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Crop Eared Wolf, Annabel

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MATSIYIPÁÍTAPIHYSSINI: KÁINAI PEACEKEEPING AND PEACEMAKING

Annabel Crop Eared Wolf
Bachelor of Arts
University of Lethbridge

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University of Lethbridge
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Dedication

To my daughters *Ponokáakii ki Píttáakii*, and my grandson *Sspitaikoan* and the friends of their generation; to my parents for setting a course of life for us.

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore and provide an understanding of Kainai peacekeeping and peacemaking within the context of the Kainai worldview, employing postcolonial Indigenous theory and a Kainai process of inquiry. Relying on the oral tradition, as articulated by Káínai elders, as a primary source, Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking is elucidated through an interpretive approach that examines the foundational principles of the Káínai worldview, as well as Káínai values, relationships, traditions, and customs. It is demonstrated how these function in unison to effect peacekeeping and peacemaking. The results of this study further an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking, aboriginal justice in general and Indigenous knowledge. The results will also contribute to Káínai in the development of a contemporary peacemaking model as part of its Justice Initiative.

Preface

Using the oral tradition as a primary source, this research on traditional Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking attempted to document the practices and processes by which social order was maintained in Káínai society. It also sought to understand how the balance and harmony restored when there was a breach of the rules and norms and how the system functioned.

My research was not intended to develop a contemporary peacemaking model for Káínai or to be a comparative study between Káínai and non-native justice systems; nor is it a study in legal pluralism that examines how Káínai justice may function within the Canadian justice system. While these are worthwhile pursuits, they are beyond the scope of this study. It is necessary to lay a foundation of knowledge about Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking before comparative or developmental studies can be undertaken.

My goal was to better understand traditional Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. While the term “traditional” does not necessarily refer to the past, it is often understood as such. In this study “traditional” refers to those practices and processes of Káínai that arise from its worldview and culture developed over the span of its existence as a society. It will be noted in Chapter 4, in the elders’ account, that the tense shifts from past to present. In some instances, the elders tend to speak in the past tense with regard to practices that are no longer widely practiced or have ceased altogether. In other cases, the elders begin describing a tradition or custom in the past tense and then move into present tense. In the overall text Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking is described in the present tense unless otherwise noted. It is my observation that many members of Káínai

continue to adhere to Káínai values, traditions and customs albeit to varying degrees. The structures of family, clan and societies remain intact for the most part, given some families struggle to function as a unit of support and social control amidst an array of contemporary social and economic issues and historical changes. Little Bear (2007) has made similar observations and believes that in spite of the historical changes, the values, relationships and traditions, for the most part, remain as the foundational base upon which Káínai society operates. He observes that the values and traditions are still a part of the “tacit infrastructure” of Káínai although the younger generations may find it difficult to articulate them (Personal communication).

The reader will also note that the elders discuss peacekeeping at greater length than peacemaking. Some of the practices around peacemaking are ceremonial in nature and can only be discussed in a general manner. Furthermore, the elders’ focus seems to reflect the philosophy of Káínai justice wherein if the emphasis is placed on keeping the peace then disruptions of the social order would be infrequent and consequently few instances of peacemaking would be required. In the words of *Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw* (2006): “The elders did not wait for something to go wrong. They offered counseling, advice and warnings at every opportunity to ensure that young people did not go astray.” Like other aspects of Káínai life, peacekeeping and peacemaking are process oriented. More time and resources are devoted to creating and maintaining relationships thereby effecting order and harmony within the Tribe, which eventually results in achieving the ultimate goal of balance within the system.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of *Káínai*/Blood Tribe (the Tribe) intended to provide the social context for the study of *Káínai* peacekeeping and peacemaking. Following, is the explanation of the need for the study, as well as its purpose and significance, and then a brief outline of the organization of the thesis is provided.

Overview of Káínai/Blood Tribe

Territory.

The social context of *Káínai* peacekeeping and peacemaking is rooted in the traditional land and as such traditional political values derive from the Creator and the land. *Káínai* is located today in southern Alberta, on an 876 square kilometer reserve within its traditional territory. *Káínai* is one of four First Nations who share a common language, culture and traditional territory and refer to themselves as *Niitsítapi*, the Real People. Other members of the *Niitsítapi* are *Aapátóhsipikani* (Peigan), *Siksikáá* (Blackfoot) and *Aamsskáápipikani* (South Peigan or Montana Blackfeet). Also commonly referred to as the Blackfoot Confederacy, their territory extends from the area of the North Saskatchewan River, *Aapátóhsitahtai*, to the Yellowstone River, *Otahkóítahtai*, in the now state of Montana and west from the Rockies, *Miistákistsí* to the Great Sand Hills, *Ómahksspatsiko*, in Saskatchewan (*Káínai* elders, personal communication, 1994; Blackfoot Gallery Committee, 2001). The traditional territory features a varied landscape of mountains, plains, river valleys, and buttes.

Social organization.

The social structure of Káínai was multi-layered and included the family, the clans, the age-grade societies and the Tribe. Leadership was non-hierarchical and situational; leaders were selected based on their skills, knowledge and suitability as dictated by the situation. For example, a seasoned warrior with experience in trade may be approached to lead a trade expedition, or a diplomatic clan leader may be asked to lead treaty discussions. Each clan selected its leaders who represented them within the Tribe. Each of the societies had their own leader. Their roles and functions were interdependent and complemented one another to help maintain peace, order, and balance within the Tribe. Today, the social structure remains intact and continues to reflect the traditions. However, the political leadership is now elected according to the *Káínaiwa/Blood Tribe Election Bylaw and Regulations, 1995*, and is tied into the *Indian Act, 1985*.

Historical changes.

For many years, the Blackfoot resisted the establishment of forts in the heart of their territory (Ewers, 1958, pp. 45-71; pp. 196-204). Consequently, the traders built their forts along the periphery of Blackfoot territory (Conaty, 2004a, p. 5-6). While the Blackfoot had been trading directly with the Whites for approximately 75 years by the 1850s, the only white men in Blackfoot country were traders (Ewers, 1958, pp. 70-71). Nevertheless, the Blackfoot were becoming dependent on the trade (Ewers, 1958, pp. 70-71) and European products were creating many changes. The small pox epidemics of 1780-81, 1837-38 and 1869-70 devastated their population (Dempsey, 1976, pp. 59-60; Kehoe, 1999, pp. 36-40). It is estimated that these epidemics killed a quarter to two thirds of the population. By the 1870s, the bison herds were greatly reduced as a result of

European demand for buffalo hides, the United States government policy of extermination (Ewers, 1958, p. 278) and Canada's tacit acceptance of this policy. The demise of the buffalo effectively destroyed the traditional economy and compromised Káínai political autonomy.

In 1877, Káínai along with Piikani and Siksiká, entered into treaty with the British Crown, the Confederacy having previously made treaty with the United States government in 1855. Káínai believed that through treaty their traditional way of life would be protected and that relations with the newcomers would be peaceful and mutually beneficial (Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council, Hildebrandt, Carter & First Rider, 1996, pp. 111-113). By 1880, the Blood Reserve had been established and Chief Red Crow led Káínai in the shift to an agricultural economy. Káínai did not realize that the British Crown regarded the treaty as land surrender and that the Crown had claimed sovereignty over Káínai lands and lives. After 1877, Káínai life came to be regulated by British colonial law and influenced by European values. Káínai political systems came under attack by the colonial government when leaders failed to act in accordance with the dictates of the Indian agent (Chief Crop Eared Wolf Papers, 1906 - 1913).

Children were removed from families, placed in residential schools under the threat of law, and indoctrinated in European values (Tobias, 1977). The residential schools isolated the younger generations from family and community, denying them the benefit of a Káínai upbringing.

Efforts to develop an alternate economy between 1880 and 1920 were stifled by colonial government policy and practice and by competing third party interests. Such as the failure of the Department of Indian Affairs to provide cattle to the Tribe, as provided

for in the terms of Treaty 7 despite numerous requests and alleged improprieties regarding the leasing of Blood Tribe lands (Wilson, 1921). Some reserve lands set aside by treaty were alienated from the Tribe between 1883 and 1928. The commission of these acts has resulted in the Blood Tribe taking legal action against the federal crown such as the current CPR case and the now settled Akers Claim. The leadership of Káínai remained within the *Mamíaooyiksi* (Fish Eater clan) from 1750 to 1996 for a span of almost 250 years. This has been attributed to a need for a link with the past, the leaders' adherence to traditional values and practices of leadership, as well as a firm commitment to protecting the land base and political rights ("A History," 1983). Despite the imposition of British colonial rule in 1877 and the effort to control every aspect of Káínai life, Káínai's legacy of commitment to protecting its social, political and land rights continues to inform its strategic and development policy today.

Contemporary economic, political and administrative systems.

The present membership of Káínai, numbers approximately 10,000, with the majority residing in six different communities on the reserve and a small percentage living off reserve. The economy is agriculture-based, with wheat being the main crop. Other sources of economic revenue and employment include cattle ranching, oil and gas, small business, as well as the Blood Tribe Administration and corporate entities. The Blood Tribe is governed by the *Indian Act, 1985* and by its own internal legislation drawing on *Káínayssini* as a source of authority. It relates with the Canadian government through the Treaty of 1877. Káínai leadership is elected pursuant to a custom election code, the *Káínaiwa/Blood Tribe Election Bylaw and Regulations, 1995*. Various boards

and corporate entities deliver social and economic programs including agriculture, oil and gas, health, education and child protection services (Blood Tribe, 2004).

The administration of justice.

The Blood Tribe operates a correctional facility, Káínai Community Corrections Center, managed by an elected board of Káínai members and funded through an agreement between the Tribe and the Government of Alberta. The Káínai crime prevention program is culture-based and is guided by an Elders Advisory Committee. The Blood Tribe Police Service provides policing on reserve and retains elder advisors on staff who provide guidance to the police service and advice on matters of cultural protocol. The Blood Tribe Police Commission, established in 1980, is comprised of five community members and oversees police services in accordance with the *Blood Tribe Police Bylaw, 1994* and a funding agreement with Canada and Alberta (Blood Tribe, 2004).

Currently Káínai operates the Community Options Program, *Ásíimohki* and the Káínai Youth Justice Program. Under the *Ásíimohki* program, a panel comprised of community members, including elders, makes recommendations to the court for sentencing on cases regarding domestic violence or other summary offences. It also has the capacity to take cases referred to it by the Blood Tribe Police. The committee also serves as a healing circle and works collectively to develop a case plan for the offender and the victim as well as their families. The Káínai Youth Justice Program, established under the *Youth Criminal Justice Act, 2004*, takes referrals from the courts and the crown and provides for community input in sentencing.

Like many communities in Canada, Káínai has its share of social problems. Statistics indicate that the most common reasons for police investigations are breach of peace, common assault and liquor offenses (Blood Tribe, 2007). A recent survey of Blood Tribe members identified alcohol and drug abuse, community and family violence, lack of employment, poverty, lack of programs, and lack of parenting skills as areas of primary concern (Blood Tribe, 2005). As part of a community development plan, a task force was established to address social problems comprehensively.

Káínayssini.

In 1988 the Constitution Committee, a committee of Council, and community resource people assisted the elders in drafting a declaration, entitled *Káínayssini*, which translates as “the essence of being Káínai.” In this document, the elders articulated a plan intended to ensure the survival of Káínai calling for the preservation and promotion of culture, language, land and political jurisdiction. This is the impetus for Káínai’s attempts to incorporate the tribal principles of *Káínayssini*, in its governance, administration and program delivery. *Káínayssini* considered the constitution is referenced as a source of political authority in all Káínai laws and agreements. Efforts to involve elders in all areas of programming and development include establishing advisory boards, elders’ seats on some management boards, and general consultation. The acceptance of *Káínayssini* as a guideline for governance and community development and the heavy reliance on the elders’ knowledge through their involvement in the social, economic and political spheres of community indicates a belief by Káínai that within their values, traditions, and traditional institutions lay some means of addressing current issues and social problems.

Problem Statement

Aside from oral tradition within the Kainai community, very little is known about traditional Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. While ethnography and some legal studies have dealt with the customary laws of other indigenous peoples such as the Comanche (Hoebel, 1940), Cheyenne (Llewellyn & Hoebel, 1967/1941), Athapaskan (Hippler & Conn, 1972) and the Dene (Ryan, 1995), no study on the specific topic of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking exists. Ethnographic studies focusing on the Blackfoot include descriptions of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking, however, their primary focus is the broader subject of Blackfoot culture (Ewers, 1955, 1958; Maclean, 1892; Wissler, 1910, 1911, 1915), or the specific topics of ceremonies (Wissler, 1913, 1917, 1918, 1975), legends and mythology (Grinnell, 2003/1962; Wissler, 1908, 1909), personal narratives (McClintock, 1992/1910; Shultz, 1907, 1912, 1916, 1930) and economics (Hanks & Hanks, 1950). The ethnographies are either specific to one or general to all four nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy. Recent academic literature pertaining to Blackfoot “justice” presents a current day procedural model for decision making and mediating (Crowshoe & Manneschmidt, 2002) and examines sociological theories of community as applied to “Blackfoot Justice Circles” (Hanlon, 1999). They do not however provide descriptions or explanations of the procedural or functional aspects of traditional Blackfoot or Káínai peacekeeping or peacemaking.

The problem, as I see it, is that knowledge of Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking is limited to fragmentary descriptions in the Blackfoot ethnographies of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Furthermore, the extant characterization of Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking is a reflection of the views held by

Western European society and non-native academics about Indigenous people, which have been described as biased (e.g. Barrett, 1996; Pospisil, 1971). Ethnographers for instance were influenced by the Western cultural perspective and the theoretical orientations of anthropology during the relevant time-period. As a result, the prevailing anthropological theories of culture, human development and law were Eurocentric in nature, in turn, determining the nature of the studies conducted and the interpretations made of the data (Barrett, 1996; Henderson, 2000; Ingold, 2002; Pospisil, 1971; Roberts, 2002). The absence of literature accurately representing Káínai or Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking is a major gap this thesis seeks to fill.

Purpose of the Study

What is needed is a firsthand account of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking revealing its true nature and function, which dispels the existing representation and incorrect image of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking present in the ethnographic literature. The customs, traditions, attendant beliefs and values at work in Káínai society as well as the processes used to maintain and restore peace and balance, can then be understood. The purpose of this research is to identify and comprehend Káínai ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking that are rooted in Káínai culture, within the context of the Káínai worldview and from the perspective of Káínai. Káínai have direct knowledge of their peacekeeping and peacemaking system and are arguably in the best position to describe and explain its practices and its processes. The study asks the question: What were the Káínai ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking and how did they function? Additional lines of inquiry were pursued to elaborate upon the social rules, how the social order was kept intact, as well as highlighting the preventative measures in place. Also

considered were wrongdoings, sanctions that were in place for rule breakers disrupting the social order, and the processes used to restore the peace in those cases. I also sought to know to what extent Káínai traditions of peacekeeping and peacemaking are still in practice.

The Káínai Justice Working Group, comprised of a representative of the Kainai Council, administrative staff and legal counsel, assisted in identifying the interview topics and reviewing the interview guide. Their principal interests were family law, youth, and dispute resolution. The Working Group will utilize the research compiled through the elders' conversations, with the elders' consent, in developing a Káínai peacemaking model suitable for contemporary needs in the administration of justice.

Significance of the Study

The results of this study will add to the knowledge base about aboriginal justice issues; specifically, it will provide a greater understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. It will also contribute to the development of the existing justice component of the Káínai community development strategy by offering a foundation for the creation of a peacemaking model rooted in Káínai traditions and customs that reflect Káínai values when addressing contemporary needs in the administration of justice within the Káínai community.

Native studies scholarship fulfills the need to educate both scholars and the public (Fixico, 2003, p. 119) and creates greater understanding of Native American issues as well as building mutually beneficial relationships across cultures and between nations.

Definitions

In this study, *Blackfoot* or *Niitsítapi* refers to all four First Nations of the Blackfoot

Confederacy. The term *Indigenous* is used, as it is generally understood, in a global context and in reference to the tribal people of the world who continue to follow Indigenous ways. *Native American* is particular to the Indigenous people of North America. *Peacekeeping* refers to the keeping of peace, order, and harmony within the family, clan, and the Tribe whereas *peacemaking* refers to the restoration of peace, order, and harmony where the order has been disrupted and the social harmony becomes unbalanced. *Elder* is used in the context of the Blackfoot term, *áwaaahskata*, in reference to tribal members who have gained knowledge and attained wisdom through the practice of Káínai traditional ways and are called upon by family, clan, and the Tribe for advice, guidance, prayers and ceremony. *Environment* refers to the entirety of plants, animals, birds, minerals, waters and the skies that comprise Káínai's world. They are also referred to as *other beings* or *other inhabitants*.

Organization of Thesis

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter Two is the methodology: a Native American process of inquiry was utilized which bears similarities to a qualitative research methodology, similarities that are explored and linked as a way of bridging the Indigenous and Western methods of inquiry (Colorado, 1988, pp. 49-68; Fleras, 2004, pp. 117-127; Kovachs, 2006, p. 170). Postcolonial Indigenous theory provides a theoretical framework for the study. Chapter Three is the literature review. It examines how Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking is addressed in the literature, explores whether the literature assists in creating an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking and identifies gaps in the knowledge of the subject. Chapter 4 presents the conversations with the elders and is their telling of Káínai peacekeeping and

peacemaking. Chapter 5 is an interpretation of the elders' account based on the interpretative framework of the Káinai worldview while chapter six is the summary and conclusions of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Process of Inquiry

A Native American process of inquiry is a product of the Native American worldview, and as such, it embodies the ontological and epistemological views of Native American society. While respecting that there are differences in conceptions of the world and ways of knowing among Native American tribes, certain commonalities exist that allow us to speak, in general terms, of a Native American worldview.

Ontology

The Native American conception of reality is characterized by the principles of an animate universe, flux, relationships, and renewal. Land features prominently in Native American ontology and language characterizes and effects perceptions and experiences of the nature of the universe (Cajete, 2000; Little Bear, 2000a, 2000b, 2004).

Native Americans observe and experience the world as animate, all of its components are perceived as having spirit. All of creation including animals, rocks, the earth, the sun, and the moon are imbued with the same life force and therefore related (Little Bear, 2000a, 2000b, 2004). Native Americans have observed and experienced the interconnectedness among all of the components of the cosmos, which include themselves. In sum, they perceive the universe as an integrated “whole;” an interrelated universe where what happens to one component of this integral whole affects all the others.

The continuous cycles of creation and dispersal, or the flux, within life and nature, have also been observed and experienced by Native Americans. They have come to know and accept the unpredictability or constant change inherent in life and nature, making

individuals cognizant of the need to maintain the balance and thus perpetuate life, as they know it (Little Bear, 2000b, 2004). Relationships based on respect and reciprocity with creation help to maintain the harmony and balance needed to sustain life. Renewal is central to maintaining the balance and continuation of life and is accomplished through prayer and ceremony. Through prayer and the gift of ceremony received from the other inhabitants, the people seek to do their part in replicating the order, maintaining balance, and renewing reality.

Cajete (2000) and Little Bear (2000a, 2000b, 2004) liken these Native American perceptions of the world to similar principles found in physics; that of a live universe in constant flux and interconnected in a myriad of interdependent relationships.

Peat (1993) also recognized the operating principles of the Native American worldview that make for its coherence and noted similarities with the nature of reality as discovered by quantum physics:

Native American philosophy and metaphysics is profound and far-reaching. Moreover, its traditional knowledge is holistic, exhibiting no fragmentation between science and spirituality, medicine, and law, social order and ecological balance. Thus, the Circle ... found throughout North America as an image of completion, return, and renewal. The circle also expresses the nature of time and ... the transformation of form; for whatever is created moves from its birth toward maturity, death, and eventual renewal. Thus all aspects of life are constantly moving and seeking balance, the one giving way to the other The metaphysics of the Algonquin peoples, for example (the Blackfoot, Cree, Cheyenne ...) refers to a world of process and animation; a world in which energies, spirits and powers enter into alliances with each other and with human beings [Yet] how close the Algonquin worldview appears to the process philosophy of A. N. Whitehead, the holomovement and implicate order of David Bohm and the discoveries of quantum theory. (p. 3)

The interconnectedness of reality discovered in the field of physics (Capra, 1997, 2000, 2002; Lazlo, 2006; Knudtson & Suzuki, 1992) is also being observed in other

empirical sciences such as biology, ecology, and consciousness research (Capra, 1997, 2002; Dossey, 1989; Laszlo, 2006). Laszlo (2006) explains the interconnectedness, coherence and life of the world as observed by empirical science:

The findings that delineate the new picture of the world come from almost all of the empirical sciences: from physics and cosmology, from the life sciences, even from consciousness research. Although their subject matters differ, their findings have a common thrust. They disclose *interaction* that creates *interconnection* and produces instant and multifaceted *coherence*. The hallmark of a system of such coherence is that its parts are correlated in such a way that what happens to one part also happens to the other parts – hence it happens to the system as a whole. The system responds to the rest of the world as a whole, maintains itself as a whole and changes and evolves as a whole. (p. 7) (Emphasis in original)

Laszlo (2006) notes that the view of the “cosmos as a coherent, integral whole” is also perceived by medicine men, priests, shamans, seers and sages, through “mystical, religious, or aesthetic experience” (p. 2).

Capra (1997, 2002) advances the application of the relational network concept or systems thinking to social theory, to the study of social phenomena and human culture. Deloria (Deloria, Foehner, & Scinta, 1999) also sees the relational network as a way of theorizing, as an interpretative tool for examining and understanding social phenomena and issues particular to the Native American world (p. 34). For Bird-David (2002) animism and relatedness is “relational epistemology,” or a relational way of knowing (p. 21). Turner (2006) describes the Native American perception and practice of relatedness with the universe as the *kincentric* view. Hence the need to consider relationships as a central aspect of the Native American worldview and as a viable process for examining, interpreting and understanding social phenomena and Native American issues.

Land, in the sense of place, is another key aspect of Native American reality. It is on and within the land that the people come to know the world and define themselves. The

land is considered alive and capable of entering into relationships with the people. Relationships with the land and all of the other living forms are characterized by respect and reciprocity. The identity and culture of the people is closely linked to their relationship with the land. The origin stories located the people on the land, defined relationships and gave instructions concerning the people's responsibilities. Over time the land became a testimony of the people's presence, places where special events and experiences occurred were recorded physically on the land with rock formations, *aksstáán* and in the memories and stories of the people (Cajete, 2000; Little Bear, 2004).

Language, described as process-based and reflective of the notion of constant motion (Little Bear, 2000b, 2006), is a medium of communication which Whorf (1956) believed defines and recreates reality. Rappaport (1999) observes that the social worlds that people live in are "constructed out of symbolically conceived and performatively established cosmologies, institutions, rules and values All of these concepts are reified, made into *res*, real 'things' by social actions contingent upon language" (pp. 8-9).

A Way of Knowing

For Native Americans, knowledge is based on and derived from everyday experiences, relationships, language, the oral tradition/stories, dreams and ceremony. Elders are also a primary source of knowledge as they embody, *áístomatoomiaaw*, the oral tradition. Types of knowledge include individual and collective knowledge, which is available to all Kainai; as well as deep knowledge, which is restricted to practitioners of the sacred (Little Bear, personal communication, 2007).

Knowledge is gained through life experience and through relationships. Parents, grandparents, older brothers and sisters demonstrate and instruct young people in the

necessary social, economic and political knowledge required for successful life in the community. Friends also provide knowledge, while mentors offer specialized teachings. Elders offer learning throughout life and they themselves continue to acquire new and greater understandings of life. Life is regarded as a constantly unfolding mystery, *iksistska'pinipáitapiiysin*, which may never be fully understood. Language and stories embody the ontological view, values, traditions and customs and as such continuously orient and instruct community members. Dreams provide instructions through revelations, which are explicit or symbolic. The vision quest is a quest for deep knowledge that provides individuals access to greater realms of knowing. The knowledge gained is personal knowledge that equips one with the power to meet life's challenges, to excel and thereby enable one to assist family, clan and fellow tribal members. In other instances, gifts of knowledge and ceremony received in visions are specifically intended to assist the people as a whole and create relationships between the people and the source of knowledge. Prayer, song and ceremony allow sacred practitioners to gain access to the deeper realms of knowledge needed for continued learning and successful living for self, community and the environment.

Ways to validate knowledge include everyday experience, collective experience and “multi-sourcing” (Little Bear, 2006). Collective knowledge is manifested in traditions and customs. Little Bear explains multi-sourcing as occurring when several individuals have had a similar experience or observations that are instructive of the nature or characteristics of natural, social or other phenomena. This may be compared to the Western practice of triangulation that accepts at least three strands of empirical evidence to validate data (Little Bear, personal communication, 2007).

Other means of validating knowledge include dreams, ceremony and renewal. Reoccurring symbols and patterns found in dreams that give consistently correct predictions or revelations validate dreams as a source for gaining knowledge. Ceremonies renew Native American premises about the functioning of the relational network. If humans conduct themselves and fulfill their responsibilities in accordance with the parameters of their relationships with other inhabitants of the world, balance and harmony within the system will be maintained. Renewal is similar to the repetition of experiments, used in Western science to establish reliability of premises about how the world works (Little Bear, 2006; Little Bear, personal communication, 2007). Through the performance of ceremony, in accordance with the original instructions in the dream, a physical change occurs, such as a healing. This validates reality. Renewal thus establishes the reliability of premises about how the world functions.

Knowledge is primarily qualitative, emphasizing experiential learning. Validity is not reliant on measurement and quantification. For Native Americans, the notion of constant flux precludes certainty: what is true today may not be so tomorrow, therefore the constant need for renewal (Little Bear, personal communication, 2007). Knowledge is not definitive or absolute.

Cultural values, such as honesty and truthfulness, influence the way that validation is perceived. For Native Americans the premise is that a person's perceptions or observations are reliable unless found to be otherwise (Little Bear, personal communication, 2007). A person's reputation is also a factor in perceptions of reliability. In Western knowledge systems, positivism in particular, the standard for establishing reliability is "falsification" through empirical observation.

Kovach (2006), in her survey of recent Indigenous scholarship, which included Bastien (1999) and Stevenson (2000), identifies the following as reflective of an indigenous epistemology: values of respect, relationships, and reciprocity, a holistic, sacred approach to knowledge that is based on empirical and ontological knowing and an understanding of Indigenous language and its interrelationship with thought and cultural ways. Other aspects include traditional methodologies for the attainment of knowledge evidenced by traditional economic practices, ceremony and ritual and the sense of place and kinship to the land (pp. 17-36). Descriptions and explanations of Indigenous thought whether they are expressed as ontology, epistemology, philosophy or native science consistently reflect similar characteristics (Bastien, 2004; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; Cajete, 2000; Deloria, et. al. 1999; Henderson, 2000; Hernandez, 1999; Little Bear, 2000a, 2000b, 2004; Meyer, 2001; Smith, 2006).

For each Native American society, there is a specific process of inquiry with specific principles and protocols for seeking and gaining knowledge (Little Bear, 2006).

A Káínai Process of Inquiry

In conducting this research, I followed the traditional Káínai protocol for seeking knowledge. The following are its principles and practices.

Approaching a person of knowledge.

When a person wishes to know something of importance, he or she will seek out a knowledgeable person for purposes of making an inquiry, *ákapssopowahtsi'si*. A person of knowledge is said to be wise, *mokáki*. The person is approached and presented with a gift of tobacco. Tobacco has special significance and is a medium for discourse. Its presentation indicates that one is seeking to engage in discussions of a serious nature.

Other types of gifts may also be given. The giving of a gift is referred to as *ini'stotowa* meaning to treat kindly. Gift giving is a custom that creates, acknowledges and nurtures relationships. Upon calling on the elders, each was presented with tobacco and a gift to open conversation, to acknowledge the sharing of their knowledge and our existing relationship.

Who to approach.

