

**Narrative Weendigos**

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## Abstract

This mixed-method analysis brings together event and narrative analysis alongside Anishinabeg mythology and storytelling to examine the narratives around financial default as portrayed in the news media. The impact of the First Nation's counter-narrative is unmistakable.

*Keywords:* event analysis, narrative analysis, windigo, financial default.

## **Narrative Weendigos**

### INTRODUCTION

Narratives, stories, legends, and myths have long been used to help us make sense of our complex daily human lives. They can contain our truths, lies fantasies, and dreams. One researcher I like said that "Narratives then, are a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and "narrative necessity" rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness, although ironically, we have no compunction about calling stories true or false"(Bruner, 1991). This work is about examining the stories told about First Nations and the effect it has on them when they construct their realities through narratives that are publicly available in the news and their websites.

In this study, I compared the 2015 First Nations Default Management Program list to an updated Indigenous event analysis (Wilkes, 1995). What I found was that as of 2018, 103 out of 153 First Nations on the Default Management list had participated in resistance events that appeared in the news and social media. Seven of the resistant First Nation had remained in default management since Wilkes' work done on event analysis in 1995. These First Nations are being unfairly judged by Canada and the news media. What I became intrigued by were the few cases where some transformative change occurred in these First Nation governments. This is where my research story begins.

Shawn Wilson wrote that "Research is all about unanswered questions, but it also reveals our unquestioned answers. I hope that readers of this book will begin to question some of their own beliefs about the way research needs to be conducted and presented so that they can recognize the importance of developing alternative ways of knowing." I took Wilson's advice and searched for narratives about First Nations in resistance and default that came from looking at narratives

in news media and combining multiple stories examining for direct quotes from First Nations leaders where possible about their resistance events or their financial default. This research revealed many ideas about First Nations administration and where they came from, where they are and where they may be going in the future.

As for the organization of this research the Literature Review begins with wayfinding ideas about the methodology for this mixed methods research work. The Conceptual Framework section begins to delve into ideas that underpin some topics that explain survivance, resistance narratives, financial default. Finally, the story of Windigo is used as an analogy for an analysis that appears in the methodology and data sections as it borrows from Wilkes event analysis. The results of the Wilkes Analysis appear in the results and discussion that features Table 2 which examines the presence/absence of a publicly available narrative from First Nation administrations about their financial default and resistance events. We are left to conclude for ourselves whether a windigo has indeed risen within these First Nations or whether Canada the nation-state is the windigo that threatens.

## Literature Review

"Native American Indians have resisted empires, negotiated treaties, and as strategies of survivance, participated by stealth and cultural irony in the simulations of absence to secure the chance of a decisive presence in the national literature, history, and canonry. Native resistance of dominance, however serious, evasive and ironic, is an undeniable trace of presence over absence, nihility, and victimry." (G Vizenor, 2008)

Vizenor's ideas about presence over absence, the resistance of dominance, and the presence of victimry initiated this work. However, this kind of research needed some structure as I crossed over from the field of biology. I found his values in Sweetman's take on Mertens' Transformative mixed methods research in which he reviewed several papers and asked questions I thought this work should answer or at least explore:

1. What is the problem within a community of concern?

First Nations governments within Canada are more likely to have control is taken away by a federal agency when a natural resource is to be extracted, a phenomenon that is not seen elsewhere in Canada's government system.

2. Can a theoretical lens be openly declared?

Much social research depends upon critical theory to provides bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms. Oppression and domination perspectives are found throughout critical theory and this discourse is critical when you look at Indigenous administrations.

3. Are the research questions or purposes written with an advocacy stance?

The purpose of this research to free Indigenous public administrations from damaging ideas about them.

4. Did the literature review include discussions of diversity and oppression (or discuss data collection among marginalized groups - authors discuss the appropriate labeling of participants? Did the participants initiate the research?

Yes, the literature began with oppression and later some curt discussion about diversity. The section is short because it deals with respect rather than diversity. Diversity seems to have many articles on the management of human resources and diversity. An area that is often poorly executed. The quantity we should instead be talking about is respect for ourselves as well as other humans. This value has an English definition, but I have omitted for I think respect is a longer narrative that forms part of a spiritual dialogue that is not available yet in Anishinabe text. Finally, the participants in this research did not initiate this research in a formal way that any University would understand. However, like many scientific research projects, it began as discussions with many people that are "anecdotal" evidence. It is for this reason that the focus was placed on publicly available data from the internet.

5. How would data analysis and results be used to facilitate change?

The critical theory says that knowledge should be constructed to aid people to improve society (Sweetman, Badiee, & Creswell, 2010). Knowledge is reflective of power and social relationships within a society. The social inquiry demands for data are often racist because the demand for it takes away from the lived experience of Indigenous public administrations (Barnouw & Hacking, 1979; Hacking, 1964; C. L. Lanius, 2017). However, to facilitate change we do need to look at the entire picture in terms of simple

numbers to get a sense of the problem with financial default. However, this cannot replace what the individuals involved in these administrations are saying. The problem is the system is in dynamic equilibrium: there are many, turnover seems to be high and they are small administrations who are already overburdened with reporting to various governments. We should instead focus on what they are publishing in terms of their public narrative or their “web presence.”

For definitions of oppression and domination I found Heldke, who prefaces her anthology on oppression by saying that, "though many theorists disagree about the nature of it, they all agree that it is not just the total of the attitudes and deeds of individuals acting alone (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004). They understand that oppression is structural and systemic; it pervades social institutions and practices, and it shapes the very nature of our social world" (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004). Iris Young proposes an enabling conception of justice under which injustice refers primarily to two forms of disabling constraints, oppression, and domination (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004; Young, 2014). As for oppression, Young describes it as a structural concept and its definition began as “the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group” and that oppression “traditionally carries a strong connotation of conquest and colonial domination” (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004).

As I began my studies in public administration I immediately felt what Vizenor’s expresses in *Survivance*, about the absence or invisibility of Anishinabe or any other First Nations administrations within the literature on public administration (Gerald Vizenor, 1994). An Indigenous political scientist wrote that “Yet, despite the living presence of five million Native Americans, next to nothing is written on Native American politics and policy within political

science today (Carpenter, 2020). The situation is the same in Canada, in particular for the Anishinabeg or Mamiwiniig that span the borders of Ontario and Quebec for which Richard Desjardins entitled a film about us entitled the *Invisible Nation* (Desjardins & Monderie, 2007).

One of the few examples of writings about First Nations politics and administration is *Rebuilding Native Nations* (Cornell, Kalt, Begay, & Jorgenson, 2007). There are others like Calvin Helin's *Dances with Dependency* that examine poverty among the Indigenous peoples. The other sources available seem to originate in government and too often contained violence within their narratives that repeated tropes in the following way:

“Membertou First Nation, a part of the city of Sydney, Nova Scotia, and one of the few urban aboriginal reserves in Atlantic Canada, defies stereotypes about poor, mismanaged reserves” (Thayer-Scott, 2004).

Where do these narratives about mismanagement originate and why? The answer seemed too simplistic -- Canadian government agencies. In particular, the agency that deals with First Nations: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada or as it is most recently morphed into Crown-Indigenous Relations Northern Affairs Canada and Indigenous Services Canada. Maybe because its enabling legislation has had a longstanding war on Indigenous storytelling since the introduction of section 3 of “An Act Further to Amend the Indian Act, 1880” It outlawed the act of storytelling by using its Royal Canadian Mounted Police Force to raid gatherings of First Nations (potlatches, sun dances and other ceremonies) repeatedly that interrupt these learning institutions and prevent knowledge transmission (Government of Canada, 1880).

These stories are small parts of the larger own ecosystem of racism. Charles W. Mills deftly described what I have experienced with government, “racism is itself a political system, a



particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socioeconomic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties”(C. W. Mills, 1997). These stories became to me samples that contained elements of the propaganda of colonialism. Its existence represents the very definition of propaganda as information that is of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote or publicize a political cause or point of view. These kinds of stereotypes are the most basic tool of propaganda that is used to transmit their mal intent. Stereotypes become fixed as oversimplified images or ideas that may be held by many people though they are invalidated. Some recent research suggests that we must maintain these stories for them to have coherence (Lyons & Kashima, 2003). So, it seems that when we share in these stereotypes through a chain of people, we relay information that reinforces the stereotype so that the audience better understands our narrative. The effect of a stereotype would be limited if it were not for the threat that it poses to narratives that contain over-generalizations about identifiable groups of people. A recent meta-analysis in stereotype threat defines it as: “When members of a stigmatized group find themselves in a situation where negative stereotypes provide a possible framework for interpreting their behavior, the risk of being judged in light of those stereotypes can elicit a disruptive state that undermines performance and aspirations in that domain. This situational predicament, termed stereotype threat, continues to be an intensely debated and researched topic in educational, social, and organizational psychology” (Shapiro, Aronson & McGlone, 2015).

This violence isn't limited the grey literature either, it is what we now know as “epistemic violence” and you can still see it on older anthropology texts that refer to gatherings of “the tribals,” and the “lowest strata of the sub-proletariat (Spivak, 1988)”. Spivak calls attention to the “epistemic side of colonialism is the devastating effect of the disappearing of knowledge,

where local or provincial knowledge is dismissed due to the privileging alternative, often Western, epistemic practices (Dotson, 2011).” Storytelling has nonetheless survived but its use has been used or misused differently following the disappearing of Indigenous knowledge and its institutions.

Methodological texts advise students to make themselves an outside observer to make them “good” or proper research to be effective. For researchers who are also members of marginalized groups in Canada, this double "othering" comes laden with embedded cultural values as an example, my first textbook on research methodology in psychology categorized Indigenous storytelling as *a priori* knowledge and of no value to research. This dismissal haunted me as I began this work until I read Indigenous researcher Faith Maina’s story in seeking a theoretical framework for her graduate work in education where she was told that “narratives are not good research tools” (Maina, 2003) She identifies this as an underlying trope or belief often repeated to graduate students who are discouraged from using it as researchers. This work emboldened me to begin looking at the contemporary indigenous stories about their public administrations.

Psychologist Charlotte Burck’s systemic research with families in the process of healing provided some insight into organizational narratives (Burck, 2005). Burck’s account reminded me of my cohort in public management (it was First Nations administrators) when discussing their administrations, which felt very much therapeutic like family therapy sessions.

I was reminded by Burck of something I experienced in sessions with First Nations who were participating in research in public administration or reporting on their outcomes. She commented that her field demands “more evidence-based treatments that have driven the

development and implementation of a greater number of outcome studies” (Burck, 2005). These outcome studies that are typically carried out using quantitative measures and are located within objectivist realist paradigms are designed to carry more weight with policymakers (Burck, 2005). Often this objective realist position underplays the need for a coherent story to which we can relate to personally. This observation reminded of public administration theorist, David John Farmer who warns that emphasis on "Administration" creates a reality where functions and programs are more important than their content and action (Farmer, 1995).

One of the more appealing ideas about praxis and theory Farmer’s view that “modern” public administration is a "technology" and is reminiscent of Burck’s comment on the field of psychology that public administrative theorists-- that the “practitioners in the field should assume more ownership for public administration theory” (p.91). Farmer openly suggests that we focus on the oppressed, suppressed, and excluded groups and coins and that our "alterity" or "otherness" presents more potential for better theory provided we "de-territorialize" our thinking to radically change the structure of our thinking about public administration. This radical change in thinking can be received by some enthusiastically in the best-case scenario or the worst case with fear.

Terror in the storytelling of public administration got an official version or frame with the release of the American government’s version of the 9/11 story. American psychologist Steven Pinker says the reframing any event in its retelling provides the shape for evidence to be added that eventually forms the reality we desire. Pinker mirrors Farmer’s idea that we need to remove the grid or coding in the study of issues and situations by the way that thinking is conducted and that all coding confines thinking. Farmer begins his discourse on bureaucracy, modernity by reframing a story about moon visits that I see is the same as Indigenous experience first

experience of public administration: "Early visitors to the moon did not expect to encounter entities such as a government, a budget, a paycheck, or a supervisor. Such public administration entities are not natural kinds; they are not givens" (p. 11).

In anthropology, the entry into its ranks of Indigenous academics has called into question many of its outsider tropes about Indigenous societies that have persisted until the present. Indigenous academic Paulette Steeves challenged the academic metanarratives, who recently commented, "Archeologists invented a pan-hemispheric cultural group called the Clovis people. The Clovis people didn't exist" (Steeves, 2017). Steeves' graduate project creates a database of Pleistocene archeological sites in the Americas that are older than the 'Clovis first' narrative in anthropology (that is based on the discovery of a fluted tool in Clovis, New Mexico), that the arrival of indigenous peoples in North America from Asia over a land bridge connected to Siberia happened less than 12,000 years ago. "For years, archeologists spent their time looking for this 'Clovis' tool in Siberia and Asia to show that culture came from the East to the West. Nothing was ever found." In challenging metanarratives within the scientific community, Steeves is alone in questioning the well-worn tropes such as the 'Clovis first' hypothesis. She faces narratives like those of her colleague Stephen Fiedel who vigorously defends the hypothesis insisting that ancestors of Native Americans arrived no more than 15,000 to 16,000 years ago from populations in Eurasia and disputes the genetic evidence and dismisses indigenous "ways and methods" such as oral tradition as simply "not science". Steeves' effort was very much in line with Farmer's postmodern deconstruction advice to challenge those metanarratives that lead research in the field down dead-ends (Farmer, 2005).

