 (2.4)	412 (8.7)	431 (4.6)	422 (-0.2)
Township (Rural)	2894*	—	2868 (-0.1)	2892 (0.4)	2981 (3.1)	3117 (4.6)	3039 (-2.5)	3095 (1.8)	3223 (4.1)
Township (Total)	4185*	4311*	4356 (0.5)	4553 (2.3)	4628 (1.6)	4784 (3.4)	5210 (8.9)	5623 (7.9)	5917 (5.2)

## Notes:

1. Township (Rural) = Township Total - [Rockwood + Eden Mills]
2. ( ) = percentage increase or decrease

## Sources:

Assessment Information

\*Census Canada

Table 2

## Longterm Eramosa Township Population Changes

	1901	1921	1941	1961	1971	1981	1981
Total	2,705	2,333	2,287	3,093	3,731	4,310	5,959
% change	---	-14.0	-2.0	35	21	16	38
% annual change	---	-0.7	-0.1	1.8	2.1	1.6	3.8

## Sources:

Canada Census

\*Assessment Information

Table 3

**Comparison to other areas along Highway 7 and neighbouring municipalities:**

Area	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
Georgetown	10,298	11,832 (14.9)	17,053 (44.12)	17,391 (2.0)	17,582 (1.0)	19,997 (13.7)	20,932 (4.7)
Acton	4,144	4,416 (6.6)	5,031 (13.9)	6,783 (34.8)	6,866 (1.2)	7,380 (7.5)	7,316 (-.8)
Eramosa Tp	3,093	3,190 (3.1)	3,585 (12.3)	4,185 (16.7)	4,311 (3.0)	4,713 (9.3)	5,949 (26.2)
Guelph	39,838	51,377 (28.8)	60,087 (17.0)	67,538 (12.4)	71,207 (5.4)	78,235 (9.9)	87,976 (12.5)
Fergus	3,831	4,376 (14.2)	5,433 (24.2)	6,005 (10.5%)	6,064 (0.1)	6,275 (3.5)	7,940 (26.5)
Elora	1,486	1,644 (10.5)	1,885* (14.66)	2,664 (41.3)	2,666 (0)	2,799 (5.0)	3,261 (16.5)
Erin Twp	3,272	3,430 (4.8)	4,354 (26.9)	5,483 (25.9)	5,943 (8.3)	6,365 (7.1)	7,561 (18.8)
Guelph Twp	5,636	2,307 (-59.06)	2,572	6,005	6,064	3,014 (-50.0)	3,288 (9.0)

Sources:

Canada Census

\* Elora Township Office

Note: Eden Mills was amalgamated to Eramosa Township in January 1974

Table 4

**Comparison to the province and abutting neighbouring regions.**

Geographical Area	Ontario	Halton Region	Waterloo	Wellington County	Guelph	Eramosa
Population 1986	9,101,694	271,369	329,404	139,447	78,23	4,713
Population 1991	10,084,885	313,136	377,762	159,609	87,976	5,949
%change	10.8	15.4	14.7	14.5	12.5	26.2

Sources:

Canada Census

# Timeline - Appendix G

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1952			Rockwood was 50 people short for incorporation.				
1962				2-1 room schools closed.			
1965			-The villages gentlemen's agreement was replaced with a formal written agreement. - Annual elections of trustees and councillors.	7-1 room schools closed. Community group formed to purchase a school and for the SS No. 8 Community Centre.			Council sat as a Court of Revision for ratepayers who appeal their taxes
1966	Trustees requested township to explore water and sewers for Rockwood.	-Smith and Dryden hired to do a planning study.		-approval sought to build school in Rockwood		-need for organized recreation recognized	-Eramosa Centennial Committee formed.
1967		Township council opposed formation of a country library.	First Biannual Elections. Reeve and deputy reeve acclaimed.	Public input sought for disposition of schools			Opposition to county library. Preference was for a township library Eramosa Recreational Committee decides to build new clubhouse .

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1968	<p>Rockwood trustees advised builders to wait until the Ontario Water Resource Commission presented its plans for water and sewer installations.</p> <p>The volume of water expected to meet the growth needs of Rockwood for a long time to come.</p>	<p>Water and Sewers expected to meet growth needs for Rockwood.</p> <p>Opposition to a commercial development.</p> <p>Opposition to 50' lots.</p> <p>-200 people attended meeting in opposition to having to build a 2,000 square foot home on 10 acre lots.</p>	<p>First person from the village of Rockwood to sit on Township Council--Jimmy Milne.</p>				
1969	<p>Discussion of a Sewage Plant.</p>		<p>Exploration of Regional government.</p> <p>Incumbent reeve acclaimed.</p>				
1970	<p>Organized opposition to water and sewer plans.</p> <p>Ratepayers group formed.</p>	<p>Rockwood growth predicted and seen as a positive by community leaders.</p>	<p>-Rockwood elects Stan Harris as trustee, a supporter of water and sewers and the township elects Dick Strong from Rockwood-- an opponent to water and sewers and president of the residents' association.</p>				

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1971		-Trailer park proposal comes forward and received opposition.					
1972	OMB decision for water and sewers seen as a 'whitewash.'  The OMB decision supposedly ended a six year battle Lack of faith in government to do work inexpensively. Post office given as example. An appeal filed with the lieutenant governor. Cabinet ruled in favour of water and sewers. -Councillor opposed to water and sewer installation agrees to work with the reeve to review the water by laws.		Eden Mills polls residents before deciding which township to amalgamate with. Reeve acclaimed. Incumbent deputy reeve keeps seat. Challenger opposed water and sewer system.				Residents express opposition to facade of post office. Township implements a stop work order until negotiations with federal government completed.