Participants were selected from the Blood Tribe community; there were three female and two male elders ranging in age from 59 to 90 years. The elders who agreed to share their knowledge with me are individuals whom I have known most of my life, and with whom I have some type of kinship, *nikso'koayaa*. Within Káinai protocol it is *kínna ki kiksíssta* (your father and mother), *kaaáhsiksi* (grandparents), *ki'siksi* (older brothers) who are responsible for teaching you. They are your primary sources of gaining knowledge. Next are elders of the community in general who have the specific knowledge that you are seeking. In matters touching on deep knowledge it is the ceremonial grandparents, *aaáwaahskataiks*, whom you approach. The elders who shared their knowledge with me fulfilled all of these requirements. They are known and recognized in the community as persons of knowledge. The elders participating in this study indicated that the subject matters they have addressed are common knowledge among tribal members within their age group and background and that their role in this research was simply to articulate this knowledge.

Validating knowledge.

At the beginning of their conversations with me, the elders identify themselves by name, identify me by name and then restate what I have asked of them. They then state

that they will attempt to relay, “what I know of the matter,” *nináóhkanistssksinii’pi*. They reference their knowledge by naming parents, grandparents, clan members or other tribal members from whom they learned. *Átso’toaw* refers to this as *ínapannssini*, meaning they are “giving public testimony.” This is standard practice when one tells a story or passes on knowledge.

Acknowledging the limitations of one’s knowledge.

An elder will only speak on those matters that he or she is knowledgeable about, and he or she may send you to someone else who they deem the greater authority. This occurred when *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* sent me to *Otahkóóksikinakim*, although I had approached both of them for participation in this project. When I visited with *Otahkóóksikinakim*, he recommended that I should speak with *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* on certain matters. In their conversations with me, they all acknowledged one another as being wise and knowledgeable.

Elders are reluctant to speak to matters that they did not have direct experience with or knowledge of and therefore may say, “I have never heard the story about that,” *nimáátonowahtsimatoo’pa* or “I did not experience that,” *nimátsistotookoo*. These practices are a means of validating knowledge and ensuring that tribal knowledge maintains its integrity. In this way Káínai culture and history is protected and preserved for future generations. These practices are also motivated by the tribal principles of truthfulness and honesty.

Knowledge has a purpose.

For Káínai, knowledge has a specific purpose, intended to move people further along the road toward self-improvement and community improvement. Knowledge is the

medium through which one comes to understand life and must be treated with respect and used with care, particularly deep knowledge. Knowledge is often gifted and reveals how one is to live in balance. Knowledge is gained through your body, mind and spirit. It is shared to safeguard and perpetuate *káinaayo'ssini* and maintain the relational network.

I explained the reason for conducting this study to each of the elders I approached and all were pleased to be a part of the project. Their involvement extends to the greater Káínai project, which will see the development of a justice model with a focus on peacemaking. *Átso'toaw* also saw this as an opportunity for the First Nation to be able to tell its own story, to dispel stereotypes and negative images portrayed by the non-Indigenous world and to educate our own people, especially the youth. All the elders see this as a good opportunity to be able to utilize traditional practices of keeping the peace and resolving disputes, to assist the community and in particular, the youth who frequently find themselves in conflict with Canadian law.

Sitting with the elders.

When two individuals or a small group gathers to discuss important issues, this is referred to as *ohpokópiima* in Blackfoot, “sitting together.” I sat with each of the elders over a period of four months from July 2006 to October 2006. I had preliminary visits with some of them to discuss the project and ask for their assistance in 2005. The purpose of the research was explained to each of them and their assistance requested. They all gave verbal consent to share their knowledge with me, assist me with my studies, and assist with the development of a Káínai peacemaking model.

Each elder's visit varied in length from two to five days, as their schedules permitted. One to six days were also set aside for each elder to review draft copies of the

research report and the thesis. I was able to ask questions on areas where I was not clear, or to obtain more detail. However, there were a few limitations on some elders' time and I was not able to have as extensive a conversation as I would have liked with those individuals.

While it is not customary to utilize an interview guide in the traditional Káínai protocol, in this instance one was developed and served to guide the conversations (see Appendix A). The guide was developed after two preliminary unstructured conversations with two key elders and in consultation with the Káínai Justice Working Group. A letter of introduction, attached as Appendix B, was also used to guide my initial contact with each of elders who participated in this study. While I had a consent form, it was not used as the elders chose to provide verbal consent.

Most of the interviews were audio taped with the permission of the elders in addition to notes taken. For those interviews not tape-recorded, notes were taken. These audio recordings will be made available to the elders, and the Blood Tribe Tribal Government Department for use in the Justice Initiative, and for archival purposes with the elders' consent.

Indirect references.

O'tapítanii refers to the practice of indirect reference. On sensitive issues as in sacred matters, direct reference is not advisable and in some instances not permissible. This practice is based on consideration for the power of the word, relationships of respect or efforts to maintain the harmony in relationships. I have utilized this practice in areas I deem to be sensitive matters.

Indirect reference is also a feature of general discourse in Káínai society. A speaker

or storyteller may not specifically link concepts, ideas, events or causalities leaving the listener to make his or her own connections, reasoning and draw conclusions.

Testing.

An elder may test you to see if you have clearly understood the knowledge he or she shared by posing direct or indirect questions or testing you, *kitáaksskssopwahtsi'sakka ka kitáaksístssksook*. This allows for verification. It also assists in gauging your degree of understanding and determining the amount and nature of information to be shared.

Testing is a style of teaching employed by some elders.

Reporting back.

It is understood that you will report to the elder as to the outcome of your quest for knowledge. The elder may ask, “*Támokskitsinikookit*,” meaning, “Would you relay back to me the outcome?” This recognizes your responsibilities and provides for accountability.

Shared Principles

While this study is rooted in a Native American process of inquiry a comparison with a qualitative study approach demonstrates how both processes of inquiry adhere to common principles regarding the purpose and process of seeking knowledge.

Qualitative research methodology.

Qualitative research methods, based on interpretative social science approaches, are described in their orientation as non-positivist, utilizing logic in practice and following a non-linear path (Neuman, 1997, p. 330). This perspective fits well with Káínai ways of obtaining knowledge. Like a non-positivist perspective, Káínai ways emphasize

experiential learning and hold that human experience cannot necessarily be understood through measurement and quantification.

In addressing logic in practice or logic of how research is actually carried out

Neuman (1997) states:

The logic is based on judgment calls or norms shared among experienced researchers. It depends on an informal folk wisdom passed among researchers when they gather together ... to discuss doing research. Qualitative research uses more of logic in practice it relies on the informal wisdom that has developed from the experiences of researchers. Many researchers learned how to research by reading many reports, by trial and error, and by working in apprentice roles with a more experienced researcher. (p. 330)

This path of obtaining knowledge sounds similar to the Káinai process of inquiry.

Evident are the elements of experience, interdependence, persons of knowledge teaching and training others who then become practitioners of specialized knowledge and responsible for its preservation and dissemination, and extended kinships passing on teachings and practices from generation to generation.

Importance of context.

In qualitative research social context is crucial for understanding the social world and social action, and making sense of actions or statements depends on the context in which they appear, otherwise “social meaning and significance are distorted” (Neuman, 1997, p. 331). Similarly, a researcher must “note what came before or what surrounds the focus of the study ... the same events or behaviors can have different meaning in different cultures or historical eras” (Neuman, 1997, p. 331).

Similarly, context is a critical aspect of a Native American research process as it is necessary to understand the social, cultural, ecological, and political environment within which Native American people live their lives and how they interrelate with the various

components of that environment. Without a proper context, a fragmented or inaccurate picture would emerge. It would be difficult to make sense of social action.

Interviews.

Semi-structured interviews allow the respondent to take the interview in whatever direction develops. The interviewer may follow leads, as appropriate. Although I used an interview guide (see Appendix A) to focus the conversations that I held with the Káínai elders, they followed the discursive style of Káínai, which allows the elder to speak at length on the topic identified without any interruption on the part of the inquirer. Once the elder has concluded his or her account, it is then possible to ask for clarification, or request additional information. As each elder was someone I had known over time, the visits took on the nature of extended dialogues rather than formal interviews, which can sometimes be stilted and difficult. A letter of introduction was used to guide my initial contact with each of elders who participated in this study (see Appendix B).

Neuman (1997) states:

In field interviews, members express themselves in forms in which they normally speak, think and organize reality ... the focus is on the member's perspective and experiences. A researcher retains members' jokes and narrative stories in their natural form and does not repackage them into a standardized format (p. 372).

The interviews were conducted in the Blackfoot language, which were then translated into English and transcribed at the same time. I am fluent in the Blackfoot language and am familiar with the Káínai culture, which was instrumental in maintaining the integrity of the information provided by the elders. In presenting their knowledge, I have chosen to have the elders speak for themselves, as much as possible, utilizing extensive quotes.

Participants.

Ideal participants are characterized as members who are “totally familiar with the culture and in a position to witness significant events ... having years of intimate experience ... are available for extensive interviews; and are non-analytical” (Neuman, 1997, p. 374). Bernard (1994) differs with Neuman here and advocates training participants “to conceptualize cultural data in the frame of reference employed by the anthropologist ... Teach the informant about the analytic categories you are developing and ask whether they are correct” (p. 166). The participants were selected based on their expansive and in depth knowledge of Káínai culture and history; some have worked in the criminal justice area, which also informed their observations. According to Bernard (1994), “Ethnography relies on a few key informants rather than on a representative sample. Informants are selected for their competence rather than just for their representativeness” (p. 165). Bernard’s criterion for the selection of participants is reflective of the qualitative study approach. While in this study, the elders are not considered “informants” but rather participants and teachers, similar criteria applies in their selection. According to the Káínai process for gaining knowledge, individuals with specialized knowledge and wisdom emerge and come to be recognized as persons of knowledge. The community relies on them for instruction and guidance. These are the people one approaches when seeking knowledge.

Interpretation.

Neuman (1997) speaks to point of view stating:

A qualitative researcher interprets data by giving them meaning, translating them, or making them understandable. However the meaning he or she gives begins with the point of view of the people being studied. He or she interprets data by finding out

how the people ... define the situation, or what it means for them. (p. 335)

The first step is to learn about the meaning of the social action for the people concerned. A researcher then, attempts to reconstruct the people's point of view, referred to as first-order interpretation, he or she tries to bring out "an underlying coherence" (p. 335) by placing the subject matter in its context. A researcher may stop at this point or may link his or her interpretation, referred to also as a second-order interpretation, to general theory (p. 335).

Native American research holds that research topics concerning Native American issues are best understood within the worldview of Native American societies, only then can their meanings emerge. Direct knowledge and experience are valid sources of information and knowledge. Interpretive social science theory also "sees the unique features of specific contexts and meanings as essential to understand social meaning. Evidence about social action cannot be isolated from the context in which it occurs or the meanings assigned to it by the social actors involved" (Neuman, 1997, p. 72). Interpretive social science holds that social phenomena and social action are best understood within their context, within the worldview or the lived experience of the people concerned (Gertz, 1973; Neuman, 1997; Van Manen, 1990).

Neuman's (1997) description of interpretative social science theory particularly as concerns its form and its intent expresses an affinity with a Native American process of inquiry:

Positivists believe that social theory should be similar to natural science theory with deductive axioms, theorems, and interconnected causal laws. Instead of a maze of interconnected laws and propositions, theory for interpretive social science tells a story. Interpretive social theory describes and interprets how people conduct their daily lives. It contains concepts and limited generalizations, but it does not

dramatically depart from the experience and inner reality of the people being studied (pp. 70-71) ... Interpretative theory gives the reader a feel for another's social reality. The theory does this by revealing the meanings, values, interpretative schemes, and rules of living used by people in their daily lives. (p. 71)

The interpretative approach gives rise to research techniques that are “sensitive to context, that use various methods to get inside the ways others see the world, and ... are more concerned with achieving an empathetic understanding of feelings and worldviews than with testing laws of human behavior” (Neuman, 1997, p. 73). Interpretive social science techniques include hermeneutics, constructivism, phenomenological, and qualitative sociology (Morse, 1994; Neuman, 1997).

Research integrity.

A researcher's integrity is an issue of concern for the qualitative researcher as well as for the Native American person seeking knowledge. Checks on qualitative researchers include confirming research, internal consistency, volumes of detailed written notes with sources identified, quotes, maps and diagrams. Another check would be the ability of the study group to read the reports that are generated (Neuman, 1997, p. 333). The greatest check on the Native American person seeking knowledge within his or her own community is personal integrity and the rules for obtaining and passing on knowledge. For Káínai this includes a sincere personal commitment to learn as expressed through *sopówahtsiyssini*, the process of inquiry. There is also the requirement for public testimony *únapannssini*, when referring to your acquired knowledge or when passing it onto others. This entails stating who you learned from, identifying them by name and indicating the particulars regarding how you came to possess the knowledge you are about to address.

Bridging Methodologies

Indigenous scholars believe that Indigenous and Western research processes need to be able to communicate and be complementary. Kovach (2006) suggests that once Indigenous researchers have centered their studies within an Indigenous research paradigm, they may then select Western methodologies that may be compatible, such as qualitative research including critical theory, grounded theory, or action-based research (Kovach, 2006, p. 170). Colorado (1988) and Fleras (2004) agree that Indigenous research processes and Western centered research need to build bridges and find a way to coexist (pp. 49-68; p. 117-127). Postcolonial Indigenous theory, an emerging critical theory, provides the theoretical framework for this thesis.

Postcolonial Indigenous Theory

A brief overview of postcolonial theory will place a discussion of postcolonial Indigenous theory in context. Stover (2002) notes that in any scholarly work concerning Indigenous traditions the issue of “prejudicial understandings of European American culture” (p. 175) arises. He explains:

Since academic thinking and writing have long been situated within the prevailing intellectual norms of Europeans or European-derived cultures and since these norms have long been oriented around the colonizing interests of these cultures, it is necessary to recognize that the heritage of academic discourse includes colonizing patterns of perceiving and describing indigenous realities. (p. 175)

According to Stover (2002), postcolonial theory has attempted to “counter the pervasive influence of colonizing categories of thinking and imaging in modern discourse” and has been used “to present a counterpoint to the intellectual voices of European and Europe-derived societies” (p. 175). Gilbert and Tompkins (1996) provide a broader definition of

post colonialism as engaging and challenging colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies.

Postcolonial theory covers a broad spectrum of issues including identity, gender, class, race, and ethnicity making it difficult to provide a single definition. The search for a national identity in newly independent nations and settler populations such as Canada and Australia is also a prominent theme in postcolonial literature. Another key topic is the effects of colonialism on the knowledge systems, identities and cultures of colonized people, as well as the exploitation of Indigenous knowledge by colonizers to further the economic and political interests of the colonizers (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989; Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996; Loomba, 1998).

Brydon (2003) defining postcolonialism in the Canadian context states that:

The "post" in postcolonial refers to the survival of certain ways of seeing and not-seeing from the past into the present, sometimes in rigidified forms such as the Cigar Store Indian, but other times in more subtle and more dissimulating modes: in rhetoric through which the media manages difference; in the way key public choices are posed; *in the way knowledge is conceived, produced and exchanged and research is conducted*, in the way citizenship is understood and practiced. Postcolonial theory analyzes these practices with a view to changing them, but far from being a grid that can be applied to create a 'fix,' it is a process that is continually adapting to address the changing targets that a mutating imperial rhetoric creates ... (p. 56) [italics added].

Canadian scholars distinguish "a particular genre of postcolonial theorizing that derives specifically from the settler-invader experience" (Brydon, 2003, p. 56) that recognizes: "Indigenous engagements with postcolonial theory begin from a different standpoint and often address different issues with a different setting of priorities, in comparison to the version of postcolonialism developing from settler colonialism" (p.

57). They also acknowledge, “there are clear political imperatives for distinguishing settler colonial postcolonial theory from Indigenous postcolonial theory” (p. 57).

According to Ashcroft, et. al. (1989), Frantz Fanon (1966) developed what is perhaps the most thorough analyses of the psychological and sociological damages of colonization (p. 124). Fanon (1966) described how the beliefs and practices generated by colonization debilitate the individual and society and impair social, economic and political development for the colonized. Such deep seated and pervasive adverse affects on individuals and human societies, together with the fact that the condition of colonialism continues to be a lived reality today for Native Americans, warrants a critical stance and alternative theories for Indigenous and Native American studies.

The nature and function of postcolonial indigenous theory.

Native American scholars agree that postcolonial discourse does not address the struggle of Native American people for liberation and is more concerned with Third World issues (Weaver, 2005, p. 224). Native American critics of post colonialism are also concerned about the implication that colonialism is in the past when they remain a colonized people, victims of internal colonialism in both Canada and the United States (Weaver, 2001, pp. 293-294).

First Nation creative writers in Canada see postcolonialism as a continuing act of colonialism in that it attempts to interpret the First Nation experience utilizing European constructs of reality and knowledge, and as such continue the act of representing and appropriating the Indigenous experience and culture (Leggat, 2003).

Weaver believes that while postcolonialism deals with political matters it is unable to effect the necessary political changes. Postcolonialism’s fallacy is that it believes that

deconstructing ideas has the effect of dispelling the political situations they engender. He is also concerned that in an effort to escape essentialism, post colonialism regards “any attempt to recover or inscribe a communal past as a form of idealization” (2001, p. 294-295). For Native Americans, identity as a people is based on a shared view of the world, a value system and a way of being that is tied to a particular place. Self-identification is also rooted in a common historical experience and a commitment to the restoration and protection of nationhood. For Native Americans the preservation of identity and the way of being is also a means of protecting and advancing basic human rights including social, religious, economic, and political rights. Weaver concludes that despite its stance of resistance, postcolonialism bears fundamental flaws (2001, p. 294- 295).

There is a sense of frustration with the ability of postcolonial theory and mainstream Western-based social theory to address Indigenous issues. Native American and other Indigenous scholars are not content to analyze existing social theory and theorize about social phenomena as an end in itself. They believe that research should meet immediate needs and benefit Indigenous community development and political rights. Further, that Indigenous ways of knowing are an effective process of inquiry for gaining an understanding of Native American and Indigenous subject matters (Alfred, 2005; Battiste, 2000; Cajete, 2000; DiNova, 2005; Henderson, 2000; Kovachs, 2006; Meyer, 2001; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Smith, 2006; Turner, 2006; Weaver, 1998, 2001, 2005; Wilson, 2001). Some non-Indigenous scholars such as Stover (2002) and Ladner (2001) share these views and framed their studies of Indigenous traditions in a postcolonialism that respects Indigenous principles.

What is emerging is an Indigenous critical theory which some have termed a

postcolonial Indigenous theory (Battiste, 2000; Henderson, 2000; Weaver, 1998; 2001, 2005). This critical theory has articulated the following principles of Indigenous research: research is situated within an Indigenous methodology; committed to social change and decolonization; characterized by ethics and accountability to the Indigenous community; grounded in the values of respect, compassion and the collectivity; guided by Indigenous philosophy and language; and is integrated and holistic, being that knowledge is attained from the intuitive, the ontological and the empirical (Bastien, 2004; Battiste, 2000; Henderson & Battiste, 2000; Hernandez, 1999; Kovach, 2006; Meyer, 2001; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Smith, 2006; Steinhauer, 2001; Wilson, 2001).

Indigenous scholars are articulating theory and processes of inquiry that can provide an alternate means for moving beyond the Eurocentric view that has had an adverse affect on Native American identity, culture, community and nationhood and relationships between Native Americans and other cultures and nations.

Leggatt (2003) observes that Indigenous people in the academy are “transforming it and creating theories and methodologies that work within the frameworks of both the academic culture doing the investigating and the culture under investigation” (p. 123). Examples are Womack’s (1999) proposal for the literary analysis of Native American literature, using Creek philosophy and Creek history as a framework in order to understand Creek literature and Smith’s (2001) framework for social science research that addresses specific community needs of the Indigenous communities she works with (Leggatt, 2003, p. 123).

Weaver (1998, 2001) proposed an interpretative approach, in response to Eurocentric biblical interpretations, which have been used to displace Native American peoples’

identities, language, culture, and justify colonization and the wrongful dispossession of Indigenous lands (pp. 1-25; pp. 286-292). His interpretative approach can have broader application to studies of Native American issues. The thematic characteristics of his interpretive framework are:

(1) affirmation of the autonomy and continuing relevance of indigenous religious traditions, (2) recognition of the integrity of the cultural-spiritual bond between indigenous peoples and their lands, (3) respect for communal processes as the proper location for determining all meanings and commitments, and, (4) a rejection of all 'us' versus 'them' dichotomies and an embrace of kinship with 'the entire created order'. (Stover, 2002, p. 177)

Stover (2002) proposes a variation on Weaver's "post colonial Native hermeneutic," intended to respect the oral discourse of the Indigenous community of Wakpamni Lake so that "the community's own understanding of Sun Dancing comes into play for the reader" (p. 184). For Stover (2002) postcolonial theory must:

... avoid the colonial legacy that objectifies and reifies indigenous realities from the distant vantage point of the 'knowing' outsider, it must begin with the acknowledgement that indigenous discourse regarding Sun Dance already exists orally and that it deserves interpretive priority. (p. 182)

Henderson (2000) also proposes a framework for Indigenous studies and practice using the interpretive framework of natural contexts, aboriginal worldviews, language and order (p. 256) which has broad application as these concepts have relevance for many Indigenous situations and subject matters.

Battiste explicates a uniquely "postcolonial Indigenous theory," in her introduction to *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (2000), based on a Native American symposium. She explains how postcolonial theory is used and envisioned by Indigenous scholars:

[They] seek to move beyond the existing Indigenous experience of colonization by liberating Indigenous thought, practices and discourses rather than by relying on existing Eurocentric or colonial theory. Indigenous thinkers use the term 'postcolonial' to describe a symbolic strategy for shaping a desirable future, not an existing reality. The term is an aspirational practice, goal, or idea that the delegates used to imagine a new form of society that they desired to create. (p. xix)

For Battiste, the fundamental tenets of postcolonial Indigenous theory are as follows:

Indigenous knowledge exists and is a legitimate research issue; Indigenous knowledge including the oral tradition, is a “vital, integral and significant process for Indigenous educators and scholars” (p. xx); research requires “moral dialogue and participation of the Indigenous community as the foundation for transformation” (p. xx); and finally it “evolves from a need to comprehend, resist, and transform the crises related to the dual concerns of the effects of colonization on Indigenous people and the ongoing erosion of Indigenous languages, knowledge and culture” (pp. xx-xxi). Battiste’s (2000) definition of a postcolonial Indigenous theory clearly sets it apart from general postcolonial theory and defines its parameters, its goals and principal tenets.

Battiste’s postcolonial Indigenous theory provides the theoretical framework for this thesis. This offers me freedom from the domination of Eurocentric or Western-based social theory that tends to objectify Indigenous peoples, articulate their issues and interpret their lives, histories, beliefs and ways of being within the framework of European ontology and epistemology. It allows me as a researcher to provide a fresh look at a Native American life system contextualized within Native American conceptions of reality and knowledge, using appropriate processes of inquiry that are ethical and accountable to the community.

Postcolonial Indigenous theory also allows me to place the criticism of the Eurocentric view evident in the ethnographic portrayal of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking and culture, in the context of a larger critical discourse. It allows the story of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking to be told by privileging the oral tradition as a primary source without the imposition of another perspective that may distort the meanings and understandings of the community. Using the Blackfoot language as a primary means of inquiry allowed access to Káínai philosophy permitting me to develop the interpretative framework of the Káínai worldview within which to examine and explain Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Blackfoot language is given equal treatment in the text, as a way of privileging it. Giving oral tradition and the principle of a holistic epistemology primacy allowed me to structure the thesis so that the elders' telling of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking stands alone, with minimal interpretation, when presented in this manner it provides an opportunity for the reader to learn directly from the elders and to experience the spirit of the oral tradition.

This research engages the community and “hopefully” contributes to community development and social change by providing greater opportunities for the use of restorative justice, rooted in Káínai traditions. Finally, by employing postcolonial Indigenous theory, this thesis contributes to furthering the understanding and advancement of Indigenous knowledge.

A uniquely postcolonial Indigenous discourse that grounds research in a Native American process of inquiry finds support in the assertions of postcolonial theory as described by Brydon (2003):

... all truths are complicated and contingent, that while there may be many truths rather than a single Truth, that does not absolve an individual or community from distinguishing among them nor from establishing priorities, nor indeed from seeking consensus through discussion and compromise; and that Eurocentric forms of truth have masqueraded as the universal under a hijacked form of humanism; but that it remains necessary to search for ways to create a renewed definition of the human ... (p. 73)

The Indigenous perspective needs acknowledgment as a valid process for gaining knowledge and needs to be brought into the academy as a valid means of exploring and understanding life systems, social phenomena and issues related to Native Americans as a people, as communities and nations. This is not to promote an essentialist view but rather, like postcolonial theorists, to seek a new way of perceiving the world and relating across cultural differences characterized by “open mindedness and open-endedness” and “committed to the wellbeing of humanity based on a revised understanding of what it means to be human” (Brydon, 2003, pp. 73-74).

Chapter Three: A Review of the Literature

Ethnographies addressing aspects of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking include those of John Ewers (1958), Kenneth Kidd (1986/1937) Thomas Mails (1991/1973), Walter McClintock (1992/1910); John Maclean (1892), and Clark Wissler (1911); as well as non-fiction descriptive accounts by George Bird Grinnell (2003/1962). In turn, these authors drew on the accounts of early explorers, traders, missionaries and Indian agents. Also reviewed are the Hanks' (1950) study on the Siksiká economy, Crowshoe and Manneschmidt (2002) and a master's thesis by Hanlon (1999) pertaining to Blackfoot justice circles. In addressing Blackfoot culture, the ethnographies have identified, described and interpreted various aspects of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking including wrongdoings, sanctions and other related processes and practices. This literature is reviewed because it is regarded as the existing body of print-based knowledge on Blackfoot culture and Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking. A critical literature review will assess the nature of the descriptions and interpretations of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking, identify issues, and discuss whether the literature is helpful in creating an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Ethnographic Treatment of Blackfoot Justice

Family law: marriage and adoption.

In Wissler's (1911) description of marriage customs and obligations he essentially replicates what Grinnell (2003/1962, pp. 211-219) presented in *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*. Grinnell in turn replicates explorers, Alexander Henry and David Thompson (1897) to

some extent. In 1893, Grinnell was assisted in his collection of material by Double Runner and William Bill Russell, both *Aamsskáápipikani*. Customs described by Wissler (1911) included: bride purchasing and the obligation of the husband to provide gifts in horses and other material goods over and above the gifts the bride's family gives. Wissler stated that the parading of the gifts across the camp was a show of wealth and that the price (value of the gifts) was tied to the extent or degree of control a husband has over a wife. He also concluded that the husband had no obligations to his wife as regards other women, but the wife was subject to severe penalty for adultery (pp. 9-11).

For Káínai, the exchange of gifts, *ini'stotootsiyaa* symbolizes the parents' respect for their children and is a means of extending friendship and goodwill to the other clan. In some instances, these gifts are given to the couple to start them out in life, rather than being kept by the parents. There was no knowledge of an obligation for a husband to provide gifts in excess of what was presented by the girl's parents. The parading of gifts as a show of wealth is a misrepresentation. The procession across camp with the family bearing gifts is public testimony that a marriage is taking place in keeping with the proper rules and protocols (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2005). It is part of the validation process.

Maclean's (1892) description of adoption appears to fall in line with that provided by Blood elders. He states,

... orphans, they are looked after by the nearest relatives, and when these fail they are provided for by the tribe. They are never allowed to be in want, for the people say as they are of the same flesh and blood they must be cared for by the people. (p. 251)

Leadership and clans.