Other fields seem to be deconstructing themselves and challenging the metanarratives. It has become the Chief Executive Officers' job recently to challenge the tired tropes in business

management. Richard Branson of Virgin, Microsoft's Steven Clay, and Phil Knight of Nike describe their roles as "Chief Storytellers" (Gallo, 2017). They believe in the power of ideas to change the world, and in the power of storytelling to draw out those ideas.

There seem to be caveats however to storytelling's ability to transmit knowledge particularly when it involves a positivistic tool like statistics. Statistics took hold of public administration during the population explosion in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe gave rise to urbanization which meant that it was suddenly possible for two individuals in a large city never to have met or shared their stories (C. Lanius, 2016; C. L. Lanius, 2017). Lanius describes Census beginning as a tool for communications, using statistics as a strategy to create a common language to connect diverse professions, academic disciplines and in government forms. She further asserts that statistics could be more accurately termed "a technology of *mistrust*" because they seek to usurp the value of personal experience. Her assertion caught my attention as I have often seen in discussion First Nations health issues where the reliance on statistics ignored the individual and gave rise to the situation First Nations children find themselves as medical refugees in the Canadian social welfare system. Within public administration, statistics has retained its place as a technology of the educated elite, so they can to discuss the unwashed masses or subaltern populations like First Nations who are either unknowable or untrustworthy to deliver their accounts of their daily lives.

The positivistic attack on the personal experience attracted me to the stories around me about financial policy. Of the six First Nations of the Anishinabeg/Algonquin Tribal Council, three had been in financial default at the beginning of this literature review. One of them, Barrier Lake had been in this kind of distress for decades. What I heard from individuals about the impact it has had on their lives was devastating. Many articles have since been written on this community but not by any members themselves. The attack on their governance was documented in the

news media as well as in the Canada Gazette where their elections appeared. I asked a few members what caused their financial default, many cited their leadership's misspending, but others very clearly indicated that their troubles began when the government had an interest in their forest home. Suddenly looking at their financial performance became more important than their well-being. It reminded me of another study subject, whose forest home grew to be valuable real estate in California;

" Ishi, the native humanist, endured by survivance and natural reason in two worlds. He was named by an academic, not by a vision, a lonesome hunter rescued by situational chance. Native names are collective memories, but his actual names and sense of presence are obscure, yet his museum nickname, more than any other archive nomination, represents to many readers the cultural absence and tragic victimry of Native American Indians in California."(G Vizenor, 2008)

In this work, it is not my aim to ignite a political debate about how we should spell what we call "the people" who speak a language understood by many called the "Anishinabeg", "Anishinaube", "Anishinawbek" (and many other roman orthographic variations that are possible). As Vizenor points out in the *Everlasting Sky: New Voices from the People Named the Chippewa*, "Chippewa was a name applied by whites to Anishinaabe (G Vizenor, 2008). The same is true for the Algonquin and many others who speak Anishinaabemowin albeit in different styles. Many great Anishinabemowin teachers have tried to standardize spellings and have been silenced by discussions about dialects and their large diversity spread out across Big Turtle Island or "North America". Anishinabe remains resistant to standard definition in large part due to preference for the spoken words and songs. I use them here interchangeably as I find them in

their original texts – for example, Basil Johnston used the spelling "Anishinaabe" and "weendigo" so when I draw on his examples, I will use his spelling to honor his work. The same is true for the use of "windigo", "wendigo" and "wetiko" I endeavor to pay tribute to the writers who sought to preserve these legends. This statement is salient to the discussion that must deal with darker storytelling entities like windigo and the tricksters of many First Nations legends.

Among First Nations, many tricksters include coyote, raven, Wisakedjak/Wesakejac, Nanbozo/Nanbush, and Glooscap. Common to all these tricksters are their transformations in Indigenous legends, and their transformation often uses humor, satire, self-mocking, and absurdity to carry good lessons (Archibald, 2008). Archibald subscribes to Vizenor's description of a trickster that is a "doing, not an essence, not a museum being, not an aesthetic presence." Archibald describes him as a figure that "does things: he gets into trouble by ignoring cultural rules and practices or by giving away to the negative aspect of humans such as vanity, greed, selfishness, and foolishness. Trickster seems to learn lessons the hard way and sometimes not at all. At the same time, Trickster can do good things for others and is sometimes like a powerful spiritual being and given much respect." Trickster's description to me matched the lens of the researcher's quest – to attempt to understand something despite our own innate "humanness."

As I began to examine the stories around the financial default of the First Nation storytellers around me, I wondered if I saw the problem from an outside perspective or simply seeing myself. Here is where Farmer's work was again useful in examining reflexivity. . It made reconsider Farmer's writing about the reflexivity paradigm in public administrative language; as a researcher, I wondered if reflexivity were the process of reflecting on you the researcher, to provide more effective and impartial analysis, how would I know if I had not inadvertently become trickster in the legend? I had to start with what I already knew: Transformation legends

require a central conflict or perilous event to bring about the trickster's transformation. For me as a researcher, my experience with First Nation administrations provided me with a story that was often repeated to me: financial distress, governance woes, and conflict that could not openly be addressed for fear of reprisals from their citizenry or their public administration agencies or the Canadian public media.

The place for the Trickster in this research was not clear until you consider Wilson's work in *Research is Ceremony* (Wilson 2008). He alerted me to the fact that "Indigenous research is the ceremony of maintaining accountability to these relationships. For researchers to be accountable to all our relations, we must make careful choices in our selection of topics, methods of data collection, forms of analysis, and finally in the way we present information." This responsibility was profound for me. So, I had to ensure that I had looked at all possibilities in selecting a method.

I found my first clue when methodology research yielded something that gave me some idea what my question in this area was about. Sweetman's exploration of the use of the Transformative Framework in mixed methods studies particularly because it addresses power imbalances. The transformative framework is based on Mertens's (2003) framework that includes the open declaration of an advocacy standpoint within mixed-method studies. Donna Mertens coined the term transformative framework for studies that include a person's worldview and implicit value assumptions. She makes room for the possibility that knowledge is not neutral and is influenced by our human interests. I share Merten's view that knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and the purpose of knowledge construction is to aid people to improve society. Sweetman's adoption of Mertens's work helped me understand



that the stories about this distress carried embedded within them oppression and domination and were often found in critical theory perspectives.

Mertens' work did not speak for Indigenous peoples as a marginalized social group, but she did credit Indigenous peoples with extended the thinking about the place of values in research. I think Mertens's reference was to works like those of Indigenous scholar--Linda Tuhiwai Smith' decolonizing methodologies where she frames the questions being asked to determine the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shape the analysis. Conversely, methods are "the means and procedures through which central problems of the research are addressed" (Smith, 2004).

#### A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this research is a typical indigenous methodology – it is a mix of existing methodologies approaches and indigenous values. It uses existing methodological approaches: resistance event and financial analysis to find a sample group and then blends narrative analysis with Indigenous storytelling to examine public narratives of the sample group administrations. What we can see from case studies that once found their public narratives kill that it slew the windigo-threats and seems to improve the prosperity of the First Nation itself.

What I did not anticipate within this search was the effect that a public narrative had on this situation nor did I see the potential for the act of storytelling could have. Here is where the data can sometimes abandon the reader and where the surreal and Indigenous storytelling can help us make sense of our lived experiences. The work on the public narrative by Marshall Ganz helped me understand a few things I think are important: the embedded values within a narrative. Ganz talks about how the story of the self that is the call to leadership (Marshall Ganz, 2001). We

experience things that disrupt our regular lives and begin on a path to research that is our call to leadership. Ganz says looking for our role or purpose in that story leads us to the story of now where we find the strategy and our calls to action. A sense of urgency from the story of now helps us to begin crafting the story of us that communicates shared values and shared experiences this is the roots of creating a community that will support us (M Ganz, 2015).

I'd never heard anyone express traditional Anishinabeg values in English like that before hearing Ganz. I think part of the problem is that academic papers frown upon spirituality or whatever we choose to call Manitous, Manidoos. It is very difficult to avoid this topic for me because spirituality links the paired concepts of human resurgence and resilience to form the final chapter of this paper. We live in a time of enormous challenges, powerful technology, and much fear and anxiety about climate changes, the threat of nuclear deployment, and many other threats. However, we are now seeing many Indigenous academics like Leanne Simpson, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and countless others writing about resurgence and resilience in First Nations (Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, 2016; Simpson, 2014; Smith, 1999). However, we don't seem to be sharing those stories that touch our hearts and inspire our spirit of resistance against a threat in real-time anymore. Which why resilience as a topic is so difficult for me as a researcher.

Transformation recalls many things we see in the media right now: mindfulness, meditation and spirituality are pervasive and growing in marketing for many products, services and literature so it seems that the spiritual path is one that cannot be ignored. In the same way, many organizations both public and private are searching for meaning and values in their daily activities we will need to consider what it has meant as we have secularized government and governance that still rely on the communication of human values to bring meaning to its works.

From my nation, I rely upon the words of Anishinabeg Seven Fires Prophecy Wampum Belt carrier, William Commanda who often spoke about the time of the double diamonds at the center of the belt. The Seventh Fire was described as a time when a new people emerge, who would retrace their elders' steps to find the wisdom long-abandoned along the trail (McFadden, 2005):

“if the new people remain strong in their quest, the sacred drum will again sound its voice. There will be an awakening of the people, and the Sacred Fire will again be lit. At this time, the light-skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. One road is the road of power and technology guided by greed and fear, and lacking wisdom or respect for life. This road represents the rush to ultimate destruction. The other road is spirituality, a slower path that includes respect for all living things. If we chose the spiritual path, we can light yet another fire, an Eight Fire, and begin an extended period of peace and healthy growth.”

William’s words were echoed to me by David Farmer’s discourse on modernity; “by the end of the fifteenth century the technological superiority of Europe was such that its small mutually hostile nations could spill out over all the rest of the world, conquering, looting and colonizing.” (Farmer, 1995). Here is where stories and complimentary narratives collide and their advice as to what to do about it intersect. Farmer says about the modern study of public administration is:

“technologism—a matter of building public administration tools and developing public administration techniques. The bulk of this effort has been “low tech” and a matter of technics. It is this modernist sleight of hand that has taken us from

technics to technology, a scientific-based technical knowledge that yields a technological study of the artificial.”(David John Farmer, 1995a)

He also warns of the other danger of being reliant on this modern public administration technologies also lies in their use creating paradoxes between the public administrations promoting technological systems while it promotes individuality which creates an incongruence between the system and its environment. As Farmer puts it; “There can be limits in rationality, and systems do tend to develop lives of their own. It is too optimistic to suppose that public administration as technology can integrate systems and management and ethical considerations (David John Farmer, 1995a).

Marshall Ganz’s public narrative model describes the strategy as our “head” where we reflect critically on experiences while the narrative is the “heart” and is the center of the storytelling of our experience and that when we use both they lead to shared collective action or our "hands" (Odugbemi, Lee, & Ganz, 2011).

Marshall Ganz used his public narrative as a template for the successful 2008 Obama campaign. Each day campaign volunteers attended a gathering called “Camp Obama” where he used his leadership-development practice called Public Narrative. The first step in constructing one is; “a story of self is a personal story that shows “why you were called to what you have been called to (Marshall Ganz, 2001).” The story of self-communicates the teller’s values, Ganz says telling our story invites listeners to connect with us.

Storytelling and its cousin the written narrative is a powerful yet low-tech means of creation. It may well be the low-tech transfer Farmer also writes about, so now more than ever before,

finding its stories of transformation is critical to our collective survival. *Rebuilding Native Nations* begins with Membertou First Nations' narrative transformation to self-rule. Membertou's narrative begins with its financial despair and several resistance events which seemed to co-occur. What I found curiously absent from this account, however, was Membertou's voice. I was also confused about was the stories from First Nation members about their concurrent battle in the Supreme Court of Canada over the fate of Donald Marshall Jr. and his right fish and support his family.

Mertens wrote that domination, oppression, colonization cannot be written about unless it is counterpointed by resilience theory and positive psychology that makes the mixed methods paradigm truly transformational (Donna M. Mertens, 2010; Sweetman et al., 2010). I found that reflected what Farmer said about public administration—that it is something that is entirely socially constructed, and as such can be changed for the better (David John Farmer, 1995b). This kind of positive psychology and resilience theory is what transformation requires (Donna M. Mertens & McIvor, 2010; Sweetman et al., 2010).