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1973	<p>Rockwood trustees asked to have the water and sewer bylaws rescinded.</p> <p>- Trustees advised that there would be a liability and to meet with the Minister of the Environment instead.</p> <p>The provincial government turned down the appeal by the President of the Rockwood Residents and Ratepayers Association and water and sewers were determined to be installed.</p>	<p>300 people attended meeting for draft plan for Rockwood.</p> <p>- Bylaw to govern the use of trailers and trailer camps received the necessary readings.</p>	<p>Eden Mills decides to amalgamate with Eramosa Township.</p>	<p>Residents of Eden Mills told they would be informed after first day of school if there would be room for their 30 children at the Rockwood school.</p>		<p>The Lions brought in guest speakers to explain the community centre concept and possible grants.</p> <p>- CN lease allowing access to centre was approved.</p>	<p>The Eden Mills Community Club requested a grant from Nasagaweya and Eramosa Townships.</p> <p>Eramosa offers a two year loan.</p> <p>- Eramosa passed bylaw to establish its own library.</p>
1974	<p>Noted that sewer system would not accommodate any new subdivisions.</p> <p>Noted that water and sewers needed to accommodate Main Street residents and businesses at a cost of \$250 per household.</p>	<p>Building put on hold until contract for water and sewer system signed.</p> <p>Medical building suggested for Rockwood.</p>	<p>Rockwood trustees are refused a ward system - Rockwood's incorporation proposal is also turned down.</p> <p>- Councillor warns regional government a possibility.</p> <p>- Reeve and deputy reeve acclaimed</p>			<p>Public meeting determined that a plebiscite be held to decide whether or not tax money should be used for a \$500,000. sports complex (to include a hockey arena) at community centre.</p>	<p>- Eramosa opens the first co-operative library in the area-- a council, community and school board venture.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1975	<p>An aquarobic sewage system was discussed. Ministry found 22 of 134 wells contaminated. Wellington Dufferin reports 29 % of wells and 23% of septic systems as unsatisfactory. A committee was established following trustees request for lower priced alternatives. Committee recommended proceeding with water and sewers. An injunction was placed on the township.</p>	<p>Council reconsidered its decision to transfer authority for land severance to county.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Planning consultant asked to prepare an amendment to zoning bylaw as an interim measure, until a comprehensive new restricted area bylaw was completed to control land use and development in areas of Rockwood that could be prematurely subjected to residential subdivisions.</li> <li>- Council on the request of its Planning Board reconsidered their decision to transfer power for granting land severance from the township to the county.</li> </ul>	<p>Amalgamation with other municipalities explored.</p>		<p>Eden Mills trustees put request in writing regarding repairs to bridge, etc.</p>	<p>Fundraising ventures raise \$5,000 for a community centre. Members of the Steering Committee asked council to take immediate action. Council calls a public meeting. Petitions come forward against the project and against spending tax dollars on the centre. Arena is seen as a "tough priced extra" according to local newspapers. Rockwood trustees suggest stopping the project or slowing it down. Township solicitor advises deeding property back to the Lions. Cooperation between council and the Lions sought through a committee. The Lions club expressed dissatisfaction with the building committee as it did not conform to earlier suggestions.</p>	<p>Rockwood trustees complained that permission was given by township council to install a septic system for the medical building without their knowledge.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1976	Guelph agreed to accept Rockwood's sewage.  Water and sewage installation went ahead.  Suggestion that criteria for future growth be social impact.	Ontario Water Resources suggested that criteria for growth should be social impact.	<i>Incumbent reeve won with clear majority against a non-supporter of the water and sewer infrastructure. A strong supporter for the community centre was also elected.</i>			Lions sought approval to build tennis courts.  Lions agreed to assume any additional liability if funding not available.  Council endorsed community hall proposal.  Residents voted overwhelmingly against issuing debentures to construct an arena.	Highway 7 bypass recommended as water and sewers would result in growth. Suggested that a bypass be less expensive if installed sooner rather than later.  Ministry was asked to install three crosswalks and suitable signs instead.
1977	First plaza in Rockwood.		Rockwood's deficit to be repaid in 2 years.	Council backed petition to keep Eramosa students at Guelph Highschool vs. sending them to Fergus.	Eden Mills requests forwarded to county.	Ongoing discussions between Lions and Township council regarding management of hall.  A board established with two council members.  Council expected to pay the operating deficit that was foreseen prior to its June opening.	Deputy reeve declared conflict of interest regarding gravel pits.  One member of council opposed a motion to plan an appreciation night for committee members.

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1978	Minutes noted that system was forced on the township 1 1/2 years earlier than expected. Hook up costs - \$1200 plus 17.50 a month for 40 years. Flow discrepancy reported.	Rockwood Secondary Plan involved 400 surveys distributed. 40% saw a population growth to 1700 people. A petition from business people asked for 5000 people. Business people asked for a higher flow capacity for water and sewers. Proposal turned down.	Only 11 candidates come forward to fill 12 positions. A township councillor and Rockwood trustee was still needed.			Council did not accept the first amended bar operating policy as submitted by the Lions Club. Their second proposal was accepted.	Rockwood hotel asked for liquor question on ballot form. 100 ratepayers objected to Trustees hiring outsider as secretary. Deputy reeve received no support in having meetings adjourned due to lateness of the hour.
1979	The reeve's decision to not contact the ministry as agreed regarding problems with sewer lines caused some friction on council. - Rockwood trustees requested permission from council to sell a lot to cover costs incurred from the water and sewers installation.	Eden Mills concerned that new development not cost the existing taxpayers. - A stainless steel fabricating firm wanted to relocate to Rockwood. - Council opposition to a trailer park in the north end of the township - A study found that 74%-83% of respondents believed that severances should be restricted. - Numerous development proposals come forward.	Council sought to fill a vacancy created by the death of Councillor Burnett by appointment.			Lions receive Wintario grants for tennis courts. Ministry of Culture and Recreation met to discuss policies for development of facility. A request for a furniture auction turned down.	- Residents petitioned council to deal with noisy neighbour. - Inventory of sites and buildings of historical significance was compiled through an Experience 79 grant. - Eramosa township refused on principle a request for financial assistance to Camp Belwood for the Retarded

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1980	<p>Discrepancy regarding hook ups without permits to water and sewers.</p> <p>Residents advised of mandatory hookup within 9 months.</p>	<p>Township engineers suggested township create development standards.</p> <p>Triton engineering cautioned against further growth as 1770 population can be achieved through infilling.</p> <p>Partial removal of a Billy Gordon's hall discussed.</p> <p>Seniors Housing survey distributed</p> <p>Residents expressed concern for removal of Billy Gordon's Hill...</p> <p>-Reeve opposed approval for a roof trussing business although planning board approved.</p> <p>- There was interest in continuing a study for industrial lands.</p>	<p>Rockwood trustees and council discussed deficit and possible incorporation.</p> <p>- A partner to a development proposal is acclaimed into office.</p>			<p>Recreational committee formulated plans for renovations to Community Centre.</p> <p>Lions expressed interest in extending kitchen and washroom facilities.</p> <p>- An engineer is hired at a cost of \$2,500 for the preparation of the addition to the community centre.</p>	<p>Only 2 residents attend the "All Candidate's Night."</p> <p>- Complaints registered about smells emanating from the liquid waste deposited in a lagoon at a pig farm.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1981	Sewage rates raised by 6%. -By August 95% of residents hooked up.	<p>Objections raised to industrial zone change.</p> <p>Concern expressed over Parkedge.</p> <p>Established process for a seniors non-profit housing project.</p> <p>Concern raised over farms purchased by foreign investors.</p>	<p>Suggestion to have township responsible for village roads.</p> <p>Reeve steps down, position contested by the deputy reeve and a councillor. The deputy reeve wins and three councillors are acclaimed to office, including a development proposal partner.</p>			<p>Special meeting arranged with Ministry of Culture and Recreation and members of the Lions Club to explore funding options for proposed addition. Funding applications made to Ministry and Wintario.</p>	<p>Ontario Humane Society expressed concern regarding Eramosa's cowboy mentality</p> <p>-Meeting arranged between OMAF, council, township solicitor and pig farm operator to discuss odour.</p> <p>-Fire department forgo raises for beepers.</p>
1982		<p>Industrial zoning explored further.</p> <p>Council took cash in lieu of parkland.</p> <p>-Opposition to removal of historical barn near Rockwood Academy.</p> <p>- Council accepted \$1,000 in lieu of parkland rejecting Rockwood's Planning Board recommendation to keep one lot for a park.</p> <p>-Parkedge received permission to remove a large hill</p>		<p>Rockmosa Board opposed Tennis Club using washrooms. Lions were told to pay 50% of operating costs.</p>			