In discussing leadership, Wissler (1911) is concerned with identifying the selection process, tenure of terms and functions of leadership in keeping with Western European concepts and ideals of governance. Wissler states that the tenure and the identity of a headman were vague but his functions were very definite:

He is the guardian and defender of the social order in its broadest sense. Above all the headmen are expected to preserve the peace. Should a dispute arise in which members of their band are concerned, one or more of them are expected to step in as arbitrators or even as police officials if the occasion demands. When it is suspicion that a man contemplates a crime or the taking of personal vengeance some headmen will go to his tipi and talk with him, endeavor to calm him, giving him much kind advice as to the proper course for the good of all concerned. If he has been wronged, they often plead for mercy toward his enemy. Again, the headmen may be appealed to for redress against a fellow member of the band. In the adjustment of such cases, the headmen proceed by tact, persuasion, and extreme deliberation. They restrain the young men, as much as possible, after the same method. In all such functions, they are expected to succeed without resort to violence. (p. 3)

In describing the functions of the leader as policing, applying the law, arbitrating, and mediating disputes, Wissler's account seems to correspond with the Káínai elders' description of the responsibilities of leaders. Similarly, he also notes a peaceful approach was the preference in resolving disputes rather than resorting to force and aggression.

Maclean (1892) describes the functions of leaders in relation to keeping order and adjudicating the law. He also makes reference to a second sphere of authority, the Council whom he states deals with matters pertaining to the whole tribe.

His duties are to keep order in the camp, and to regulate all matters in the camp ... all petty grievances and quarrels are brought before him, and he gives advice as to the manner of settlement. Grave questions affecting the tribe, and not of an individual character, are reserved for the council; but all minor disputes arising from theft, offenses against the person, and questions of a similar nature are settled by the chief as judge, magistrate, advisor and father to his people. (p. 253)

Maclean's (1892) description of the role of the "peace" chief casts the leader as an

overall tribal chief. The description of this leader's role in justice matters bears similarities to the Káínai elders' understanding of the role of clan leaders. Káínai elders however, state that there was no distinction between "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs," that every leader would have had a war record so to speak, that being one of the criteria for leadership. A leader may tend to issues of war and engage in peacekeeping and peacemaking as required at any given time. As he advanced in age, a leader may cease going to war and concentrate on internal tribal matters (Káínai elders, Interviews, 2005-2006).

The Káínai elders stated that clan leaders dealt with all matters pertaining to their clans and, in concert with the other clan leaders of the Tribe, they dealt with broader tribal issues. Maclean's description portrays the "peace chief" as a central or absolute authority, reflective of Western notions of authority.

Societies.

In the ethnographic and other literature the age grade societies, *ihkanákkaaatsiksi* of the Blackfoot drew great attention. They have been described as military and policing societies. Thomas Mails (1991) and John Provinse (1934) regarded them as highly sophisticated mechanisms of law enforcement. The societies drew attention because ethnographers and other writers could recognize in them elements close to the Western European notions of governance and justice. For Wissler (1911) the societies fit neatly into the anthropological definition of what constituted law, a visible institution of power that could exact punishment and had legitimacy:

The organized men's societies among the Blackfoot were, when in large camps, subject to the orders of the head chief or executive of the council and on such occasions seem to have exercised the functions of the headmen of the respective

bands. When the tribal camp was formed the headmen of the bands merged into a council for the whole and the men's societies became their executive and police agents under the direction of the head chief. Thus when there was danger, certain societies were detailed to guard duty, especially at night. Because the camp was organized for the summer hunt, and depended on cooperation to succeed, the head Chief, gave out orders for making and breaking camp, and rules and punishments were announced. So a man going against the rules may have his clothes torn off, be deprived of his arms, his horse's ears and tail cropped. If he resists he might be quirted, his tipi and personal belongings destroyed. These were extreme punishments, it being regarded as best to get along by persuading the would-be-wrong doer to desist. The punishment inflicted by the members of societies were not personally resented, as they were acting entirely within their rights. As to whether the men's societies were police by virtue of their membership or whether they were individually called out to form an independent body is not certain. (p. 26)

McClintock (1992) summarizes the role and functions of the societies in much the same way that Wissler does but accurately reports some of the reasons for seeking membership: "Men did not join the Blackfoot societies for pleasure but to fulfill vows, generally made because of sickness, or for some remarkable escape from danger" (pp. 464-465).

Grinnell (2003) states: "This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. These societies were really law and order associations" (pp. 220-224). The Káínai elders did not portray the societies' main function as being punishment but rather peacekeeping and peacemaking. These descriptions of the societies do not make mention of the function of the societies as keepers of the sacred ways of the Tribe and their broader function in maintaining harmony and balance within the relational network of the Káínai world.

Ewers (1958) discusses purchase of membership into the societies, number of and names of societies, their tenure, their roles as police and regulators of the hunt and punishments exacted, in much the same way that the other writers had done so (pp. 82-90; 104-105). Contrary to Ewers' interpretation, membership into societies is not purchased. Gifts are given to express the sincerity and gratefulness of the new member. A person expresses gratitude for an opportunity to serve as a member of the society that in turn benefits him or her, as well as his or her family and clan. The person also takes on responsibilities for the care and wellbeing of the Tribe and its relationships with the environment.

Mails (1991) drew general conclusions from his survey of Plains Indian age-grade societies including the Blackfoot, where he saw ingenuity in a system where the various societies are selected on a rotational basis so that power does not become centralized in one body. He regarded the use of the societies as a clever device in that the political leaders do not become directly involved in the enforcement of law but rather employ one of the societies as an agency that enforces the laws and carries out punishment (p. 44).

Maclean (1892) portrayed the societies simply as warrior societies and police: "The soldiers act as warriors in times of war, and during the periods of peace they are the policemen of the camps" (p. 254). He erroneously states that young men make application to join the societies, are examined by the war chief, accepted if found to be suitable, and promoted by the war chief to their respective grades in accordance with their abilities and bravery.

Jane and Lucien Hanks (1950) cast the *joking relationship* practiced among the age-grade societies as “an opportunity for reprisal against the authority of one’s elders” (p. 163). They did not understand its key function as a form of sanction intended to deter inappropriate behaviors and gain compliance with the norms and the laws.

These accounts of the societies describe their functions as keeping law and order, enforcing the laws and carrying out various sanctions including physical punishment. They identify the type of sanctions dispensed and instances in which they did so. Evident is the characterization of the societies’ role and functions in accordance with a Western definition of what constituted law, that being a visible institution of power that could exact punishment and had legitimacy. In dealing with Native American justice matters, anthropology was concerned with discerning the “law” and “institutions of law.”

Building on a definition previously provided by Malinowski, Hoebel (1940) crystallized these notions in his study of Comanche law: “A social norm is legal if its neglect or infraction is met by the application, in threat or in fact, of the absolute coercive force by a social unit possessing the socially recognized privilege of so acting” (p. 46).

The concept of crime.

It was Grinnell (2003/1962) based on his work in 1893, who issued the edict on what constituted crime among the Blackfeet. The key ideas have been repeated elsewhere in the literature (Ewers, 1958; Jefferson, 1994; Kidd, 1986/1937; Wissler, 1911). Grinnell’s list included:

Murder: A life for a life, or a heavy payment by the murderer or his relatives at the option of the murdered man’s relatives. This payment was often so heavy as absolutely strip the murderer of all property.

Theft: Simply the restoration of the property.

Adultery: for the first offense the husband generally cut off the offending wife's nose or ears; for the second offence she was killed by the All Comrades. Often the woman, if her husband complained of her, would be killed by her brothers or first cousins, and this was more usual than death at the hands of the All Comrades.

However, the husband could have her put to death at the first offense, if he chose.

Treachery (that is, when a member of the tribe went over to the enemy or gave them any aid whatever): death at sight.

Cowardice: a man who would not fight was obliged to wear a woman's dress, and was not allowed to marry.

If a man left camp to hunt buffalo by himself, thereby driving away the game, the All Comrades were sent after him, and not only brought him back by main force, but often whipped him, tore his lodge to shreds, broke his travois, and often took away his store of dried meat, pemmican, and other food. (pp. 219-220)

Grinnell reduces the complexity and the coherence of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking to a simplistic, perfunctory list of "crimes." His description does not take account of the inter relationship between beliefs, values, relationships, traditions and processes which work in concert to effect a system of social control which emphasizes the maintenance of social order through peaceful means, leaving punishment as a last resort. The problem with this list is that it has been accepted as the authoritative statement on "crime" in Blackfoot society and no one has challenged it or attempted to discover a more representative accounting of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking.

A study on aboriginal justice by the Solicitor General of Canada included the Blackfoot, unfortunately, the author, Jefferson (1994) rather than consulting primary sources such as Blackfoot elders chose to utilize the ethnography, perpetuating the misconceptions including Grinnell's list of crimes.

Double Runner's great granddaughter, Thedis Berthelson Crowe (2003) in a recent edition of Grinnell's *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* expresses concerns with representation:

When the stories were transcribed to paper Double Runner and Bill Russell lacked the ability to critique Grinnell's interpretations of the stories to ensure that his *Lodge Tales* would provide an unbiased presentation of the oral tradition and oral histories

that they and the other storytellers entrusted to his care. (They) ... also failed to recognize the impact of power and politics when pen is put to paper and someone else is in control of the writing of history, of the loss of ideology, and meaning when the words of the *Nitsitapii*'s were translated to English, and of the influence this control would have ... on the Blackfeet. Grinnell's *Lodge Tales* have been held as the absolute foundation ... and have been responsible for the categorization and stereotyping of the Blackfeet ... (p. xi)

On the concept of "crime," *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2005) had this to say:

That which you call KCCS, (Káínai Community Corrections Society) when it was first established, they said we will go to the elders, who will guide us, we will follow our old ways, the way we dealt with 'crime' as the white people say. We met with the crown prosecutor, judges, and the police. The judges and the crown prosecutor asked us 'Is there a term for 'crime' in your language, how do you look at it?' We thought for a while and then we said 'it is not in our language, a person who behaves inappropriately, *isayíppomska'si*, is said to have made a mistake, *ipahtsá'pssi*. A mistake can be corrected. A person can be helped to make his life right again, *mááhkskokamo'tsipotsissi opaitapiiyssin*. A person will dealt with in a peaceful way, *sapá'tsima'pii*.

The elders have emphasized the conciliatory and restorative aspects of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Some of the ethnographic material cited above supports that a peaceful means of resolution or settlement was the preferred method and stronger sanctions utilized when other efforts failed.

A peacemaking process.

In addressing conflicts between the clans, or "bands" as Wissler refers to them, he describes a process of dispute resolution, which has some of the elements of the peacemaking process that Káínai elders described. Wissler (1911) states:

When there is trouble between members of different bands/clans, the headmen of each endeavor to bring about a settlement. Thus, if one of the contending party is killed, the band of the deceased send notice to the murderer's band that a payment must be made. In the meantime, the murderer may have called upon a headman of his own band to explain the deed. The headmen then discuss the matter and advise that horses and other property be sent over to the injured band at once. A crier goes about with the order and members of the band contribute. This offer may be refused by the injured band and a demand be made for the culprit's life. (pp. 24-25)

However, the ethnographic account differs in its interpretation of the Blackfoot peacemaking process. According to Káínai understanding, “payment” is not exacted by the clan that has suffered a loss but rather gifts are given by the “offender’s” clan as part of the peacemaking process, as a conciliatory gesture, and a form of apology intended to restore the relationship. Without the proper cultural context, key aspects of Blackfoot/Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking are misunderstood and characterized differently. In this instance, the provision of material goods is cast as a retributive act rather than a restorative one.

Issues.

Prevailing anthropological theories of culture, human development and law influenced the type of studies conducted and the interpretations drawn. The interest in ‘primitive law’ stemmed from a desire on the part of social theorists to characterize the condition of ‘modernity.’ ‘Tradition’ was evoked as a means of understanding ‘modernity’ through contrast, and to assist the West in reconstructing its progression from the past to the present. This contrasting of ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ was usually focused on differences between tradition and modern persons, social action, order, and authority/domination, such as the origin and development of the state (Roberts, 2002, pp. 966-967).

In dealing with Native American justice matters, ethnography was concerned with discerning the “law” and “institutions of law” or social order and its institutions and understanding their functioning, within the context of scientific theories and definitions rooted in Western culture and epistemology. This orientation influenced how

ethnographers perceived and interpreted matters of Native American justice, law, order and governance. Based on what were deemed universal criteria of what constituted law they sought external indicators of power that they were familiar with such as centralized authority, police and jails, courts and judges, and a distinct code of law that could be explicitly articulated. Not finding such reference points, they concluded that Native Americans possessed rudimentary forms of governance and law. They characterized Native American institutions and practices of governance, justice and other life systems according to their conceptions.

Kidd's 1937 master's thesis, *Blackfoot Ethnography*, published in 1986 as part of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta Manuscript Series by Alberta Culture, is a case in point. Kidd (1986/1937) surveyed the literature on Blackfoot which included McClintock (1910); Grinnell (1892, 1896, 1899, 1901); Shultz (1907, 1912, 1916, 1930); Wissler (1908, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1918, 1935, 1936); and John Maclean (1887, 1887-88, 1888-89, 1892-93, 1897-98). His methodology consisted of a review of the publications of the early explorers, traders and missionaries and Indian agents, a comparison of these with the writings of McClintock, Grinnell, Schultz and Wissler as well as interviewing seven *Siksikáikoiks*. He dealt with geography, the life cycle, material culture, social organization, war and religion. In his treatment of the cycle of life, he cites 258 references, 40 being his *Siksiká* sources and in the section on social organization, he cites the men 19 times out of 209 references (Kidd, 1937, pp. 29-72; 135-183). He utilized the *Siksiká* sources to corroborate the written material and appeared to dismiss them when they did not agree with the literature. Essentially Kidd repeated many of the negative characterizations of the Blackfoot existent in the literature he reviewed. Kidd (1986)

concluded that there was no connection between the people's religion and a moral code and that the religion had not yet evolved into a philosophy or a moral code. Based on his review of the literature he also concluded that the Blackfoot were individualistic, praying mainly for favors for themselves; and concerns himself with whether the Blackfoot may be regarded as pantheistic, animistic or monotheistic (pp. 175-180). Kidd did not provide any new data but merely compiled what had been written to date. This is an example of the problem of the continuous repetition of inaccurate information and characterization of indigenous people by each succeeding generation of anthropologists, the cumulative damage of which is hard to untangle (Battiste & Youngblood Henderson, 2000, p. 33).

In contrast to Kidd, Jane and Lucien Hanks' study *Tribe Under Trust* (1950) conducted on the Blackfoot (Siksiká) reserve was more reflective of the Káínai account of Blackfoot traditions and customs. The research conducted in 1939 and 1941 was intended to look at the effects of the economic security gained by *Siksiká* from a land surrender in 1910. The fieldwork involved interviews with 40 tribal members. Areas of relevance to this study of peacekeeping and peacemaking are the descriptions of kinship and social organization including family, clans, marriage, adoption and societies (pp. 152-163) which are similar to what the Káínai elders in my research have provided. However, the Hanks' interpretations are not always accurate as discussed above.

Recent literature.

Most recent literature pertaining to Blackfoot justice issues was found not to be immediately relevant to the parameters of this study of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. *Akak'stiman: A Blackfoot Framework for Decision Making and Mediation Processes* co-authored by Crowshoe and Manneschmidt (2002) is described by

Manneschimdt as a model developed from her analysis “of the history and social structure of past days of the Peigan/Blackfoot culture and its present-day still practiced (sacred) ceremonies” (p. 53). She presents a model for mediation and conflict resolution, which apparently is being used by the *Piikani* Nation for child welfare cases, business negotiations, and sentencing circles. While the “sentencing circle” is not traditional to Blackfoot culture, nor is there a formalized “decision making circle” it appears that the model presented is one based on the physical layout of one particular ceremony with an interpretation of the significance and meaning of various ceremonial components as relates to space, symbols, seating patterns and procedural aspects. Intended to facilitate contemporary decision making in such diverse areas as child welfare, health services and alternative sentencing this model may work well for the particular community it is designed for. However, it does not contribute directly to an understanding of the traditional processes and functioning of Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking.

A Master of Arts thesis by Hanlan (1999) entitled *Circle Justice: An Ethnographic Study*, looks at what the author refers to as “Blackfoot Justice Circles.” The sociological study is intended to determine, whether community exists in “Blackfoot Justice Circles” and is an exploration of *transformative justice*, as differentiated from *restorative justice* and *retributive justice*. Hanlan conducted her study on one of the Blackfoot reserves, which is not identified. She interviewed seven members of that reserve who are involved in justice circles and observed five circles in the community, which she then compares with an Innu justice circle. Hanlan uses the model developed by Crowshoe and Manneschmidt (2002) published previously in 1997, which she referred to as a

“traditional Blackfoot Justice Circle” and from that premise evaluates and analyzes the justice circles she witnessed against “the traditional model.” It is important to note that there is no “traditional Blackfoot justice circle.” The Crowshoe and Manneschmidt model is an adaptation of the symbolism, physical layout, seating patterns and some procedural aspects of one particular ceremony to the pan-Indian sentencing circle concept. While Hanlan’s study may be helpful in providing an understanding of how contemporary justice circles in a particular Blackfoot community function and whether community exists within these circles, it is not helpful in understanding the parameters and functioning of traditional Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking, the purpose of this thesis.

Conclusion

As there is no study specific to Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking what emerges from the literature is a fragmented portrait, which is further compromised by a Western characterization of Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking. Institutions, processes of peacekeeping, and peacemaking are cast in accordance with Western concepts of justice and governance and practices are often commodified as in discussions of bride price, society membership and exacting payments as a redress for wrongs.

While some of the ethnographic literature is useful in providing descriptions of some aspects of Blackfoot (Káínai) peacekeeping and peacemaking, it lacks a perspective that would give the subject matter a social and cultural context that would assist in creating a depth of understanding and respectful treatment of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. The existing literature then provides a less than adequate knowledge base

of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking can be understood best when viewed within the context of the Káínai worldview, and as articulated by elders whose knowledge, rooted in the Káínai culture, history and language, has been acquired from their many years of living as Káínai. The ethnographic literature needs to be weighed against and augmented by the oral tradition. A comprehensible understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking warrants a firsthand account, utilizing the Blackfoot language as a medium of communication with the elders, and an interpretation within the conceptual framework of the Káínai worldview.

Chapter Four: Káínai Peacekeeping and Peacemaking According to the Elders

In presenting the elders account of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking paraphrasing and extensive quotes from the elders are utilized with a brief introduction and summary for each topic addressed. With minimal interpretation, this manner of presentation allows the reader to hear directly from the elders and experience the spirit of the oral tradition. Native American epistemology holds that knowledge is derived from everyday experiences, relationships, language and the oral tradition, that elders are a primary source of knowledge as they embody the oral tradition, *áístomatoomiaaw*. The elders describe how peace and order is realized within families, clans and the Tribe through attention to the roles and responsibilities of families, clans, friends, societies, leaders and elders for maintaining harmonious relationships. Related topics of adoption and the kinship system were also covered. They identify Káínai values and laws as well as wrongdoings, preventative measures and sanctions. They describe the processes for restoring peace where the social order has been disrupted and the rules broken. The elders provide a first-hand account explicating the Káínai worldview and the nature and functioning of peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Language

Language reveals much about the way people think, perceive and relate to the world around them including the human and natural environment. Boldt (1993) states:

Language derives from the shared experiences, feelings, values and ideas of a people over a very long period of their existence; it reflects and conditions the thought patterns and world-view of a people. For example, most Indian languages classify most things as animate, that is, having spirit. This conditions the way they related to animals, plants, and the land and it engendered a worldview that emphasized harmony of nature. (p. 187)

To assist the exploration and understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking it is necessary to understand the subtleties and nuances of meaning in the Blackfoot language. The translation from the Blackfoot language into English has attempted to capture these subtleties and nuances. Blackfoot words are interspersed throughout the text preceded by or followed by the English translation, especially where direct quotes have been taken from the elders, in an attempt to provide depth of understanding.

Past and Present Tense

As mentioned in the Preface, *traditional* refers to those practices and processes of Káínai that arise from its worldview and culture and have developed over the span of its existence as a society. *Traditional* does not refer to the past. It will be noted in the elders quotes, that the tense shifts from past to present. In some instances, the elders speak in the past tense with regard to practices that they perceive have ceased altogether or are not as prevalent today as they were in their time. In other instances, the elder may begin describing a tradition or custom in the past tense and then move into present tense. In the overall text Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking is described in the present tense unless otherwise noted. It is my observation that tribal members continue to adhere to Káínai values, traditions and customs albeit to varying degrees. Families, clans and societies remain intact for the most part, given some families struggle to function as a unit of support and social control amidst an array of contemporary social and economic issues and historical changes. Little Bear (2007) has made similar observations and believes that in spite of the historical changes, the values, relationships and traditions, for the most part, remain as the foundational base upon which Káínai society operates. He

observes that the values and traditions are still a part of the “tacit infrastructure” of Káínai although the younger generations may find it difficult to articulate them (Personal communication).

Relationships

It is clear from the conversations with the elders that relationships and the maintenance of harmony are of great significance to Káínai society. It was also evident that relationships with the environment, other inhabitants and the Source of Life (Creator) are paramount. Relationship, *kso'kowaahkaan*, is an overarching theme that needed to be explored to understand the functioning of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Káínai society is comprised of a complex of relationships, some based on blood relationships including the nuclear family and the extended family or clan. Other types of relationships are created through institutions such as social and sacred societies, marriage and adoption. The latter, though not blood relationships, are perceived in the same way in terms of closeness and sincerity. Each of these relationships has its own set of responsibilities, expectations and practices for maintenance and nurturing. Káínai also continue to maintain an active relationship with the environment through the belief system, traditions and ceremonies.

Keeping Peace Among the People

Family relationships, roles and responsibilities.

This section is comprised of a lengthy discussion on the various family relationships and illustrates the role these relationships play in peacekeeping. Knowledge gained from this discussion will ultimately assist the Káínai Justice Working Group in addressing issues of family law, child welfare, youth, and dispute resolution.

The primary unit may be regarded as comprised of the husband and wife, their children and the grandparents. While the couple will generally reside with the husband's clan, the wife's parents also play an active role in family matters. The married couple is referred to as *ihkíúmsina'yíiksi*, the grandparents as *kaaáhsiksi*. The parents of the couple refer to one another as *nitaahsohkoiksi*, "those who are made my grandparents." Family members have specific roles and responsibilities and there are basic principles for getting along and ensuring harmonious relationships. The family is the primary structure for the inculcation and learning of social values, traditions, customs and rules of behavior. The family also has the responsibility for dealing with any inappropriate behaviors and the wrongdoings of its members, for maintaining and restoring the balance in the relational network of the Tribe. The family dispenses the first order of sanctions for inappropriate behaviors and wrongdoings through counseling, warnings, castigation and other forms of disciplinary action.

Ihkíúmsina'yíiksi, the married couple.

The following summarizes what the elders have set out as the basic principles governing relations between married couples. The married couple should respect one another, *áinna'kootsiyaaw* and trust each other. This will engender feelings of ease and familiarity with each other, *áítapimmohsattsiiyaaw*. A husband will give his wife priority and she in turn will do the same, *ákaotamimmotsiiyaaw*. They should not be insolent or arrogant to one another, *mátakawa'koyihka'satsiwaiksaaw*. If a husband is confronted or encounters a dispute; his wife will not help him with the dispute, instead she will advise him against further involving himself in the dispute or retaliating if he has been confronted, *ákaisiimiwayi*. This holds true for the husband, also. They will not support

each other in anything that is disruptive to the social order. Instead, they will support one another in what one wishes to undertake that is productive or positive. They should be enthusiastic and supportive of such efforts, *akaoksistsi'tomootsiyaaw*. Couples should not argue with one another or harbor negative feelings toward their in-laws. They are encouraged to have true kinship with their in-laws, who in Blackfoot kinship terminology are their grandparents, *maaáhsiksi*. By being mindful of these practices, a husband and wife can live together harmoniously. Their grandparents and parents serve as role models assisting them in understanding the sacredness of marriage.

The husband is responsible for providing a livelihood for his family:

A man who has a wife will try hard to get things for his wife and children, *áakayik'akimaa*, 'he will try hard.' This is his responsibility to obtain the material things required for physical survival, *ákaohkootsimaaw*. He will give his wife and children priority in whatever he obtains. He will respect them. They will rely on him, *otáakaisstakakkaiksi*. They will understand that he provides for them. (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

All of this implies that a man will be courageous, hardworking, resourceful, and persevere to obtain and maintain a good life for his family materially and emotionally.

The father cautions and advises his children against inappropriate behaviors. He usually spends more time with his sons tending to be strict with them. He teaches them to be productive and instructs them in the type of work that he does such as horse ranching, cattle ranching, or farming. Fathers and sons usually have a close relationship, allowing for the transmission of values and the reinforcement of behaviors necessary for a good life. Fathers respect their daughters. There are certain matters where they do not discuss with them nor do they speak inappropriately in their presence.

In the past, a mother's responsibilities centered primarily on the care of the children

and the home. While many work outside the home today, they continue to play a nurturing role. She teaches the children proper conduct and cautions them against inappropriate behaviors or potential dangers. She supports and guides the children, *`ákaiisskapiimiwaiksi*. She teaches her daughters how to care for the home, to be clean and tidy. They will emulate her abilities and approaches with respect to the care of children so they in turn may be good mothers. Daughters rely on their mother with respect to women's issues, things that they cannot discuss with their father (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006; *Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006). Essentially the role of a father and mother is to set a life path for their children.

Marital problems are resolved through the intervention of the parents who will counsel their son or daughter and enlist the assistance of other relatives including grandparents or older brothers and sisters, however if this does not occur there are consequences:

if ... a girl is always leaving (her husband and returning to her parents home as a result of disputes with her husband), *áíksikaakii* and if her parents are always taking her side, her husband may bring her back to her parents permanently; this is called *iiponówataw*. She has then lost respect and will be not well thought of. This can be avoided if parents realize this is unfavorable and counsel their daughter and the couple to refrain from this practice. (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

If a husband is abusive to his wife, her parents or older brother(s) may take her back into the family home permanently. This practice is referred to as *ááhsawatstaan*, a form of support and a safety measure for women (*Otahkóóksikinakim*, Interview, 2006).

Átso'toaw states that in instances where there is a separation, where marital problems are not able to be resolved, it is frequent that the parents of the couple will maintain their relationship, their kinship ties. This creates a favorable situation for the grandchildren.

Pokáiksi, children.

The primary operative in the relationship between parent and child is respect:

The parents will respect their children, *ákinna'koyiiaawaiksi*. They will listen to them. They will not speak to them harshly or inappropriately, *mátakaisayippomssitsipsattsiiwaiksaaw*. They will speak kindly to them. The children will understand this and will treat their fathers and mothers likewise. They will respect them, accept the decisions or rules that they set for them, *maanitókakohtomoyspiaaw*. The parents will have shown (their children) the good kinship between themselves, and the children will follow the way of compassion between the father and the mother, *otsikímmotsii'ssiniaaw* (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

Children are also seen as solidifying a marriage; by having a child born to them, the husband and wife become responsible for someone other than themselves and they must make a commitment to raise their child in the same way their parents raised them:

The young couple will make sure that they teach their child to be honest, respectful, generous, hardworking, truthful, helpful, wise, and good-natured. They will be determined to raise children they will be proud of and who will also help the community to be a better place. Then their children will do the same in raising their children. (*Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006)

It is also the responsibility of the parents to arrange to have their child receive a name. The tradition of giving names to children is referred to as *áyaaksikowatayaaw*, meaning, “setting their course in life.” Names are chosen and conferred by grandparents or other older relatives, drawn from their accomplishments in war, in life or from a dream or vision. Children may also be given names of powerful or accomplished ancestors. Implicit in the giving of ancestral names is that one will live up to the legacy of that name. The belief is that the power of the experiences on which names are drawn will be transmitted to the child to guide and assist his or her life. Names reflect the people’s relationship with the other inhabitants of the environment and the skies.