Young's description of the five faces of oppression includes a description of *powerlessness* that stems from Marxist ideas about class and the structure of exploitation (Young, 2014). She says that some peoples have their power and wealth because they profit from the labors of others. For many of us, our laborers augment the power of a small number of people. In Canada, like other capitalist countries, most workplaces are not organized democratically, direct participation in public policy decisions are rare.

The powerless are those who lack authority or power even in this mediated sense, those over whom power is exercised without their exercising it. The powerless are situated so that they must take the order and rarely have the right to give them.

The use of pain of punishment for resistance has turned in a field of study in psychology in the use of effective torture methods as a result of this early experimentation on captive populations. Cognitive behavior therapy and research now call this phenomenon "learned helplessness" and remain deadly in its efficacy (Seligman & Maier, 1967). What Seligman showed in dogs was that when the threat of a series electric shock in different environments that they could create two groups of dogs: one that learned to escape and a second that resigned to the torture. The dogs that became resigned to the torture behaved remarkably like depressed humans. Seligman later designed an experiment to reverse this "learned helplessness." That plan to escape is the basis for positive psychology and the resilience that is required for transformation.

### *Survivance*

Gerald Vizenor wrote that "Native survivance is an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion; survivance is the continuance of stories, not a mere reaction, however pertinent. Survivance is greater than the right of a survivable name"(G Vizenor, 2008) He also wrote about the stories themselves and wrote that "Survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, detractions. Obstrusion, the unbearable sentiments of tragedy, and the legacy of victimry. Survivance is the heritable right of succession or reversion of an estate and, in the

course of international declarations of human rights, is a narrative estate of native survivance” (G Vizenor, 2008).

In John Locke’s *Two Treatises of Government* describes governments as existing by the consent of the people to protect the rights of the people and promote the public good (Reinisch, 2014). Locke suggests that governments or monarchies that failed to do so can and should be **resisted** and replaced with new governments. However, philosophers viewed this advice differently when it came to its colonies. There seemed to be an Aboriginalism corollary to government ideology that was not strictly applied only to the Indigenous peoples of North America (McGhee, 2008). Colonialism had spread the term much wider to places like India and Africa. The strategy seemed to be the same: denigrate the existing Aboriginal institutions and use any technologies at your disposal to commit violent acts on any living thing that resists your ideology.

Resistance narratives preserve the memory of a violent act. As an example, Stó: lo nation’s Kwitsel Tatel (Patricia Kelly) whose crate of salmon in 2004 was seized by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans officials while being accused of selling her fish illegally. Finally, the First Nations media could report on the "humiliations" Linda faced throughout her 200 court appearances which included an invasive anal-vaginal cavity search after she attempted to walk into the courtroom playing a hand drum (Ball, 2013). She eventually won not only an absolute discharge on May 9, 2013, and was awarded \$2,500, but the stress she endured no doubt contributed to her premature death a few years later. Linda’s story of defending her rights was seen by officials quite likely as either rebellion (as she was joined by Sto:Lo Nation) or as resistance. In either case, she needed a revolution to address the brutal enforcement she faced. One thing was clear that when First Nation surrounded her with their collective force the narrative of a lone whistleblower changed dramatically. The resistance by the nation itself was

the key. The collective of 10 separate bands that form the Sto:Lo Nation has often shown resistance to laws that impacted them. It made me wonder about the cultural traction and resistance they encountered with the Indian Act leadership system superimposed upon their traditional leadership.

David John Farmer's postmodern approach to alterity coined the term "anti-administration" which in itself seems to suggest resistance (David John Farmer, 1995b). He describes four features I had not seen enough of in public administration texts; openness to the "other," a preference for diversity, opposition to the metanarratives, and opposition to the established order (p.244, Farmer). I recognized them because Farmer like Foucault sounds the call against "the fascist in us all." The definition of these features of postmodernity bore a remarkable resemblance to sentiments I have often heard expressed within First Nation, Inuit, and other Indigenous organizations and their deliberations on various policies and programs that impacted us. Almost all were opposing metanarratives that place their collectivities and principles in the subjugation of the established order or authoritarian or more properly termed "**resistant**". This resistance is not merely assuming an adversarial counterpoint to the administration that one expects in intellectual discourse, but it encircles the "*possibility of rewriting, of resisting final judgment, of resisting Truth*" (David J Farmer & Marshall, 1999).

Rima Wilkes' work on First Nations resistance events uses newspapers as a source of data about collective action and social movements to critically assess the coverage that newspapers provide of protest (Wilkes & Ricard, 2007). In her research, she considered multiple years (1985 and 1995) and followed data on forty-three protest events, covered in seven Canadian newspapers. She found that while some events were better covered in some newspapers, the volume of articles and type of coverage were very different and that coverage rates improved over time. She



cautions researchers to be careful when their assessments suggest increases in protests that may merely reflect increases in coverage. Wilkes and Corrigan-Brown highlight a problem in research that deals with First Nations resistance events; when it comes to media coverage of collective action, existing research considers only the written accounts (Wilkes, Corrigan-Brown, & Ricard, 2010). What we miss with written accounts is a pattern of reporting found in articles that tend to marginalize First Nation protesters and legitimizes Canadian and American authorities. The negative visual framing of collective action by First Nations in the modern media includes more images that elicit more emotional responses than textual accounts and last longer in peoples' memories. Wilkes analyzed newspaper photographs of the 1990 "Oka Crisis" to assess the way images frame collective action and collective actors. Results were enlightening, "protestors" were rarely names, and government officials were more often photographed in dominant positions with emotional and angry expressions in faces and body language. The authors noticed this was the case even if the event was characterized as a peaceful protest. Here again, is the link to the framing of an event and the art of storytelling. "Pictures are worth a thousand words" and "Looks can be deceiving" are some metaphors that may be dead but still apropos.

In her comparative research critique, she creates a database of Indigenous resistance events to study the phenomenon (Corrigan-Brown & Wilkes, 2012). Initially, she defined a resistance "event" as "*any event involving noninstitutional political tactics conducted by two or more individuals.*" Using sociological research, she gathered data from newspaper articles about resistance. She narrows her research to Indigenous-focused newspapers and journals and then broadened her search through more mainstream Canadian media outlets. Her works produced two tables of resistance events data for 1981-87 and a second for 1995. Her characterization of a

resistance event seemed to me to be far too narrow as she admits herself as it misses institutional resistance events like census-taking refusals. One of the more obvious resistance events missed is what I characterize as “administrative resistance” to deal with resistance when carried out by First Nations governments. One of the areas of conflict I often encountered among First Nations is conflict associated with financial management. It is where power relations between the colonial Federal powers and First Nations begin (in the Treaties) and end in perpetual default management. If one views default management with the colonial oppression lens you can see something quite different in Wilkes’ Indigenous resistance events. Worse still if you overlay Wilkes’ work with the 2015 Report on List of Recipients with Default Management Under Way published on the internet by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada.

Financial default is a narrative and for some reason First Nations are held to a higher standard than other nations. If First Nations sovereignty were being respected, their lands and natural resources exploitation would have had trade value in financial markets paid to us. First Nations could do what other nations do: incur sovereign debt (Acharya, 2018). Yet there no First Nation-owned banks that could hold a significant quantity of bonds issued by the First Nation. For countries like Canada and the U.S., governments can use their repayment plan to finance debt for which they have options to guarantee their repayment by either raising taxes, printing currency, or increasing the length of the repayment plan. Globally many governments have been unable to pay their debt obligations and had to default. It is for this reason that investors now ask for different yields or rates across countries. As a result, the poorest countries must pay the most for the money borrowed often by its ability to repay making its sovereign debt riskier.

For First Nations incurring sovereign debt is not an available option but it likely makes a significant contribution to Canada's standing globally. What is on the horizon is new institutions exist that didn't in the 1990s when the first lists of First Nations affected by its financial intervention policy of the day. The First Nations Financial Management Board, AFOA Canada (formerly Aboriginal Financial Officers Association of Canada), NACCA, the National Aboriginal Capital Corporations Association have since begun the task of backfilling the financial institutional gap that exists in where debts of First Nations can be addressed.

An ideal methodology would help us to see the “windigo” transformation. So how does one catch a glimpse of a trickster?

“Native American writer Gerald Vizenor uses the figure of the trickster as an affirmation of a genetically and textually hybrid, postmodern literary identity. A subversion of both mainstream discourse and idealized visions of the Indian, the trickster is a figure of figuration, a "holotropic" mediating between oral and written forms of communication. The status of such ethnic postmodernism remains problematic: does it transcend ethnic literature or is it a new formulation of identity politics?" (Feith, 2003).

Anishinabe legends describe the change from one state to another in the natural world. All changes carry the possibility of transformation – to become permanent in a new state. Transformations can have two paths: one light and possibly redemptive and the other is the dark path of ruin and despair. It is this wasteland of ruin that must be described for one to choose their actions wisely.

Legends have it that it is very difficult to know when you are the light path and when you are on the dark path. The dark path seems easy to recognize from legends:

“Even before the Weendigo laid hands on them, many people died in their tracks from fright; just to see the Weendigo’s sepulchral face was enough to induce heart failure and death...The Wendigo was gaunt to the point of emaciation, its desiccated skin pulled tightly over its bones. With its bones pushing out against its skin, its complexion the ash-gray of death, and its eyes pushed back deep into their sockets, the Wendigo looked like a gaunt skeleton recently disinterred from the grave. What lips it had were tattered and bloody ... Unclean and suffering from suppurations of the flesh, the Wendigo gave off a strange and eerie odor of decay and decomposition, of death and corruption” (Johnston, 2001).

I start here because I believe that one of the more difficult topics of discussion for public administrations is the subject of corruption which like success needs to be characterized for us to understand when it is happening and to recognize it as such. It helped me to start with the English word itself, corruption, comes from Middle English, Old French, and Latin who used the term 'corrumpere' that meant to mar, bribe, or, putrefy, decay, or destroy something: corruption. More recently it has become strongly it is used to described dishonesty or fraudulent conduct by those in power, often in tandem with terms like “bribery,” “fraud,” “embezzlement,” “misappropriation,” words that describe the exercise of official powers without regard for the public interest (GoC, 2014). In parallel, there have been as many ways to categorize the

transactions that these words; public versus private, supply/demand, grand/petty, conventional/unconventional, systemic/individual and the lexicon grows (GoC, 2014).

No surprise that the lexicon associated with corruption requires its narratives to explain the many moral lapses in human judgment. Perhaps this is why corruption, as a tale is among the oldest legend humans, have to describe the evil that can be found in many western fairytales like Emperor Nero fiddling while Rome burned in a fire he set, or the Hans Christian Anderson's Evil King who seeks to conquer God and is vanquished by a mosquito (Haugaard, E., 1983) or Robin Hood who remains loyal to the absent King Richard who has been usurped by the Sherriff of Nottingham and aided by Prince John (Pyle, 2005). The Bible also notably contains the story of King Herod who attempted to kill the child Jesus by ordering the slaughter of all male children under the age of two of Juda (Matthew:2.1-2:16, King James).

For many Indigenous peoples, there are tricksters and villains in their legends that provide insights that transmit values in their retelling. For the Anishinabeg, the telling of the Windigo or Weendigo stories were didactic and the stories are warnings about wanton excess and caution human beings about the need for balance, moderation, and above all else self-control and the need to preserve resources for future use.

There are also a few First Nations legends about leaders whose self-interest takes over and the detrimental effects it has on their people. One Mi'kmak legend about the Chief Who Refused to Die warns of the self-interest that can grow within longstanding leaders. The story demonstrates how his longevity limits the ability for its people to plan for the succession in its leadership that brings on a great of scarcity and hardship for them when they face their enemies (Nowlan, 1983). The leader uses supernatural means to guarantee his success that comes with a price that he does

not reveal to them until they must finally destroy him. Here is one example of a legend where the dark path warns the decision-makers or listeners to examine their motives for seeking leadership and the seduction of retaining their power.

There are instances where political economies and legends overlap in my view. In *Why Nations Fail*, Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) debunk three common hypotheses: geography, culture, and ignorance. The most interesting one is the geography hypothesis – why temperate latitude countries fare better over their southern and northern peers. They claim that we need better theories for this phenomenon particularly as it applies to North America. For a better theory, I looked no further than the Weendigo story interpretation from the Manitous from Basil Johnston, which explains that:

“The Weendigo is born out of human susceptibility. It was also born out of the conditions when men and women had to live through winter when it was sometimes doubtful that the little food they had would carry them through until spring. From the moment their supplies began to thin, the people faced starvation and death...and the Weendigo. What they feared most in their desperation and the delirium induced by famine and freezing to death was to kill and eat human flesh to survive. Nothing was more reprehensible than cannibalism.” (224, Johnston, 2001)

Evidently, as humans, we need winter and scarcity cycles to remind us about moderation annually, but just like other generations of humans, we grow unafraid of weendigo’s emergence at our peril.