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1983		<p>Ministry of Housing approved designation to industrial.</p> <p>Council accepted cash in lieu of parkland for the Stone Barn Holdings..</p> <p>Opposition to facade of Seniors Building.</p> <p>The highly colour concept seen as not suitable.</p> <p>- Rockwood trustees express concern regarding the erosion around the Stone Barn Holdings development and Parkedge.</p> <p>- Planning Board dissolved and council expressed willingness to appoint a Planning Advisory Committee.</p>	<p>The reeve was elected, the remaining council members were acclaimed.</p>		<p>Petition containing more than 300 signatures presented to council</p>	<p>Motion rescinded to have subcommittee of ratepayers to oversee work. Ministry investigation suggested personality problems.</p> <p>200 people attended council meeting as a result of anonymous letters circulated. Council and Lions cleared up issues.</p> <p>Representative from the Ministry of Tourism and Recreation cited personality problems and suggested that unhappy citizens could get a second consulting firm to do a second study or they could ask council to do for a second or third time.</p> <p>Following the resignation of the chair of the Rockmosa Board, council and the Lions meet and clear up misconceptions.</p>	

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1984		<p>Opposition to Stone Barn Inn.</p> <p>Residents group formed to give constructive advice to council.</p> <p>Group oppose Inn and subdivision.</p> <p>Ratepayers Association offer to do a fundraiser so that facade of seniors housing project could be changed.</p> <p>Council chooses not to because the results of an open house implied that most people were accepting of the building.</p> <p>Ratepayers Association questioned the purchase of a grader and threatened to go to Queens Park over this decision.</p>					Residents oppose council's approval of the reeve's application for a gravel pit.

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1985		<p>Eden Mills expressed concern over proposed rezoning from two lots to three.</p> <p>A number of subdivision agreements were executed.</p> <p>Residents expressed concern about an in camera meeting with a developer regarding his proposal. A stop work order was issued to Parkedge developments but most of hill and trees removed.</p> <p>Council holds a number of public meetings regarding Stone Barn in hopes of avoiding an OMB hearing.</p> <p>Ratepayers expressed concern over a seniors rest home that allegedly did not meet requirements.</p>	<p>Rockwood trustees asked for written assurances for use of township truck.</p> <p>The reeve was acclaimed. The incumbent deputy reeve won against an opponent to the Parkedge development.</p> <p>Two of the three councillors returned to office. Rockwood trustees were acclaimed including a member of the Ratepayers Association.</p>			<p>The Lion's lawyer expressed concern over council's cancelled agreement with the Lions</p> <p>The township solicitor warned that if it continued to not enforce liquor regulations in places like the community centre, the township could be liable.</p> <p>A committee was established to deal with the concerns.</p> <p>The Liquor Control Board recommended the appointment of one person as the agent for the centre.</p>	<p>Complaints were made regarding old cars parked behind the town hall.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1986		<p>Secondary Plan for Eden Mills noted Eden Mills favoured slow growth</p> <p>-A subdivision in Eden Mills was asked to wait until the Secondary Plan was completed</p> <p>-A public meeting to discuss an Official Plan amendment to rural industrial was adjourned due to lack of public participation.</p> <p>A subdivision agreement for 70 lots was approved.</p> <p>Following another public meeting council advised that future growth not possible without ascertaining water and sewage capacity with Guelph.</p> <p>The planning consultant advised that population figures would reach 2,500 with approval of a proposed amendment to the Official plan.</p>	<p>A councillor resigned and another appointed</p>		<p>Petition containing 93 signatures (collected in 3 days presented to council)</p>	<p>Council was asked to note the need for replacement of the ceiling tile</p>	<p>Council was approached with a proposal to renovate the Eden Mills Mill Pond</p> <p>Opposition to holding a public meeting for a zoning amendment to expansion of the reeve's gravel pit</p> <p>Councillors concerned that council "look clean" Months later following much discussion, council passed bylaws to permit the expansion of the gravel pit</p> <p>- Council agreed that the Liquor Control Board of Ontario would now be responsible for deciding where wine and beer could be sold in the township</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1987	Following a meeting with a Guelph representative, Eramosa decides to proceed with water metering	<p>Two local developers request an amendment to the Eden Mills Secondary Plan.</p> <p>-A townhouse complex was planned for Rockwood.</p> <p>-Opposition at a public meeting to the Oelbaum development. 175 residents attended to discuss rezoning of 250 acres of farmland.</p> <p>Reeve clarified that postcards that were distributed regarding this proposal did not come from the township council.</p> <p>-The developer took personal exception to some innuendos but expressed that he wanted to hear the views of the people and offered to settle the matter from proper and equitable planning principles.</p> <p>-A trailer park at the north approved for a public meeting.</p>	<p>Trustees, council and municipal affairs meet to discuss a ward system.</p> <p>-A resolution was passed to apply to municipal affairs to commence with the dissolution of the police villages.</p> <p>- Trustees and council discuss joining combining the works department of the township and Rockwood.</p> <p>- A new councillor is appointed.</p>				<p>Council withdraws its support of the Eden Mills Pond renovations.</p> <p>A new councillor is appointed to fill a vacancy caused by a resignation.</p> <p>-Council supports a feasibility study for parkland in Everton.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1988	Residents opposed the cost of water and sewers reflected in their monthly bills.  Council decides to collect delinquent water payments through property taxes.	Residents of Eden Mills express concern over a zoning bylaw which may allow for quick expansion. -Another meeting was requested for the Oelbaum development resulted in further opposition to the project. --Opposition to the trailer park north of the township. -A bylaw to repeal the designation of the Stone Barn was passed. --A developer accused Eramosa of being more stringent than other communities. -Council looked at dismantling and reconstructing the Old Stone Barn. Passed a bylaw to repeal its designation as a heritage structure.  -Township received \$10,000 in lieu of park land.	A motion to not subsidize the village unless police villages were dissolved was defeated.  The "All Candidate's Night had standing room only.  All members of council who stood for re-election were defeated.  A former trustee and former member of the Ratepayers Association won and so too did a woman who voiced concern over difficulty in accessing information especially regarding a trailer park proposal.		To show support for retaining the bridge a petition with over 1200 signatures was presented to council.	A meeting with the Lions, council and the ministry resulted in contract discussions.	A fire department report shows that the township failed to meet provincial and county standards. -Some opposition to building of new Municipal Offices, while the fire department needed much improvement. -Concern raised that information was not readily forthcoming from the township offices. -All council members are defeated in the 1988 election. -Rockwood trustees request a recreational needs survey in hopes of finding a solution for the Old Town Hall. -At its inaugural meeting the new council requested a fraud audit. -Following meetings noted in camera sessions to discuss personnel issues.