Káínai ways appear to demand that siblings be especially cognizant of their

relationships and attend to their responsibilities for each other:

They really care for each other. They will not have bad relations among them, *mátaikaisayippomikso'kowammootsúwaikassw*. It is the same thing that their father and mother would have taught them, to care for each other. They will become accustomed to that way of being. They will grow up with this caring for their siblings. (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

Children may have various roles. The eldest daughter is usually charged with a lot of responsibility with respect to child rearing, and fulfills something of a mother role to her younger siblings. Older brothers are expected to watch out for the younger siblings.

Children take on the role of watching over their aged parents in the same way that the parents have taken care of them. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) explains:

If the oldest is a girl, she will babysit her younger siblings, amuse them and take care of them. Boys will also stay close to their younger brothers. As they get older the oldest daughter will become the parent of their elderly mother and father. In prayer they say, 'may you in turn become the parent of your father and mother.' We still hear it today. (Interview)

The youngest child in a family is usually doted on and cared for by everyone. If the parents are old, this child may be considered *kipitáipokaa*. In Blackfoot, a child raised by old people who are usually her or his grandparents is referred to as "old woman's child," *kipitáipokaa*. Grandparents may request that they raise one of their grandchildren as their own child. *Kipitaipokáiksi* are generally found to be mature and wise for their years, as they have had the benefit of their grandparents' exclusive care, attention and teachings. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) explains:

They treat him (or her) very special, very kindly, *iiniyímmokaiksi*, so in that way he (or she) may be spoiled, but will be wise, *áakokakia'pssi*. Old folks usually take one of their grandchildren to raise. If you meet them, ask them. They will know many things. They tell them the stories. Many know the language, speak the language very well, they are wise in so many ways, *sawátsiwa'pssiyaaw*, not foolish. (Interview)

It is considered an honor to be raised by your grandparents, to be *kipitáipokaa*. People speak of this with pride and will introduce themselves as *kipitáipokaa* (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006).

Another childrearing practice is referred to as *minípokaa*, or favored child. These children can be the same as *kipitáipokáiksi*. The grandparents dote on them, dress them in finery, and they accompany the grandparents everywhere. *Minípokaiks* are exposed at an early age to the ceremonial life of their grandparents and are sometimes identified to be groomed for leadership roles. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) explains:

The grandparents take a child and raise him or her. *Kipitáipokáiksi* are very precious, they learn early of our sacred ways, of our way of life. They are ones who carry the feast bag or the pipe bag and accompany their grandparents to ceremonies and dances. People take note of these young people; they will say '*áyaiwa kipitáipokaa*.' *Kipitáipokáiksi* are also usually *miní'pokaiksi*. They make the ... necklaces for them. They wear these when they dance and people will know this is a *minípokaa*, one that is being groomed. Sometimes they even have their own tipis, a smaller version of the family tipi. (Interview)

Disputes between or among children were dealt with by parents and grandparents.

Parents do not side with their children in a dispute. *Makóyippitaakii*, (2006) explains:

Máátaispommikoyo'p, you do not take your children's side. Children are like pups one moment they may be snapping at each other the next moment they are romping around together having a good time. There is no sense to take your child's side. It only teaches them bad habits, to be quarrelsome. (Interview)

Disputes among older children were also quickly dispelled by talks from parents or grandparents with the concern that it not escalate and come to involve members of the extended families. With such a preventative mindset and practices, disputes are quickly dispelled at the earliest stages.

Kaaáhsiksi, grandparents.

Grandparents assist in raising their grandchildren by taking care of them when

necessary to help their children. There is a close relationship between grandparents and grandchildren and much respect, as well. Grandparents instruct them in the ways of life, advise them as to what constitutes appropriate conduct and what does not. Old time stories, *katápiitsinikssin*, are used to teach children what acceptable behavior is and what is not. The *Napi* stories are instructive as they tell about *Napi*, the trickster, who often goes against the teachings and advice he is given. Sometimes the outcome is funny, other times it is embarrassing or hurtful.

Children who are closely associated with their grandparents will be mature, *ómahksimma'pssiyaaw*, because of the grandparent's influence. Through the stories and close association, the grandparents are inculcating and teaching children values and the correct behaviors. Grandchildren also become exposed at an early age to the spiritual traditions as well as political matters:

Our fathers and mothers taught us practical living skills and our grandparents were left with teaching us about the value system and sacred knowledge, that was their responsibility. My personal experience with this was with my grandfather. He was with the Red Belts, *Misáminaiks* (lifetime Council). Because of this he had many visitors and so I was privy to the 'major stories.' Many of the men would come to his house to share stories. I would know when they would say 'It is time for you to go to bed.' that they wanted to talk about important things. I would sometimes come back and hide behind the couch and listen to their stories. Later I would ask my grandfather about this or that and he would say 'You were not supposed to be listening.' This was an early education system. (*Otahkóóksikinakim*, Interview, 2006)

Makóyippitaakii, (2006) has this to say about grandparents:

The grandparents' responsibility is to help raise the children and reinforce the parents' teachings. Our grandparents are very valuable ... they keep the families together. Everyone should be reminded of the importance of grandparents; they are an integral part of our families ... they help shape and mold the child. (Interview)

K'issiiks, older brothers.

K'issiiks are all of one's male relatives who are older and they have a special role. It is their responsibility to keep their younger relatives, male and female, in line. They are the disciplinarians. They also encourage, help their younger brothers, and have a role in teaching, as well. If a child's father is deceased or is absent, older brothers will fill the role of father. Younger relatives respect their older brothers, *álsstoyiisatsiiaawayi*. This term is sometimes translated as "respect," and it means that the younger relative will watch his or her behavior around older brother as he or she does not want to incur his disapproval or scorn.

K'issiiks continue to be responsible for cautioning, counseling or scolding younger relatives:

He will disapprove of any inappropriate behavior, *sawanatsiitaki*, and you in turn will be embarrassed, *ísstoyi'sataw*. He may not speak with you directly, but he may tell his wife to talk to you. His wife will be also close to you. This is how relations are built, that all of your kin have a say, an interest in your wellbeing. (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

An older brother may use a gentle approach or he may be harsh and direct and give you a tongue-lashing, depending on his personal style. *Átso'toaw* (2006) states that rough housing with younger brothers is also a means of keeping them in line and that sometimes a casual kick in the pants or slap on the head may be what is needed. He explains that this is not done in anger but a calculated tactic to get one to think about the way they are behaving and learn to comply with the rules of behavior (Interview).

Your father's brother is responsible for looking for a mate for you. He will consider who will be suitable; it will be someone who has been raised well, *isoksístawataw*; cautioned, counseled or advised by his relatives, *óóhkoisiimaw*. He will not be arrogant

but rather, kind, mature and hardworking.

Kíkso'kowaiksi, other relatives.

Respect between male and female relatives is paramount. Off-color jokes or any form of inappropriate or crude speech is not permitted. This practice of respect applies to all male-female kinships, regardless of distance. One's father's sisters are termed "grandmothers;" they provide guidance and support, *áisskapiimohkiaaw*. They love their brother's children as they love their brother. A mother's sisters also play a key role in the lives of the children; they are regarded as one's "mothers" as well. They feel free to caution your children, counsel them and even scold them if need be.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) explains:

They loved each other's children. All of your relatives are free to caution you, to counsel you or scold you. The term used is *áissimohkiaaw*, and it can be used to mean all these things. It was not only your biological parents who were expected or permitted to caution, counsel or scold you, all of your kin were permitted and expected to do so, if they witnessed you acting or speaking in an inappropriate way. (Interview)

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) refers to a saying *ni'tóyi moyíistsi*

nitsísisstawattspinnoon, which means, "we were raised in the same lodges" (Interview).

This implies that children lived and felt at home in every lodge of the clan. The rapport between relatives was such that they felt free and comfortable to parent each other's children. The elders note that these practices of cautioning, counseling or scolding another relative's children are not as widely practiced today. Some of the younger generations of parents do not understand the reasoning or subscribe to the tradition and will take offence when other relatives or older people attempt to discipline their children.

Kaaáhsiksi, your in-laws.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) explains the code of behavior pertaining to in-laws, which make for positive and harmonious relations:

The husband and wife refer to each other's parents as, *naaahsiksi*, the same term used for her grandparents. The two sets of parents also enter into a relationship and refer to each other as *nitaahskookoiksi*, "those who are made my grandparents." They become real relatives, *nííta'pikso'koyiyaaw*. If there is anything that the in-laws of the girl see that they deem inappropriate in their son's behavior, they will advise their son against it, counsel him, *ákaisiimiyaaw*. The same with the girl, if her parents see that she does something that is not appropriate, not good, her parents will counsel her. Both sets of parents, or in-laws, will join together and counsel the couple, especially if there are children. They will say there are little ones, *itáó'totoyisokai'piiyo'p pookáiksi*, 'we stop at the children.' (Interview)

Itáó'totoyisokai'piiyo'p pookáiksi literally translates as "we stop at the children" and means that all adults party to or affected by the marital dispute will give the well-being of the children priority over their own anger or feelings of being wronged. The family's primary interest is the maintenance of a safe, harmonious and stable environment for the child. The concept of "stopping at" extends to other types of relationships. The respect that you have for another person and the value that you place on the relationship will cause you to tolerate or overlook certain behaviors. If you are experiencing friction with a sister-in-law, a nephew or niece, for instance, you might choose to disregard it saying, "I stopped at my brother." The value of the relationship causes one to pause, check one's temper and prevent greater disharmony. If the negative behavior is excessive then one could arrange for an intervention by elder clan members, perhaps an older brother or sister who can speak with, *áaksitsipssatsiiyaawayi*, counsel or *áakssiimiyaawayi*, advise that person to desist.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) discusses another example of respect accorded to

relationships engendered through one's grandchildren and the importance of keeping harmony within families:

They will say *ákaitao'tohkoikso'koyo'p*, meaning, 'we have gained relatives by the son or daughter-in-law,' referring to the grandchildren. It is not good that they (the parents) be in a state of disharmony, *máhkaisayippoma'pssaaw*. (Interview)

Evident, again, is the significance of relatives, of relationships, and the primacy of maintaining harmony and balance within the family. Implicit, here, is the importance of ensuring that children are raised in a harmonious environment and that everyone has a role in achieving this goal.

In short, the role of the in-laws is to assist the couple in maintaining a positive and harmonious relationship, through counseling, advice and support. They show concern, fairness, and watch out for the best interests of the young family and the well-being of the children. As a result of this network of support, *isskapíumohkssin*, the elders stated that there were few separations in the past:

There will seldom be a separation. It is just recently common to separate. Couples live together well if the in-laws don't interfere but help. It is not good to fight in front of the children; it is as if you are teaching them anger, *miníkka'pii*. They will think it is okay to live like this, if our parents do. (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006)

To engender marital harmony other family members are encouraged to foster compassionate relationships with in-laws. A woman's sister-in-law will treat her well, respect her and take care of her. She will do this because of her love for her brother. She shows compassion for the children (nieces and nephews) and will give them gifts, *iní'stotoyiiwaiksi*. This term means, "to treat them with kindness" and is used to refer to gift giving. She may even take one of the children to raise as her own.

A woman may have a close relationship with her brother-in-law. They may have a

joking relationship, *áakaikahsanistssiyaaw* or she may take him as a brother. She will extend him kindness because of her love for her sister, especially if he is kind and treats her sister well. You will be determined to repay him his kindness, *kitáaksiksimmohsataw*.

Summary.

Both parents are responsible for teaching their children the necessary skills required for a successful material life, teaching them proper conduct, the rules of society, and how to live a good life. Grandparents assist with the raising of their grandchildren and are responsible for teaching them the values, songs and stories. Grandchildren may also become familiar with the ceremonial life and/or political life through their close association with grandparents.

Children learn practical skills by observation, imitation, hands-on experience and instruction. They also learn the values of hard work, perseverance, courage, patience, kindness, and generosity. The role of older brother, *k'iss* is significant. He is responsible for ensuring that his younger relatives, male and female, comply with the standards of behavior. When rules are breached he is free to caution, counsel, advise or scold. Harmony within the family is kept through relationships of respect, trust, and compassion, as well as the practices of counseling, advice, encouragement, warnings and discipline. When the earliest signs of discord are detected, all effort is made to dispel it, as it is believed that fueling discord benefits no one. Positive relationships with in-laws are encouraged to ensure marital harmony and good kinship among clans. Relationships are nurtured continuously.

Adoptions

The Káinai equivalent to the term adoption is *áakoko'sstomoaaw* meaning “to take

another's child as your own" or *ikó'sskatsiiaaw*, "to make someone your child." In the first instance, the relationship is between the two sets of parents, and in the second one, between the adoptive parents and the adoptive child. There are many reasons why adoptions would occur and many ways of doing so. Women not able to have children may ask a relative, such as a sister, for one of her children. Sometimes this child will be a newborn. There is a belief that by having a child in the family the woman is later able to have her own child.

Adoption may also occur as a result of poor health. Relatives may offer to raise the youngest child in the family if the mother is sick, as a way of helping out and ensuring proper care for the child and a better chance for recovery of the mother. If there are too many children in the family and especially if the younger ones are very close in age, a relative may request to adopt a child. Again, this is intended to help the relative and to ensure that the young child has adequate care (*Otahkóóksikinakim*, Interview, 2006; *Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

A child was usually not told that they had been adopted until they were older. An elder relative would tell them at an appropriate time. It was believed that disclosure at a young age might affect the bonding process. If a child found out about their adoption, the adoptive parents would explain the reason for the adoption in the best way they could reassuring the child that adoption does not diminish their love nor alter their relationship (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006; *Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006).

Grandparents often took one of their grandchildren to raise, as was discussed under the section dealing with *miní'pokaiksi*. Other types of adoptions include adopting friends of your children, *kitáakoko'sskatayaaw*, especially in circumstances where your own

child passed away. You would take their friends as your children, to retain the relationship for both yourself and the friend (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, 2006). Your child's friends can also be adopted by you especially if they are from other First Nations, so they will not be strangers, or if they were industrious, as they would be considered a good addition to the family (*Otahkóóksikinakim*, Interview, 2006). In these types of adoptions, the child does not live with the family but in all other respects is treated as a member of the family, is given gifts, extended great kindness and is included in family get-togethers.

In cases where parents have lost a child and later meet someone who resembles their deceased child, they will adopt the look alike. Again, this child does not live with them, but they are treated with great kindness, given gifts and made to feel a part of the family. This practice is not limited to young children but also applies even if your son or daughter was an adult at the time of their passing (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006). *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) states:

Okó'sskaa, if they see someone that reminds them of one of their children; it could be a relative or a total stranger they will take that person as their child. They may make reference to this in a public gathering, and let the public know this has occurred. They will treat any child they adopt as their own. (Interview)

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) relays a family account:

My father's sister died when she was five years old; his parents took her beloved friend as a daughter and then later another girl who resembled her. This lady was always very kind to me; she brought me baby clothes and laundry soap when I had my first baby. I only later found out how we were related. (Interview)

Makóyippitaakii and *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) state that adopted children were shown great attention and love. This was because the adoptive parents felt great empathy for them. They often asked their own children to defer to the adopted child, as they realized the adopted child needed greater care and assurance. (Interviews)

There is also no concept of “loss of parental rights” in traditional adoptions. A child may have the benefit of two families rather than losing one. *Átso'toaw* (2006) explains the reason for this practice:

According to us if people have children we will not take their children from them. The Creator gave us children; he took pity on us and gave us children. The Creator gave us children to raise in the way he has instructed us to live. We cannot say that the person is no longer responsible for the child. We do not operate that way. We only take the child for his benefit and wellbeing. If a child is aware of his parents, siblings and relatives upon adoption, his new parents will ensure that he will maintain a relationship with his family. (Interview)

Summary.

Adoption provides childless couples with an opportunity to experience parenthood and enables orphaned children to enjoy a safe and loving upbringing. Káínai family and clan members routinely adopt one another's children to assist, to ease the stress and workload in times of illness or other hardship. The practice of grandparents raising their grandchildren as *kipitáípokaiksi* and *miní'pokaiksi* is unique. Another form of Káínai adoptions is adopting your deceased child's friends and look-alikes, which serves the function of healing. By raising their grandchildren, grandparents stay connected to family life, remain active and are able to pass on their knowledge. For the child, there can be a sense of honor and pride in having being chosen for adoption, the fact that someone would care for you so much that he or she would request that you be his or her child.

In Káínai society, adoption functions as a safety net, ensuring that no child is deprived of family, no families are left childless or overburdened. Implicit in these practices is a strong sense of compassion and commitment to family. Adoption is also a process for the creation of new relationships, similar to your existing blood relationships. In all instances, adoption is a process for the creation, nurturance and perpetuation of

relationships.

Iyááhkawa'yiksi, Clans

In the past, all those who were related to each other lived together in encampments, functioning as a single unit to provide for the basic needs of their members. The clans are referred to as, *iyááhkawa'yiksi*. Each clan had a name, usually given by other clans.

During the early reservation period, most clans tended to settle together on specific areas of the reserve. Today settlement patterns have changed and new communities are simply residential areas and not based on the clan system. According to *Tsíinaakii* (2006) the annual Sundance encampment seems to be the place where the clan system is most evident today as each clan has a specific place within the circle where it has camped for generations (Interview).

Role and functions.

In assisting one another with their material needs and providing each other with kinship, the clans function as a network of support. Due to their long association, they know how to live together. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) explains the nature of clan kinship:

They helped the elderly a lot, as they were not able to support themselves anymore. They got priority. In the recent past where we lived, Lone Fighters, this coulee and across there, they all lived along the same area. They all cared for each other and helped each other. If one was short or lacking something they'd go ask for it; they'd freely give, they were not charged, nor was cost mentioned. If they in turn needed something later; they would be assisted in the same way. *Mátaohpommaanisttsiiaaw*, they do not speak in terms of buying from each other. My father did not like this; he said it does not make you feel as though you are blood kin. There is an endearing way to ask someone for help, *áaksinaanssataaw*. Also in some instances they don't need to ask. If they have an abundance they'll readily share. He'd go to neighbors and help them out with fencing, stacking hay, or whatever. They also practiced *áwapohkatsiiaaw*; young people bring provisions to old people. Old people in return will make them pemmican. These are acts of

kindness that make for harmonious relationships. They say: *nisámikso'kowa*, my long time relative. I heard this many times. We still practice these today, in my family. (Interview)

The clans are important in terms of providing identity and a sense of belonging. Evident in the elders' discussion on clans is a high degree of respect for and pride in their clans.

In speaking about her clan, *Tsínaakii* (2006) states:

... the Fish Eaters clan, this clan is a very tight knit clan, they lived and camped together. They were very well known. They have great compassion for one another and have lived a decent and dignified life. (Interview)

Átso'toaw (2006) finds pride and inspiration in his clan:

I have many relatives in Káínai; they are concerned with helping the community. They work hard to maintain our spiritual and cultural ways; this is what keeps them grounded and committed to the affairs of the Tribe. Each of them works hard to advance our Tribe and ensure that we live a good life. They are involved in seeing our reserve prosper and reach new heights in education and government. I believe that we received good instruction and guidance from our clan. We were taught to respect each other; we were also taught to extend kindness to all people. We were taught to maintain good relationships with our relatives and to keep close contact with each other's families. Our elders ensure that we maintain good relations and that we keep our traditions alive, that we live according to the laws of our Creator. (Interview)

The clans set the standards for behavior and excellence. They ensure that their members comply with the unwritten rules of proper conduct. The elder brothers in the clan are the disciplinarians and are always mindful of the conduct of their younger relatives, and will remind them of their duties and obligations. Older brothers, *kí'sinnooniksi*, are respected, *áístoyiisataw*, and care is taken not to incur their disapproval or scorn. The older sisters in the clan also have a similar role to play in the lives of their relatives. Although they tend to mentor by counseling or advice, they can also be stern and resort to scolding and reprimands depending on the situation and their disposition.

Tsínaakii (2006) discusses how young people are dealt with if they are found to be

deviating from the norm and getting into trouble:

They (family/clan) would talk to this person and help them change their ways and find a good way to live. When we know that this young person is in trouble, we would find some elderly person to talk to them. This type of intervention and counseling has always existed in our Tribe. The person asked to counsel would spend time with this young person and give them guidance ... to follow the good way of life. Even if you were spoken to really harshly you just have to sit patiently and not take offence or respond defensively. (Interview)

Each clan usually has someone they go to for advice, usually the eldest member of the clan or someone who has come to be regarded as reliable and wise by the clan members. They can be either male or female. *Átso'toaw* (2006) states:

My brothers and I have reached the age to become leaders of the clan. I am finding that my relatives are coming to me to seek counseling and advice on various subjects or situations. Today I work closely with my female relatives, my mothers, as they are my support system; they help me to understand our spiritual way of life. (Interview)

Relationships within clans.

Compassion among clan members is highly valued and emphasized, and is repeatedly reinforced. A cardinal rule in clan relationships is that you do not fight with your own relatives. *Átso'toaw* relays a personal lesson from his youth:

On the weekends we would dress in our best clothes and go to town. We didn't go to fancy restaurants to eat out; we only went to the café for a piece of cream pie. We would meet boys from the *Piikani* reserve and engage in a fight; it wasn't serious; it didn't result in injuries. When we came back on Sunday during breakfast we would be talking about our weekend, telling stories about our fights with the *Piikani* boys. It was at this time that our grandparents over heard us ... we had named the boys we fought with on the weekend My grandmother was extremely upset. She said, 'Do you realize that you are closely related to those boys, you cannot be fighting your own relatives!' It was from this one incident that I learned that it was not acceptable to be fighting with your own relatives. (Interview, 2006)

Anyone from the clan may counsel or scold a child. A parent will not take offence.

All clan members have an interest in each other's welfare. *Makóyippitaakii* (2006) states

that it is very endearing, *iiniáá'pii*, to have people counsel you, to know that all your relatives have an interest in your wellbeing. You do not argue with older relatives if they scold you, nor should you talk back or take offence. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) explains:

A parent will not get angry if someone from the clan counsels or scolds their child, if that child is acting inappropriately. Also you do not argue with or confront an older person who counsels or scolds you for your inappropriate behavior. You just listen. The older people always counsel the younger ones. (Interview)

There is a requirement that you know all your relatives so that you can relate to them in the appropriate manner. This ensures that rules of conduct are not transgressed and that romances or marriages do not occur between clan members (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006).

A woman moves to her husbands' clan upon marriage. While she lives in the same camp or clan area and spends much of her time in association with the husband's clan, she does not forget her own clan; she maintains a relationship and an identity with her own clan (*Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006; *Tsíinaakii*, Interview, 2006).

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) relays an important exception to the practice of living with the husband's clan, called *áísstskiwa*. This may occur if the wife's parents are elderly and her husband will choose to go and live with her family so that they can take care of her elderly parents' needs (Interview). Children acknowledge both of their parents' clans but will tend to identify more with the clan they grew up with (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006).

Selecting a clan leader.

Átso'toaw (2006) describes how a clan leader is selected, an event he had a rare opportunity to witness in the 1970s while visiting with one of the elders. He recounts how *Kaiysskááhpaakii* arranged a meeting of her extended family and formally passed on the leadership to her son citing old age as her reasons for passing along the family

responsibility of caring for the affairs of the family and providing guidance. She invited *Átso'toaw* to witness the event so that he would know how it was done (Interview).

Átso'toaw (2006) also recounts his personal family experience with this practice, when his grandfather passed on in 1975 his uncles took over the role as patriarchs of the family. They provided counsel and guidance, instructed younger clan members in family occupations, assisted them through difficulties, and offered advice on life (Interview).

Relationships with other clans.

Marriage creates relationships with other clans. Clan members did not marry into their own clan, as this was considered morally wrong. Fathers or an older brother chose a girl's husband from another clan. In some instances, all the brothers from one family would marry all the sisters from another family. This further bound the two clans together (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006).

The relationship with your spouse's parents as grandparents or *kaaahsiiks* creates a strong bond. *Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw* explains:

They formed close relationships through marriage. They became our close relations and we care for them as we care for our own grandparents. All the children become related on both sides of the family; they all have peaceful relations. They treat each other kindly, exchanging gifts whenever they see each other. The parents of the couple give each other gifts. The boy's mother gifts his wife; this is referred to as *ámssiistotoaw*. This practice even extends to the wife's sisters. (Interview, 2006)

In the past, clans invited each other when important decisions were going to be made. They would come to a consensus on how to deal with a matter. No one clan dealt with an issue; they worked together to resolve matters. The clan representative then informed their clan members about the decision (*Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006). This can be extended to how decisions were made within the whole Tribe, by the

coming together of the various clan representatives. Today many of the clans are represented on the elected Council and people to some extent still select leadership based on kinship representation.

Clans still in existence.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) provided the names of the clans some of whom are still in existence today and was able to indicate where in the annual encampment circle each camped based on her inquiries on this topic with elders of the past generation and from personal knowledge. The clans identified are as follows: starting from the south side of the east entrance and moving clockwise: *Ni'táitsskaiksi* (Lone Fighters); *Akaipokáiksi* (Many Children); *Pottstáikiiksi* (Bites at the Throat); *Akáo'taiksi* (Many Brown Weasels); *Issúsoka'simiiksi* (Wear Tight Clothes); *Síksohkitsimiksi* (Blackened Lodge Door); *Innípoiksi* (Buffalo Followers) and *Mamíaooyiiksi* (Fish Eaters). From the north side of the west entrance are the *Siksínnokaiksi* (Black Elks); *Mo'tókkakssiiksi* (All Short People); *Mo'tósspitaiksi* (All Tall People); *Mo'tósiksskiiksi* (All Dark Faces); *Áppiikaiksi*; *Akáiksamaiksi* (Many Tumors); *Nítaaksisttoaniiksi* (Have Their Own Knives) and *Ípa'kinnamaiksi* (there is no English translation available for this clan's name) (Interview).

Summary.

Clans are an integral part of the Káínai social structure. They were based primarily on kinship, lived together and functioned as a single unit to provide for the basic needs of their members. Today they continue to assist one another with all material requirements and provide kinship, identity and a sense of belonging for their members. Clans are a source of pride and set standards for behavior and excellence. They ensure compliance

with the rules of conduct through the practice of peacekeeping measures and can facilitate peacemaking when necessary.

The elders note that some of the communities have become a mix of different clans, or simply general residential areas with no kinship basis. However, some areas of the reserve are still predominantly clan based. Most people still know their clans or relatives and respect them. The elders observe a renewed interest by young people in the clan system and other traditions resulting from their involvement with or exposure to the societies. The elders believe that a revival of the clan system on a community-wide basis has the potential to renew kinship practices and processes aimed at the prevention of wrongdoings and maintaining peace.

Kitákkaiksi – Friends

The term “*friend*” is used in a number of different ways. Commonly used to refer to those in one’s age cohort, *friend* also refers to someone who has befriended another in the course of one’s life or through the societies. Some friends are referred to as *nisámikso’kowa*, “my long time relative,” because of a long association with them.

Descriptions of the nature of relationships between friends provided by the elders imply standards or at least expectations of behavior and provide insight into the role friendship plays in peacekeeping. According to the elders, friends have compassion for one another, *áikimmottsiiyaaw*. They feel a kinship bond as though they were blood relatives, *á’tsistowamohsatsiiyaaw*. They take each other’s children as their own, *áóko’sstomootsiiyaaw*. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) provides personal examples of this custom wherein the children of her parents’ friends treated her as a sister throughout her life:

This lady M. her mother's name is *Ni'tsitáúinisskim*. My mother was friends with her. Now this lady M. she really cares for me; whenever I meet her, she says: 'Oh there is my sister, finally I see her again.' This is the way it is. (Interview)

Friends are a positive influence on one another, *áísokaahkskootsiyaaw*. One feels free to confide, to disclose any concerns or slights experienced to a friend, *kitáakai'sstassataw*. Friends will not involve themselves in a dispute; instead, they will provide caution and advice, *kitáakssiimoka*. They will also give counsel if they sense or become aware of a problem. A friend will do this because he or she wishes something different for their friend, *kitáakssikahkisisstak*, because he or she has compassion, *kitáákimmok*. A person will understand this and think, *nitsúniaapaisiimok*, "my friend is cautioning me out of a loving concern for me." The friend will heed the advice and counsel.