The dark path of the Weendigo illuminates the way forward. In Basil Johnston retelling, he wrote “it is ironic that the Weendigo preys upon and can only overcome ordinary human beings who, like itself, have indulged themselves to excess, and hence illustrates the lesson that excess preys and thrives upon excess.” (224, Johnston, 2001) This story illustrates the human tendency towards self-indulgence and arrogance, whereby the dreadful appearance of the cannibalistic giant Windigoes does not scare humans into deference. It teaches us the basic Anishinaabe principles and values that selfishness is the root of all evil and that we should consume in moderation. Johnston updates this legend as when he warns us that, “the Weendigoes did not die out or disappear, they have only assimilated and reincarnated as corporations, conglomerates, and multi-nationals. They've even taken on new names, acquired polished manners, and renounced their cravings for raw human flesh in return for more refined viands. But their cupidity is no less insatiable than that of their ancestors” (Johnston, 2001).

It is Johnston's reference to corporations that made the Blacks' Law dictionary definition of an act of incorporation quite dark; "as the formation of a legal or political body, with the quality of perpetual existence and succession, unless limited by the act of incorporation" (Black's Law Dictionary 435 (2nd ed. 2019) As modern-day Anishinabe having to translate that concept for me would raise a red flag. This formation of an individual without a physical body that can-do things separately from its human board seem a little suspect and I would do well to be very moderate and controlled in behavior in its presence.

Modern storytelling employs so many new technologies like text, voice, and videos to deliver its messages and many of these vehicles have increased the power to illustrate the dark path exponentially. The Dark path has its roots in our fears. Many of the stories of the dark path lend themselves to stories about state-sanctioned violence, and various other political subjects

and others about love gone awry. The dark path stories we are interested in are still an excellent way to gauge how we feel about politics. While there is a complex relationship between people and their government when it comes to their fears, their ideologies peek out behind their policies, which ultimately shape opinion and culture that registers in storytelling. What we are afraid to be consumed by in a generation can easily be seen in our horror film preferences.

An American magazine compared the relationship between horror movie monsters and the political party in power over time in the US (Huffpost, 2017). They found that when their government was Republican, the most popular movies made featured zombies, and conversely when they had a Democratic majority their most popular movies featured vampires. They concluded that each monster represents the fears of the opposition power. This is to say when they have a Republican majority the population fears vampires because they represent fears of homosexuality, godlessness, and are typically immigrants. In a Democrat majority, the population fears brainless consumers trained to turn others into their way of thinking. The zombie and vampire threats seem to be here to stay if it can make its way into political forecasting – and why do these dark path stories appeal to us a public right at this time?

This is exactly the question three cognitive scientists wrote about in *Zombies in Western Culture: a crisis of the twenty-first century* (Vervaeke, Mastropietro and Miscevic, 2017). The authors document the rise of the zombie apocalypse narrative which begins around 1898 with the War of the Worlds and later adds zombie character in 1932 with the release of the White Zombie film. Vervaeke points out that zombies represent disconnection to the earth and sense of place. He adopts the term cultural domicide to describe the destruction of one's home or sense of space:



“The Zombie apocalypse is a representation of the ultimate domicile. The zombie is homeless, and the exhaustion of the apocalypse renders the world unhomeable. Instead of fitting together, the agent and the arena are irreparably out of joint. Consequently, the world of the zombie apocalypse is a diseased world in perpetual decay. As Wood argues, ‘social order can’t be restored’”(Vervaeke, 2017).

Vervaeke made the link between zombies and First Nations for me in his domicile definition by using Grassy Narrows Anishinabek Nations' narrative about their removal from their original homes to a brand-new town with all the amenities that were located next to development that contaminated their water by mercury from upstream mills rendering it unlivable for them. The layout proved to be an even bigger problem as it destroyed their connection and sense of place, as an Elder from the community states:

"We don't live like the white man, that's not our way. The white man lives close together, but we don't. We like to live far apart, in families. On the old reserve, you knew your place. Everybody respected your place.[...] It wasn't private property, but it was a sense of place, your place, your force around you. [...] As soon as they started to bunch us up, the problems started, the drinking, the violence. That has a lot to do with being bunched up" (37: Vervaeke, 2017).

The social problems that Grassy Narrows faced, as a result, are scattered in the Canadian media.

These zombie stories are very present in our imagination and films because of our fears. We are very fearful of being consumed by zombies or weendigoes and of the parasitism that vampires represent. These fears are by no means new – they are very old stories to the

Anishinabe and other First Nations. The Snow Vampire legend had a parallel existence among the Mikmak who told the story of a young woman transformed into a "creature of the north, that ate the flesh of men and sometimes even of its flesh" (p. 40 Nowlan, 1993). Her transformation began when she gobbled up snow like blueberries after a spurned lover applies herbs and a snowball to her neck. She begs her family and friends to kill her to protect themselves and end her suffering (which concurrently ends her suitor's life). One of the most curious features of the Snow Vampire legend is when the father refuses to end his daughter's life; "Still he would not do as she asked and the girl wept in despair—for though all snow vampires wish to die such a creature can't kill itself" (41:Nowlan,1993) This particular kind of know vampirism grows impervious to self-harm once it rises. Here is the link to the dangers of arrogance and self-interest that it is a dark path without a cure.

All horror stories have elements of fear of the entire population being consumed by the other in the same way colonialism consumed Big Turtle Island and its original population. They have a common root: promotion of fear, the fear of being overcome, painful death, and corruption of the flesh. Here is where the weapons of the colonial project came from the ability to denigrate other nations holding the resources they desire to consume. So how does this fear begin and then spread from individuals to a larger population? Part of the answer lies in narratives and their ability to spread the fears and create a sense of otherness by the invading party or parties. It is also where we can see the roots of structural and epistemic violence can be inserted within a narrative. Above all else, the wendigo or dark path is a didactic narrative about violence and how it becomes acceptable if we lose the ability to control ourselves as individuals.

Joseph Boyden was very publicly chastised for appropriating an Indigenous voice in his storytelling but what was lost in that unfortunate debate was his effort to perform a modern

retelling of the windigo legend. In his book *Three Day Road about two Cree hunters, Xavier Bird and Elijah Whiskeyjack who become snipers in World War II* he offers an excellent description of the wendigo path. In the story, both hunters leave their Cree homelands for the battle in Europe, and because of the superior marksmanship as hunters, they become snipers. Xavier Bird's success as a sniper is tempered by his modesty: "This war. This is not home. What's mad is them putting us in trenches, to begin with. The madness is to tell us to kill and award those who do it well. I only wish to survive". In stark contrast, Elijah Whiskeyjack begins to revel in his newfound "freedom" as a sniper and begins drinking and taking unnecessary risks. The hunters who start as close as brothers gradually begin to grow apart until Elijah presents Xavier with a collarbone from a German soldier he killed. Elijah is later confronted by senior officers for collecting scalps as evidence of his success as a sniper but escapes charges when bombs drop around them. The entire story is told in reverse as Xavier journeys back home in his aunt Niska's canoe. On the journey Niska recounts the violence of her father's Windigo killing at the onset of her womanhood and "come like a tainted, sick animal, at the moment it should not have" (Boyden, 2013). The scene demonstrates the power of the Windigo to pervert life. In the second Windigo killing, Niska must kill a Cree man who has gone windigo and eaten his wife:

"The windigo's face had turned purple and I was afraid his eyes would pop from his head. His words melted into a long groan and his thick tongue stuck out from his mouth... With a great gush of spittle and blood, the last stinking air in his body left him and spattered onto my rough cotton shirt. His eyes remained open; the whites turned a deep red from the strangulation. (Boyden, 2013)"

He attempts many times to prevent his fellow hunters' self-aggrandizing behavior, drinking, fighting, and bragging, but finally, the discovery of the ears presents clear evidence that he must perform his ritual kill to destroy the windigo his brother has become:

“Elijah’s eyes go wide for a moment, then narrow to slits. He begins swinging at me with his arms, hitting my head, my nose, my sides, my wounded arm. I scream and squeeze harder. Elijah’s tongue sticks out. His face turns dark. . . . His mouth opens and closes, gasping for air. Veins bulge from his forehead. . . . He goes still. His eyes are open, still watching me.”

Many First Nations have storytelling traditions that include a small subset of them that communicate one’s responsibility to act upon them. The windigo legend warns the audience that cannibalism is the ultimate taboo – but what the legends doesn’t explicitly say is that once the taboo is broken, the teller of the story, is usually a “windigo-killer” whose responsibility it is to send those who break that taboo. The retelling of this story has ethical rules about its sharing. In essence, its human story keepers often bear its name and as such must be prepared to kill the windigo (no matter whom it possesses) once it begins to reveal its cannibalism. This duty as keepers of the wendigo narrative suggests that it contains a sui generis model for monitoring institutions for predatory and cannibalistic behaviors. It begs the question of how can one tell when their human collectives or governments begin pursuing the dark path of violence and cannibalism if they are going wendigo – what are the signs?

First and foremost, the legend tells us to look for cannibalism: the consumption of the flesh of our species and sometimes ourselves directly. If we look at European history, it has a rich history complete with instances of regicide. In Britain, notable storytellers like William

Shakespeare have captured in plays like Richard III and the rise of Elizabeth in Mary Queen of the Scots who were murdered at the hands of their own families for the political and personal gain of others. The European monarchy did not stop at killing their own and themselves pursued the dark path during the same period they began to colonize the Americas. According to Dr. Richard Sugg, "Even as they denounced the barbaric cannibals of the New World, they applied, drank, or wore powdered Egyptian mummy, human fat, flesh, bone, blood, brains and skin" (Sugg, 2015). Sugg presents evidence of King Charles II consuming distilled human skull that he made himself in his private laboratory. His book shows a picture from the National Gallery of Scotland that exhibits a painting of Charles I's execution in 1649 that shows people surging forward to consume the former king's blood. This kind of "corpse medicine" was widespread in Europe and included the French King, Francis I (1494–1547) who Sugg says, "always carried it [mummy extract] in his purse, fearing no accident, if he had but a little of that by him". Even academics of the day were not immune to the fad, Francis Bacon believed that mummy had a "great force in staunching of blood" (Sugg, 2015). European educational institutions furthered their progress down the wendigo path by specializing in children (if Dickens is correct) and later Indigenous children as we now know from residential schools in North America.

The zombie apocalypse formally began in 1763, when its distant British monarch issued a Royal Proclamation:

"The Royal Proclamation also established very strict protocols for all dealings with First Nations people and made the Indian Department the primary point of contact between First Nations people and the colonies. Furthermore, only the Crown could purchase land from First Nations people by officially sanctioned representatives meeting with the interested First Nations people in a public

meeting. The Royal Proclamation became the first public recognition of First Nations rights to lands and title...French-British conflict in North America, the Seven Year War, created the Indian Department in 1755 to better coordinate alliances with the powerful Iroquois Confederacy as well as attempt to alleviate concerns of colonial fraud and abuses against First Nations people and their lands along the colonial frontier." (AANDC, undated)

The kind of agency that set up the Indian Department is now the kind of agency the Royal Canadian Mounted Police now cautions Canadian against today (RCMP, 2016). It now warns Canada's businesses about hiring an agent "for his/her knowledge, expertise, and political/business contacts in another country" (RCMP, 2016). The RCMP's website describes the person's role as "assists the company in understanding regulations, procurement process, political and cultural environment. They are often referred to as the 'middleman'" (RCMP, 2016). They estimate that 80% of prosecutions and convictions for bribery and corruption involve the use of agents. It reminds businesses that they are responsible for the actions of their employees, including agents. Agents should be given clear direction as to what is acceptable. It advises companies that they should have a strong anti-corruption compliance program that applies to agents.

Alongside the zombie apocalypse, there has also been an invasion of 100-year old First Nation "ghosts" that could magically give back to the government purse. The ghosts were first detected in 1994, by the then Minister of Indian Affairs Ron Irwin who found himself defending the inaccuracy of his department's estimates of the First Nations population. A Statistics Canada analyst questioned the departmental overestimation of

its service population by 70,000 people. The Indian Act registry had many duplicate entries that made it inaccurate, especially when the department kept names on band lists until people reach the age of 100 unless otherwise notified. These populations lists were then used by Indian Affairs to calculate the payments made to Indian bands for duplication could mean an over-payment of \$1 billion by the federal treasury (Windspeaker, 1994). This concern was raised first in 1994, it is clear now that this contributed to the Band Support Programs shortfalls, they face 25 years later in 2019. The 2019 Default Prevention Management Policy report to Parliament did not address this issue in its most recent findings.

Corruption seems to be a path for which you can transition from unethical to illegal often without realizing it. Like Elijah Whiskeyjack, we begin with small acts that work our way up to more severe breaches. What began as small efforts in support of a treatment center in Manitoba, quickly escalated to a very public scandal in October of 2003 when it was revealed that a public servant in charge of First Nations health programs was charged with breach of trust. In addition to bribery, the RCMP charged Paul Cochrane, (a former Assistant Deputy Minister of the First Nations Inuit Health Branch) with four additional counts of Fraud against the Government under the Canadian Criminal Code (GoC, 2003). The headlines reported corruption in detail. Curiously First Nations accounts about these misdeeds went untold.