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1989	<p>Sewage capacity and sewage flows questioned.</p> <p>Council determined need for a study.</p> <p>- Council investigated drilling of a new well.</p> <p>The Official Plan update was placed on hold until the sanitary and water study was completed.</p> <p>The township engineer advised that there was sufficient water and identified eight probable locations of limitations.</p>	<p>The Planning Advisory Committee resigned.</p> <p>Opposition to 2 commercial plazas</p> <p>New council changed position and opposed Trailer Park.</p> <p>OMB ruled the Eden Mills Secondary Plan not in community's best interests.</p> <p>Council approached developers in an attempt to find parkland for Parkedge residents.</p> <p>Council requested that Wellington County Planning Department prepare and Official Plan Update for Rockwood.</p> <p>Residents requested input into Official Plan.</p>	<p>Councillors walked out of meetings due to perceived rudeness or ill treatment by other council members.</p> <p>Members of the Planning Advisory Committee resigned en masse citing difficulties in working with council.</p> <p>Residents formed a ratepayers association following the firing of the township clerk.</p> <p>A councillor resigns stating health reasons, an unsuccessful candidate from the last election was appointed to fill the vacancy.</p>	<p>The Wellington County Board of Education was approached to post a sign advising of overcrowding in the schools.</p>	<p>Council requested a more recent evaluation of the bridge from the county.</p>	<p>Three member panel was suggested to evaluate use of Rockmosa and the Hall Manager. An informal meeting was held with Lions to develop an understanding of issues.</p>	<p>- A committee is appointed for the new library.</p> <p>- The Nursery School looks for alternative premises.</p> <p>- Dispute over granting councillors keys to access the building. The former council lobbied council to not pursue keys, asked for an apology regarding their request for a fraud audit.</p> <p>- Accused them of lack of respect for staff and questioned paying honorariums.</p> <p>- Dispute between councillors and clerk resulted in his termination and much discontent in community.</p> <p>- Opposition to location of hydro substation.</p> <p>- Eden Mills Pond Association worked out agreement with owner of mall pond.</p> <p>- Spirit of Shivaaree meetings began.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short T Issues
			Government	Schools			
1990	<p>Sewage capacity was disputed. Developers stated they will pursue the OMB to settle the dispute.</p> <p>A servicing study (Braun) found that the sewers could handle some development in the south of the village but not in the north. The consultants were to offer a solution of enlarging the system.</p>	<p>Parkedge commercial plaza opposed by residents in the neighbourhood.</p> <p>The OMB approved a townhouse complex outside the village limits.</p> <p>Development was put on hold until the system was studied.</p> <p>The OMB found Eden Mills Zoning to be faulty.</p> <p>Sounding, a group of citizens concerned with land use planning expressed interest in working cooperatively with council.</p> <p>Sounding invited residents to attend workshops to educate themselves about planning issues. Their contribution was the "Green Paper."</p>	<p>Meetings regarding restructuring were held with the trustees and council.</p> <p>A county report recommended the dissolution of Police Villages.</p> <p>Residents called for a municipal coup. Over 400 residents were disappointed when only the reeve came to a public meeting making a brief statement saying that council's solicitor advised against councillors attending the public meeting.</p> <p>A trustee from the village of Rockwood was appointed to fill vacancy caused by resignation of the deputy-reeve.</p>		<p>The residents and county disputed as to whether rehabilitation or replacement was most feasible. The villagers preferred rehabilitation.</p> <p>Residents felt that the county discounted their concerns and did not care for their village.</p>	<p>Following a meeting with the Lions it was resolved that the Lions were to be reimbursed for their contributions for the kitchen equipment and the Hall Manager would be solely in charge of Rockmosa.</p>	<p>The deputy reeve resigned in fear for her family's safety.</p> <p>The fired clerk took the dispute to the Supreme Court for review.</p> <p>Municipal Affairs was invited in to help with administrative difficulties.</p> <p>The location for the Hydro substation was still opposed.</p> <p>The location for the library was in dispute.</p> <p>The Nursery School wanted use of the old Township offices</p> <p>A residents association called for a municipal coup.</p> <p>The community play the Spirit of Shrivazee receives widespread acclaim and gives birth to other artistic community endeavour.</p>