Through this level of support and commitment to the friendship, peace and order was maintained, *íkohtainsstáwa'pi*. These friendships of duration were also extended to the children of friends; their children were encouraged and expected to carry on the friendship of their parents by entering into their own friendships. Friendships are another form of kinship and continue to have relevance today.

Ihkanákkaaatsi – Societies

Káínai social structure includes a number of social and sacred societies called *Ihkanákkaaatsi*, meaning "all friends." The membership of these societies corresponded with the various age-group categories and has been referred to as *age-grade* societies or the *all-comrade* societies in the ethnography. These societies were numerous in the past and today the primary societies are still active having survived. The following two sections discuss the role they played and continue to play in Káínai peacekeeping and

peacemaking.

Social societies.

According to *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006), one would join his first society by age sixteen. All those aged sixteen would form a group and take a name. They would approach two to four senior tribal members to join their society to give guidance and serve as advisors. They are known as *ómahkakaiksi*, senior friends. Older associations may in their twilight years take on younger members if they wish to keep their society going. He relays the story of how he was captured by the Magpie Society as a young man. This occurred at the society's annual dance and was made known to the public. The elder who captured him told the public: "So you may all know, we have captured this young man ... he is now a Magpie" (Interview).

The social societies sponsored traditional dances at various times of the year but more so in the wintertime. In the past, they also hosted foot races and horse races. Today the dances are held around major holidays such as Christmas, New Year's Eve, Easter, and Remembrance Day. They bring the community together for an evening of traditional dancing and singing, visiting relatives and friends and meeting visitors from other First Nations. The highlight of the evening is the honor dance and the giveaway. Each society has their own song composed and given to them by an elder, which they use for their honor dance and at other important occasions. Relatives and friends support the society in their honor dance and assist their member relatives with the giveaway. After the honor dance, the society members give gifts to the people, especially visitors from other First Nations, and serve lunch.

The giveaway is a way to show goodwill and kindness to the people; visitors are

especially well treated. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) provides an example of a giveaway from the past:

... they will start to give away gifts, money, finery. In the past the people were extremely generous, *ikáóoksiyyaaw*, they even gave away horses. The announcer would say so and so got a horse and give a description of the horse. This man, who gave away a horse, it was a palomino, it was brought into the hall and brought around the dance circle. It was a tame horse, a saddle horse. This was M. S., he was a member of the Skinny Horses; he was their “senior friend,” *otómahkakkawa*. (Interview)

These dances also provide an opportunity for the transfer of headdresses and name giving. A headdress is conferred on a young man when he has achieved some major accomplishment. Today accomplishments recognized in this way may include graduating from university; joining the army, police force and other professions; or being selected for a leadership role. A name may also be given at the same time through a specific naming ceremony. There is also a women’s headdress, *aakíisaam*, in existence; it had not been used for some time but has recently been revived. The traditional dances also offer opportunities for tribal members to celebrate the accomplishments of their family members or to commemorate the accomplished lives of deceased loved ones through honor dances and giveaways.

Role of social societies in peacekeeping.

According to *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006), the social societies are a prelude to the sacred societies:

Your fathers will send you to join a society and now you have an extended family. You will be with them all of your life. These societies usually started at about age 16. The goal is to reach the main society (a sacred society). Those who complete this become *awaáhskataiks*, ‘the ones whom we take as grandfathers’ (elders). (Interview)

The individuals, with whom you join the social society with, are referred to as your

friends, *kitákkaiksi*. These friends also caution and counsel each other and encourage each other in positive ways. The social societies are formed to host community events so members are expected to be organized, reliable, responsible, and generous. Members are also a positive influence on each other and encourage one another to excel. The reputation of the society depends on the conduct and the abilities of its members.

Otahkóóksikinakim (2006) explains the joking relationship, *ksímmotsiiyssini*, a form of social sanction practiced by Káínai men of all age groupings and is evident in the age-group relationships of the societies:

As Magpies, our older brothers, the *Sisíksiiksi*, they can joke with us but we can't joke with them. But the next group older than them, we can joke with them, this would be the *Píítaikai'sspaiksi*. The joking encourages you to try hard; if you forget your responsibilities they will point it out to you. The older societies can pick on anybody. The reason for joking is to challenge you. If you're the subject of joking you try hard never to put yourself in that situation again. Jokes are said in public, the severity of the transgression determines the size of the audience. (Interview)

Past and present social societies.

Some of the social societies from the past that can be remembered include: *Sikapíí* (Grey Roans); *Ikkayayota'siiksi* (Own Fast Horses); *Piiksíniota'siiksi* (Skinny Horses); *Sookhahkánistookiiksi* (Widely Pierced Ears); *Apiksístsimaohkinniksi* (Wear Beaded Necklaces); *Máóhksiipssiiksi* (Red Belts); *Spístsimokaniks* (Tall Hats); *Mióóhkitopikai'sspaiksi* (Rough Riders Parted Hair); *Issapóíkai'sspaiksi* (Crow Parted Hair); and *Píítaikai'sspaiksi* (Eagle Parted Hair) (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

Social societies still in existence are *Mamiátsikimiiks* (Magpies), *Saaamiiks* (Headdress Society), *Sisíksiiksi* (Mixed-Age Society) and *Asitapi Ikanakiskatsiks* (Young Men's Society). *Sisíksiiksi* are comprised of a mixed-age group thus the name, *Sisíksiiksi*

meaning, “mixed.” Their name has been inaccurately translated as the “Penny” society (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

Summary.

The social societies provide their members with a peer group and an identity. Members learn skills in leadership and teamwork. Societies inculcate a sense of community through direct involvement in building community. They also play a key role in preserving and maintaining the culture particularly the dances, the songs, the honor dance, the giveaway, and the headdress and naming ceremonies. These traditions provide an opportunity to actualize and perpetuate the values of achievement and generosity. The honor dance acknowledges the society members’ accomplishments. In return, the society members acknowledge the honor of their guests’ presence by presenting gifts and providing lunch allowing them to share the benefits of their accomplishments, to reciprocate and redistribute. Through these traditions and customs, the social societies perpetuate the social order, the harmony and the balance.

Role of sacred societies in peacekeeping.

The topic of sacred societies is addressed only in terms of their role in peacekeeping and peacemaking. This is in accordance with the respect and strict protocols of Káínai with regard to these societies, which restricts discussion of details outside of their cultural context.

The role of the sacred societies is to maintain the connection between the people and the sacred. They do this through, *atsímoyihkaani*, the practice of prayer. The greatest manifestation of this is the bringing together of the people for the annual *ákokaatssin*, circle encampment. Throughout the year, the societies provide spiritual assistance and

guidance to community members who are experiencing difficulties with regard to health, family or personal matters.

The sacred societies are responsible for carrying forward the Káínai way of life. They have a duty to preserve the character, vitality and validity of *káínaayo'ssini*. They do this by adhering to the values and traditions, by leading exemplary lives, by assisting the people. In this way, they create and perpetuate harmony and balance within the community and within the environment. They have a special responsibility to guide the young so that the Káínai way of being is preserved for future generations.

Members are referred to as “sacred friends” and as “sacred relatives.” They are bound together by sacred intent. They regard each other’s children as their own. The children become aware of these relationships at an early age and come to treasure them. In essence, they become a sacred family. Society friends also caution, advise and counsel each other. They have their own internal mechanisms for the keeping the harmony.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) elaborates on these points:

The other kind of friends are our sacred friends, those we joined a sacred society with. They are beloved friends, *ki sákakakkaayaaw*. We feel a bond of kinship, *ái'tsistowamohsatayaaw* because we shared an idea to carry on the sacred way, *naatowa'pi*, the things we were given, the things we transfer down to each other. So we are friends through this. All those who are members of the society, those are our sacred friends. They do not refuse each other. If one of them is faced with something unpleasant, and his or her friend witnesses this, the friend will counsel and advise him, *otáakssiimok*. *Áókootsstomootsiyaaw*, they take each other’s children as their own. (Interview)

The sacred societies also play a role in peacekeeping and peacemaking within the community, *Tsínaakii* (2006) explains:

The other societies are responsible for maintaining law and order; their responsibility is to serve as security at the encampment (Sundance), they keep order and maintain peace. Their duties are to take care of any personal disputes between families or

clans and ensure that these disputes are resolved. The Brave Dog Society is extremely important; they maintain law and order for the Tribe; they are a highly valued society. The main society is in the position to work for law and order within the Tribe ... They are often asked to counsel and give guidance to people who encounter problems in their daily life. They provide the people with encouraging words, like helping them resolve issues and come up with a solution to their problems. They also provide prayers and encouraging words to help them resolve issues that they face in their employment, family and social life. (Interview)

Otahkóóksikinakim (2006) provides additional information on the role of the societies in peacekeeping and peacemaking:

Society members are brought in for support, to provide a support system. Friends counsel and advise each other, *áósiimotsiiaaw*. They are involved in peacekeeping and policing each other. If one acts inappropriately, his friends will counsel him, *otáaksiimokaiksi*. In a family dispute, one of your friends will become the third party and counsel you. In problems between a man and his wife, they can discuss their problems with their society friends. I can also ask my society friends to counsel my children. They can advise them. If my child doesn't want to talk to me about something he or she can go to my friend. The society members become an extended family for the rest of your life; once you are in you are always in. This is the role of societies. (Interview)

There were a number of sacred societies in the past but many were lost due to disruptions in Káínai society caused by European colonization and Christianization. As the elders advanced in years and the young people were forcibly confined in boarding schools for acculturation into European society, and with the traditional religion under legislative prohibition, a number of societies ceased to function. Today there are four active societies, as well as the medicine pipe keepers and the medicine lodge.

Summary.

From the words of the elders, we understand that sacred societies maintain order and the harmony within the community through prayer and through adherence to the values and belief system. They also keep order and harmony within their respective societies using their own internal mechanisms. Sacred societies are the link to the sacred, to the

Source of Life for the maintenance of Káínai harmony and balance. While each person is responsible for his or her own balance and that of extended kin, the sacred societies are responsible for the Tribe's balance. Some of the societies traditionally acted as police and the one remaining policing society maintains that role at the annual encampment today. Others may be called upon to assist families and tribal members facing difficulties through guidance, encouragement and facilitation of the peacemaking process. *Átso'toaw* and *Otahkóóksikinakim* relate how their society was requested to assist in present day disputes with external government and other agencies concerning the repatriation of sacred materials and child welfare matters, and were successful in resolving these matters (Interviews, 2006).

The Role of Leadership

This section addresses the role of leadership in the past and does not discuss the contemporary situation. Leaders were selected based on their accomplishments and their adherence to the values as evidenced by their daily lives. Within each clan emerged a leader who led the clan and represented them in council meetings. A council would be composed of all the clan leaders within the Tribe. One of the clan leaders would emerge as a leading chief. Decisions were reached by consensus.

Leaders are referred to as *nínaa*, which is a variant of *nínna* meaning “father”; or as *áómatsisáísskapssti* which means “to bring or move forth,” “to draw out,” and *áwaawattotsiipstaiks*, meaning “moves camp.” *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) discusses leadership:

Generosity in a leader was respected. Leaders were relied on for their accomplishments. It was their job to decide where the people would travel and camp during certain seasons. They checked on everyone and sent scouts out to locate

buffalo and good places to camp. When I was growing up, older people would make comments about young men who were mature, hardworking and reliable; they would say if this was the old days he would be a leader, *áka'pawawattotsiipstaw*. They did not favor those who were lazy, *pááhkskaohsiipitsiw*. Such a person would be avoided by others. (Interview)

The characteristics of a good leader are maturity, wisdom, respect, compassion, honesty, generosity, courage, and accomplishment; spirituality is a given.

Otahkóóksikinakim (2006) explains what is considered in selecting a leader:

You hear the word *saahkínayssini* or *mánikapi*, a young man or a bachelor is not yet in a position of making major decisions affecting the Tribe and you never put one in as leader of a society. *Ónnawa'si*, meaning when he becomes a father; then he is able to or attains the right to make decisions. He should be well versed in *káínaayssini*; he is expected to know this. The government and boarding school tried to destroy the culture, especially the teachings that a young person receives going through the societies. In our system, the ones selected for leadership are well-protected; they are surrounded with the best teachers. They will instruct you in the songs, child rearing, and other specific areas. When they become fathers they will be well prepared; they will have wisdom and understanding. This was disrupted by the boarding school. It separated children from parents and the community. Through mentoring, we can bring it back. My grandfather told me that they take great care in considering and selecting who should be the leaders. He said if their life is good, orderly such as their family, their children; if their residence is tidy and orderly so will be their leadership. If his place is disorderly so will be his life, *áaksimia'pii*. So they take note, *áókakio'ssiyaaw*, as to who is leadership material. (Interview)

The leadership role included making decisions in the best interests of the clan and the Tribe, and ensuring the material needs of tribal members were met; and that the traditions and laws were adhered to. Leaders ensured that family discord did not escalate, that the peace was kept within the clan and between clans. They counseled marital disputes and provided support and encouragement when families were faced with personal tragedy.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) recalled how the head chief and two of the councilors came to provide support and counsel to her family in 1934 following the loss of a family member (Interview). Like the spiritual leaders, they were also expected to uphold the

values of Káínai and lead exemplary lives. By adherence to the values and traditions, they were upholding and protecting the laws of the Tribe, as well as through their responsibility for maintaining order and the settlement of disputes. In some instances, the political leader was also the spiritual leader. The last leader who served both as political and spiritual leader was Shot Both Sides from 1913 to 1956.

The Elders' Role

The following is a summary of the elders' comments with respect to the roles and responsibilities of elders. One of their primary duties is the keeping of the peace and order not only within their clans but also for the Tribe as a whole. They are responsible for ensuring that the obligations and responsibilities of relationships, traditions, and customs are adhered in all aspects of community. They do this by "talking to you," advising, cautioning, and counseling. They settle disputes among families, clans, and the Tribe as a whole. They are responsible for preserving and handing down all forms of knowledge including sacred knowledge and serve as ceremonial leaders. The elders maintain these roles today.

Values as Laws

The elders' explanation of Káínai values illustrates how they underpin Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Values have been described by the elders as "those that make for a good life," *istssóksipaitapiiyo'pistsi* or alternatively "those that make for an orderly life," *istsinstayiipaitapiiyo'pistsi*. It is believed that these ways were given to the people by the Source of Life. Perhaps, then it is possible to view the values as the rules or the laws for living together in an orderly and good way. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) relays this story about the origin of order among Káínai:

The smudge was the first thing given to us people. The original people lived to be five hundred years old, they did not talk, had no prayer or order, *insstáwa'pi*. The Source of Life decided to make another creation; he cut four hundred years and we were given a hundred years and we were gifted with language and the smudge. (Interview)

Values identified include compassion, respect, generosity, courage, achievement, harmony, community, thankfulness, wisdom, and spirituality. Values are foundational to the way people perceive and behave within relationships. Values guide how people should behave, for example, the value of respect implies that you should treat people well; this extends to care of the self, including physical and spiritual well being.

In speaking of values as the law, it is interesting to note that the word *akáksstsimaan*, usually interpreted as “law making,” seems to be used to refer to the decisions that are made at a meeting of leaders and/or members of a group with respect to specific matters. These types of *laws/decisions* have two characteristics that distinguish them from *values as laws*: they are situational, related to a specific time, place and event/occurrence and they are manmade. Whereas, *values as laws* are seen to have permanence, set out for the people by the Source of Life. Values inform decisions. The values are reflected in and reinforced by the beliefs, traditions, customs, social structures and sanctions.

In Blackfoot, the term for laws is *akáksstsimaan* and the term for the European governments of Canada is *áókaksstsimaiksi*. The term for leaders in Blackfoot is *nínaiksi*, and their role is referred to as *nína'po'takssini*. *Nínaa*, as a leader is regarded as the father of the entire Tribe, someone who will watch out for and take care of the people as a father would his children. Implicit in these terms is the distinction between the role of the colonial governments, as decisions makers with respect to day-to-day material aspects of life and the continuing view of the Káínai leaders as those who are responsible for

ensuring the well being of the Tribe by maintaining the social and spiritual order as given by the Source of Life. This implies that those traditional responsibilities to keep the people and the Káínai way of life intact are still vested in the present-day leadership. This view of the role of the leadership is also reflected in the Blood Tribe's document, *Kainaysinni* in 1988, which is a contemporary statement of the elders reminding the leadership that land, language and the culture are the requisites for the survival of Káínai as a unique people.

Kímmapiiyipitssini – compassion.

Kímmapiiyipitssini may be translated as compassion, caring, concern, love, kindness and empathy. A compassionate person knows all kinds of ways to help, *ipóóhkanitapi*; he or she is always willing to assist, *sspómmaanitapi* and to offer comfort particularly during hardship or tragedy, *áápiiwaanitapiiyi*.

Tsínaakii (2006) encourages a compassionate lifestyle: This is how people should live their lives, it is not a good idea to be unkind, and unfriendly ... it will not help you in your life ... It is good to be generous, kind and helpful (Interview).

According to *Otahkóóksikinakim* compassion is so highly regarded that a practice exists referred to as *áakomimmi'kowaw*, a person may approach another and implore their assistance asking them to extend to them the same compassion and love that they have for their children. "Such a request is impossible to refuse, as you know they are sincere" (Interview, 2006). Continuing he states:

Compassion also refers to your kinship, not just with your relatives but also to all of life; treat all of life with kindness, and compassion. This is one of the prerequisites of leadership; one of the tests. You don't put in a cruel person, for example, someone who is cruel to horses or animals. Someone who is cruel to horses, animals is not showing compassion, *áókota'si*, treats his horses badly. When a father is selecting a

husband for his daughter, *áósskaasi*, he must be fully compassionate, *áakssopoksikimmapiiyipitsi* and respectful. He must try hard at his life, his work and everything falls in line behind that. These are the main tests. Compassion ... is also one of the main requirements of society life. You put aside pettiness, *powá'pii*, jealousy, *istssikáána'pi*; those things that are not right or good, and replace with compassion. You make a full commitment to compassion. Everything stems from it. People see that and respect it. People will respect it and will not take advantage of it. (Interview, 2006)

Átso'toaw (2006) believes that in his compassion the Source of Life gave all persons a gift whether that is a gift of oratory, song, intelligence, creativity or healing and that they, in turn, must use these gifts in compassion to assist all people (Interview).

Compassion is central to Káínai relationships and is the motivation behind the peacekeeping traditions such as counseling, advice, and encouragement. All intended to keep the harmony, the balance and the order with the best interests in mind for family, clan and the Tribe as a whole.

Innákootsiyssini – respect.

Respect, *innákootsiyssini* emerges as another primary value, as is evident in discussions pertaining to the nature of relationships with family, friends, leaders, and societies. Respect is also used to describe relationships with the land, all of creation, the spirit world and the Source of Life. There is also great regard for the way of life and the traditions that is evident in the high level of respect shown for protocol. Respect has also been used to describe the practice of *isstóyisatsiyssini*. This word translates as “shy of” and is a feature of the relationship between male-female relatives, younger-older relatives, and in-laws. This relationship can range from avoidance of certain types of behavior or speech, as in the case of male-female relatives, to total avoidance of physical presence. There is a general respect for all people. Handicapped people are respected;

they are not ridiculed or isolated. They are an integral part of the community. Some married and had families. The elderly and the young are especially respected.

Ááhsapssini – generosity.

Generosity or sharing extends from a sense of compassion and a commitment to one's family, clan and community. Another term used to convey this characteristic is *okssi*, which is a greater form of generosity. Tribal members are expected to show generosity to family, clan, tribal members, and visitors from other tribes. Generosity to visitors creates new relationships of friendship and reciprocity. It also enhances and maintains the standards and the reputation of the Tribe for accomplishment, excellence and generosity. Gift giving is an important mechanism for the expression of generosity and for the creation and maintenance of relationships. The concept of borrowing is absent; in its stead is *iináánssini* “to ask for assistance in an endearing/kindly way” with no discussion of payment or return. Implicit in this is the concept of reciprocity, in your moment of need there will be assistance.

Makámoo'tsitapiyssini – truthfulness.

Truthfulness or honesty, referred to as *makámoo'tsitapiyssini* meaning “right personhood/being” is also a critical concept. Truthfulness as a value manifests in the need to tell things as they happened or as were told. There is great disdain for liars or for those who embellish or exaggerate, *ito'tsípssaaki*. This explains the requirement for recounting your sources of knowledge and authority.

Other desirable characteristics related to truthfulness include *sáókaitapiyssini*, “straight forwardness.” *Mátohkoiniyakani* refers to someone who does not hold anything back in terms of what he or she says. This is a good trait if used well; if not, it can create

disharmony and must therefore be balanced with compassion and diplomacy.

Iikitápiiysini – courage.

Iikitápiiysini means courage, the ability to withstand and deal successfully with life's challenges including physical, emotional and spiritual. It includes being able to rise to the challenges of the day-to-day demands of making a living, war, and leadership. It also includes the emotional strength to face and survive life's tragedies and the ability to withstand and succeed in the spiritual quest. A related term is *iskonátapssini*, meaning "strength" which can refer to strength of character or to industriousness.

Sao'ohkóómaimmohsini – achievement.

Achievement is a value comprised of traits such as *iitsiníísoksisotsim*, "does everything well," "excelling;" *iskonáta'pitapi*, "being a hardworking person;" *sao'ohkóíkawapsstao'p*, "resourcefulness;" and, *sao'ohkóómaimmohsi*, "one who is outgoing and resourceful, not satisfied with doing nothing." Achievement, as a value, is reflected in the pride people feel in personal accomplishments, and those of family, clan and the Tribe. There is also the desire to distinguish oneself in terms of a successful family, a clan of renown, a great warrior, and leader. There is great pride in hard work, independence and one's personal appearance. Achievement implies an expectation of personal responsibility and self-reliance. There is also a sense of pride in the movement toward attaining deep knowledge and becoming a good person. The integral nature of achievement is reflected in the saying: *Tayá amemohsi kamotaw* meaning, "Who is it that did nothing and survived?"

Sapáátsima'pii – harmony.

Harmony may also be described by the terms *inspá'pii*, peaceful and *insstáwa'pii*,

orderly. Harmony may be defined as the existence of an orderly and peaceful situation where all components are balanced and synchronized. Harmony, as a value, in Káínai society manifests in the emphasis placed on maintaining positive relationships within family, clan and the Tribe; relationships with nature; the spirit world; and the Source of Life, and the wealth of traditions, customs and practices for the maintenance and enhancement of relationships.

There is a special emphasis on the keeping of harmonious relationships *ikkiníksokoamotsiiyssini* with one's siblings and clan. A cardinal rule is that you do not fight with your own siblings and relatives. One is expected to be cognizant of all kinship ties, to nurture them and maintain appropriate and peaceful relationships with kin. There is a sense of pride and accomplishment in maintaining harmonious relationships with one's kin throughout life. It is considered a worthwhile life's achievement.

Ááhkowaitapiiyssini – collectivity.

Káínai has a strong sense of collectivity based on the realization that all actions, decisions and events have a potential impact on the people as a whole, the way of life and the land. *Átso'toaw* (2006) refers to this value as, *Ááhkowaitapiiyssini* meaning "the people as a collective" (Interview). He was privy to discussions concerning community and political matters at an early age having grown up around his grandfather who came from a long line of leaders and served on the lifetime Council from 1942 to 1962:

Our ancestors truly believed in the concept of togetherness, of the collective. We were taught to consider everything that we do; we must think before we act, (and ask) 'Will this benefit the Tribe as a whole?' We are tightly bound together. I have heard of this concept at a very young age. Our leaders have gone to the older, previous leaders to ask if what they are saying (deciding) will hurt them, or hurt other people. If the words chosen will affect the relationship of the clan or the Tribe as a whole; will they result in a bad relationship or cause internal conflict? We

depend on each other; we are interdependent. (*Átso'toaw*, Interview, 2006)

This interdependence demands a great degree of responsibility for one's actions and accountability to the collective. This sense of community is intertwined with the value of survival, survival as a distinct people. Individuals are expected not only to be responsible for their successes and those of family but also to contribute in a significant way to the well being of the Tribe.

Káínai continue to find validity and meaning in their way of life and derive a strong sense of satisfaction and pride in being Káínai. There is a sense of meaning and importance attached to being on the "good road" and striving to become the "ultimate person," a person of accomplishment, wisdom and spirituality.

Ksímatsiiyssini – thankfulness.

Observations and an appreciation of the abundance of the environment and its benevolence engender a sense of thankfulness. The people express thanks in their daily prayers and in their daily routine with an outward expression each time they are reminded of the abundance of nature or perceive the benevolence of the Source of Life and the other beings they share the world with. Gratitude is also expressed when one receives advice or counseling from elders or when new knowledge is gained even in the course of everyday conversation. The witnessing of a particularly beautiful natural sight such as the sunrise, a good omen or the first evidence of the changing seasons like the first snowfall are also occasions for expressing appreciation. Thankfulness is a dimension of humility and respect, arising from a sense of the sacred.

Mokákssini – wisdom.

Wisdom is the capacity to understand life, *niipáitapiiyyisin*, human nature and

relationships attained through life experience and observation. Wisdom means being able to understand the workings of nature and spirit and is gained through relationships with the other beings and the Source of Life. It is being knowledgeable about the traditions, customs, language, beliefs, ceremonies, values and laws. Wisdom is having deep understanding and extensive experience with your environment: social, physical, emotional, and spiritual. It is being able to synthesize that knowledge and use it for successful living and sharing it to guide others. Compassion, wisdom and spirituality are all inter-related; spirituality is born of compassion and wisdom arises from both.

Atsímmi'takssini – spirituality.

Spirituality, *atsímmi'takssini* is having a sense of the sacred, a sense of awe and wonder with respect to the beauty and the intelligence of creation, and the power and compassion of the Source of Life. The elders believe that Káínai have a strong sense of the sacred, *ikátsimmi'tapiyo'p*. Adherence to this value has helped the people survive many hardships since European contact. *Átso'toaw* (2006) explains:

In our world, we are aware that all things are sacred and we must make offerings. For example if we must go berry picking we must offer tobacco or acknowledge a greater power for the berries that we take from the trees. Káínai are people who understand the concept, of *atsimma'pi* (the sacred); who live according to the meaning of this word ... It is our Creator who has taught us the meaning of this concept ... we make offerings and acknowledge a greater power, we pray in the morning and throughout the day and give thanks for what the Creator has placed here on this land. Each day we are thankful for the gifts given to us by our Creator. You only have to look around and give thanks for the abundance of nature.
(Interview)

Once a person comes into sacredness, they realize the purpose of their being. Once they come to this place, a shift occurs and one gains perspective. Life, relationships, responsibilities, traditions, ceremonies, stories and even language take on new meaning.

Coming into the sacred puts one in touch with true compassion, and then you truly appreciate the sacredness of life, all of life. In the face of this understanding, humility is a natural stance.

Matsowá'pitapii – a fine person.

It is important that you follow the rules/laws and strive for the ideal way of being. Your understanding and integration of the values and the teachings will be reflected in your conduct, in your everyday life and people will observe this. *Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw* (2006) speaks of *matsowá'pitapii*, a fine person, one who lives the ideals:

Matsowá'pitapii, one should be honest. The woman who puts up the *okaan* is referred to as *matsowá'paki*. A fine leader is referred to as *niitá'pinaa*. In the past leaders were those who excelled in war, they were brave and fended off the enemy. They took care of the people. They helped others and were selfless. They were generous and willing to help others. If one had no horse they would readily provide him with one to ride. These were the kind of people they selected as leaders. If you encourage someone, they will continue to do “good” because of that. A person who receives guidance, cautionary talks, counseling from his family is said to *áóhkoiisimaw*. This kind of upbringing sets his or her course in life. Such a person is considered *matsowá'pitapii*. Even if he or she is subjected to harsh words, he or she will not be driven to respond in a negative manner. He or she has self-control, this is because *áóhkoiisimaw*. The parents, grandparents, the clans, provide him or her with support, *áísskapiimaw*. He or she in turn will raise his or her children and relatives in this manner. We hand it down to each generation. That is why we still have *matsowá'pitapiiksi* today. (Interview)

Such a person may also be referred to as *niitá'pitapi*, “a real person.” A “real person” is self- disciplined, responsible, honest, appreciative, wise and compassionate.

Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw (2006) states children learn values from observing the conduct of their parents, grandparents and other adults. Her father counseled her against engaging in negative behaviors in the presence of her children lest they develop undesirable traits (Interview). In addition to internalizing acceptable behaviors from their parents and clans, children and tribal members are also provided instruction in good

behavior through storytelling, mentoring and specific teachings. Acceptable behaviors are reinforced through various mechanisms of reward and improper behaviors deterred through sanctions.

Summary.

Values are described by the elders as “those that make for a good life,” *istssóksipaitapiyo’pistsi*, or “those that make for an orderly life,” *istsinstayiipaitapiyo’pistsi*. Order, *insstáwa’pi* was given to the people by the Source of Life. Given the origins, values may be perceived as the rules or the laws for living together in an orderly and good way. Values identified by the elders include compassion, respect, generosity, courage, achievement, harmony, community, thankfulness, wisdom, and spirituality. These values are foundational to the way people perceive and behave within all their relationships. This extends to their relationships with other inhabitants of the environment. Through “mindful” practice of the values, the ideals may be achieved. *Matsowá’pitapii* is one who has gained wisdom through compassion and spirituality. Wisdom, *mokákssini*, in practice is referred to as *matsiyipáitapiiyssini*, “a fine and dignified life.” The ultimate goal of Káínai society is *matsiyipáitapissini*; *matsiyipáitapiiyssini* exemplifies order, peace, balance and harmony.

Inappropriate Behaviors – How Not To Be

Antithetical to these values are negative traits and behaviors that are not condoned but actively discouraged as they run contrary to keeping the peace and harmony and to being accepted and respected as a member of Káínai society. The following is a synthesis of the information the elders provided.

A person who does not show respect in the appropriate circumstances is said to be

mátohkoinai'taki, which means he or she does not respect authority. This person is disrespectful and arrogant. Arrogance, *akkóí'ssini*, is going against the way of doing things or proceeding with a course of action despite being advised by elders or others in authority to do otherwise.

Isttsí'takipitsi is one who gets frustrated easily and is quick tempered. A person who lacks compassion is said to be *mátohkoikimapiyow*, “has no sense of empathy or concern for others.” *Ikssáyistssaw* refers to “one who shows no restraint in his anger.” A person of anger, *maksináítapi*, is mean-tempered and always ready to fight; he or she will be avoided by others and will have few close relationships. Fighting in public is discouraged, *mátsitaisitok aaitsskao'p*. It is considered undignified and brings shame to oneself, family, and clan. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* states:

If someone should confront you in public, verbally, it is best not to retaliate. Simply listen and then ask if they have finished, then walk away. People who witness this will say: '*Ámaahkssi niitá'pitapi mátomatsskowaw*,' ‘This is a real person, he or she was not driven to retaliate.’ It is not good to fight in public, verbally or physically, to be driven to respond in anger. (Interview, 2006)

Other behaviors to avoid are *sayiksíksaapiipitsi*, “a critical outlook;” *ikahsítapiipitssin*, “making fun of people;” *i'póyipitsi*, “being a gossip;” *ásstaksáananii*, “making snide remarks;” and *áísomaananii*, “innuendos.” *Piyitápi* is “a trouble maker” who causes dissension among others and whose behavior is unacceptable, one to be avoided. *Iksisáttsiwaanitapi*, “a jealous person” has not cultivated a sense of compassion or maturity.

Sikimá'pssini, or stinginess, and hoarding are the antithesis of generosity and sharing. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) expounds on the trait of stinginess:

A stingy person will stand out; they will be well known. They may be given names

to reflect their nature. An example is *Ni'táikisstsipimi*. He had a fast paint horse, but apparently did not share his hunt with others, so people called him “lone paint horse,” meaning only he benefited from his horse. Another man with similar characteristics was named *Áístamiksopsskaa*. It refers to how they packed and carried the buffalo carcass home. Even if he got a cow, he would carry it as a bull, as bulls were smaller, this way expectations for sharing would be limited. Another man, a *Pikani*, kept his head down while butchering his kill; he would not look up to avoid people asking him for a share. People called them these names as a commentary on their stinginess. They were noticed, they lost respect for being stingy and were scorned. (Interview)

This practice is referred to as *áíksiminsskataw*, a name given on the sly. These names will be a constant reminder of their negative traits and a reminder for others that this is not a way to be. Should they change their behavior people may then refrain from calling them that name.

Lying, *sayípitssni*, all things criminal, *sáómita'pii* and all things not right or dishonest, *sawókamoota'pii* are to be shunned. *Sákwowhtaomaahkaaw* (2006) relays an amusing adage about lying: “Liars stood out, became well known, no one trusts them, even if they are telling the truth. Everyone will say “*sai'sstááninayi paahtsitapiyinayi*,” meaning ‘He is a lie and became human by mistake’ (Interview).

Elders counsel against giving up or surrendering physically, emotionally or mentally to hardships and the stresses of living, *omátskaohsini* is not good. Weakness, *sayikótsa'pssini* is considered an undesirable trait and can be cause for “joking.” This term is also used in reference to physical weakness. People are expected to take care of their health and to stay in good physical shape. This term can also refer to clumsiness and general ineffectiveness.

Accepting unfavorable conditions or situations is referred to as, *áómaimmohsi* which approximates “inertia” in translation and is an unacceptable behavior. People are

expected to be courageous and strong, to face up to life's challenges by taking initiative. *Ko'páítapiyssini*, fearfulness of tangible and intangible elements of life, is also unacceptable and is cause for "joking." Laziness, or *stáaapssini*, is not a virtue nor is weakness, *sayikótsa'pssini*. A term for a lazy person is *pahkskáóhssiipitsi*, which implies that one has a tendency to give up under duress, an unwillingness to stand up to the challenges of life.

To be shy, *ippataw*, unassuming, *sawanista'pssi*, or reticent, *áwapatska'si*, while not necessarily negative traits, can keep a person from accomplishment if they are extreme. Such a person could be a peaceful and gentle person. Káínai society accepts that there are many different personalities and all have their place. On the other hand, loud and boisterous behavior is not acceptable, neither is domineering, *otsítsska'pssin*, and disruptive behavior, *piyitápiiyssini*. It is not good to be a braggart, *ááhkáisstatan'so'si*. A person who brags, is referred to by the euphemism "*ksiskohkówanitapi*," meaning "a person who causes people to nudge one another other" (because of his or her bragging). Nor is it desirable to be a show-off, *ááhkaisstatska'so'ssi*. These traits run contrary to the value of humility. One who shows off his or her intellect is referred to as, *áókakisska'si*, meaning "acts wise," and is a modern-day phenomenon. A foolish person is not respected and is referred to as *sótokiaaw*, or *sótokiaawattsa'pssi*. A person advanced in years but does not display maturity and wisdom is said to be *omahkáttsa'pssi*. The antithesis of spirituality is *mátohkatoyi'taki*, one who has no regard for the sacred. This is also modern-day phenomenon.

The antithesis of *matsowá'pitapi*, the fine person or the ideal personality would be *sayíppomitapi*, which literally translates "not a well person." Such a person may also be

referred to as *maká'pitapi*, a bad or negative person or as *ikóka'posskitsipahpi*, “has a bad heart.”

Summary.

These behaviors may be considered wrongdoings, albeit lesser forms, in that they go against the rules of proper behavior. They are dealt with through various forms of sanctions including shunning, avoidance, exclusion, “being talked about” and ridicule. If not corrected or held in check, these behaviors eventually manifest in the more serious types of transgression that result in stronger forms of sanctions and require peacemaking. *Átso'toaw* (2006) believes that such behaviors arise from roles and responsibilities not being fulfilled:

I believe it is result of the way they were raised by their parents; this type of unacceptable behavior is transferred from each generation to the next generation. Some people will interpret it to mean that these individuals possess bad qualities. When we are young we are very impressionable and tend to follow the behaviors of older relatives. We are taught to be aware of our actions and thoughts. We are told that a child is very impressionable and will mimic our bad behavior. Older people are told that they must be very careful about what is said and done in front of children; they will copy the actions of any adult. (Interview)

Napi legends are told to children as a way to identify inappropriate behaviors and the consequences. *Napi*, the trickster figure in Blackfoot mythology, like Borrows' (2002) description of the trickster, has broken almost every moral law, showing disrespect not only to people but also to the animals, the rocks, plants. He is often deceitful, arrogant, disobedient and foolish. In all these stories, *Napi* comes to grief or finds himself in embarrassing situations. In short, he is the epitome of how not to be.

Wrongdoings

Wrongdoings would be those acts that are seen as a serious disruption of the order and

harmony within the family, clan and community. The following is a synthesis of information provided by the elders. Wrongdoings identified include the taking of a human life, injuring another person, careless use of the word, theft, adultery/infidelity and dishonoring women (rape).

Taking of a life.

In instances where a life was taken by another, the family of the one responsible would need to make peace with the family/clan of the deceased and restore the harmony. There is a term that appears to distinguish the accidental taking of a life. The term *iimáí'sstoyiiwayi* means the act was committed while the person was in a state of rage. However, it is evident that accountability is attributed to the person who caused the death whether it was intentional or otherwise. There was always the danger that the family/clan of the deceased would retaliate so peacemaking was crucial for keeping the order.

Otahkóóksikinakim (20006) relays a story of how an incident of accidental death was dealt with by adoption through the peacemaking process:

There was an instance where two men had one son each, these young men got into a fight and one killed the other; it was not intentional but that was the result. The father of the surviving son got an elder and sent him to the aggrieved father to sit with ... They (the fathers) smoked and the aggrieved father said 'We will not keep talking about it. What happened is very difficult. I will say how it will be. Your son will be my son. It will end here. I have forgotten about it. We will never speak of it again.' This is the highest form of dispute resolution. (Interview)

Not only was the relationship between the two families/clans restored but also the aggrieved father re-gained a father-son relationship by adopting the young man who had caused the death of his own son. This resolution illustrates the conciliatory and restorative nature of the Káínai approach to justice, and evident is the compassion and wisdom that underlie such a decision.

Causing injury.

Injuring another person with whom you had a fight or argument is considered a wrongdoing and cause for peacemaking. Again, there is the danger of retaliation by his family and clan and the preferred course of action is to make peace and restore the order and balance as soon as possible. Younger members of the clan may prefer retaliation but eventually must succumb to the wise counsel of the elders.

Adultery/infidelity.

Adultery or infidelity is so strongly disapproved of that it has sometimes caused one man to kill another. The case of Charcoal is an example. In 1889, Charcoal became aware that his wife was involved with a younger man. Despite counseling his wife to desist, he sensed that the affair was not over. He followed his wife as she went to the river bottom to get wood one day and witnessed them together. Overcome with rage he shot and killed the young man. Later he also shot the Indian agent and then later killed a North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) officer who pursued him. He eluded capture for a number of months; eventually he was captured, jailed, tried, found guilty of murder and hanged. Apparently, he had also gone looking for the Chief whom he may have wanted to harm, as Charcoal felt he had not made an effort to do his duty as a leader, by assisting the couple in resolving their marital troubles (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) makes these remarks with respect to the incident:

The older people (of her time) said that if it happened in the past, things would be in his (Charcoal) favor. He would not have been punished. This is how much they disapproved of this, a man having an affair with a married woman. The woman, people did not approve of her behavior. They used the incident as a reference point for inappropriate behavior. The incident was used as an occasion for girls to receive counseling about what behaviors to avoid. (Interview)

Evident in this story is the view of the sanctity of the marital relationship and family, there is also the concern with the reputation of the husband and the wife. Evident also is the expectation that leaders be peacemakers. This story also illustrates how European law and the subsequent societal disruption were displacing the traditional system. We see evidence of sanctions concerning inappropriate behavior and how the incident becomes an opportunity for the reinforcement of values.

Generally speaking, a man who engages in infidelity will lose respect; men and women will fear him. He will not be welcome anywhere; rather he will be shunned. In this extreme instance noted above, a man met with a fatality. Women also paid a price for infidelity as they, too, lost respect and were sometimes disfigured by their husbands.

Dishonoring of women.

Men who dishonored (raped) women were restrained, placed in a conspicuous place and in a humiliating situation and made a public spectacle. This is an extreme form of public shaming. Such a person may subsequently choose to leave the Tribe. If he should stay, he has totally lost face and the trust of the community and living in the community would be difficult.

Theft.

Theft is the deliberate taking of another person's property be it horses, weaponry, tools or household items. Theft was uncommon in the past but within the reservation period things started to change and incidents of theft began to increase. Theft epitomizes the undesirable traits of disrespect, dishonesty, laziness, and cowardice. A person committing such acts would be sanctioned through avoidance, gossip and loss of credibility and trust. She or he would become known as one with a tendency to steal,

komó'siipitsi.

Strong words.

Sayíppomi'powahsini, using words negatively is unacceptable; pointing is considered disrespectful, adverse and confrontational. Beyond that is the use of strong language, *isskonátsi'powahsini*. Words are considered powerful and must be used carefully as they have the ability to create and actuate. There is no tolerance for careless speech; elders and relatives are quick to admonish one who should give in to frustration or anger. A person with such tendencies will be avoided by others. There are remedies if you become the object of strong words. There are also remedies for one who has uttered them that will dispel the negativity. This involves the assistance of elders, prayer and gift giving to make things right and restore the balance.

Summary.

Átso'toaw (2006) shares his philosophy on the subject matter:

It is difficult, but is a known fact that we are all guilty of making mistakes. Some of these mistakes are major and some are very minor. The people who committed these wrongdoings didn't plan to do; it just occurred in their lives. Then there are others, these people have encountered a difficult situation which is due to devious thoughts which then transpired into reality and became a major problem. The person makes this mistake because of his mindset. It is because of his thoughts that were not good intentions, and this caused him to commit the crime. We are greatly affected by mistakes that we have created for ourselves. It also affects our family members who suffer right alongside of us. The person, who has committed the crime, brings shame and guilt to his family. This is why our ancestors were extremely careful in their thoughts and actions; they always considered everything they did or said. They believed that they must be careful in their word choice, for if you don't watch what you say you can harm yourself or your family. Being aware of yourself and your surroundings made life easier; also to remember to think positive thoughts, for if you allow negative thoughts to enter your mind, it will affect you and your family. We should never allow ourselves to be in an unacceptable situation, for if we do things that are taboo, we will have people talk about our actions. Even today we are still accountable for our actions and behavior; we are monitored by these actions, and they keep us responsible. We really try hard to help the person who has done wrong;

they must show that they are sorry and ask for forgiveness and guidance. Another belief is that your actions come back to you; what you have done to someone will eventually come back to you, and you will suffer or hurt like the person you have injured by your own actions or negative thoughts. We cannot run from them or try to hide, the injury we have brought upon anyone, we know, and the Source of Life knows everything and we will be affected by our own actions. This helps to keep a check and balance in our life; it promotes good relations in our clans and our Tribe. It maintains peace, harmony, respect. (Interview)

Wrongdoings do not appear to be limited to physical actions. Strong words and the negative thinking behind them also constitute wrongdoing, and as with all such acts, must be addressed through processes of peacemaking including apology, gift giving and ceremony. Today wrongdoings are handled by the Canadian legal system; however, tribal members continue to have recourse to the traditional peacemaking process, which they can utilize within its natural context to restore relationships.

Keeping Peace with the Environment.

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) provides an eloquent description of the Káínai relationship with the environment and the respect given to the earth and its inhabitants by the people based on her personal life experience and upbringing:

Everything was useful, and because it was beneficial what the Source of Life gave us; the people understood this and they respected all of nature. Those who traveled on the earth, *káwa'pomaahkaiksi*, we prayed to them and we prayed for them, and those who flew, *iipóttaiiksi*, and those in the water. We called on all of them. It is no wonder that they took pity on our people of the past, *okáátaikimmokiaaw*. There are many stories and those things that were given from the water, wondrous things, *pisáta'pii*, and tipi designs. They saw them in dreams; they became transformed into people and spoke to them. They perceived everything as sacred; they sensed the presence of the Source of Life in all things. There is nothing that we wasted, what we were going to use, that is what we take. We don't disrupt things for nothing. We respect the earth ... we do not just rudely dig her up, or cut trees. We were placed here with them. Plants for medicine ... if we are going to take any we have to ask the Source of Life: 'I am going to use this, may I be successful in my use of it.' We will cover back where we dug and place tobacco there and pray, apologize. We are not just disrupting (the earth) for nothing. We pray for all things, for the new growth of grass, that we may make green our feet on it. We pray ahead (for) the first snow that

falls. We received everything. When we were young, my brother and my late sister, when it rained our mother would say ‘Run outside, run around the house, soak yourselves with the rain, *naatoyíw* (it is holy). When she would see an eagle, they were more numerous then, I was always around her when she chopped wood, she would see an eagle overhead, she, would look up and say ‘*Anníyayi niita’pipiitaaw.*’ She meant that it was a spirit, and she would pray to it. The Thunder, when it first came she would go out to greet it ... She would speak to him. These are the things I was able to witness before she left us. (Interview)

From this perspective, flow principles that guide how the people are expected to relate with the land, plants, animals and all of nature and the cosmos. The basic principles governing the relationship are reverence, respect, conservation and reciprocity. In hunting, only what was needed for food was taken and every part of the animal was used. Today not so many people rely on hunting for food anymore, but those that do continue to abide by these practices. Trophy hunting is not a practice among tribal members. In the reciprocal relationship, all of the animal life is featured and honored in the ceremonies, songs and dances in Káínai culture and animals, in turn, provide the people with knowledge and abilities to assist one another in ensuring good health, safety and longevity.

The gathering of medicines, willows and other plant life for ceremonial use is guided by the principle that you take only what you need and that you leave a gift of tobacco in return. Examples of conservation practices include the prohibition on the breaking of branches when people are berry picking and the requirement to move around from year to year to avoid over harvesting in one area.

Ways of keeping peace and making peace with the environment includes the gift of tobacco, prayer and offerings. This is an acknowledgement of other life forms right to be and the significance of the relationships to Káínai. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) speaks of

this crucial concept of sacred kinship with nature:

The environment is very important; we have a sacred kinship with all living things; the wind, earth, rocks. We can't take a rock and displace it without ceremony of some kind, without a reason. We and the earth are siblings, the birds, the animals, *iihpapíimootsiyimaw*. We have a sacred kinship. The offerings we give symbolize that. When we talk about our relatives, *níkso'kowaiksi*, we refer to all of life. The sweet grass is braided in three and that includes the Source of Life, the environment and ourselves, bound together. The colors that we use are red, yellow and blue, also black. Red is for the people and yellow for the Source of Life and blue for nature or the environment. The paints are a symbol of our sacred kinship and relationships. (Interview)

The environment is not restricted to the land and its inhabitants but extends to the cosmos. Káínai also have a strong relationship with the skies as Blackfoot origins and ceremonies derive from the cosmos, as recorded in the ancient stories. Renewal ceremonies acknowledge and perpetuate these ties and reciprocal relationships.

Káínai Peacemaking

The elders were also asked to share their knowledge of how peace and balance was restored between family members, individuals and between clans in instances where a dispute or disruption of the relationship occurred. They were consistent in their description and explanation of Káínai ways of peacemaking. For Káínai, peacemaking is the restoration of harmony and balance in relationships, within families, clan and the Tribe when they have been disrupted through inappropriate behavior or wrongdoing.

Peacemaking also extends to relationships with the environment and creation.

Peacemaking is generally achieved through ceremony with the assistance and guidance of the elders. There is also a mechanism for creating peaceful relationships with other nations.

Parents, elders and leaders as peacemakers.

In marital disputes, the respective parents, and elder relatives would inquire about the reasons for the dispute, counsel and advise the couple with reconciliation being the primary goal. The desired result would be a restoration of the marital relationship; the past would be set aside and the couple would start anew. Leaders were also expected to assist with marital disputes through counseling and advice. *Tsíinaakii* explains how peace is restored between husband and wife:

If there was a problem with the relationship between a married couple, the in-laws would intervene and decide their course of action. They would discuss it, addressing the relationship; why they are not getting along; why are they arguing with each other. We will get them together and help them resolve their marital difficulties. We would go to one of the couple, the wife or husband, and talk to them. We would talk to the aggressor or the person who injured the other party. We would advise them to settle things, to resolve their problems. (Interview, 2006)

Societies as peacemakers.

Disputes of a general nature among family members were also addressed by family and clan members usually an elder or older brother. In disputes that are more serious. Particularly those involving inter-clan disputes, where there may have been a confrontation, the role of the policing societies was to restrain the individuals. The societies who fulfilled this function were known as *iyínnakiiksi*, meaning “those who restrain.” A peacemaking ceremony may follow such an incident. *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* (2006) explains:

Societies have a role in settling disputes. In the past, if people have disputes maybe one will confront the other. Someone will try to stop them. It may not escalate because someone would stop them. That is why we have ‘*iyínnakiiksi*,’ that’s why we call the police of today ‘*iyínnakiiksi*.’ They will restrain people, it does not mean ‘to seize’ (*Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, 2006, Interview).

A peacemaking process.

As disputes increase in seriousness as in an exchange of angry words, a physical confrontation or injury, *atsímska'sini*, apology became the means by which peace could be restored. Young people are prone to retaliation, and it is the elders of the clan who offer counsel and facilitate peacemaking.

Otahkóóksikinakim (2006) explains the function of the smudge as a prelude to any type of meeting or ceremony and how it relates to peacemaking:

Amató'simaan is in peacemaking and in decision-making. It is in all things. You can't have negativity around it. Smudge turns negative to positive. That is the thinking behind it; it is the expectation, the unwritten rule. It ends negativity. Smudge is also used in decision-making, consensus decision-making. The idea is to give them an opportunity to decide, to make a decision, not to make a judgment. This should be used in our system (referring to the Blood Tribe justice system being proposed). (Interview)

There would be a presentation of gifts to signify the apology and the wish to restore peace and an indication from the other party accepting the gesture and a reciprocal wish to restore the harmony in the relationship. *Tsínaakii*, (2006) explains:

They offer a gift to the person ... the trouble or problem or conflict and tell them to make an apology to the injured person and tell them that the previous conflict should be forgotten and ... end the argument, everything that had occurred is to be forgotten. It ends there ... it is to be forgotten and just forgive each other and it will not continue after this problem has been resolved. In some cases the injured party was given a horse as a gift, to show good will and end the conflict. (Interview)

Otahkóóksikinakim (2006) refers to this practice as, *atsímska'sini*, an apology:

If you have wronged someone you gather blankets and gifts of finery and you ask an elder, a third party to assist. You send the elder over to the aggrieved party with the gifts and a message. You are not expecting anything in return. The person knows why you are sending the gifts. The (aggrieved) person will say 'Oki, tell *áyawa* (so and so) that this is where it will end.' (Interview)

In disputes of a serious nature such as injury or death, the party wishing to make

amends may also utilize the pipe in addition to the giving of gifts. The pipe is used in such extreme cases. An elder would be called upon by the family of the offender to facilitate peacemaking. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) explains the process of peacemaking:

In extreme situations, if there are hard feelings you can resort to the pipe. It would be common knowledge that it is serious when the pipe is involved. The two parties involved in the dispute cannot speak directly with each other; they will use the elders as spokespersons. Both sides would have an elder, these two would confer first. There was an instance where two men had one son each, these young men got into a fight and one killed the other; it was not intentional but that was the result. The father of the surviving son got an elder and sent him to the aggrieved father to sit with. This is like sending a feeler, is he open to a solution? The elder would then report back to the man who sent him. If he was open to a solution the next move would be the pipe. The pipe would be brought forward from this man to the aggrieved party. The protocol with the pipe is that if you take it you have agreed; smoking it together indicates coming together. The two elders are present. This opens the door, to talk. You have agreed now we will resolve it. They smoked and the aggrieved father said 'We will not keep talking about it. What happened is very difficult. I will say how it will be. Your son will be my son. It will end here. I have forgotten about it. We will never speak of it again.' This is the highest form of dispute resolution. (Interview)

Sákowohtaomaahkaaw (2006) describes her understanding of the process as well:

They will ask an elder and tell him to go tell so and so (father or relatives) we will approach them with the pipe, *ákohpikimaatsiyyaaw*. 'Our son may have fought or injured so and so's son, so that the matter won't escalate, we will approach them with the pipe.' The relatives will gather gifts: finery, horses, the messenger will go ahead The pipe is used as part of the apology; (they) go there with gifts and the pipe. 'Here are gifts ... let it stop here.' They will accept the apology. It ends there, it will not continue. They will not be angry It is still like that, but probably rare now. It still exists. Not many know about it, unless you are placed in a situation where you experience that. (Interview)

This form of peacemaking is a solemn undertaking that results in a final resolution of the dispute or harm done by one party to another. In these instances, the relationship between the two individuals and their clans is healed and restored and the balance and harmony within the community re-established. The ceremony realigns the social order with the greater natural order.

Innaihtsiyissini – treaty making as peacemaking.

Another way of peacemaking is through *innaihtsiyissini*. *Innaihtsiyissini* is used to alter the nature of a relationship and is used in two ways externally to create peaceful or trade relationships with other nations, and internally to alter certain prescribed existing relationships. *Innaihtsiyissini*, when used to make treaty with other nations involves use of the pipe as well and is a solemn undertaking, a binding agreement honored by both parties. It involves the exchange of gifts to show good will and build rapport. It is a sacred accord as it involves the pipe. This is what was invoked at the time of treaty making with the Americans in 1855 and the British Crown in 1877 by the Blackfoot nations. *Otahkóóksikinakim* (2006) explains this treaty making process:

With *innaihtsiyissini*, we will never have bad relations. You will never show hostility toward me. These are lifelong accords. As long as the sun shines, the sun was made reference to in the treaty and the white people do not understand how powerful that is. There is a ceremony involved in *innaihtsiyissini*, they downplayed this in the treaty. They have lost sight of its true meaning. That is why you will never see us breaking the treaty; it would be very dangerous for us. (Interview)

In recent memory Káínai has also entered into treaties with the Crow, Sioux, Mandan and Assiniboine nations in the 1800s (*Otahkóóksikinakim*, Interview, 2006; *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

Coherence of the peacemaking process.

Peacemaking is the restoration of the balance in relationships when they have been disrupted through inappropriate behavior or wrongdoing. Peacemaking is achieved through ceremony. The following articulates the components of a peacemaking process as described by the elders: acknowledgement that discord has occurred; expression of a sincere wish on the part of the party responsible to restore the harmony; third-party

representation and facilitation of process by elders; family/clan playing a key role; expression of an apology through gift giving; acceptance of the apology by the other party; and a similar wish to restore the harmony indicated by the acceptance of gifts and such message conveyed via elders; and, use of the smudge to clear the air, to rid negativity and re-create order.

In Blackfoot the word for sacred is *atsímma'pii*; prayer is *atsímoyisskaan* (sacred speech); and apology is, *atsímsska'sinni* (to act in a sacred manner). The sacred, prayer and apology, in the Káínai way, are all closely related. Apology, *atsímsska'sinni*, is recognizing and making amends, for wrongful behavior; recognizing that you have transgressed against the sacred that is peace, balance and order and making amends in the only appropriate way: in a sacred manner. This trilogy explains the essence of the Káínai worldview and concept of peacemaking. *Atsímsska'sinni* is used to restore relationships with other people, the earth, the other inhabitants, and the Source of Life.

