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Indigenous in Cyberspace: CyberPowWow, *God's Lake Narrows*, and the Contours of Online Indigenous Territory

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> Somehow when you exit this site you definitely know you were in Indian territory.
> —Jolene Rickard, "First Nation Territory in Cyber Space Declared: No Treaties Needed"

> We have signed a new treaty, and it is good. We have the right to hunt, fish, dance and make art at www.CyberPowWow.net.org and .com for as long as the grass grows and the rivers flow.
> —Archer Pechawis, "Not So Much a Land Claim"

A sense of space is a vital part of how the indigenous peoples of Turtle Island, the indigenous name for North America, develop and interpret identity and community. While land is a fundamental part of this conception, many contemporary scholars working in indigenous studies are also analyzing the development of off-land, or urban, indigenous spaces.[1] This is not to say that connections to land and traditional, ancestral territory are any less important, or that the struggle for these territories should be foregone. It is to say, however, as Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen argue, that "viewing non-urban tribal communities as the primary influence on indigenous peoples' lives in cities misses the complex ways in and through which indigenous peoples selectively interact with urban societies to create meaningful lives in cities."[2]

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Cyberspace, the notional environment generated through computer networks, is one of the cities that indigenous peoples now populate. "Since the new informational network," Christine Boyer writes, "the computer matrix called cyberspace is commonly defined as a huge megalopolis without a centre, both a city of sprawl and an urban jungle."[3] According to Métis scholar Mike Patterson, cyberspace is a place "'where the forest meets the highway,' where land-based people such as Natives in Canada meet the landless world of e-commerce, dot-com, and global changes."[4] In the movement from forest to highway, from material to digital, from rural to urban, cyberspace extends traditional city settings into computerized spaces, throwing into sharp relief conversations on "landless" identity and demonstrating from a new angle the ways in which indigenous culture persists and flourishes in urban settings. Indeed, how indigenous peoples inhabit and shape this new, complex, and often difficult space is instrumental in illustrating the diverse and sophisticated complex ways in which those communities adapt and innovate in urban territory. This article illustrates how two indigenous artists, Skawennati Tricia Fragnito (Mohawk) and Kevin Lee Burton (Swampy Cree), create meaningful lives for indigenous people in cyberspace, remediating cultural practices and challenging the ways in which we think of cyberspace in relation to land. Beginning with Skawennati's CyberPowWow and ending with Burton's *God's Lake Narrows*, I illustrate the unique tools and practices indigenous artists are employing to generate what Skawennati and Jason Lewis call "Aboriginal territory in cyberspace."[5]

CyberPowWow

CyberPowWow, developed and curated by Mohawk artist Skawennati, was arguably the first indigenous territory in cyberspace. CyberPowWow was conceived in 1996 and ran online from 1997 to 2004 in four unique iterations: CyberPowWow, CyberPowWow 2, CPW 2K: CyberPowWow Goes Global, and CPW04: Unnatural Resources. According to Skawennati, "CyberPowWow started off as a virtual exhibition and chat space that would dispel the myth that Native artists didn't (or couldn't!?) use technology in their work. In addition to that, we wanted to claim for ourselves a little corner of cyberspace that we could nurture and grow in the way we wanted."[6] Built in one of the first graphical chat rooms, CyberPowWow was a live, interactive digital art gallery, hosted in Time Warner's "The Palace," one of the most popular and influential Internet chat rooms of the late 1990s and early 2000s. The Palace was instrumental in revolutionizing the chat room space, which, at the inception of the World Wide Web, was text-based. The Palace, however, allowed users to customize and inhabit avatars and communicate via chat bubbles. Interactions between users took place in a series of interconnected rooms, or "palaces," graphical backdrops designed to resemble social spaces—for instance, barrooms, hotel lobbies, libraries, and lounges—and avatars communicated "face-to-face," bringing bodily presence to the chat room space.

What made The Palace unique was its customizability: users could design their own avatars and rooms using HTML code, Flash animation, and digital images from their own databases, allowing for personalized spaces and intimate interactions between users, which included sound effects for kissing and burping, among others.

Figure 1: CyberPowWow, CPW 2K. *Room title:* "Git yer cowgirl avatar here!" *by Marilyn Burgess. This image shows the computer desktop, including room list, user list and the chat history of a participant named jasper (co-primary investigator for Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace, Jason Lewis). User xox is Skawennati.*

As a malleable social commons, The Palace became a distinctive performance space for Internet artists and was utilized by collectives like Desktop Theatre, who staged "waitingforgodot.com" in The Palace,[7] and Avatar Body Collision, who led a series of antiwar performance pieces in a Palace series entitled "Dress the Nation."[8]

CyberPowWow capitalized on the personalized software made available in the Palace by inviting indigenous authors and artists into the space to design and produce their own rooms and avatars. As Skawennati recalls, "What resulted [was] a range of intense and intimate stories, told in rooms and pages and movies. Many similar elements recurred in the artwork: maps, flags, text, archival photos, personal snapshots, found images. Bits of the artist's own self show up in almost all the work, too."[9] As Skawennati details here, The Palace served as a highly adaptable and personal canvas on which indigenous artists could build their own worlds and interject themselves—often, as she notes, their actual bodies—into them. Like other digital performance collectives, CyberPowWow pushed the boundaries of The Palace design and software, utilizing the space not only as a medium to facilitate conversation, but as a singular indigenous space for installation art, performance, and community-building.