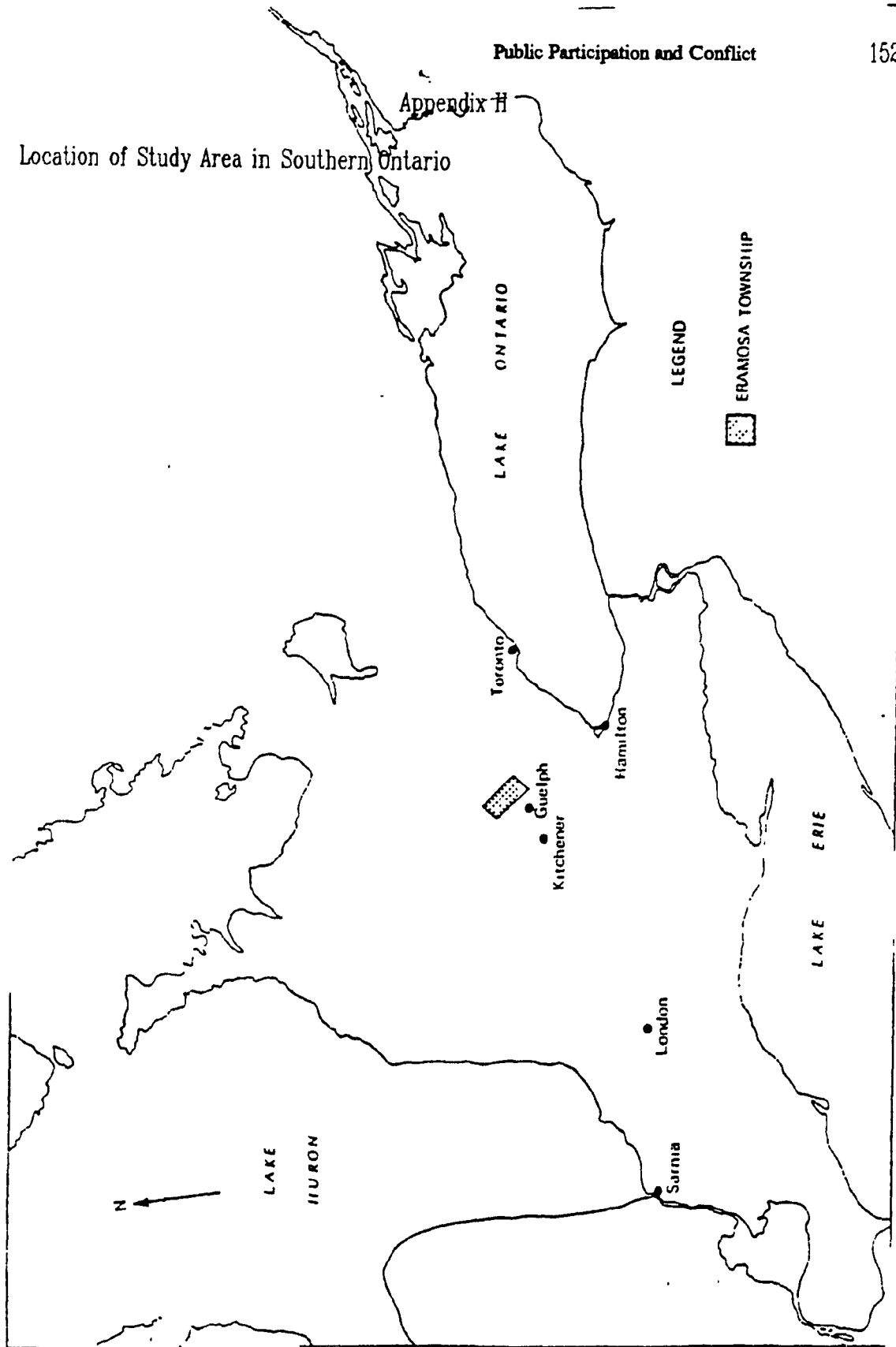
Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1991	<p>Sewer Study found the system to be at capacity. Guelph's agreement would accommodate 1400 more people.</p> <p>Developers questioned the formula used to determine sewage capacity.</p> <p>38% of Eden Mills wells found to be experiencing levels of pollution.</p>	<p>The Planning Advisory Committee rescinded its motion to approve rezoning for the Parkedge commercial plaza.</p> <p>A consulting firm was hired to do a planning and design strategy for the township at a cost of \$170,000.</p> <p>Council introduced a Public Participation Advisory Committee.</p> <p>Sounding requested expansion of the public consultation process.</p> <p>A community "visioning" evening was held with great success.</p>	<p>Council released "Preparing for the 21st Century", a report resulting from several meetings that acknowledge the difficulties council members initially had in working together and the goals and objectives they planned for the township. This plan included adoption of the ward system to increase the number of council representatives by two.</p> <p>All council members were defeated.</p>		<p>The Eden Mills Bow Bridge was designated a heritage structure.</p> <p>The reeve offered to repair bridge if grant money could be found.</p> <p>Council requested that the township engineer report back to council on the cost, time frame, and other details regarding preparation of a "needs condition survey".</p>	<p>The Lions and Lioness expressed concern about equipment and hall maintenance.</p>	<p>The Hydro substation found a home.</p> <p>The library location became an election issue.</p> <p>The Nursery School brought forward concerns for repairs to town hall to council.</p> <p>A delegation from the university explained why the township should continue to send them their stray dogs for research.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1992	<p>The Health unit was asked to undertake a study of the water quality of Eden Mills.</p> <p>Allocation of the available sewage capacity was one issue at the Oelbaum OMB hearing.</p>	<p>The township was accused of stalling development.</p> <p>-Developers protested being asked to make a financial commitment without receiving draft approval.</p> <p>-The Official Plan received its first and second reading.</p> <p>-Council attended a private strategic planning weekend.</p> <p>-The OMB ruled in favour of the township and against the Oelbaum proposal.</p> <p>-Council advised for planning advisory committee members with little success.</p> <p>-An informal meeting with residents of Parkedge to discuss alternatives to the proposed development showed that no one favoured a commercial designation or higher density in their neighbourhood.</p>	<p>A developer alleged that reeve held a conflict of interest. The reeve apologized at the end of a meeting for his actions around the conflict of interest.</p> <p>The reeve, deputy reeve and two councillors were perceived to have had some conflicts of interest.</p>		<p>The trustees requested a condition survey be done by the summer of 1993.</p> <p>An Ad Hoc committee of council was struck.</p>		<p>The chief administrative officer and his assistant were asked to resign</p> <p>Council attended a private weekend Strategic Planning workshop. Council approved all the recommended Healthy Community projects, except the Community Strategic Plan</p> <p>The Public Participation Advisory Committee was reconstituted following its disbandment prior to the 1991 election</p> <p>Edenmosa hired its first female township clerk</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1993	Triton report claimed room for only 50 more homes in Rockwood. Developers said calculation figures artificially high.	<p>Council placed limitations on personal contact with developers.</p> <p>Planning placed on hold until changes made to the existing sewer mains.</p> <p>Council and developers agreed to a provincial facilitator.</p> <p>Everton opposed a subdivision agreement.</p> <p>Community strategic planning began.</p> <p>Ermosa faced 5 OMB hearings.</p> <p>The reeve assured residents that none of the five applications to the OMB would "materialize to anything of substance."</p>	<p>The death of a councillor results in an appointment of a Rockwood trustee to fill the vacancy.</p> <p>The township hosted public meetings to meet the requirements for the dissolution of police villages.</p> <p>Police village trustees opposed dissolution.</p> <p>Residents of Eden Mills organized to oppose dissolution.</p> <p>The deputy reeve asked a councillor to provide in writing clarification as to the classification or position he held under the terms of the Public Service Act. He accused the councillor of having a detrimental alliance.</p>		Appointment of Ad Hoc Committee.		<p>Residents requested a provincial commission of inquiry into actions of Council. Petition alleged conspiracy, conflict of interest and incompetence.</p> <p>The deputy reeve found the allegations malicious and unfounded. The reeve said that the petition followed letters containing veiled threats. The township solicitor was asked to review the petition for libel.</p>

Year	Water & Sewers	Development	Restructuring		Eden Mills Bridge	Rockmosa	Short Term Issues
			Government	Schools			
1994	<p>An environmental study report was authorized for Eden Mills. A former survey showed that 60% of Eden Mills wells were contaminated.</p> <p>At the first day of an OMB hearing it was agreed that there was remaining sewage capacity for 300 homes.</p>	<p>The OMB approved 144 units between 2 developers. A market study was deemed necessary before further development could proceed.</p>	<p>People of Eden Mills opposed dissolution at public meetings. Trustees, residents and council accused each other of bargaining in bad faith.</p> <p>Rockwood trustees negotiated an agreement.</p> <p>Eden Mills trustees negotiated an agreement with the aid of a mediator. Eramosa Township withdrew motions for a condition survey.</p> <p>The Police Villages were dissolved.</p>		<p>Eramosa Council withdrew two motions regarding the condition survey.</p> <p>The reeve and deputy reeve walked out of a meeting when residents refused to leave committee meeting.</p> <p>A petition with 1000 signatures from people in and outside of Eramosa was presented to council.</p>		<p>The reeve asked for a written letter from a councillor's provincial employer stating that he had permission to sit on council. The response was interpreted differently by the reeve and councillor.</p> <p>-Council received complaints regarding the distribution of the Needs Benefits Analysis Survey and chose to distance itself from the survey.</p> <p>-The Strategic Planning Committee was suspended following disagreement and misunderstanding between committee members and council.</p> <p>The incumbent reeve won by 18 votes and then resigned on principle.</p> <p>The incumbent deputy reeve lost to the councillor accused of having a detrimental alliance</p>