One of the problems with reports on corruption, is the term itself has very much the same problem as its governance – it's often used, and its meaning is undefined, but it has a subset of terms closely associated with it. Canada's legal

approach to corruption under its Criminal Code: it does not define corruption but rather refers specifically, but instead defines illegal conduct (Goc, 2014). Canada's Criminal Code defined domestic bribery of its officials as "the receiving or offering [of] any undue reward by or to any person whatsoever, in a public office, to influence his behavior in office, and incline him to act contrary to the known rules of honesty and integrity." It has used this definition since 1892 introducing it from common law roots (GoC, 2014).

The case of Paul Cochrane also revealed another word caught under the broad description of corruption: clientelism. Transparency International in its 2009 Reports produced a guide for plain language terms for anti-corruption that described clientelism as "a reciprocal relationship between a wealthy or more powerful patron and a less wealthy or weaker client. This type of system is labeled as unequal or exploitative, the goal is to exploit resources or favors from the weaker party." This description highlighted the central problem that faces First Nations governments, there is always an element of exploitation in having public servants oversee their program delivery and being in control of their funds as a result of that relationship. Paul Cochrane's position as the most senior public official in charge of Sagkeeng's health programs was suddenly enjoying international interest from policy and research being done on addictions and mental health programming. He found himself and his aid, Aline Dirks on leave from the public service and directly working for the Manitoba based Treatment Center. What was also reported was that during this time was that his sons were



also employees of the center for which they received higher pay in performing duties than other Aboriginal staff.

Before the Cochrane Scandal, another public official, this time an elected one also faced another mismanagement scandal in 2000. Human Resources Development Canada under Minister Jane Stewart saw the media glare when she could not explain her department's financial expenditures to Parliament. A preliminary audit had revealed that millions of dollars in departmental funds had gone missing. Fortunately for Ms. Stewart subsequent audits decreased the number down to \$65,000 that could not be accounted for – which became known as the "billion-dollar" boondoggle the event is sufficiently famous to appear in the Canadian Encyclopedia which states that:

"No one will ever know for sure, however, because the paperwork to show where the money went does not exist. The audit is an appalling indictment of bureaucratic laxity and cavalier political attitudes towards taxpayers' money. Completed last October, but not released until Jan. 19, it showed that, of 459 projects reviewed, two-thirds were never analyzed for their suitability, nor were reasons stated for their approval. Eighty-seven percent showed no sign of ever being monitored for how money was spent. Another 15 percent of the projects got money without even applying for it..... The Reform party's Diane Ablonczy gave a hint last week of how the details of the audit can continue to fuel outrage. She released a 67-page list of grants made in Stewart's Brant, Ont., riding over the past three years - an average of \$10 million a year. Some were dispensed as relatively small change, though necessity did not seem to be a criterion if the

\$2,718 awarded to the Bank of Montreal is any indication. More substantively, over \$7 million went out as grants or subsidies to institutions or businesses "unknown." And dozens of ridings have similar lists available to the opposition. (Wallace, 2003).”

Evidence of the dark past of public servants in First Nations policy and programs can now be seen in legislation existing like Public Servants Disclosure Protection Act which was passed in 2005 and is “intended to address forms of wrongdoing that, because of their scale or nature, have the potential to adversely affect public confidence in the integrity of public servants and public institutions.” While it does not define what a serious breach is or what gross mismanagement is, it instead lists factors such as:

- The possible adverse impact on trust or confidence in the organization’s ability to carry out its mandate and fulfill its duties in the public interest;
- The degree of departure from standards, policies, or accepted practices (in the case of a breach of code, the degree of departure from the code itself);
- The position, responsibilities, and duties of an alleged wrongdoer (for example, there is a higher expectation of probity upon employees who hold positions of trust within the organization);
- The degree of willfulness, deliberateness, or recklessness involved, including any malicious intent to cause harm or purposely engage in wrongdoing;
- The nature and /or frequency of the actions (for example, whether they are isolated, systemic, endemic or repetitive or ongoing);

- The potential consequences of the actions on the well-being, health, or safety of others or the environment (GoC, 2013).

These descriptors leave the reader wide open to interpretation and direct public servants to seek the advice of their Senior Officer for Disclosure or the Office of the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner of Canada. Despite this guidance, the wendigo path was still not evident when in 2018, Canada's federal ethics commissioner Mario Dion ruled that the former Fisheries Minister, Dominic LeBlanc had violated the conflict of interest act when he approved an Arctic surf clam license to a company employing a family member. The ethics commissioner reported that LeBlanc knew his wife's first cousin was involved in the Five Nations Clam Company when he awarded it a multi-million-dollar license. Dion advised the Canadian public that, "If a public office holder is aware of a potential opportunity to further the private interests of a relative through the exercise of official power, duty or function, the public office holder must be vigilant in avoiding such conflicts of interest (Wright, 2018)."

What can be observed from this situation is that Canada's public administration is large and well-developed policies, but that somehow it is not enough to prevent these kinds of ethical issues. For public officials who head agencies that are involved in the intersection with First Nations administrations and businesses (which are usually much smaller in size) the risk of personal relationships and conflicts of interest rise very quickly. The definition of public corruption often emphasizes the notion of State versus society relationships, but this definition becomes unwieldy when the Indian Act still defines our existence as wards of that State and continues to presume upon our small governments while it continues to avail itself of our vast territories and natural

resources. To accomplish this task, Canada needed to ensure it and promulgated the idea that we were childish and incapable of managing our affairs for ourselves as individuals or as collectives with our own "governments" or organizations. Here is where the narratives provided from colonization came in handy as well as the earlier language barrier and misuse aided with this effort.

For First Nations, Indian and Northern Affairs' agency is set up in its legislation and establishes its agency and dominion over us. It does so without accountability to First Nations directly as it serves Canada and its Constitution primarily. In short, First Nations find themselves with an agent they have almost no control over. By its narrative Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada describes its policy development in the following way;

"Starting in the 1820s, different initiatives, such as model villages, were undertaken to "civilize" First Nations people. One early assimilation experiment was tried at Coldwater-Narrows, near Lake Simcoe in Upper Canada. A group of Ojibway were encouraged to settle in a typical colonial style village where they would be instructed in the agricultural arts, encouraged to abandon hunting and fishing as a means of subsistence, and adopt Christianity. Because of poor management by the Indian Department, chronic underfunding, a general lack of understanding of First Nations culture and values, as well as competition between the followers of different religious denominations, the Coldwater-Narrows Experiment was a dismal failure and short-lived experiment. Despite initial problems, civilization, or assimilation, the program became one of the central tenets of Indian policy and legislation for the next 150 years. Programs were

created, and legislation was passed by the colonial assemblies to not only protect Indian reserve lands but also to create new incentives for Aboriginal people to abandon their traditional ways of life and adopt a more agricultural lifestyle."

While Canada admits to its poor management and describes it concisely;

"As the military role of First Nations people waned in the eyes of British administrators, new ideas and approaches towards this relationship began to take hold. Throughout the British Empire, a new perspective emerged regarding the role that British society should have concerning the different indigenous peoples around the world. Fed by a belief in the superiority of British ideals and society, and a missionary "charity", initiatives were created to bring British "civilization" to indigenous people throughout the Empire (AANDC, 2011)."

This denigration of the Indigenous peoples in what became known as North America extends to their nations and institutions. Our efforts in European education, law, and business faced challenges of colonial governments outlawing them and genocidal methods being applied. The original trust set up as part of the Treaties and the Royal Proclamation was looted and the administration was rife with corruption by European officials. This is what seeded the Canadian public administration. The hegemony continues despite many efforts to disguise it as Constitutional reforms, reconciliation, and countless other efforts that spring from the dark path.

The transformation of governments down a dark path is one that has been pursued the world over. There have been many efforts to define corruption and in doing so, be able to address it. Public Safety Canada has described it broadly as "exercise of official

powers without regard for public interest" and alternately "the abuse of official powers without regard for the public interest" (GoC, 2014). There have been efforts to categorize it into dualities like public/private supply/demand, grand/petty, conventional/unconventional, commission/omission, or systemic/isolated. Private corruption is meant to describe the corruption that occurs between two private actors while public corruption necessarily involves a public official. Like in Canada where it criminalizes domestic public corruption directly through the Criminal Code but treats corruption of foreign officials separately under its Corruption of Foreign Public Officials Act (CFPOA). The distinction seems to stem from Canada's ratification of the OECD's Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions bypassing its Corruption of Foreign Public Officials Act (CFPOA) in 1999.

Canada signed the United Nations Convention against Corruption on May 21, 2004. The Convention is a legally binding anti-corruption response to a universal problem (GoC, 2014). While the UN Convention against Corruption touts its non-ranking reporting, clearly some dissent on that stance exists. The Transformation Index of the Bertelsmann Stiftung annually surveys the political environment globally. Its rating has a bearing on its credit rating, it reports to the OECD and thus its access to the International Monetary fund makes this kind of comparison tough to ignore if Canada looking needs them to underwrite our indebtedness.

For First Nations, there is no access to the International Monetary Fund or any other foreign vehicle to underwrite its scarcity. The Canadian Taxpayer's Federation's website has a "debt clock" which estimates Canada's Federal Debt today is

\$685,382,941,690.10 and that three years after passage of the Indian Act (on January 1, 1870) it stood at \$320,548.00. Yet Canada feels compelled to stand in judgment of First Nations governments when their annual deficit exceeds 8% of its annual funding. Canada's approach to its debt is quite a bit more lenient. Economics experts like Jack Carr of the University of Toronto explained that Canada's debt-to-GDP ratio, the total debt compared to the total annual GDP of the country, is about a quarter of Japan's which has "a unitary government and the highest debt-to-GDP ratio almost of any country in the world — approaching 200 percent."

The problem with corruption is it cannot be observed directly and measured empirically so that we can learn something from it. One study has begun to measure the perception of corruption as a proxy for actual corruption. This study became the Transformation Index project, managed by the Bertelsmann Stiftung (BTI) that compares nation-states globally. BTI prefaces its index by saying that, "Successful processes of reform can be observed in every region of the globe" (BTI, 2019). The Transparency Index annually asks many nations across the world about its key decisions, what did they learn from past experiences, what strategies work, under which conditions. It asks these questions of these carefully selected experts in each country, in what it characterizes as "an honest self-evaluation that is later peer-reviewed for its accuracy" (BTI, 2019).

The perception of corruption as a proxy for actual corruption faces a serious downside: corruption allegations are often used in political battles. Research in Russia found that Index was in fact, "raising public perceptions of corruption and thus reflecting the degree of political competition rather than actual corruption. The data on public perceptions of corruption in Russian regions produced by Transparency International

and the Information for Democracy Foundation (INDEM) shows that higher levels of political competition and press freedom along with lower economic development appear as the key variables contributing to higher public perceptions of corruption in Russian regions” (Gulnaz,2010). Here is where the allegation of corruption becomes a tool of oppression for those who oppose economic development that a nation-state pursues without consent of the Indigenous peoples.

In a similar exercise to the perception of corruption index, the Government of Canada passed the First Nations Financial Transparency Act on March 27, 2013. Upon receiving Royal Assent the First Nations Financial Transparency Act required that 581 First Nations (as defined as an Indian band under the Indian Act) make their audited consolidated financial statements and a Schedule of Remuneration and Expenses of Chief and Council available to their members as well as publish it on a website. This list inspired this research – the allegations of perceived corruption in the face are First Nations' resistance to developments that seek to exclude them from its benefits.

Something else that made me as a researcher question the ethics of the legislative agenda when it came to First Nations was the June 1, 2015 passing of the Extractive Sector Transparency Measures Act (the Act). According to its website, “the Act delivers on Canada’s international commitments to contribute to global efforts to increase transparency and deter corruption in the extractive sector by requiring extractive entities active in Canada to publicly disclose, on an annual basis, specific payments made to all governments in Canada and abroad” (NRCAN, 2019). For First Nations, full disclosure of the benefits they receive could foreseeably be revealed without their consent or



validation from them. Many modern First Nations land claims were concerned about how this would affect their reporting across their governments.

## METHODOLOGY

One of the caveats in selecting First Nations as the subjects of my research is the enormous weight of the ethical considerations. As an Anishinabeg researcher, I am very interested in social injustices faced by my people and their public organizations. I recognize the importance of declaring this for me to address the gap in research in public administration that is in service of First Nations.

Researching your nation or its constituents presents itself with ethical conundrums because of qualitative research situated within the social constructionist paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). In considering research data, such as the accounts of research participants, I must consider whatever is related to me as a 'construct' within that research context, rather than as an objective reflection of 'reality'. This assumption does not address the inequities that are created when Western ways of knowing are negotiated through social interactions over time and concerning interpreting social structures, contexts, and resources which support or indeed suppress their ways of knowing (Burck, 2005b).