Use of the pipe is a grave undertaking as it is based on this understanding of the sacred kinship among the people and with creation. The ceremony reconnects everyone concerned to the laws of harmony, compassion and respect and to the originator of these laws, the Source of Life. The settlement of the dispute is binding because of the sanctity of the word, the pipe and the ceremony and the people's common subscription to the underlying ontological beliefs. The dispute, no matter how serious, is set aside, forgotten, as the common goal is the restoration of the integral whole, through the restoration of social harmony, balance, peace and order.

Contemporary uses of traditional peacemaking.

The components of a peacemaking process or their modern-day expression may be

used to guide Káínai's work in developing a peace-making model. The elders, however, do not feel that it would be appropriate to utilize the pipe ceremony in any context other than the traditional context within which it originated, considering its sanctity and gravity. In this case, this practice would not be a feature of a modern-day process. The elders would ensure the cultural integrity of a contemporary process using appropriate measures as specified by them. The traditional process in its natural context would continue to be accessible to tribal members requiring it. *Otahkóóksikinakim*, (2006) states:

In the Western system you have to satisfy the state first; for us, it is the people directly involved who must be satisfied. The family and community play a role in restoring the peace. This is *káínaayssini*. You can use the sacred, the elders, a third party. Direct contact would be too confrontational. We (Káínai) still have our traditions; we are lucky, we don't need to borrow from anyone. *Ikáútsi'sska'so'pa*, we conduct ourselves in a fine and dignified manner. It will not be good to try to build these traditions into a program, existing Western structures. Stay close to the real way, *niitá'piiye, káínaayssini*. The ones who would oversee the peacemaking process would be *omiiksi áwaahskataiksi*, 'the ones who are recognized as the grandfathers.' They should be the ones safeguarding the process. (Interview)

Summary

This chapter is the elders' account of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. They share their knowledge of how Káínai maintains social order and harmony within families, clans, friendships, societies and the Tribe, and with the other inhabitants of the environment and the Source of Life. They describe the nature of these relationships and the responsibilities of each in maintaining peace and harmony. For Káínai maintaining harmonious relationships is paramount. Káínai society is comprised of a complex system of relationships including the family, clan, societies, friendships, marriage and adoptions. Each of these relationships has its own set of responsibilities and obligations and is

maintained through the practice of traditions and ceremonies.

The elders identify Káínai values, perceived as laws received from the Source of Life, that govern the parameters of relationships and underpin the functioning of peacekeeping and peacemaking. Values of compassion, respect, generosity, courage, achievement, harmony, community, thankfulness, wisdom, and spirituality are foundational to the way people perceive and behave within relationships including those with other inhabitants of the environment. Beliefs, traditions, customs, social structures and sanctions are reflected in and reinforce the values.

The elders identified what constitutes harmful behaviors and wrongdoings as well as described the preventive measures and sanctions in place for deterring and addressing such. Inappropriate behaviors run contrary to the values and are actively discouraged in an effort to preserve the peace and social harmony. Wrongdoings are acts that disrupt the harmony within the family, clan and social order within the community in a significant way. Wrongdoings are addressed through processes of peacemaking including apology, gift giving and ceremony.

Káínai peacekeeping functions through prevention measures and sanctions carried out by family, clan, friends, societies, leaders, and elders. All of these relationships play a role in the prevention of inappropriate behaviors, wrongdoings and disputes. Positive reinforcements reward good behavior and sanctions deter and/or punish wrongdoers. Children learn moral behaviors and values through relationships, living life and from stories.

The elders conclude with an explanation of the traditions and customs for the restoration of relationships where the relationships have become unbalanced and the

social order disturbed. Peacemaking restores harmony and balance in relationships, within families, clan, the Tribe, and with the environment. Balance is achieved through ceremony facilitated by elders.

Through “mindful” practice of the values and within the supportive network of Káínai relationships and traditions, the ideal Káínai personality may be realized.

Matsowá’pitapi is one who has gained wisdom through compassion and spirituality.

Wisdom, *mokákssini*, in practice is *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*, “a fine and dignified life.” The ultimate goal of Káínai society is *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*. The outcome of peacekeeping and peacemaking is *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*.

In an effort to provide the reader with an opportunity to hear directly from the elders and experience the spirit of the oral tradition this chapter deals exclusively with the elders’ telling of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking with minimal analysis. The next chapter provides a broader interpretative framework to elucidate the functioning of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. The interpretive framework is based on the central principles of the Káínai worldview including the concepts of a live universe, relationality, flux and renewal as well as place and language and the traditions of story and ceremony. The analysis of story draws on the observations of Cajete (2000), Campbell (2004), Conaty, (2004b), and Cruikshank (1998).

Chapter Five: How Káínai Peacekeeping and Peacemaking Function

In this chapter it will be shown how the foundational principles of the Káínai worldview work in concert to provide the coherence of Káínai society and how the beliefs, values, relationships, traditions, and customs including story and ceremony function to achieve and maintain peace and order, harmony and balance.

The Notion of Balance

For Káínai, simply stated, *peacekeeping* is the maintenance of balance, order and peaceful relationships between tribal members, and between the people and the rest of creation while *peacemaking* is the restoration of balance and thereby harmony when the social order has been disrupted. The idea of balance derives from the worldview, the perception of the people's place in the universe, the nature of that universe and the relationships between the people and the environment. Capra (1997) describes a worldview as: "a constellation of concepts, values, perceptions and practices shared by a community, which forms a particular vision of reality that is the basis of the way a community organizes itself" (p. 6).

The Káínai worldview like the Native American worldview described by Cajete (2000), Little Bear (2000a, 2000b, 2004) and Peat (1993) regards everything in creation as animate. An energy or spirit perceived within all of creation leads to the conclusion that all things are alive and interrelated. The perception of the flux is based on observations taken over thousands of years that a constant change or shifting encompasses everything in the universe including life, the land, animals, plants, rivers, rocks, the weather and the skies. Balance in such a world is maintained through proper

relationships and ceremony (Little Bear, 2000b).

In Blackfoot, the concept of the flux, the constant change or unpredictability inherent in life, is expressed as *mátaommita'pii*. The understanding that everything is alive, imbued with energy or spirit and interacts, along with observations of continual change, and perceptions of causality through action or inaction leads to the conclusion that there is a relationship among all the life forms within the world. The world is comprised of the Source of Life, *Iihtsipáitapiiyo'pa*, who gave order, *ninsstáwa'pii*, to the people; those who travel the earth (animals), *káwa'pomaahkaiksi*; those who fly (birds), *ipóttaiiksi*; those of the water and those of the sky, *sspomítapiiksi*; and the earth, *ksááhkomiiitapi*. The land, minerals, water and plant life are regarded as having spirit and capable of entering into relationships with the people. It is observed that a change in any one of these life forms affects the spirit or balance of others, *áakoohtohkimiaaw, kiai áaka'pohpatsskimiaaw*. Thus, the relational network, comprised of all the life forms or inhabitants of the environment, perpetuates this constant change.

Given this interconnectedness, all of the inhabitants have a role and responsibilities to maintain the equilibrium and harmony of the network. The transience of life as created by the constant change, or flux, creates the need to maintain the delicate balance. Life is seen as fragile and thereby sacred, like a newborn life. The realization that life is fragile and sacred, and constant mindfulness of this truth engenders compassion. Thus, the delicate balance of life is achieved by creating and maintaining compassionate and respectful kinships among the people, *ikkinítkso'kowammotsiiyssini*, and with all the other inhabitants of the environment, who, like the people, desire to maintain the balance, and survive, *mááhksikamotaahsaaw*.

The people are integral to the relational network of creation and understand their role and responsibilities in maintaining the balance and harmony of the world. The other inhabitants or other beings, who are kin to the people, *ihpapiímotsiiaaw*, moved by compassion, give themselves to the people as physical sustenance and as conduits to deep knowledge and personal power through dreams and sacred gifts. The attaining of power through the vision experience or dream is referred to as *iskóikimmaw*, meaning, received compassion. These dreams instruct in ways of living, of maintaining balance, securing a bountiful life and ultimately, survival. The seeker of knowledge is given a sacred gift and the necessary instructions for actualizing the knowledge gained, through ceremony, prayers, songs, and dances. Sacred gifts may also be given by other beings in response to a kindness shown to them or as a kindness to humans who find themselves in peril or dire need. Accounts of these events, gifts and relationships are recorded in the long ago people's stories, *akáitapiitsinikssiisti*.

Through adherence to the instructions concerning the use of the sacred gifts, and ceremonies, given to them by their relatives in the animal, plant, mineral and spirit world and by the Source of Life, the people contribute to maintaining the relational balance. The experience of the vision defines the nature of their relationship with creation and the instructions set out their obligations.

The perception of reality is that this is a compassionate universe and relationships are motivated by and characterized by compassion, and respect is a given. The sacred gifts are thereby, a manifestation of the sacred and compassionate kinship between the people and the other beings including the Source of Life. The sacred gifts given to the people not only create and acknowledge this kinship but also acknowledge the people's place within

the relational network. They also validate the people's presence on the land and set out their obligations to care for the land they occupy. Stories of creation, such as the story of *Kaatoyís*, identify the origins of specific landmarks making up Blackfoot territory, the redeeming feature of compassion and the importance of harmonious relationships.

Through the use and care of the sacred gifts and through the conduct of ceremonies on a regular basis which assist in maintaining the overall harmony and balance within the relational network, the people in return are protected from the uncertainties inherent in the unpredictable nature of life.

The sacred gifts embody the norms, values, and protocols of the Káínai way of life. The origins of the people, the sacred gifts and the ceremonies are contained in the origin stories. Also contained within these stories are the values and the types of behavior deemed appropriate. The stories also identify inappropriate behaviors and their consequences, such as the *Napi* stories that are told to children (Conaty, 2004b). Together the stories, the sacred gifts and the ceremonies, embody the norms and social rules of the Káínai way of life. On the role and value of the Blackfoot stories, Conaty (1995) states:

An important source for this information lies in those myths or legends that provide the Blackfoot with evidence that the abstract rules of cultural conduct have been tested. In a sense, the myths provide a justification for the cultural norms ... It has been my experience that centuries old norms are still valued today and that the legends are still viewed as explanations of some natural phenomena and as sources of authority for some patterns of behavior. (p. 403)

Stories play a vital role in the socialization and instruction of tribal members into the beliefs, values, norms, rules and traditions of Káínai, as well as, in the perpetuation and recreation of the Káínai worldview.

Social order is achieved by a common subscription to a worldview that holds that

keeping the harmony and balance in an interrelated world that is transient, fragile and sacred, through compassionate, respectful and reciprocal relationships is tantamount to survival. Henderson (2000) states:

In most Aboriginal worldviews and languages, laws are processes that sustain and nourish relationships. The sense of having a worldview whose hold over the members has such gravity that it need never be spelled out creates a communal solidarity that is the foundation of customary laws. This ecological understanding of the flux creates a worldview that identifies what is with what ought to be. (p. 271)

Traditions and Customs

Káínai peacekeeping functions through a number of traditions and customs including prevention measures and sanctions which are effected through relationships, which may also be expressed as social structures, such as family, clan, leaders, elders and societies and through various customs and traditions.

Preventative measures.

The elders' account of the relationships and roles of family, clan, friends, societies and values has revealed that Káínai society has in place a number of preventative measures and mechanisms that are intended to prevent or at least minimize the development of negative traits and inappropriate behaviors. If unchecked, such behaviors would lead to social disharmony and an imbalance in social relationships. Measures for prevention may be summarized as follows: *isosístawátsimaani* - good upbringing of children; *áakssitsipssataw* - "give a talking to" which may range from cautionary advice to a sterner version which may serve as a sanction to deter further wrong doing; *ohsskimaana'pasiimohkiaaw* - precautionary counseling, before something occurs; *síimohkssini* - counseling, advising, cautioning by family, clan, friends and leaders; *itáó'totoyisokai'piiyo'pa pookáiksi* - the concept of "we stop at the children;"

áisskapiimohkiaaw - support and guidance by family, grandparents, clan, and friends;
ikááhkimiiinakssini - encouragement by family, clan, friends and leaders; and finally,
áókakiaanikki ómahkitapiiksi - wise counsel by grandparents and elders.

Relationships or social structures, for prevention of inappropriate behaviors, disputes and wrongdoings include family, grandparents, older brothers, clans, elders, friends, social societies, sacred societies, society leaders, and political leaders.

There are also positive reinforcements that reward good behavior and sanctions that deter undesirable behavior. Positive reinforcement includes acknowledgement by family and clan in private and/or in public, i.e. the praise song; public and ceremonial recognition as in receiving a name, or a headdress; family-sponsored giveaways; people showing you respect as a result of your qualities as a person and your accomplishments; and people approaching you as a grandparent for deep knowledge, *kitáákaahskakoow*. The latter is the ultimate expression of community acknowledgement, respect and trust.

Creating, maintaining and nurturing relationships.

There are also a number of traditions and customs for creating, maintaining and nurturing relationships, the following are some examples. A woman would have a relationship of respect with her son-in-law, *áisstoyiisattsiiyaaw*, sometimes referred to as a relationship of avoidance. They do not see each other; if they should meet by mistake, he is required to give her a gift. The practice of avoidance may also be viewed as a preventive measure to reduce the chances of unpleasant encounters. The requirement for gift giving at once acknowledges that a breach has occurred, apologizes for the breach and restores the relationship. While the mother-in-law and her son-in-law do not see or speak to one another, there are customs in place whereby their distance relationship can

be nurtured. There is the practice of “feed the son-in-law,” *áyoohsiisakiyaawa*, which is an act of kindness and acknowledgment of the son-in-law. The girl’s mother prepares a meal for her son-in-law of the finest foods and sends the dish to him. This is also intended to encourage the son-in-law to be kind to the woman’s daughter, to reciprocate her kindness (*Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006; *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw*, Interview, 2006).

Another practice that nurtured relationships with in-laws at the onset was the custom of gifting moccasins (*Makóyippitaakii*, Interview, 2006). *Sákowohtaomaahkaaw* explains:

In the past, when couples get married, you get your husband’s parents to provide their foot size and the girl’s mother will bead them moccasins. They also do this so that they will be kind to the daughter. It also creates a feeling of closeness, a bond with them. (Interview, 2006)

Tsíinaakii (2006) talks about the practice of friendliness and nurturing relationships:

We make friends at social gatherings such as dances or other events. We make friends with them and they become a part of our family. At Indian Days and the Sundance, we camp and meet relatives and also acquire new friendships that are maintained and kept forever. We teach our children to participate in these and other social events. There are people who are recluses and never attend any social function. They just keep to themselves, they are not interested in acquiring new friendships; they are content with being alone and never make new friendships. They isolate themselves from society. I think that this type of person with this character, was greatly affected by the years they spent in boarding school ... It is a good trait to be friendly and kind ... it is a good quality that all people should possess. The people that we have talked about I often call them and wish them good morning ... the telephone is a useful tool today; it helps us to maintain our relationships with children, family and friends. It helps you keep in touch with those that you care for. This is how people should live their lives; it is not a good idea to be unkind, unfriendly ... it will not help you in your life. (Interview)

Gift giving is an important feature of Káínai relationships; referred to *ini’sstotakssini*, it translates as “to treat kindly.” Gift giving shows good will at the

beginning of a relationship and nurtures it throughout its duration. Gift giving also acknowledges people and extends them kindness as in the giving of gifts to visitors at giveaways. It also acknowledges ongoing relationships with other beings and the Source of Life. Gift giving is also an important aspect of peacemaking. It is utilized to apologize for transgressions in word or behavior to other people, other beings and the Source of Life; or the causing of injury to another person, family or clan. Other beings and the Source of Life provide gifts to the people as a symbol of good will and benevolence. Gift giving maintains the relational balance in all its aspects with and among all the inhabitants of the Káínai world.

Sanctions.

Forms of sanction include social, psychological and physical forms of sanction including *síimohkssini*, counsel to desist or refrain and *áakssitsipssataw*, “giving a talking to” which may be expressed as admonition, stern advice or warnings depending on the personal style of the person dispensing it or the nature of the wrongdoing. They may also take the form of scolding and castigation. Other forms of sanction include shaming, ostracism, avoidance, public contempt, “being talked about,” and “being known for your negative traits,” *áítapitssksskanio’pa*. Older brother’s scorn is effective because it could take the form of castigation, contempt, avoidance, rejection and has a strong element of shaming. Losing face and losing trust are also effective sanctions. The joking relationship is a form of shaming and public reprimand. There is also the practice of “giving one a name on the sly,” *áíksiminsskataw*. In marital relations there are forms of separation such as the wife returning to the family home, facilitated by the older brother/male relatives, referred to as *ááhsawatstaan*, or the husband severing the marital relationship with his

wife, *iiponówataw*. Physical sanctions included the actions of the societies, some examples of which are provided by McClintock, (1992) and Wissler, (1911) and those addressed by the elders I interviewed in their discussion of wrongdoings and peacemaking.

Pospisil (1971) provides a broad definition of sanction that may be helpful in understanding Káínai sanctions. It is the function of sanctions that is important, not their form, as form is seen as being culturally relative:

Sanction, on one hand, is a necessary criterion of law and, on the other; that it need not consist of corporal punishment or a deprivation of property (physical sanctions). The form of legal sanctions is certainly relative to the particular society or to the particular subgroup in which it is used: it may be physical or social-psychological. I may, then define legal sanction either as a negative device in withdrawing rewards or favors that otherwise ... would have been granted, or as a positive measure in inflicting some kind of painful experience, physical or psychological. (p. 92)

He identifies a wide range of sanctions found in various Indigenous cultures, most of them non-physical, including: listening to admonition, performing a prayer of reconciliation, shaming, scolding, public reprimand, warning, divorce, verbal castigation, stern advice, giving a derogatory name, and eviction (p. 90).

Core Values

While there are a number of values that have been identified in Chapter 4, there are two sets of key values that I have discerned. These may be spoken of as the core values, which appear to work in concert to establish the ideal Káínai personality. People's adherence to these values is evident in their conduct and is rewarded with community approval, trust and respect. Efforts to achieve good habits and behaviors are also recognized, rewarded and supported.

The sense of the sacred, compassion, and respect.

Underlying the practices and processes of peacekeeping and peacemaking such as preventive measures, positive reinforcements and sanctions are the sense of the sacred, compassion and respect. As life is seen as transitory, as fragile, it is therefore regarded as precious and sacred. Children and all relationships are also viewed in this way. Compassion and respect, particularly for children, the elderly and relatives are engendered by this perception and by the lived experience.

The relationship between the people and the other beings is based on compassion, as it is out of compassion that the other beings give themselves to the people as sustenance and as conduits to knowledge, power and survival. Respect in these relationships is a given. Káínai also acknowledges the sacredness and the precious life of the environment, the cosmos and the land upon which the people rely for their livelihood both material and spiritual.

A sense of the sacred, compassion and respect engender the nature and tone of the preventive measures and positive reinforcements such as gift giving, feeding a son-in-law, counseling friends, advising young people, stopping at the children, and adopting grandchildren. A sense of the sacred, compassion and respect are ways of relating that are reflected in Káínai attitudes, speech and behaviors with respect to social interactions.

The sense of pride, dignity and achievement.

The values of pride, dignity and achievement are interconnected and function together to produce a hardworking, honest and successful member of Káínai. This set of values interrelates with those of mindfulness of the sacred, compassion and respect by balancing each other. Pride is connected to respect, respect for oneself, family, clan and

the Tribe. It is also an effective motivator for achievement in community life, war, leadership, and personal accomplishment. Achievement in turn generates pride.

Pride, especially as associated with family and clan is also a motivator for keeping peace and order. For example, fighting in public is seen as disgraceful and undignified, an act which will bring shame to a person and his or her clan. It shows an inability to restrain emotions, immaturity, and disrespect for yourself and others. The goal is to have the respect of the community and to feel comfortable with yourself, your conduct, and contributions to the community. Implicit in this is a sense of personal responsibility and accountability to the community. A sense of pride is felt by living in accordance with the rules and upholding the values of Káínai society. The movement toward wisdom is therefore seen as accomplishment. Wisdom, *mokákssini*, is a state of being, engendered through compassion and spirituality. A dignified life is the result. Wisdom, *mokákssini*, in practice is referred to as *matsiyipáttapiiysini*, “a fine life.” The ultimate goal of Káínai society is *matsiyipáttapiiysini*.

Role of Stories and Ceremonies

Stories and ceremonies function to maintain the integrity of the worldview and thereby establish the nature and tone of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Through their telling and conduct, they continuously reinforce and recreate the perceptions, processes and practices that maintain balance and harmony among the people and with the other inhabitants. An exploration of the role of stories and ceremonies will illustrate how they function to effect, reinforce and revitalize conceptions of reality, beliefs, values, traditions, rules and norms.

“Traditions and histories are passed from one generation to the next through the

telling of stories. Stories define ... who a people are. They describe how a culture came to be and why, a group inhabit the space that they do” (Conaty, 2004b, p. 1). Conaty (2004b) categorizes Káínai stories into biographical, historical and mythic stories. This is similar to my understanding of Káínai stories which are usually about heroic individuals who had great power as obtained through dreams including the war stories, major tribal events, and stories from the distant past which are usually origin stories including *Napi* stories.

Some of the origin stories, the star stories in particular, which record sacred events and the origins of sacred ceremonies and other forms of sacred knowledge are restricted to initiates and practitioners. The elders who shared their knowledge of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking in this study advise against the discussion of such matters outside the context of the sacred, as known and practiced by Káínai. Respecting their wishes and in compliance with Káínai protocol, they will not be discussed here in any detail.

Biographies.

A person’s biography is composed of her or his life events. The story robes of Káínai and other Blackfoot men reiterate their life’s accomplishments and function as biographies. Conaty (2004b) states that the pictographs (story robes) “are, in fact, public records of personal achievement and can be ‘read’ and understood by all Káínai” (p. 7).

The robes are testimony to the courage, achievement, intelligence and wisdom of the warriors, which has lead to success in everyday life. Such accomplishments, ultimately equip tribal members for participation in leadership and ceremonial life. Many ceremonies require the public recital of heroic deeds by a warrior in order to commence.

Through the story robes and the public recitation of these personal heroic stories for ceremonial purposes, the values are highlighted, reinforced and reintegrated. The tribal member is rewarded for compliance with the values and the rules through public recognition and validation. The values are legitimized for and inculcated in the youth as the warriors are publicly honored and admired by the Tribe. Youth aspire to model themselves after the warriors.

The fact that a public recounting of personal accomplishments is inextricably tied to the performance of life generating ceremonies, which perpetuate the balance, demonstrates how integral the values surrounding personal achievement are to the functioning of Káínai society. These values include courage, wisdom, strength and perseverance. Furthermore, it demonstrates how vital the relationships with other beings are for the continued balance and functioning of the larger order. As it is through these compassionate relationships that warriors receive their life vision, from which they draw courage and instructions leading to personal accomplishment.

Histories.

Histories are “stories [that] document incidents that have affected the entire group, sometimes shaping the composition and structure of society” (Conaty, 2004b, p. 3). Biographical accounts “may outlive the protagonist and eyewitnesses of the original events. What once was a personal story becomes an historical event, as it is retold generation after generation. In the process individuals may be elevated to an almost iconic status as their deeds become symbolic of cultural values” (Conaty, 2004b, p. 10).

A public figure may also become an icon and his personal life an exemplar of cultural values, a case in point may be Red Crow, *Mí'kiai'stoo*, whose leadership spanned

one of the most difficult periods of change and challenge for Káínai, from 1870 - 1900. This period encompassed pre-treaty, treaty, and reserve settlement. His wisdom, foresight, courage, accomplishment, and strong sense of commitment to the Tribe and the ancestral lands, is considered the standard of *káínaayo'ssini* and he, the quintessential leader.

Mythic stories.

The term *myth* is used here in the sense of *origin story* and not as reference to something made up or untrue. The following is an insightful overview of how stories and the ceremonies function in Káínai society:

[Stories] describe how cultural practices came into being and why various cultural protocols are important (and) the origin and nature of human relationships with the rest of the universe. Mythic stories which connect human beings with their cosmos reaffirm the roles and responsibilities of all beings. These stories often involve conflict arising from inappropriate behavior by one or more members of the cosmos. The conflict, which is resolved only when the behavior is modified, illustrates the consequences of acting poorly. In many myths physical objects are given to humans by the other beings. These gifts commemorate the story and signify the sacred relationship between the humans and the other beings of their cosmology. The gifts are the physical representation of the principles evoked by the myth. (Conaty, 2004b, pp. 3-4)

Campbell (2004) also identifies the functions of myth as the mystical, the cosmological, the sociological and the psychological. The first, the mystical function is to “reconcile consciousness to the preconditions of its own existence; that is to say to the nature of life” (p. 3). Campbell is referring to the ability to accept the nature of human consciousness and life, both in their brutality and beauty, to reconcile one with the other, “Through the bitterness and pain, the primary experience at the core of life is a sweet wonderful thing” (p. 3-4).

Blackfoot stories embody the full expanse of human nature or human consciousness

as can be seen in the *Napi* stories. The humor with which they are accepted and continue to be utilized today as explanations of human behavior reflects an ability to understand and accept the chaos and order inherent in life. Some of the ancient stories are dark in nature while others epitomize compassion and heroism. The range of characteristics is accepted as reflective of the nature of life, including human consciousness. It is perceived that within all people there exists an element of the chaotic, expressed as *sááyii* and at times can emerge in one's personality to varying degrees. This view of human nature is reflected in the Káínai approach to wrongdoers, which emphasizes the reintegration of the individual into the community through processes that are non-judgmental and restorative in nature. It accepts that in life, one will make errors in judgment, that *sááyii* may at times run rampant, but through compassion, and the support of kin, apology and ceremony the balance can be restored. Through the peacemaking ceremony, all relationships affected by the disruption or dispute are healed and brought back into balance; the community is reintegrated. The wrong is dissipated and balance is restored through ceremony thereby linking the people to and replicating the greater order.

The second function, the cosmological “is to present an image of the cosmos that will maintain your sense of mystical awe and explain everything that you come into contact with in the universe around you” Mythology and religion provide a context within which to “reconcile your life, your existence to your own consciousness, or expectation of meaning” (Campbell, 2004, pp. 7-8).

The origin stories continuously reinforce the perception and understanding of the beauty, the power and the benevolence of the world, the Source of Life and the other beings. They validate reality and give meaning and purpose to life.

The third function of a mythological order “is to validate and maintain a certain sociological system: a shared set of rights and wrongs, proprieties or improprieties, on which your particular social unit depends for its existence” (p. 8). Campbell (2004) states that in traditional society:

. . . these notions of order and law are held in the frame of the cosmological order: they are of the same essential nature, equally valid and equally unquestionable So, the social laws of this holy society have the same authenticity as the laws of the universe ... The social orders of a traditional, myth-based society are as authentic and as far beyond criticism as the laws of the universe itself. (p. 8)

For Káínai, the values may be viewed as “laws,” in that the way of life, *niipáttapiysin*, is believed to have been given to the people by the Source of Life. Specific instructions with respect to relationships, responsibilities, conduct and observances set out in dreams and sacred stories may be regarded as another set of laws. The stories validate and maintain a common subscription to the values, appropriate behaviors and what is considered wrongful behavior. The need to maintain harmonious and balanced relationships may be regarded as the central governing law and the main goal in Káínai society.

The fourth function of mythology is psychological and pedagogical. The myth enables the smooth passage of the individual through the various stages of life including birth, adulthood, old age and death. The pedagogical function of myth is expressed in rites of passage, which effect a psychological transformation (p. 12). The end purpose of puberty rites is the integration of the individual into his or her society: “In societies of a traditional culture, maturity is the condition of living within the bounds of the cultural traditions. You become the vehicle of the moral order. You enforce it. You believe it. You are it” (p. 12).

The age-grade societies which are based on original instructions from the Source of Life may be seen as functioning in this manner wherein they provide rites of passage for Káínai members who as they move through the age-grade societies develop more complex skills and in-depth knowledge necessary for a productive and successful life in the community. They become thoroughly integrated into Káínai society as they move from puberty to maturity, toward the ultimate goal of *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*.