Location of Study Area in Southern Ontario



## **Appendix I: Sources of Conflict**

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict						Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Structural Organizational Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values			
Self-rule incorporation (1952) (1974)	Dependent on council to proceed			Growth patterns economic gain	Identity participation control own destiny. Respect for past contributions, security, i.e. not being lost in the bigger government.	The right to determine one's future vs representational democracy, i.e. 5 decisions for you	Acceptance of township and provincial decision	Increase the population so Rockwood can grow and so incorporate.	Deferred resolution
Ward System Disolution of Police Villages (1990) (1994)	Council asked for 75 signatures to explore the ward system.	Trustees said they were acting and speaking for their villages. Township council and they were speaking on behalf of the silent majority.	Dissolution will deter volunteerism vs no. Dissolution will save taxpayers money vs no.	Wanting form of government most economically feasible for Erasmosa township		Small vs. Big. Grass roots vs. Bureaucracy	Leaflets, media, lawyers, negotiation, mediation. Accusations of dishonesty and intimidation. DMB.	Incorporation still a possibility. Mediation and negotiation resulted in agreement to dissolve with certain conditions.	Resentment with the adversarial process used. Some members of Eden Mills feel that a compromise was necessary. To continue to fight for the sake of the principal would have resulted in more damage.
Incorporation was discussed in 1990 and 1994 but seen as not feasible.	Disolution required restructuring, including elimination of trustees and thus closer contact to first level of government	Perceived as council wanting more power. Trustees seen as wanting to keep their jobs. Communication deteriorated and each side perceived the other as not listening or understanding.	Township has legal rights to Eden Mills Community Hall and Park vs no. Township could have chosen to keep status quo vs. provincial decision	How to decide whether or not to dissolve the police villages. How to dissolve the police villages.		Efficiency vs. Duplication.	Council Decides, Opposition, Defends, Acts, Forced to renegotiate Community hears, opposes, compromises.	Some residents of Eden Mills feel that the some members of council were trying to punish them. Some felt that the decision was predetermined by the province. N2o clear winners	

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values		
Community Centre (1966-1990)	<p>To qualify for funding, property needed to be deeded to township, thus township control</p>	<p>Township councillors seen as obstructionists to the project</p> <p>Township councillors see self as representing wishes of community and saving community money. These for the centre believe they are isolating the community.</p>	<p>Communication deteriorated between council and Lions.</p> <p>Various attempts to get together to work issues out, resulted with Lions losing control of the hall.</p>	<p>Community can not afford vs can not needed vs needed</p> <p>Lions entitled to bar and catering rights vs not entitled</p> <p>Belongs to Lions vs belongs to township.</p> <p>Should community have averse the sports complex or building community hall.</p> <p>The legality of the contract with the Lions was in question.</p> <p>Council and Lions received information from own sources.</p> <p>Sometimes minority people were brought in to answer questions with both parties present.</p>	<p>Developing recreational activities for a growing community.</p> <p>How to make decision of whether or not to build.</p> <p>Who should be responsible to oversee the building.</p>	<p>Recreational needs and needs to have a voice in effective decision making within one's sphere of influence.</p> <p>Recognition of contribution to community.</p> <p>Recognition of work involved to make contribution possible.</p> <p>Identity of Lions to the Hall.</p> <p>Respect for fundraising ability.</p>	<p>Moving from informal to formal recreational needs. Moving from informal fundraising on a per project basis to overall fundraising for various community projects.</p>	<p>Public meetings to inform and gather public support, expert opinion, ministry consultations, run for council, volunteer, plebiscite.</p> <p>Lions decide, introduces ideas, council supports, council takes some control, Lions oppose, council takes full control.</p>	<p>Council proceeded with the building with the understanding that no tax dollars be used to build it.</p> <p>Lions and Lionses received catering and bar rights for fundraising purposes.</p> <p>Resulted in ongoing power struggle between township and service club.</p> <p>eventually took full control of the hall</p> <p>No clear winners.</p>	<p>Lions and Lionses catering and bar rights resulted in resentment by others who wanted none or limited Lion involvement.</p> <p>Township complete control of hall resulted in Lions no longer being able to fundraise to same extent and thus less money back into the community.</p>

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict						Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values		
Water and Sewers (1966 - 1978)	Trustees can only ask township to investigate.	Both sides felt that they had the support of the majority.	The issue pitted neighbour against neighbour. Some feel that some relationships never recovered once issue was settled.	Water and sewers necessary vs not an issue.  Those with faulty systems can be forced to improve vs not.  At least one councillor elected who did not support water and sewers felt that the issue was white washed by the province.	Business interests for those on Main Street  Some opposition as to having decision made without more public input.	Clean and safe water from wells.  Economic security, system seen as too expensive, especially for farmers.	The right of the community as a whole to have clean water vs right of individual	Lobby government, OMB hearings, cabinet and other legal options.  Those opposed to water and sewers ran for township office. Those for water and sewers ran for village office.	Water and Sewers were decided upon by an OMB hearing  Some residents still believe water and sewers were not necessary  Some believe that they were predetermined by the province and village had no choice

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict						Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values	
Sewage Capacity (1974-1994)	The Ministry, the village, the township and the City of Guelph kept records of sewage flow. These figures did not always match.	Council was accused of using stalling tactics for preventing development.		Mistrust between developers, council and community increased.	The developers, council, ministries and engineers disagreed on correct calculation to determine sewage flows.	Business and industries land interests. Wanting the community to develop vs. wanting the community to retain the same open spaces.	Need to determine one's future. Need for participation. Need for security, recognition, identity, respect and dignity.	Values of participation, leadership and expertise compete. Values of retaining rural character of township vs. value of developing an urban nature.	Fear that community will grow too much and too fast. Developers tend to be outsiders bringing in outside experts and thus not trusted.
	Calculation of sewage flows were predetermined by each group.	Councillors alleged they were harassed, etc. for their position regarding sewage capacity and development. Developers and councillors accused each other of illegal tactics. Councils believed they represented the views of the majority, yet two councils voted out entirely. Sounding seen as anti-development.							
							Accusations by the developers of using stalling tactics. Accusations by councillors of harassment, conflict of interest etc. Media reports, Both sides used logic and expert witnesses. Council decides through Official Plan, seeks community input, and expert opinion, decides, defends, acts.	A meter was installed in 1992 to monitor sewage flow. It was determined that there was room for approximately 300 more homes.	

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values	Dispute Behaviour
Development (as per this study) 1968 - 1994) ongoing	Needs to meet County, Township and Provincial Requirements. Formal meetings restrict 2 way dialogue. Township has authority over process and where and how development. Developers can appeal to an OMB who can override Township decision. An appeal can be made to cabinet who can override the OMB decision.	Developers seen as greedy and evil. Those interested in development see themselves as bettering the community. Those opposed to development are seen as dreamers stopping progress or having personal vendettas. Those opposed to development believe they are saving the community	Developers, politicians, community groups became increasingly adversarial. Mistrust and expectations that no one is to be trusted.	How the development proposals will impact the social, economic and natural environment is in dispute.	Property owners and developers seen to financially gain from growth. Some businesses could financially gain. Quality of life expected to change with growth.	Need to control one's future for both the business people and residents alike. Need for economic and social stability and security. Fear of losing identity associated with rural character of the village.	Small vs. Big Growth seen as loss of rural atmosphere and sense of community. Right to large financial gain of one individual. Right of the individual vs. right of the community.	Lobby, legal, run for council and media. Accusations of threats, and other dishonest behaviour. Community play and Soundings (workshops) to raise awareness of development issues. Council consults experts and community. Decides, community opposes or developer opposes. OMB decides.	The first developments were implemented through negotiation with council. Since 1989 every development proposal has resulted in an OMB hearing. Financial strain on the township. Community seen as difficult. Developers seen as aggressive. Leads to further mistrust. Community and developer focus on fighting each other. Winning is defined as stopping the other party. No clear winner