Interviews are standard tools used in research, but they come with many ethical issues, research of this kind cannot reliably achieve 'informed' consent for an individual or a collective but in this case, it is unnecessary. Here is where the self-determination express begins for a First Nation, by using their self-generated texts whenever possible to serve as proxies for how they feel about their government's activities in the world.

Storytelling also has a new dimension to it and arguably a larger audience than it could before. Data now plays a starring role in the American political scene and flexed its enormous potential for elections, representation, and political participation. Data has now become so voluminous that its data sets are too large and complex for individual computer platforms and software to manage. The term big data describes the new methods and computers designed that have been engineered to collect, store, and provide analysis not possible previously. Large enough pooled data sets have made it possible to reveal correlations "where...." Naturally big data includes social media data that can track and elucidate relationships between protests and government programs.

It also threatens to change mainstream Canadian politics along with it. As First Nations, we have been pulled down the same path with our wild uptake of applications like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, to name a few, of the most popular social media where First Nations interests flourish. In the Federal efforts to bring connectivity to First Nations communities along with clean water and other infrastructure, our data is being pooled, along with mainstream Canadian data for further analysis by big data.

Candace Lanius points out that big data technologies for political participation are set to expand the number of individuals represented in politics by ambiently collecting their preferences on key public issues (C. Lanius, n.d., 2015). It is Big data's other power that is interesting in this paper about resistance events; its ability to reach underrepresented populations and understand their perspectives thereby integrating them into the political process. This final statement seemed to revisit an old theme: assimilation into the broader politic. This made me sit back and wonder about my experiences as a First Nations protester and the use of social media. The most obvious thing that this

statement implies is the universal acceptance of my otherness. Many First Nations can describe a common feature of Facebook, which the negative and racist comments that pervade many posts about rallies and protests. Worst still is the isolation that may come from it when you lose Facebook “friends” that do not wish to be associated with your activities for fear of retributions. The power of telling one’s own story is the central tree of life for self-determination. The problem with Big Data and First Nations is that our population began small and were largely excluded from its development. This exclusion created a hole in this data for which are seeing a marginalization that can now be shared globally on social media. These stories leave us, the public wondering if First Nations resistance causes default directly or does default cause resistance?

## DATA

A portion of the data for this analysis comes from publicly available documents that are part of Canada’s central agency, the Treasury Board of Canada’s internal audit and evaluation reports (Treasury Board of Canada, 2008). Since all First Nations governments receive money for their programs and services through legally binding funding agreements they sign with Indigenous Affairs and Northern Canada (Government of Canada. (2019).

These contribution agreements contain terms and conditions, for which it says “Deficits: [First Nation Name] shall be responsible for any expenditure it makes in excess of the Funding.” Annually the recipient First Nations agree to report on their expenditures for the funds they receive. The First Nations who receive these funds in some cases do not

report in the required manner. Indigenous Affairs describes the occurrence of default as:

- The health, safety, or welfare of the community is at risk of being compromised
- The recipient has not met its obligations under the funding agreement
- An auditor has flagged concerns with the recipient's annual audited financial statements
- The recipient's financial position places the delivery of funded programs at risk
- The recipient is bankrupt or at risk of bankruptcy; or has lost or is at risk of losing its corporate status (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2013)

I downloaded this list directly from the Default Management Program and entered it into an MS Excel Spreadsheet to serve as the base list of First Nation names who were in financial distress. In the next column, the level of default management was added as it appeared in the downloaded table. Another column was added to the table for the Wilkes Resistance database sample. This column was added to compare whether the same First Nations who were in financial default had also held a resistance event. Since the Wilkes sample list was published two decades earlier in 1995, it had to be updated to make the data comparable. I repeated the internet search for all events that featured the name of all communities that appear on the default list of names. The resulting table appears in Annex A.

From this initial list of all First Nations in default management, it was interesting to note that AANDC's table included their corresponding province. This

suggested that there was a provincial link to their financial distress and their resistance. Table 2 examined how many First Nations were in default in each province in the first column

## RESULTS

An updated version of the Default Management Program list that appeared in 2018 showed that out of 153 First Nations on the Default Management list, 103 had participated in resistance events that appeared in the news and social media. Of the overlapping 7 cases these resistance events had persisted since Wilkes' original list in 1995, they were also still in default management at some level in 2015.

First Nations by province, then subtracts the number of First Nations with no resistance events and compares them to Wilkes resistance events and updates of more recent

Table 1. First Nations in Default comparison Wilkes + updated events sample

Province of FN in Default	#of FNs in Default	# of Wilkes Events	Number without events	First Nation Name
AB	7	1	3	Stony
NB, NS PEI	7	0	1	
BC	14	1	1	<u>Gitwangak</u>
MB	42	3	10	<u>Peguis, Norway House, Cross Lake</u>
ON	30	0	13	
QC	19	2	6	<u>Barriere Lake, Kahnésatake</u>
SK	28	0	16	
YK	2	0	0	

events. This following the continuum of default demonstrates a small number of highly resistant First Nations, the greatest number of which occur in Manitoba and then Quebec.

Of the First Nations named in the second table, another search for their narratives describing their experience was performed. The search for narratives focused on the source of narrative: ideally if they had their website and if that website referred to their financial default management planning or the resistance event that Wilkes referred to in her 1997 sample. Table 3 contains First Nations identified in Table 1 for whom an internet search was done for their name as listed to verify the existence of their website. The website was deemed authentic if it featured the name of the First Nation with either on its own or with First Nation, nation, or band attached to that name in the website's title. Each First Nation's website was then examined for its contents examined for any reference to, photographs or additional documents such as a newsletter about their default management planning efforts or resistance events either current or in an archive on their website. In Table 2, an "X" represents the lack of a result and a checkmark indicates the presence of such a narrative on their website.

Table 2. Narrative Presence/Absence for First Nation with Resistance or Default Events

First Nation	Narrative source	Resistance narrative	Default Narrative
Stoney	Own <a href="http://www.stoneynation.com/">http://www.stoneynation.com/</a>	X	X
<u>Gitwangak</u>	Own <a href="http://gitwangakband.ca/">http://gitwangakband.ca/</a>	✓	X
<u>Peguis</u>	Own <a href="http://www.peguisfirstnation.ca/">http://www.peguisfirstnation.ca/</a>	✓	✓
Norway House Cree Nation	Own <a href="http://www.nhcn.ca/">http://www.nhcn.ca/</a>	X	X
Cross Lake	Own <a href="https://www.pimicikamak.ca/">https://www.pimicikamak.ca/</a>	✓	X
<u>Barriere Lake</u>	Other <a href="https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016352/1100100016353">https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100016352/1100100016353</a>	X	X
<u>Kahnesatake</u>	Own <a href="http://kanesatake.ca/wp/">http://kanesatake.ca/wp/</a>	X	X

The public narrative phenomenon seems to work like a pregnancy test – the presence of the hormone at any level means you have a growing situation. First Nations governments do not instantly create a public narrative once they feel coerced by other governments. It takes time, perhaps even decades in some cases. However, when they do appear it does not immediately end their default management planning, but it does signal an emerging situation.

On its website, the Pimicikamak Cree at Cross Lake, Manitoba refers to itself as “a self-determined Indigenous Nation”. It seems to be in the process of building a public

narrative. Its website features a tab entitled “About Survival,” where it identifies itself as an indigenous people and that it does indeed have a government and traditional lands. It refers to their rights are protected in international law by the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

However, Pimicikamak Cree's website does not feature a narrative about its default management planning. It does have reference to its transparency project in its attached discussion papers. Under the "Transparency" tab there are three tabs: NFA Implementation Costs, Program Costs, and Grant Funding featured prominently. What is missing is any narrative that talks about their default and any planning that has resulted from the experience.

Pimicikamak's website also refers to its most recent resistance event that occurred in 2014 when they occupied a Manitoba Hydro dam nearby (Glowack, 2014). For the event, Pimicikamak Cree say that:

“For 50 years Manitoba Hydro – an agent of the provincial Crown – has been an unwanted and traumatic presence in Pimicikamak territory. Its operations inflict devastating and often irreversible damage to the land and the people. It has become the principal threat to Pimicikamak's continued existence. Pimicikamak's national policy on survival strategy is: Heal the land, heal the people, heal the nation. Pimicikamak is now intensely focused on building a new relationship with Manitoba Hydro, one that will enable both to survive in its territory.” (Glowack, 2014).



Peguis First Nation in Manitoba has its website for which it posts its default management letters signed by the department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada's regional offices. Their most recent one was posted in 2017(Government of Canada, 2017). Their financial audits for each year since 2012 are also available from that same site.” Similarly, Peguis’ website listed features a press release for their April 16, 2013 protest of a Berger peat mine that they blockaded the road to Washlow Peninsula with the support of the nearby Fisher River Cree Nation and various cottagers in the area (Sutherland, 2013).

Gitwangak Band Council (GBC) in British Columbia seems to have an emerging narrative on managing conflicts transparently. The conflict centered around their school and other education programs. The local radio news reported that members of the Gitwangak Education Society (GES) were protesting their band council offices and that a court case was pending. What is notable is that unlike the previous example GBC maintains its website that addresses the very public conflict by stating that:

“GBC and GES have agreed that GES will continue to manage and operate the Gitwangak Education Programs until the end of this school year. During this time, the parties will work out a transition plan for the seamless transfer to GBC. As a result of the Agreement, GES will be discontinuing its court case against GBC in due course.” (Canada First Nations Radio Network, 2016)

While GBC has dealt with its internal conflict in a very public manner, it has posted its annual financial statements there as well though it has remained silent on its progress since its appearance on the default management list.

Stoney Nation's website exists; however, its triumphs and tribulations remain untold. In 2015, the Calgary Herald's headline read "Stoney leaders get big raise as the band runs deficit". The Stoney Nakoda Nation consists of three bands: Chiniki, Bearspaw, and Wesley First Nation whose deficit was nearly \$17 million, \$6 million of which was due to salaries, travel, and benefits for each of its leaders. The article cited data from 2011, that the average income of band members was less than \$15,000 while their 15 elected Chief and Council members took home salaries that averaged nearly 10 times that or about \$149,000 (McClure, 2015).

The Stoney website also remained silent about their protests three years earlier when APTN reported that, "Another demonstration is planned for Sunday by the Stoney Nakoda First Nation in Morley, Alberta. They intend to shut down one lane of Highway 1, but they say they were told by the RCMP if they attempt to block both lanes they will be arrested. ...The community held a meeting Wednesday night with about 50 people in attendance. They expect several hundred people to show up (Patterson, 2012)". There is a public narrative needed directly from Stoney Nakoda Nation.

Kahnesatake, near the township of Oka, Quebec is the home to the most dramatic resistance events in Canada. It is also very well documented in television and newspapers for any media that existed in 1990. It even has a film made about the event. What is not evident when you watch Alanis Obamasawin's documentary about the 1990

crisis at Kahnesatake is that it has also been in default management planning since this event. A succession of Kahnesatake Chiefs and Councils have actively protested and blockaded pipelines, golf course encroachment, and other uses for their lands that were either poorly consulted upon or begun without notice. Kahnesatake's effort to protect its lands and waters is sometimes documented in the press or other websites but their narrative does not appear on their website. Perhaps it is a strategy or perhaps the healing they require has yet to begin.

Similarly, during the same period, the Barriere Lake Anishinabeg has seen the deterioration of their trilateral forestry agreement resulting in protests, blockades, and rallies. Barriere Lake was mentioned in Wilkes' resistance events but was not entered in her sample table. But she cited it and Kahnesatake in her examples as resistance events definition. Barriere Lake's resistance was later documented in detail when Pasternak examined these events in her thesis as did Richard Desjardins in his documentary *Les People Invisible*. Unlike Kahnesatake, Barriere Lake was the only one of the two to have the results of its elections posted in the Canada Gazette following INAC intervention. Following this resistance communications strategy, no website exists with a narrative about their resistance or for their default management strategy. Barriere Lake council remains under Default Management currently.

Norway House Cree Nation of Manitoba has two websites under its name: Norway House Cree Nation and the adjacent non-First Nation community of Norway House. The Norway House Cree Nation has recently begun building its public narrative with the introduction of its new website. At the time of this paper, this site did not contain stories about its default management, or their transparency efforts nor was there any

information available publicly about its resistance events, though there have been several since Treaty #5 was signed in 1875.

Here is where its story joins with Pimicikamak of Cross Lake and continues until 1966 when the Governments of Canada and Manitoba sought to dam the Nelson River for a hydroelectric generation which later broke down when subsequent implementation agreements were being negotiated. In March 1998, at a ferry crossing, Pimicikamak Crees staged a protest and prevented Manitoba Hydro vehicles from entry onto their reserve lands (Niezen, 1999). Since then Manitoba Hydro trucks that enter Pimicikamak Cree Nation do so by permits issued by its government and with its police verification of every vehicle. The issues with the Northern Flood Agreements and the dispossessions of all the band in the region has pushed virtually every First Nation on that watershed into default management planning.