For Campbell (2004): “The imagery of myth is a language ... that expresses something basic about our deepest humanity” (p. 21). He explains:

These symbols stem from the psyche; they speak from and to the spirit. And they are in fact the vehicles of communication between the deeper depths of our spiritual life and this relatively thin layer of consciousness by which we govern our daylight existence ... Myths derive from the visions of people who have searched their own most inward world. Out of the myths, cultural forms are founded. (p. 24)

A cursory review of Káínai origin stories will reveal how they have shaped the people’s view of the world, the culture, values and relationships. The world is experienced as essentially compassionate. The awe inspired by the beauty and fragility and the mystery of life engenders the sense of the sacred. Through the journey of the dream many Káínai have traveled and returned with gifts of knowledge that have taught the people how to live, with one another, with the land and with the environment in a sustainable and balanced way.

Speaking to the nature of stories and how story functions in society, Cruikshank (1998) offers a way of conceptualizing stories as a dynamic social activity and as a communication process:

If we think of oral tradition as a social activity rather than as some reified product, we come to view it as part of the equipment for living rather than a set of meanings embedded within texts and waiting to be discovered. One of the most entrenched

observations of contemporary anthropology is that meaning is not fixed, that it must be studied in practice – in the small interactions of everyday life. Such practice is more likely to emerge in dialogue than in a formal interview. In her retelling of this one story, Mrs. Sidney shows how she is able to communicate meanings that are both culturally situated and highly personal . . . Her point in her various retellings is to show oral narrative is part of a communication process. First, you have to learn what the story says. Then you learn what the story can do when it is engaged as a strategy of communication. (p. 41)

Káínai stories validate a view of the world, relationships with and within that world, and they assist also in making sense of contemporary reality. Concepts of and attitudes toward the ever changing nature of life, and human nature can be seen to assist in explaining contemporary reality, and the concepts of the sacred, compassion and relationality as giving hope, strength and temperance in engaging contemporary reality. Any of the stories, including *Napi* stories, may serve to explain or be the basis of contemplating life's occurrences, the idiosyncrasies of and the variances in human nature. Stories continue to be instructive of how the world functions and how one ought to be within that world.

Ceremonies.

Cajete (2000) sees communal ceremonies as being tied directly to the guiding stories of the people and their understanding of their world and their relationships and responsibilities: “Ceremony is both a context for transferring knowledge and a way to remember the responsibility we have to our relationship with life. Native ceremony is associated with maintaining and restoring balance, renewal, cultivating relationships and creative participation with nature” (pp. 70 -71).

Káínai perceive that in the conduct of and participation in ceremonies the power and the blessings of the originating dream or vision is renewed, and experienced directly by

the participants. The regular performance of ceremonies keeps the connection alive and nurtures the relationships with the other inhabitants and with creation. It also reinforces the understandings of relationships and responsibilities and the state of mindfulness required to fulfill obligations. Campbell (2004) defines *ritual* as the direct participation in a myth, in the original event, and such repetition of the original act serves to renew the power of the original event (pp. 30-31). Ceremonies are a powerful means of perpetuating a vision of reality, of the people's place in the world, and what they must do to maintain that reality.

Summary

Stories and ceremonies are well integrated into Káínai life and serve the functions observed by Cajete (2000), Campbell (2004), Conaty, (2004b), and Cruikshank (1998). They reinforce the perceptions of reality, the relationships and ultimately the need to maintain harmony and balance through a cultivation of the values and norms and their mindful practice. The stories and ceremonies, in concert with the beliefs, values, relationships, reinforcements and sanctions established social order and harmony within Káínai society in the past and continue to serve that function today, particularly for those who subscribe to Káínai beliefs, values and traditions.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

This chapter will provide a summary of the study on Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking including its purpose, process of inquiry, theoretical framework and the results. It discusses how the dimensions of the study relate to the existing literature and concludes with a discussion on the significance of these findings and implications for future research.

Summary of Study

This study set out to document and to understand traditional Káínai processes and practices through which social order and harmony within the community is kept and restored, using the oral tradition as a primary source and the Káínai worldview as an interpretive framework.

In reviewing the literature, I found that there is an absence of knowledge about Blackfoot or Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. What little information there is was written primarily between the 1890s and the 1950s in the form of ethnographies. Understandably, these writings were strongly influenced by established anthropological theories of culture, human development and law as well as the writers' beliefs and attitudes reflecting the cultural environment of the time period. Clearly, the existing literature did not have the capacity to provide an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking, not in the way that a first-hand, lived account could provide.

Theories in sociology and anthropology for the study of Indigenous law were not suitable to the task of understanding Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking from an Indigenous perspective as they are rooted in a Western scientific paradigm that precludes

such an exploration of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. While legal pluralism attempts a more balanced way of looking at law, fundamentally, it still subscribes to universal assumptions rooted in Western European culture. Furthermore, this analytical approach did not relate to the focus of my study, which was to document and understand Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking from a Káínai perspective. The need to establish an appropriate theoretical framework and process of inquiry that would explain and interpret how Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking operated became acutely obvious.

The struggle of Indigenous people to overcome the representation of their identity, knowledge, culture, experiences and contemporary issues by Western-based theoretical frameworks and methodologies has resulted in the emergence of Indigenous theory and postcolonial Indigenous theory. These theories allow Indigenous people to articulate their own perspective of Indigenous realities and ways of knowing.

By employing postcolonial Indigenous theory, particularly as defined by Battiste (2000), I have been able to critique the treatment of Blackfoot peacekeeping and peacemaking in the literature in the context of a wider critical discourse and utilize a Native American process of inquiry to explore and create an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. Using Káínai research protocol and the Káínai worldview as an interpretive framework has enabled me to gain greater insight into how Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking functions and why it is an effective means of social control and maintaining harmony and balance within the Káínai world and with the environment.

Five Káínai elders participated in this study and explained Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. An interview guide assisted in focusing these conversations. Elders were

asked to identify and discuss the relationships, roles and responsibilities of families, clans, friends, societies, leaders and elders and how they contributed to peacekeeping and peacemaking. In the process of discussing relationships, roles and responsibilities, they identified various customs, traditions and processes for peacekeeping, which function as preventive measures and sanctions. They were also asked to identify values that the people subscribed to, and what rules and laws were in place to maintain social order. Conversely, they were asked to identify wrongdoings. They were also asked to describe how disputes were settled.

The Káínai Justice Working Group participated in this study by identifying the topics they were interested in and reviewing the questions for the interview guide. Areas of interest included family law, youth, and dispute resolution. It is the intent that the Justice Working Group will be utilizing the research data compiled through the elders' interviews, with the elders' consent, for the development of a Káínai peacemaking model suitable for contemporary needs in the administration of justice.

Understanding Káínai Justice

In the course of the conversations with the elders, it became obvious that the values, norms, traditions, customs and processes relating to Káínai justice are based on a specific view of the world, one with its own internal coherence and logic. For Káínai, the universe is experienced and perceived as an integrated whole, wherein everything is alive and interrelated. It is observed that life is transient, fragile and sacred.

The basic principles governing the relationship with the land, plants, animals and all of nature and the cosmos are compassion, respect, thankfulness and reciprocity. Conservation is practiced in the use of the animal and plant life for sustenance and health.

In hunting, you take only what is needed and every part of the animal is used. When gathering medicines, willows and other plant life for ceremonial or other use you take only what is needed and you leave a gift of tobacco in return.

Káínai recognizes a sacred kinship with nature, *iihpapíimootsiyaaw*. In the reciprocal relationship with the animal world, all of the animals are featured and honored in the ceremonies, songs and dances in Káínai culture, as they provide the people with knowledge and skills that ensure good health, safety, abundance and longevity. There is also a profound relationship with the skies as many gifts including life-generating ceremonies have their origins there. Blackfoot ancestry also has its origins in the skies.

Compassionate and respectful relationships are the basis of interaction among the people, with the natural world, the land and the universe, enabling all to maintain, flourish and survive. This relational network underlies and informs every aspect of life within society. In light of this interconnectedness and the transience inherent in life and nature, there is a continuous need to maintain the relational balance. Relationships, traditions, customs, stories and ceremonies continuously reinforce the beliefs, values, and norms of Káínai society, recreating reality and effecting harmony and balance in the system.

Values.

Values have been described by the elders as “those that make for a good life,” *istssóksipaitapiyo’pistsi* or “those that make for an orderly life,” *istsinstayiipaitapiyo’pistsi*. It is believed that order, *insstáwa’pi*, was given to the people by the Source of Life. Given the origins, values may be perceived as the rules or the laws for living together in an orderly and good way.

Values identified by the elders include compassion, respect, generosity, courage, achievement, harmony, community, thankfulness, wisdom, and spirituality. These values are foundational to the way people perceive and behave within all their relationships. This extends to their relationships with other inhabitants of the environment.

Core values work in concert to establish the ideal Káínai personality. Underlying peacekeeping and peacemaking measures such as prevention, positive reinforcements and sanctions are the sense of the sacred, compassion and respect. A sense of the sacred, compassion and respect engender the nature and tone of the preventive measures and positive reinforcements.

The values of pride, dignity and achievement are interconnected and function together to produce a hardworking, courageous, honest and successful member of Káínai. Negative behaviors bring shame to a person and his or her clan. A sense of pride is felt by living in accordance with the rules and upholding the values of Káínai society. The movement toward wisdom is therefore seen as accomplishment. Wisdom, *mokákssini*, is a state of being, engendered through compassion and spirituality. A dignified life is the outcome. Wisdom, *mokákssini*, in practice is referred to as *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*, “a fine and dignified life.” The ultimate goal of Káínai society is *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*. Peacekeeping and peacemaking maintain and restore harmony and balance and are processes for achieving *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*.

Peacekeeping through relationships.

Káínai society is comprised of a complex system of relationships, some based on blood relationships including the family and the clan. Other types of relationships are established through societies, friendship, marriage and adoption. Relationships with the

environment, other inhabitants and the Source of Life continue to be of paramount importance. Each relationship has its own set of responsibilities and obligations. These relationships are maintained through the practice of traditions and ceremonies.

Family members have specific roles and responsibilities and there are basic principles for getting along and ensuring harmonious relationships. The family is the primary structure for the inculcation and learning of social values, traditions, customs and rules of behavior. The family also has the responsibility for dealing with any inappropriate behaviors and the wrongdoings of its members, for maintaining and restoring the balance in the relational network of the Tribe. The family dispenses the first order of sanctions for inappropriate behaviors and wrongdoings. Harmony within the family is kept through relationships of respect, trust, and compassion, as well as the practices of counseling, advice, and encouragement, as well as meting out discipline and sanctions.

Clans are an integral part of the Káínai social structure. Traditionally, they were based on kinship, lived together, and functioned as a single unit to provide for the basic needs of their members. In as much as particular clans remain functional they continue to assist one another with material needs, provide each other with kinship, identity and a sense of belonging. Clans are a source of pride and they set standards for behavior and excellence. They ensure that their members comply with the rules of conduct through the practice of peacekeeping measures and facilitating peacemaking when necessary.

Káínai social structure features a number of social societies based on age grouping, some of which are still active today. The primary function of social societies is providing their members with a peer group and an identity. Their activities are aimed at building

community. Societies set standards of conduct within their societies and thereby assist in maintaining social order within the larger Káínai community. Members are regarded as friends and as such are bound by a code of friendship.

Sacred societies contribute to social order and harmony within the community through prayer and adherence to the values and belief system. They follow a strict code of conduct set out in each society's originating instructions. They keep order within their respective societies using their own internal mechanisms, which in turn contributes to the greater community harmony. Some of these societies traditionally served a policing function. The societies may be called upon to assist families and tribal members in dispute resolution through guidance, and encouragement. In some instances, they may be involved in the peacemaking process. They may also be called upon to assist the Tribe in resolving issues with external agencies including other governments.

Elders have maintained their role in keeping peace and order by ensuring that the obligations and responsibilities of relationships, traditions, and customs are adhered to within their families and clans through the traditions of advising, cautioning, and counseling. They also facilitate the peacemaking process among families or clans.

Inappropriate behaviors and wrongdoings.

Inappropriate behaviors may be deemed lesser forms of wrongdoings in that they go against the rules of proper behavior. Inappropriate behaviors include disrespect, arrogance, impatience, lack of compassion, mean temperedness, fighting in public, being critical, making fun of others, gossiping, jealousy, stinginess, lying, fearfulness, laziness, boisterousness, being domineering or disruptive, bragging, showing off, foolishness and a lack of respect for the sacred. These behaviors are antithetical to the values and are

actively discouraged as they have the potential to disrupt the peace and harmony.

Wrongdoings would be those acts that disrupt the order and harmony within the family, clan and community in a significant way. Wrongdoings identified include the taking of a human life, injuring another person, careless use of the word, theft, adultery/infidelity and dishonoring women (rape). Wrongdoings do not appear to be limited to physical actions but extend to strong words and the negative thinking behind them and need to be addressed through processes of peacemaking including apology, gift giving and ceremony. While wrongdoings are addressed by the Canadian justice system today, traditional methods of peacemaking continue to exist and may be utilized for purposes of restoring relationships in the traditional way.

Prevention measures and positive reinforcements.

Káínai peacekeeping functions through a number of processes including: prevention measures and sanctions that are brought into effect through relationships of family, clan, leaders, elders and societies, and through various traditions and customs. Family, grandparents, older brothers, clans, elders, friends, social societies, sacred societies, society leaders, political leaders and elders all play a role in the prevention of inappropriate behaviors, wrongdoings and disputes.

Some measures for prevention are: *isosístawátsimaani*, good upbringing of children; *áakssitsipssataw*, “give a talking to” which may range from cautionary advice to a sterner version; and *ohsskimaana’p aísii mohkiaaw*, precautionary counseling, before something occurs. Other preventive practices include: *síimohkssini*, counseling, advising, cautioning by family, clan, friends and leaders; *itáó’ totoyisokai’ piyo’pa pookáiksi*, the practice of “we stop at the children;” *áisskapiimohkiaaw*, support and guidance by family,

grandparents, clan, and friends; *ikááhkimiinakssini*, encouragement by family, clan, friends and leaders; and finally, *áókakiaanikki ómahkitapiksi*, wise counsel by grandparents and elders.

Positive reinforcements reward good behavior and include acknowledgement by family and clan through traditions such as the praise song; receiving a name, or a headdress; and/or family-sponsored giveaways. Other forms of public acknowledgement include community respect, recognition, and people approaching you as a grandparent for deep knowledge, *kitáakaahskakoow*.

Sanctions include social, psychological and physical forms of sanction. The preventive measures of *símohkssini*, counsel to desist or refrain, *áakssitsipssataw* “giving a talking to” may also function as sanctions when expressed as admonition, stern advice or warnings. Other forms of sanction include the joking relationship, shaming, ostracism, avoidance, public contempt, “being talked about” and “being a reference point for negative traits,” *áítapitssksskanio’pa*.

Stories and ceremonies function to maintain the integrity of the worldview and support Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. They continuously reinforce and recreate the perceptions, beliefs, values, rules and norms that maintain balance and harmony among the people and with the environment. They constantly reinforce the compassionate and reciprocal nature of the relationships among the people, and with the environment as well as the responsibilities and obligations. As ceremony recreates the original experience, regular performance keeps the connection alive and nurtures these relationships. Stories and ceremonies are integral to the continued existence of the people and their culture.

Peacemaking.

For Káínai, peacemaking is the restoration of harmony and balance in relationships, within families, clan and the Tribe when they have been disrupted through inappropriate behavior or wrongdoing. Peacemaking also extends to relationships with the environment. Peacemaking is achieved through ceremony with the assistance and guidance of elders.

The peacemaking process involves acknowledgement that discord has occurred; expression of a sincere wish on the part of the party responsible to restore the harmony; third party representation and facilitation of process by elders; family and clan playing a key role; expression of an apology through gift giving; acceptance of the apology by the other party and a similar wish to restore the harmony indicated by the acceptance of gifts and such message conveyed through elders; and use of the smudge to dispel negativity and realign with order. In extreme cases, the pipe may be part of the peacemaking process. The settlement of the dispute is binding because of the sanctity of the word, the pipe and the ceremony and the people's common subscription to the underlying ontological beliefs. The dispute, no matter how serious, is set aside, forgotten as the common goal is the restoration of the whole, through the restoration of social harmony, balance, peace and order. Gift giving, prayer and offerings also restore peace and balance with the environment and other beings. For Káínai the world is not only a compassionate place but also a forgiving one where peace can be made and balance restored. A life of harmony and balance, *matsiyipaitapiiyssini*, is attained through compassion and wisdom. The ultimate goal of Káínai society is *matsiyipáítapiiyssini*, which is maintained through the processes of peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Dimensions of the Study

My study differs from previous research in that the conversations I had with the elders were conducted in their own language, Blackfoot, then translated into English. I am a fluent speaker of Blackfoot and am familiar with the culture and history of Káínai so my understanding of the language and the culture assisted in keeping the integrity of the elders' account intact and articulating a more representative interpretation of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. I asked three of the elders who participated in the study to review copies of the research report and the thesis to ensure that I was representing Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking adequately.

I attempted to approach the subject comprehensively to gain a better understanding of how peacekeeping and peacemaking worked by examining the values underlying the traditions, customs and processes for peacekeeping and peacemaking. Using the Blackfoot language as a medium of communication and reflection I was able to gain a greater understanding of the values and beliefs as expressed by the elders which revealed the nature of the worldview, the ontological perspective that provided me with a framework for interpretation.

The study approach revealed that for Káínai the world is a compassionate place, a sacred space, fragile and transient, thereby making life precious. It is a living universe interconnected through sacred kinships, creating an integral whole that all beings are responsible for maintaining. An understanding of how the world and relationships with family, clan, community, creation and the Source of Life are perceived facilitates an appreciation of how the network of relationships function to effect social order and peaceful relationships and how and why social order and balance are restored when they

are disrupted. The elders' account helps to dispel stereotypes created by early non-Blackfoot writers such as Grinnell (2003).

It is also demonstrated that the study of Native American cultures and life systems, using mainstream Western based theoretical models and methodologies affects how they are interpreted and portrayed, as these analytical approaches carry with them a cultural bias (Stover, 2002; Loomba, 1998) that precludes an understanding of the Native American perspective. The Western version is not a universal; there are many truths, other ways of perceiving and interpreting the world (Bryson, 2003; Little Bear, 2006; Leggat, 2003). A knowledge base already exists within indigenous communities and can be ascertained utilizing respectful approaches and appropriate protocols of inquiry and allowing room for that knowledge to be voiced (Battiste, 2000; Stover, 2002; Weaver, 2001).

Conclusions - Significance and Implications

The results of this study add to the base of knowledge on aboriginal justice issues, more specifically, they provide a greater understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking. This research offers an understanding of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking through an examination of the Káínai perspective based on the oral tradition. The oral tradition has also allowed me to compare and review the existing literature against an alternate base of knowledge. Through use of the oral tradition and the Blackfoot language, I have been able to provide a glimpse of the ontological view, which underpins Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking leading to a greater understanding of how Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking function in the maintenance of social order, harmony and balance.

Understandings of the practices and processes of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking have direct relevance to an existing First Nation community need. They will contribute to the development of the Káínai government's adjudication function by offering a foundation for the development of a peacemaking model rooted in Káínai traditions and customs and reflecting Káínai values that will be utilized to address critical needs in the administration of justice.

The process of inquiry utilized provides a framework for examining other aspects of Káínai or Blackfoot life systems and issues, results of which can assist community needs. The study also creates a general understanding of the ontological and epistemological views of Káínai and contributes to preserving Káínai traditional knowledge. As a model of inquiry and interpretation, the study process and interpretative framework can have application for a broad range of Native American studies.

Implications for contemporary use of traditional peacekeeping and peacemaking.

The elders agree that a number of the traditions and customs identified by them are still practiced in their families and social circles, but that they are noticing that younger generations are displaying different attitudes and adopting different lifestyles. They believe that many families and extended families are still functioning as units of support and identity but are challenged to varying degrees. It is a struggle to maintain order in the face of competing value systems and the prevalence of substance abuse. Other families have become dysfunctional. Some clans remain intact and continue to provide identity, support and social control. The social and sacred societies remain active and functional although they have been reduced in number as a result of societal disruptions. They have largely contributed to the preservation of the belief system, the values, norms and

traditions. They have provided a foundation for Káínai in facing its challenges throughout the years. Beliefs and traditions respecting relationships with the environment and the Source of Life continue to have relevance. These perspectives, institutions, values, and traditions offer possibilities for addressing contemporary social problems.

Comprehensive community development can draw on the values, institutions and traditions to design social programs aimed at healing and enhancing family and community relationships. Traditional Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking practices and processes can have a role today in the administration of justice particularly in areas of preventive programming in family relations, youth and childcare, as well as in dispute resolution and alternative sentencing.

The traditional peacemaking process may be used to guide Káínai's work in developing a contemporary peacemaking model. The degree to which traditional processes becomes part of a contemporary peacemaking model, will be determined by the elders. They will ensure the cultural integrity of a modern-day process using appropriate measures. Ultimately, it will be up to Káínai to determine the specific nature of a contemporary peacemaking model.

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Appendix A

BLOOD TRIBE TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING AND PEACEMAKING

(KÁÍNAI WAYS OF PEACEKEEPING)

INTERVIEW GUIDE

This interview will address a number of questions with respect to Blood Tribe traditional ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking, and ask for suggestions on how these may be utilized today within the Blood Tribe community.

FAMILY

1. How were harmonious relationships maintained:
 - a. between husband and wife
 - b. between parents and children
 - c. among siblings
 - d. with in-laws?
2. Are these relationships still maintained in this manner? Why or why not?
3. What was the role of:
 - a. Husband
 - b. Father
 - c. Wife
 - d. Mother
 - e. Children (Did different children have different roles, ie. minipoka, youngest child, eldest daughter/son? Please explain.)
 - f. Grandparents
 - g. Mother's sisters
 - h. Father's sisters
 - i. Mother's brothers
 - j. Father's brothers
 - k. Cousins
 - l. In-laws
 - m. Sisters-in-law; brothers-in-law?

KINSHIP SYSTEM

I understand that the Blood Tribe has an extensive kinship system. Please explain to me the different kinships, the terminology and the protocols for each of these relationships.

ADOPTIONS

I understand that adoptions occurred within Blood Tribe society. May we talk about adoptions?

1. In what instances did an adoption occur?
2. What was the process for adoption?
3. Did adoptions occur outside the clan?
4. When a child was adopted what was his/her relationship with the biological parents and with the adoptive parents?
5. How was a harmonious relationship established with an adopted child?
6. Who generally adopts (i.e. maternal or paternal grandparents, either, mother's sister, father's sister)? Why?
7. Were there multiple adoptions? In what instances would this occur?
8. Was there a limit as to number of children that a family could adopt?
9. Was an adopted child told about the fact that he or she was adopted? If so, how was this done? If not, why not?

CLANS

1. What is a clan?
2. How were relationships maintained within the clan? Are these practices still in place?
3. How were relationships maintained with other clans? Are these practices still in place?
4. What was the role of the clans? Is this still the case today?
5. Do different clans have different roles? Is this still the case today?
6. Were the clans patrilineal or matrilineal?
7. Were they patrilocal or matrilocal? Or was it situational?
8. How many clans were there within Káínai ? Did this change, if so why and when?
9. How many of these clans are still in existence today?

FRIENDS

1. What was/is the role of friends?
2. How were/are relationships between friends maintained?
3. Did/do friends have a role in keeping the social order among each other?

BLOOD TRIBE/ KÁÍNAI COMMUNITY

1. How were/are relationships maintained within the Blood Tribe/Káínai?
2. How is Káínai society structured in addition to the clan system?

SOCIETIES

May we talk about the societies and their function in peacekeeping? I understand that the Blood Tribe is made up of a number of age-grade, sacred and social societies.

1. What was the role and responsibilities of the societies?
2. Did different societies have different roles?
3. How many societies were there?
4. Did this number change, when and why?
5. Which societies are still active today?
6. What is the role and responsibilities of these societies today?
7. How are relationships maintained within the societies?

VALUES

1. What were/are the core values of Káínai?
2. How were/are these values taught to members of Káínai including children, adolescents and married couples?
3. Would it be possible to utilize these methods today?
4. From the Blood Tribe perspective, what are the ideal characteristics and behaviors of:
 - a. tribal member
 - b. husband

- c. father
 - d. wife
 - e. mother
 - f. child
 - g. grandparent
 - h. uncle
 - i. aunt
 - j. clan
 - k. friend
 - l. society member
 - m. leader
 - n. a person in general?
5. Were/are there certain types of characteristics or behaviors that were/are considered unacceptable?
 6. How were/are such behaviors discouraged or controlled?
 7. Were/are there certain instances in which otherwise “unacceptable behaviors” were accepted?

DISPUTES

1. How were/are disputes resolved:
 - a. between husband and wife
 - b. between parent and child
 - c. among siblings
 - d. between children from different families
 - e. between clan members
 - f. among clan members
 - g. between individuals within the Tribe
 - h. between clans
 - i. between friends?

Can you provide an example? (Ask for each category.)
2. Are the methods for resolving disputes dependent on the type of dispute?
3. Do you think it would be possible to use these methods of settling disputes today?
4. What role did/do the following play in resolving disputes:
 - a. Families
 - b. Grandparents
 - c. Elders
 - d. Leaders
 - e. Clans

- f. Friends
- g. Societies
- h. Spiritual Leaders?

5. If these groups are not presently exercising these roles, would it be possible to have them revive their roles? If so, how?

LAWS/RULES

1. What laws/ rules did Káínai have for living together as a people in a peaceful and orderly way? (i.e. rules about marriage, property, injury against other tribal members.)
2. Who made these laws/rules?
3. How were they made? (What was the law making process?)
4. Could laws be changed? How and by whom?

LEADERSHIP

1. Were there different types of leaders, i.e. social, political, other?
2. How were leaders selected?
3. What were the qualities of a good leader?
4. What was the role of the leader?
5. What happened when the people no longer agreed with a leader?
6. If the people wished to select a new leader, how would he be selected?
7. Are these practices able to still be followed today? If yes, how?

WRONGDOINGS

1. What acts were considered to have been wrong doings? Why?
2. Were some wrongful acts considered to be worse than others?
3. How were wrong doings discouraged?
4. How were wrongdoings dealt with and by whom?
5. Could these same measures/controls be able to be practiced today?

OTHER

1. Were there other Blood Tribe/Káínai ways of peacekeeping that we have not talked about yet? Please explain.
2. Were there other Blood Tribe/Káínai ways of making peace that we have not talked about yet? Please explain.
3. Is there anything else that you would like to say on the topic of Káínai peacekeeping and peacemaking?

BLOOD TRIBE TRADITIONAL PEACEKEEPING

(KÁÍNAI WAYS OF PEACEKEEPING)

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Date: July, 2006

Dear _____,

My name is _____, as part of my studies at the University of Lethbridge, I am undertaking research on Blood Tribe/ Káínai ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking. I would like to interview you with respect to your knowledge of these traditional ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking. I will be asking you a number of questions relating to these traditional ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking as well as asking for your thoughts on how these practices may be utilized today within the Blood Tribe community. I will conduct 3 to 4 interview sessions with you, each lasting at least one working day and possibly another 1 to 2 days to obtain clarification on specific topics, as may be required.

The purpose of the study is to identify the traditional ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking within the Blood Tribe and to determine if and how these practices can be used today to address current problems encountered by tribal members. This study will also assist the Blood Tribe in its endeavors to develop a peacemaking court and in creating a general understanding of alternate ways of peacekeeping and peacemaking that may be of benefit to other people.

I hope you will participate in the study. Matters of consent, withdrawal, anonymity and confidentiality are provided for in a letter of consent which I will go over with you now. If you agree to take part in this study, I will be asking you to sign the consent form.

Sincerely,

Annabel Crop Eared Wolf
Graduate Student
Native American Studies
University of Lethbridge