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict						Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values		
Highway 7 By-pass (1976)	Suggested by the Ministry of Transportation, decision left up to township. Business people influential in community and said no.	Business people perceived as not thinking for the good of the whole.		A by-pass would decrease business vs. increase. Increased traffic would create safety issues. Traffic light poses another safety issue. Loss of parking will deter shoppers.	Business interests versus quieter community. Decision made without looking at the ramifications.	Safety vs. economical security. Need to influence to have control one's future. Quiet community vs. flow of traffic.	Safety vs. financial gain.	No by-pass, results in new residents asking for lights in 1992. TO agrees to install lights but business community expected to lose parking. Results in further lobbying and negotiation to restore some parking. Loss of parking seen as not safe.	A by-pass is hoped for today along with another entrance and exit from the village. The traffic light issue does not appear to have any residue negative feeling. A compromise was reached..
Traffic Light			Business people chose to deal with MTO through council. Have little expectations of council.						
Post-Office (1972)	Federal decision, with no consultation	The federal government seen as inefficient and financially incompetent.	Lack of faith in government officials and government bureaucracy.	The facade of a building in Rockwood should be brick vs. clapboard.	The facade of the building is believed to reflect the community	Self-esteem Identity Participation Control	Rockwood considered anything less than brick meant community was not receiving what it was entitled.	Council and community lobbied the federal government. Council issued a stop work order until issue was resolved. The Federal government decided, defended, was opposed, renegotiated	The community is proud of its post office. When the federal government decided to close down its rural post offices, Rockwood did what it could to keep it. Rockwood.

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values			
Eden Mills Bridge (1975)	County originally responsible for bridge. Responsibility given to Township when township opposes replacing bridge. Eden Mills repeatedly expected to be self-sufficient.	Those who do not support the bridge believed it was only a small vocal minority that supported bridge. Some believe Eden Mills are taking heritage too far.	Eden Mills divided over those for and against retaining the bridge. Eramosa divided, those for and against the bridge in Eden Mills. People north of highway 24 say they do not want their taxes to go towards rehabilitating the bridge. Various petitions collected and presented to council. As of April 1995, 88% of Eden Mills residents supported retaining the bridge.	Experts disagree as to what is safer a narrow or wide bridge. Experts disagree as to what would be more economical a restored bridge or a deteriorating new bridge. Does the bridge contribute to Economic Development or Community Development? Is it a small interest group that wants the bridge saved? What criteria should be used to make the decision.	To retain the rural and visual quality of Eden Mills. Township interests are to have the most economical solution to a deteriorating roadway. Eden Mills interests are slow traffic. Condition survey kept being postponed, perception of not wanting to do it.	Safety. To avoid liability if bridge were to fall. The identity of Eden Mills is connected with the bridge. Participation in decisions that affect them. Dignity of village and people wanting to retain its character. Respect for the people of Eden Mills. Any work on the bridge will affect small business in the village.	Heritage vs modernity.	Lobbied three levels of government. Media. Petitions. Accusations of deceitful behaviour. County decided, township opposed. Township consulted, township decided. Some oppose, election issue.	No resolution yet.	Management of dispute has left negative feelings

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict						Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values	
Eden Mills Pond Association (1986-1989)	Originally had no resources.	Newcomers seen as wanting personal gain.	Originally created a rift in the community. Community today proud of its accomplishment.	Enforced the belief that Eden Mills must find its own resources and own solutions and cannot rely on the rest of Eramosa.	What was the correct way to maintain the pond? Could the township have entered into such a partnership with a private owner?	To have a visually appealing area for individuals and community.  To find an economic way to maintain an area used by the public.  To retain use of a public space with today's liability trends.	Safety.  Recreation.  Participation.  Control.	Participation. Community ownership vs private ownership.	The people of Eden Mills are proud of this achievement. They are pleased that they can say they did it on their own without township help. The Eden Mills Pond Association allowed the people of Eden Mills to retain their public swimming hole, while the people of Rockwood lost theirs to a private owner. The area is now considered safe and aesthetically pleasing. There is some resentment that the immediate neighbours may have had monetary gain from the improvement of the project.

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs			
Conflicts of Interest (1978)		Mistrust of those who can benefit financially.		Lawyers used to assure that the letter of law followed.	What is a conflict of interest?	To be perceived to be doing the right thing.  Pursuit of business.	Recognition for following the rules  Economic security.	To be above board, to follow the rules  The right to pursue business ventures while sitting in position of power.	Follow the rules and make it legal.  Based on the rules and opened, gravel pit given., declarations of conflict of interest where needed	The perception still is that members of council took advantage of their position. The resolution does not fit the norm in the community that one should not gain or benefit from their volunteerism.
Seniors Housing (1990)	The non-profit housing board established council. Council controlled the building process.	Council was perceived as over-controlling. Perceptions of dishonest behaviour.  Those proposing alternative facade felt the community supported their quest while council felt that the majority of the township supported their decision.	Council's image of over controlling spilled over to other issues.  Ratepayers group formed to fight issue and make the rest of the community aware.  Communication deteriorated and became more adversarial.	Seniors are opposed vs not opposed  Visually fits in vs. not Rockwood is a brick building community vs. Rockwood is a board and batten community vs. aluminum siding	Affordable housing vs visual quality.  How decision was made.  Alternative fundraising options for visual quality turned down.	Housing needs for seniors. Need for community to have a voice as to what is being built in their neighbourhood.	Brick vs. aluminum siding. The aluminum siding interpreted as not good enough for Rockwood. The different colors interpreted as not appropriate of a rural setting.	Lobbied township.  Media coverage.  Council consults for seniors housing Seniors housing opposes. Council listens and proceeds as planned.	The building exists as originally designed as a multi colored unit.  The people of Rockwood have come to accept the building as it is. Perhaps have become accustomed to its design.  Council still oversees the project through membership on the board.	

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural Individual	Relationships	Information	Interests	Needs	Values			
Optimists (1989)	Lions response to the Optimist entry to Erasmus similar to response they received to the concept of a sports complex.	Lions said that there was no need for another service club to compete for fundraising dollars.	Club accepted in the community and seen to contribute positively.	New service club would be detrimental vs benefit to community.	Alternatives to serving community through another service club.  Opportunity for couples to work and participate together on same service club.  Competition for fundraising dollars.	Need for identity as a service club.  Need to be involved in contributing to one's community.	Exclusive rights to fundraising vs. non exclusive.	Optimists originally told not wanted or needed by Lions in Rockwood.  Optimist meetings well received in Everton.  Majority of original membership from the Everton community.  Optimists decide, consult, opposed, consult, decide, enter through Everton where interest lay.	Club is serving the community.  Club is acknowledged for their positive contributions. Optimists and Lions have attempted some projects together with little success. Trust between the two service clubs does not appear to be strong.	