## DISCUSSION

My relationality requires that you know something about me to understand my work (Wilson, 2008) it also serves to clarify this paper's decidedly advocacy stance that is required of a mixed methods research paper. I am a longstanding advocate on the ways and means of the Anishinabeg. As an Anishinabekwe, I was born into families that have been divided into Indian Act bands and whose ancestral lands have been claimed by Canada and many of its provinces. Half of the Anishinabeg, who has Indian Act Band Councils within four hours' drive of Ottawa is being accused of "going Wendigo" and their finances being withheld as a result. I use the term "going Wendigo" as the equivalent of the English term of being corrupt because both allegations carry heavy

consequences. I have not elected leader of any of these Indian Act Councils but still, I felt compelled to examine these conflicting stories about these and other First Nations across Canada.

To explore these accusations of financial mismanagement of a First Nation, I looked at them in the same way as if they had been accused of Windigo psychosis: how did they talk about the events? Who is telling this story and why? Is there any other information that I'd find useful in making up my mind about it? First, I was told I needed a framework and theories on which to base research within the field of public administration. Here is where Donna Mertens' transformative mixed methods research helped understand how important the news and media were to this research: she begins her article with a story about her daily review of newspaper headlines armed with her morning coffee and wonders about her role as a researcher in resolving longstanding social problems and bringing justice to them (D.M Mertens, 2007). I felt like she was telling my story (except she that was wondering about low-incidence disability groups) and that her method could help me understand the stories about First Nations and their administrations.

This connection to news media was redoubled when I read Vizenor's account of his research being inspired by it:

“Reading the newspaper that afternoon at the Minnesota Historical Society was truly transformational, a moment that still lasts in my stories and memory, despite the unreasonable, dismissive response by the faculty graduate advisor. He refused to accept my historical, descriptive content analysis of the reservation newspaper

because, he said, it was not an acceptable subject of graduate study. My advisor apparently considered reservations newspapers mere heresay and not historical precedent” (G Vizenor, 2008).

I began to understand the very critical role the Aboriginal Peoples’ Television Network (APTN) plays and that it was created to bring survivance to news by telling a more balanced story about our issues. The rest of the media sector also benefits from APTN existence as it has gradually made reporting on these issues somewhat less violent as a result.

I also found another kindred researcher in Sweetman who uses Merten’s Transformative Framework (Sweetman et al., 2010). Sweetman delved into the allegation that too few published mixed methods studies contain the goal of social justice and a concern for the human condition. Sweetman says that "as researchers, we are preoccupied by human society issues like poverty, disease war, and rigid power imbalances. We are concerned that values are part of all research and that goals of inquiry should be directed toward social justice and addressing the human condition in our society. More specifically, this perspective includes the need to examine issues of power imbalances and the marginalization of underrepresented groups in our society." I liked the Sweetman definition of mixed methods research defined as, "the collection, analysis, and integration of quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a program of inquiry" (Sweetman et al., 2010). Their concern that their social research methodologies be sensitive to the marginalized was also important in designing this study.

I began this research by accepting David John Farmer's invitation to deconstruct the bureaucracy and with that the public administration's 'grand' narrative that the goal of public administration theory should be objectivity, and the strategy we should choose is to focus on a theoretical text

(David John Farmer, 1995a). So that work became a literature review with the lens of an Indigenous person. I took Farmer's suggestion that "the term "text" should be understood in its broadest and fullest sense --to include the products of all forms of language and action. His description is inclusive of "unscholarly" citing of television programs, internet-based texts, and in, gray-literature which about which he says, "Texts relating to public administration or anything else are more than documents. We know that speech is read, for example; this idea is suggested when radio operators say, "I read you loud and clear." ...Life is indeed literature; life's action constitutes a book, a text" (David John Farmer, 1995b). As a result, in this research, I looked for these narratives written by the First Nations administrations themselves. I judged whether these narratives were indeed written by these organizations by using their domain name which was often integrated their First Nation name into its characters. Once I found these narratives, I read them and looked for photos, articles, or other references to their default management plans (or letters associated with it), protests, or any other sign that these small administrations were creating their narrative. The data captured revealed a wide array of emergent narratives and a variety of strategies for addressing their financial distress.

Most often I found silence from First Nations in addressing the threats they faced. In some of the more remote First Nations this silence could be simply the product of the lack of affordable connectivity that is sometimes referred to as the "digital divide" (Bredin, 2001).

However, given the power imbalance between them and the Canadian government, much of this silence might be driven by their "moral muteness" which occurs when people witness unethical behavior and choose not to say anything (Verhezen, 2010). Too often it is the easiest thing to do is look the other way when we see others acting unethically. For these administrations to speak out risks conflict with public officials, for which they often pay an emotional and social cost for

doing do. In the case of the stories I found on their websites, the lack of narrative from these administrations is a defense. Sadly, it also obscured their beliefs and commitments which could be useful in fending off rumors of corruption and garnering support for their situations.

One of the narratives I found after the initial period of this study emphasized the importance of it: Liard First Nation who were in default in 2015 and were also protesting anti-fracking in their territories very publicly in 2015. From own website, the First Nation describes itself as one people whose homelands were divided by Canada into four parts: Yukon, Northwest Territories, and British Columbia and as a result were split into four Indian Act bands: one on the BC/Yukon border, one in Yukon and two in BC. In 1980 when the hydroelectric dam was proposed by BC Hydro, the BC portion of the band organized the Kaska Dena Council to pursue a Treaty settlement that could reunite the divided nation. By 2013, the Liard First Nation Council (near Watson Lake) was deeply in debt and Chief George Morgan told the Globe and Mail that through writing a management action plan: "We had to portray ourselves as a professional government. We had to show our willingness and commitment to do the right things and to work with our partners (Morin, 2018)" The Liard Council was still deeply indebted, it owed more than \$700,000 in 2014. The Liard First Nation is the only entity listed in the Default list from INAC in 2015 for which follow-up in 2018 for resistance events revealed that they had indeed escaped the Default Management Programming successfully within a year. This approach seems consistent with cognitive behavioral therapy advice on escaping by recognizing the opportunity that challenge represents. Liard First Nation's strategy also highlights another example of a strategy that was highly effective – they told their bad news first of in the face of intense media scrutiny (Wigley, 2011). The Raven trickster rose in Liard and they slew him. If the people of Liard are very lucky, they will not see his kind for some time.



From this study, I witnessed slight changes in media reporting of First Nations and their governance conflicts. In total, their numbers were extremely small, and their stories were brief. However, their existence made me question if they indeed caught (their Windigo's) Raven's rise. In this research one event narrative stuck out in my mind about Gitwagak in British Columbia. The news media documented band members occupying their own band office over concerns for the administration of education services (CFNR Team, 2016). The internal conflict was for the first time reported but missing its characteristic denigration of the band's ability to handle its affairs. The media's biases matter and APTN and other Indigenous news media have made an impact. More recently a scan for follow-up for the incident, the First Nation's administration had seized the narrative and began posting dates for meetings about its educational administration and reform of its services. There was now silence on the subject.

Sweetman says about the use of the transformative paradigm that "knowledge is not neutral and is influenced by our human interests. Knowledge reflects the power and social relationships within society, and the purpose of knowledge construction is to aid people to improve society. Issues such as oppression and domination—found in critical theory perspectives—become important to study" (Sweetman et al., 2010). Nowhere is that statement more applicable than in the case of the Algonquins of Barriere Lake and Mitchikanabikong Inik. Their council was already in default management planning since at least 2006 (S Pasternak, 2017). This was the latest in the long-running saga of the Department of Indian Affairs interference in the *Onakinakewin*, their version of a Constitution. Shiri Pasternak told Barriere Lake's story in her Ph.D. dissertation (Shiri Pasternak, 2013). Despite these many allies, Barriere Lake's story remains untold by them. They do not maintain a website of their own, their story is told by 3<sup>rd</sup> parties. Court battles are still on-going, one reason why this situation likely persists.

In Saskatchewan, Thunderchild, Onion Lake, Peepeekisis, English River, and Sakimay First Nations also resisted imposed federal rules that are attached to basic band funding (CBC News, 2014). The stories reported that the Saskatchewan-based bands questioned the ethics of the department in its application of default management planning in light of their efforts to stop a drilling operation on their land despite their chief's approval of the oil drilling (CBC News, 2013). Thunderchild First Nation Chief and council eventually used to negotiate their way out of third-party management in 2015 (P. Mills, 2013). The Windigo that threatened these First Nations were from the outside

From this study, I witnessed slight changes in media reporting of First Nations and their governance conflicts. In total, their numbers were extremely small, and their stories were brief. However, their existence made me question if they indeed caught the Windigo's rise. In this research one event narrative stuck out in my mind about Gitwangak in British Columbia. The news media documented band members occupying their own band office over concerns for the administration of education services (CFNR Team, 2016). The internal conflict was for the first time reported but missing its characteristic denigration of the band's ability to handle its affairs. More recently a scan for news as a follow-up for the incident, the Gitwangak's administration had seized the narrative and began posting dates for meetings about its educational administration and reform of its services. Otherwise, there was now silence on the subject. Perhaps Windigo rose but indeed it was slain by the will of people in Gitwangak.

Another administration that appeared on the Default Management list was the subject of a story on Aboriginal People's Television Network's news show, the Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation and Poundmaker Bands of Saskatchewan's internal protests (Barnsley, 2005; Marr, 2018). In the case of Peter Ballantyne First Nation, concerned band members formed a picket line outside the

band office Wednesday afternoon who were seeking full disclosure of financial information from its band and a public meeting with the chief and council (Marr, 2018).

The APTN News reported that the second administration of the Poundmaker Cree Nation in central Saskatchewan had its by-election disrupted by a protest that resulted in the theft and burning of ballots in October of 2015 (Burnouf, 2015). The reporter interviewed band members, including one councilor who declared the by-election to be questionable and possibly illegal. Wisakedjak was afoot and loose. Poundmaker's situation reminded me of Young's ideas about the systemic character of oppression which implies that an oppressed group does not need an obvious oppressor (Young, 2014). Her definition of structural oppression involves relations among groups, but she notes that these relations do not always fit the paradigm of conscious and intentional oppression of one group by another. She borrowed Foucault's ideas about the meaning and operation of power, that we must look beyond the ruler and subject models that we get when we hear the word "sovereignty." Instead, we must analyze the daily exercise of power and the effect of liberal and "humane" practices of education, bureaucratic administration, production, and distribution of consumer goods, medicines, and other benefits as reproducing and maintaining systems of oppression. That as individual First Nation members in our daily lives when we are just doing our jobs delivering our versions of federal programs, we are maintaining and reproducing oppression unconsciously.

Young's statement that "Indeed, for every oppressed group there is a group that is privileged in relations to that group" seemed to help me understand a narrative from a First Nations that appeared on the default management list and also saw resistance event in southern Manitoba in 2014 (Heldke & O'Connor, 2004; Young, 2014). The Buffalo Point band in Manitoba (near the US border) was featured in local news for attempting to oust of its Chief

(Curry, 2014). The article said that the “Members of the Buffalo Point First Nation were planning a Federal Court challenge in the hope of removing hereditary chief John Thunder and allowing elections for the first time in more than 40 years. Mr. Thunder and his father, Jim, have led the community since the late 1960s without an election” ((Curry, 2014) The First Nation’s leadership has won praise for creating many successful on-reserve enterprises – including cottages, a resort, and a golf course. However, members of the First Nation were growing concerned over the personal wealth of the Chief, and the council was not shared with all members. Currently, Buffalo Point's website still features John Thunder as Chief, and two councilors, Herman Green and Drew Thunder.

Buffalo Point First Nation’s current website features a narrative about its history that says “Buffalo Point First Nation is a small Reserve and has always had a small population. In 1916 there was a total of 57 members, which was the highest count in the early years. The membership comprises of five families: Thunder's, Lighting's, Cobiness's, Handorgan's, and Powasen's. Buffalo Point was flooded in 1890, as was all of Lake of the Woods. Later in the 1930s, everyone had moved off the reserve onto the mainland and eventually disbursed throughout the U.S.A. with some staying on the Canadian side, because of the difficulty and remoteness. For many years Old Jim thunder was able to transfer the 1670 acres of lands flooded at Buffalo Point in exchange for new lands at Reed River. In 1930 the transaction was finally completed and transferred to Buffalo Point as their second reserve.” This statement illustrates very clearly the difficulty with the concept of a social group that Young captures in her work. Young refers to social groups where “associates solely among themselves and uses an unnamed American Indian group that referred to themselves only as “the people.” The Anishinabek or Anishinabeg refers

to us simply as the people and there are a few others that do so as well. Young goes on to describes the encounter with other American Indians, "that created an awareness of difference: the others were named as a group and the first group came to see themselves as a group. But social groups do not arise only from an encounter between societies. Social processes also different groups within a single society."(Young, 2014). From an Anishinabeg lens, I would agree with this idea as it roughly explains a clan system that once existed for the Anishinabeg. Within Anishinabeg societies there were subgroups or clans in which families we're born into and could determine hunting, medicine-gathering, and ceremonial areas and as well as determining intermarriages, adoptions. However, in the Buffalo Point exemplifies what replaced that kind grouping within that society has been economic stratification where Thunders are its apex.