Nature of Dispute	Sources of Conflict							Dispute Behaviour	Resolution	Analysis of Resolution
	Organizational	Structural	Relational	Information	Interests	Needs	Values			
Hydro Substation (1991)	<p>Rockwood Hydro is dependent on Ontario Hydro for expertise and the Township to borrow funds for them.</p> <p>Rockwood Hydro was dependent on Ontario Hydro for hook up to lines.</p> <p>Rockwood Hydro required permission from Canadian National Railway because of location.</p>	<p>The motivation of the Hydro Commissioners were questioned.</p> <p>Both sides believed they could win at an OMB hearing.</p>	<p>Although attempts of dialogue were made by all sides communication did not improve.</p> <p>An OMB appeal, resulted in the Commissioners finding an alternative site to meet time constraints.</p>	<p>The safety of living so close to a substation was questioned.</p> <p>Decrease in property value vs no decrease in property value.</p> <p>The most feasible and economic location for the substation was in dispute.</p>	<p>The Hydro Commissioners interest lay in decreasing hydro costs and building assets within the community.</p> <p>Interests lay in the most economic location to build the substation.</p>	<p>Hydro for heat.</p> <p>The community's main source of energy was hydro.</p> <p>Safety.</p> <p>Economic security.</p>	<p>Safety vs. economic advantages.</p> <p>Right of individual vs. right of the community as a whole.</p>	<p>Petitions, allegations of harassment, jobbed Rockwood Hydro Commission, Ontario Hydro and the Township Council.</p> <p>Media.</p> <p>Flyers.</p>	<p>Substation installed in an area where no one could dispute.</p> <p>Rockwood Hydro is finally in the black.</p> <p>The land is rented from CNR. Thus money that could have stayed in the community is leaving the community.</p> <p>By having the substation on CNR land, Rockwood Hydro will now be dependent on CNR to not raise the rent excessively.</p>	<p>The substation is in a location that is considered second best.</p> <p>Rockwood Hydro is finally in the black.</p> <p>The land is rented from CNR. Thus money that could have stayed in the community is leaving the community.</p> <p>By having the substation on CNR land, Rockwood Hydro will now be dependent on CNR to not raise the rent excessively.</p>

## Appendix J

### **Conflict Checklist**

1. **Win/Win:** What is my real need here? What is theirs? Do I want to work for both of us?
2. **Creative Response:** What opportunities can this situation bring? Rather than "how its supposed to be", can I see possibilities in "what is"?
3. **Empathy:** What is it like to be in their shoes? What are they trying to say? Have I really heard them? Do they know I'm listening?
4. **Appropriate Assertiveness:** What do I want to change? How will I tell them this without blaming or attacking? Is this a statement about how I feel, rather than what is wrong or right? (Be soft on people, hard on the problem).
5. **Co-operative Power:** Am I using power inappropriately? Are they? Instead of opposing each other, can we co- operate?
6. **Managing Emotions:** What am I feeling? Am I blaming them for my feelings? Will telling them how I feel help the situation? What do I want to change? Have I removed the desire to punish from my response? What can I do to handle my feelings? (e.g. write it down, talk to a friend, punch a mattress)
7. **Willingness to resolve:** Do I want to resolve the conflict? Is resentment being caused by:
  - something in my past that still hurts?
  - something I haven't admitted to needing?
  - something I dislike in them, because I won't accept it in myself?
8. **Mapping the Conflict:** What's the issue, problem of conflict? Who are the important parties in this conflict? Write down each person's needs, (i.e. What interests underly the problem? What are the payoffs from suggested solutions?) Write down each person's anxieties or fears. (i.e. What worries, anxieties, concerns are influencing behaviour?) Does this map show areas we have in common? What do we need to work on?
9. **Designing Options:** What are all the possibilities? Don't judge them yet. What seems impossible might yield good ideas. Which options give us both more of what we want? Be creative, mix and match.

**10. Negotiation:** What do I wish to achieve? Be really clear about the general outcome, though you may change your route. How can we make this a fair deal -- with both people winning? What can they give me? What can I give them? Am I ignoring objections? Can I include them? What points would I want covered in an agreement? Is there something that could be included to help them save face? Is saving face important to me? Do I particularly need anything?

**11. Mediation:** Can we resolve this ourselves or do we need help from neutral third person? Who could take on this role for us? Is mediation the most appropriate role for me in this? If so, how would I set up and explain my role to both parties? Can I create the right environment for people to open up, understand each other and develop their own solutions? What might help this?

**12. Broadening Perspectives:** Am I seeing the whole picture, not just my own point of view? What are the effects of this beyond the immediate issue? (i.e. on other people or groups) Where might this lead in the future?

(Adapted from the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolutions and Everyone Can Win, Cornellijs and Soshan Faire, 1989 )

**Appendix K****INFORMATION ABOUT THIS STUDY**

I understand that I am being asked to participate in a research study which is being conducted by Rose Stocco under the supervision of Dr. Eli Teram of the Faculty of Social Work of Wilfrid Laurier University.

The purpose of this study is to examine three levels of conflict within the community as they relate to the citizens' involvement in decision-making. The data collected in this research will be used to promote this understanding.

For the purposes of this research, conflict is a **natural and recurring part of all human social interaction in which parties believe they have incompatible goals and attempt to gain advantage through a variety of means.**

The three levels of conflict to be explored are the macro, the micro and the intermediate level of conflict.

The macro or institutional level of conflict examines structures, rules, organizational interdependencies and norms.

The micro or the dispute level of conflict examines the tactics of conflict, the study of disagreements, the conflict behaviour and the solutions of the parties.

The intermediate or the relationship level addresses the actors and the evolution of the disputes and patterns of interventions over time.

I understand that the interview that consists of eight main questions will take about two hours. I have the option of either speaking into a tape recorder or having the researcher take notes.

I understand that no risks are involved in participation and I am free to contact the investigator at the telephone number listed below if I have questions.

The following are benefits that I may derive from my participation in this study:

- to gain knowledge pertaining the levels of conflict
- to gain knowledge of the levels of citizen participation
- to gain understanding on how the two components interact with each other

I understand that my participation is voluntary. I may choose to withdraw from this study any time. I choose which questions I wish or do not wish to answer.

I understand my research records will be kept confidential and that I will not be identified in any publication or discussion.

I understand that direct quotations may be used in reporting the data. The use of these quotations will be limited to those that do not disclose my identity. The researcher will obtain my consent to use quotes that may disclose my identity.

I understand that I have a right to all questions about the study answered by the researcher or research advisor in sufficient detail to clearly understand the answer.

I understand that I can receive feedback on the overall results of this research *through Rose Stocco*, and that this will be made available to me by September 1994.

If I have any questions about the research, the procedures employed, my rights, or any other research related concerns I may contact Rose Stocco at the number listed below or Eli Teram at Wilfrid Laurier University.

I acknowledge receiving a copy of this informed consent.

---

Signature

---

Date

---

Researcher  
856-4165

## Appendix L

### Interview Guide

1. Beginning with the water and sewer issue, what issues has this community faced in the last 25-30 years?
2. Would you walk me through each of those issues?.

Prompt questions:

- a) Who were the key players?
  - b) How did people try to influence community decisionmakers?
  - c) How did decision-makers try to influence the residents?
  - d) As you understand it, what was the rationale for using those methods?
  - e) How effective were those methods?
  - f) What were the consequences of those methods?
  - g) How has the dispute affected community relationships?
3. What could have been done differently?
    - by the decision-makers?
    - by those opposed?
    - by the community at large?
  4. How should Eramosites influence decision-makers today?