If oppression is indeed the Windigo of ancient stories, then it still appears today. Windigo has teamed up with a colonial malevolence that has taught many indigenous institutions learned helplessness. The ability to kill the windigo lay in the ability of individuals or their institution's ability to understand its appearance, how to triumph over it by constructing their tales. This research is like any research, the essential ingredient is the reader and what their intent is. It is a tool and what one does with is where the potential lives. This is a fundamental part of learning – the desire to help one's self, their public organization, or their nations.

## CONCLUSION

This story began with a literature review blindly probing ideas about concepts and methodologies for this mixed methods research work. The conceptual framework sorts these concepts and ideas that underpin some of the keywords it covers; survivance, resistance, public

narrative, and financial default. Finally, the story of Windigo emerges as an allegory for an analysis that appears in the methodology and data sections as it borrows from Wilkes event analysis. This mixed-method analysis brings together event and narrative analysis alongside Anishinabeg mythology and storytelling to examine the narratives around financial default as portrayed in the news media. What emerges from this method is the transformational power of the First Nations' public narrative.

The impact of the First Nation's counter-narrative is unmistakable. I compared the 2015 First Nations Default Management Program list to an updated Indigenous event analysis (Wilkes, 1995). What I found was that as of 2018, 103 out of 153 First Nations on the Default Management list had participated in resistance events that appeared in the news and social media. Seven of the resistant First Nation had remained in default management since Wilkes' work done on event analysis in 1995.

The policies of financial domination are challenged once a public narrative is released by the First Nation. This work is done in advocacy of those First Nations who find themselves being victim shamed and must examine whether the accusations are indeed valid. What Merten's transformational paradigm suggests is that we examine the fairness and timing of these accusations. This work suggests that Canada's self-interest in the development or extraction of natural resources often coincides with the sudden application of the default management regime. The greed of the wendigo is often told as a spontaneous phenomenon but here the more likely source is economic conditions.

What is mysterious are forces that are required to construct the public narrative of First Nations and the effect it has on them. Its genesis has its roots in healing, for resistance and resilience are

mysterious for individuals. For human collectives, it seems their ability to heal and recover is not always a given so it is often of critical importance for them to examine the nature of the threat. In this case, the ability of the wendigo to shut off the First Nations' finances represents a significant threat. Their ability to resist this enemy seems to lay in their collective ability to understand that a common threat exists and that it can be thwarted. The modern tools of slaying a wendigo, financial accusations, are the ability to retell their story in their defense. This work may be a gross overgeneralization and may not be generally applicable to all First Nations, or all small colonial governments as a result. However, the power of storytelling is universal, so the applicability is limited to only one's knowledge of stories and legends and recognizing the patterns contained within them. I used a small dataset with one or two legends without validation from the entities who were involved in these resistance events. It might be interesting in future work to validate these stories with those involved and to hear from the lived experience directly about the construction of their public narratives.

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## Appendix 1

### Default Management and Wilkes Resistance event comparison

Recipient	Level of Default Management (As of July 2, 2015)	Wilkes Resistance Database	Recent resistance Events
First Nation – Alberta			
Little Red River Cree Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2000 - Forestry Agreement
Montana Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		
Stoney Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	1995	2012 Harper Blockade
Sucker Creek Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2003 - FNGC Protest, 2013 - INM blockade
Beaver First Nation Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2008 - Oilsands Legal action, 2014 - DTC Protest
Paul Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		
Sunchild First Nation Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		
Atlantic			
Esgenoopetitj First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		1999, 2000 Burnt Church crisis
Pictou Landing Band Council	Recipient Managed – MAP		2014-8 - Northern Pulp Protest
Elsipogtog First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2013, 2014 - Anti-fracking protests
Kingsclear Band Council	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2013 - INM, 2015- Support Rally, 2017 - Protest Mine

Mushuau Innu First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		
Shubenacadie Band Council	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2018, 2017 - Alta Gas Occupation,
Tobique Band Council	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management		2013 - Anti-fracking, 2015 - Occupation Cottage, Blockade
British Columbia			
Ahousaht Indian Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		Ahousaht vs. R
Beecher Bay Indian Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2015 - Financial filing
Blueberry River First Nations	Recipient Managed – MAP		2015 - Injunction Site C
Dzawada'enuxw First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2017 - Fish Farm occupation
Saik'uz First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2011 - Anti-tar sands, 201 1-12 Enbridge protests
Skuppah Indian Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		
Sts'ailes Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2016 - Fisheries Legal action
Takla Lake First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2003 - forestry protest, 2011 - Yinka Dene BoM protest
Tl'etinqox Government	Recipient Managed – MAP		2011 - Yinka Dene BoM protest
Ulkatcho Indian Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		1999 - Heritage Trails protests 2010 - Prosperity/Taseko Mines Protest
Bonaparte Indian Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2004 Dump site protests
Gitwangak Indian Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	1985	2016 - Band Office occupation

Oweekeno/Wuikinuxv Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor – MAP/Co-Managed*		1997-2000 Great Bear Forest protests, 2010 Enbridge
Gitsegukla Indian Band	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management		2013 - CN Blockade Gitxan
Manitoba			
Berens River Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2007-2017 Highway Blockade, 2013 rail blockade
Birdtail Sioux Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2018 - Enbridge protest camp
Black River First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		
Buffalo Point First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2014 - Elections
Bunibonibee Cree Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2014 - FNTA non-compliance
Cross Lake First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	1983	2014 - Hydro Dam occupation, 2015 Hydro protest
Dakota Plains Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2012 - Tobacco sales protest ride
Ebb and Flow Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2008 - Protest its Council/2003-2010 Investigation
Fort Alexander Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2015 - Hydro protest
Fox Lake Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2014 - FNTA non-compliance, 2016 - Hydro blockades
Keeseekooswenin Band	Recipient Managed – MAP		2012 - Fishermen blockade
Kinonjeoshtegon First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP		2012 - Fishermen blockade

Long Plain Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	2008 - TransCanada Pipeline protest, 2017 - child and family services, 2013- INM , 2014 - Keystone XL Protest
Manto Sipi Cree Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Rolling River Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Tataskweyak Cree Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2016 - Highway repair blockade, 2018 Ferry Blockade, 2014 - Hydro blockade
Waywayseecappo First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
York Factory First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2014 - FNTA non-compliance
Barren Lands Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Canupawakpa Dakota First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2012 - Tobacco sales protest ride
Dauphin River Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2013- 2011 Flood lawsuit, 2014 Emergency release Protest
God's Lake First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2009 - Body bag protest
Little Grand Rapids Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Marcel Colomb First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2014 - Huidbay Minerals, 2016 - Rail line purchase



Mosakahiken Cree Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2018 - Protest to improve highway
Northlands Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2014 - FNTA non- compliance
Norway House Cree Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	1995	2013 - Legal case with MB Hydro, 2015 - MMIW walk
Paingassi First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		
Peguis Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	1981, 1982, 1986 (4x), 1987	2001 - Council transparency , 2013 - Protesting Mining leases
Pine Creek Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2016 - Protest hunt/legal case
Red Sucker Lake Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2009 - Body bag protest
Sandy Bay Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2012 - Harper blockade
Sayisi Dene First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		
Shamattawa First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		2014 - FNTA non- Compliance
War Lake First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*		
Dakota Tipi Band	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management		2016 - NODAPL protest/highway blockade, 2018 - Elections protest

Garden Hill First Nation	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2018 - Hunger Strike ISC
Lake St. Martin Band	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2013- 2011 Flood lawsuit filed
Little Saskatchewan Band	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2013 - 2011 Flood lawsuit filed
Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation Government	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2008 - TransCanada pipeline protest, 2013 - INM Protest
Wasagamack First Nation	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2009 - Body bag protest
Wuskwi Sipiik First Nation	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2015 - Hydro Blockade
ONTARIO		
Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Deer Lake First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Grassy Narrows First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2002 - logging protest, 2008-2018 annual walks 2016 - Mercury Protest
Mishkeegogamang First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2015 - MMIW Walk
Mitaanjigamiing First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2016 - NODAPL
Muskat Dam Lake First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Naotkamegwanning	Recipient Managed – MAP	2013 - C-45 and INM, 2015- Protest drug trafficking
Northwest Angle #33 First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2016 - protesting operations director
Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2012 – INM
Pic Mobert First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2010 - HST Protest, 2013 INM, 2015 - Nuclear Waste
Shoal Lake #40 First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2015, 2017 - Protest to build road

Taykwa Tagamou Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2014 - Bill C-33 Education
Wabaseemoong Independent Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2016 - Queen's Park protest
Wawakapewin First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2010 - Education rally,
Wunnumin Lake First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Anishinabe of Wauzhushk Onigum	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Aroland First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2015 - Protest Ring of Fire, 2017 - Injunction TransCanada
Attawapiskat First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2012-3 Hunger Strike & INM, Suicide intervention protests 2016
Cat Lake First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2015 - Cancer care walk
Chapleau Ojibway First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Fort Severn First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Ginoogaming First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2013 - INM, 2017 - Injunction TransCanada
Gull Bay First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Kashechewan First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Lac La Croix First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	

Marten Falls First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2010 - blockade at Koper and McFaulds Lakes 2015 - Ring of Fire protests
Neskantaga First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	
Nibinamik First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	
Obashkaandagaang	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2015 - living conditiond protest
Webequie	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2016 - Health protest
Weenusk First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	
Quebec		
Cree Nation of Chisasibi	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Listuguj Mi'Gmaq Government	Recipient Managed – MAP	1981 - Fish Crisis, 2017 Oil exploration blockade
Première Nation des Abenakis de Wolinak	Recipient Managed – MAP	
The Crees of the Waskaganish First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Waswanipi	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Whapmagoostui First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	Eeyou Walkers
Atikamekw De Manawan	Recipient-Appointed Advisor – MAP/Co- Managed*	2012 - Logging blockade Nitaskinan

Bande de la Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John	Recipient-Appointed Advisor – MAP/Co-Managed*		2015 Lawsuit IOC Rio Tinto, 2018 - Tata Steel blockade
Bande Des Innus De Pessamit	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2011 - Blockade
Bande Des Montagnais De Natashquan	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2011 – Blockade, 2015 - Hydro Qc/Plan Nord
Bande Des Montagnais De Pakua Shipi	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2015 - Protest hunt, 2017 - Blockade Muskrat Falls
Conseil Des Atikamekw De Wemotaci	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2012 - Logging blockade Nitaskinan
Conseil Des Atikamekw D'Opitciwan	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2012 - Logging blockade Nitaskinan
La Nation Anishinabe Du Lac Simon	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2016 - IDLM violence, 2017 Qc Mining,
Long Point First Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		
Micmacs Of Gesgapegiag	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2017 - oil exploration blockade, 2017- NoDAPL protest, 2011 Oil & Gas, 2013 INM Walk
Mohawks Of Kanesatake	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	*Mentioned but not in table	1990 Oka Crisis
Montagnais De Unamen Shipu	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*		2018- Lawsuit clergy
Algonquins Of Barriere Lake	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	Mentioned but not in table	1991, 1996, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2016, 2017,
Saskatchewan			

Black Lake Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Cote First Nation 366	Recipient Managed – MAP	2013 - INM, 2016 - State of Emergency, 2017 - Racism rally
Cowessess Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	2018 - Bushie rally, 2016 – Elections
Keeseekoose Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Key First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Kinistin Saulteaux Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Little Black Bear Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Montreal Lake Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Muscowpetung Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	2006 - Blockade, 2018 - Protest Camp
Muskowekwan Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	2013 - Transparency protest
Pasqua First Nation #79	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Pheasant Rump Nakota Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Piapot Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	2018 - Protest Camp
Red Earth Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Saulteaux Band	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Star Blanket Cree Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	
Beardy's & Okemasis Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
Cumberland House Cree Nation Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2018 - Oil spill lawsuit
Hatchet Lake Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	
James Smith Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co-Managed*	2018 - Oil spill lawsuit, 2017 - State of Emergency

Little Pine Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	
Ministikwan Lake Cree Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2013 - Idle No More Blockade
Mistawasis Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2012 - Land sale
Moosomin Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor – MAP/Co- Managed*	
Mosquito-Grizzly Bear's Head Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2015 - Elections
Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2018 - Transparency, 2011-1 Elections
Poundmaker Band	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	2005 - Election protest
Shoal Lake Cree Nation	Recipient-Appointed Advisor - MAP/Co- Managed*	
Thunderchild First Nation	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management	2013 - DMP Challenge
Yukon		
Dease River First Nation	Recipient Managed – MAP	2015 - anti-fracking
Liard First Nation	Third-Party Funding Agreement Management*	2015 - anti-fracking
<b>Total Number : 153</b>		