As a performance and community space, CyberPowWow was mobilized as a remediation of the powwow: a significant real-life indigenous ceremony that plays a substantive role in establishing and maintaining indigenous spaces in urban settings.[10] As First Nations and American Indian peoples began to move—or were forced to move—into urban centers and away from reserves and reservations, the powwow became a vital part of promoting unity and indigenous identity within and across urban communities. For many individuals and families who had left the reserve/reservation for urban centers, connections to the land and tribal identity were in some cases diminished and the powwow was a space to convene and share with other indigenous peoples over food, dance, and conversation.

A large part of what makes a powwow such a cultural force is the community it engenders and protects. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries certain indigenous cultural and religious activities like the powwow were made illegal in Canada and the United States under the insistence that colonial governments "should suppress any dances which cause waste of time."[11] Despite the ban, however, powwows were held in secret as a way to preserve culture, honor ancestors, maintain community, and resist colonial authority. The strength of the ceremony is evidenced in its continuance.

Today, powwows serve as what Renya Ramirez identifies as widely accepted pan-tribal "hubs" around which indigenous people and nonindigenous allies can gather to preserve "culture, community, identity, and belonging with interconnected relationships across space."[12] While the powwow is intertribal in nature, it also incorporates tribally specific traditions, regalia, and dance techniques, such as the Smoke Dance (Haudenosaunne), Stomp Dance (southeastern United States), Jingle Dance (Anishinaabe), and Round Dance (Plains Cree), thus responding to both global and local contexts. According to Richard Hill (Tuscarora),

> The dance circle draws us in. The powwow has now spread coast to coast, and while some see it as a pan-Indian fabrication, I now see that it serves as a vital catalyst for cultural renewal. . . . No matter how we dance, how we dress, or how we live, for a few moments of the song we stand together as a people, united by tradition and connected in the certain belief that dance is essential to the expression of ourselves.[13]

As Hill demonstrates, a large part of what makes the powwow the cultural force is in fact its intertribal nature. Bringing indigenous peoples together from across communities is a way to gather strength, collectivize, and proliferate cultural resurgence.

Remediating cultural practices—that is, translating events such as the powwow into alternative forms and spaces—is an essential part of what CyberPowWow did as a new media piece. According to new media theorists Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin, the "new" of new media is an essentially modernist, apocryphal way to conceive what is essentially a translation of content from one medium to another. While new media may be "new" in the sense that it employs innovative technologies, it is "old" in the sense that the content is borrowed from an earlier generation and rendered into the new platform: in the large-scale translation of classic novels into films in the 1930s, for example, or in the repurposing of "the commons" into online chat rooms in the 1990s.

According to Bolter and Grusin, "repurposing is a transitional step that allows us to get a secure footing in an unfamiliar terrain."[14] Repurposing the powwow provided Skawennati that secure footing.

Employing the powwow as a platform, CyberPowWow was a means for indigenous artists and storytellers to secure footing in the digital urban. As in the traditional (material) urban setting, CyberPowWow played an important role for emerging indigenous digital communities by remediating a commonly accepted pan-tribal ceremony in what was still, to the majority of the world's population, a vastly unknown place. For many participants, CyberPowWow was a logical extension of the urban events—a new space to practice tradition and build and celebrate culture and community. In this way, CyberPowWow utilized the logic of remediation to draw a clear line of connection between material urban spaces and digital urban spaces, illustrating how an established indigenous ceremony could be translated into the widely unknown and sometimes intimidating space of the Internet. In this sense, while it represented an innovative use of technology, CyberPowWow was an extension of tradition, not a new intervention into the indigenous arts. As CyberPowWow participant and contributor Jolene Rickard writes of her experience, "Inside the flat pulsing electronic magenta tipis the artists are doing what people in our communities have always done. They are transforming our cultures into the language of the future. It does not mean that anybody is going to give up on going to an actual pow-wow, it just means that another pow-wow has joined the circuit."[15]

Skawennati facilitated the remediation of the powwow from the material to the digital urban with careful attention to locating *connections* between these spaces. As the Cree/Métis filmmaker and critic Loretta Todd argues in her 1996 essay "Aboriginal Narratives in Cyberspace," because cyberspace is an inherently "landless" territory it can be antithetic to indigenous knowledges, which are interdependent with land, place, and body. "Would we [indigenous people] have created cyberspace?" Todd asks, a question she is quick to answer: "I think not—not if cyberspace is a place to escape the earthly plane and the mess of humanity."[16]

Skawennati, however—whom it should be noted was developing CyberPowWow the same year that Todd published this formative paper—was keenly aware of the ways in which cyberspace could alienate users from land and the body, and she worked diligently to overcome it. CyberPowWow made explicit the ways in which the material and digital could be bridged, blurring the rigid material/digital binary that Todd identifies by connecting users to place. On launch days, CyberPowWow participants, both those with and without technological knowhow, came together to join in the events via "gathering sites" in real life (IRL) meet-ups hosted in Aboriginal Friendship centers and gallery spaces across Canada and the United States. Gathering sites were initiated to merge physical and digital territories and to bring people together IRL to share in the experiences. In a presentation for Curatorial Resource for Upstart Media Bliss (CRUMB), Skawennati explained that the impulse behind CyberPowWow gathering sites was "to make sure that people did come together in groups, at real places which have since come to be called 'gathering sites,' where they could help each other; access

Figure 2: *Community members participate in the original* CyberPowWow *(1997) via a gathering site at Galerie OBORO, in Montreal. Photo by Skawennati. Clockwise: Brenda Fragnito, Kathleen Dearhouse, and Jasmine Dearhouse.*

the internet; help each other to learn how to use The Palace; talk to one another and of course eat food."[17]

While gathering sites were building community IRL, they were also a necessary intervention for bridging the gap between those who have Internet access and those who do not, or the "digital divide," an issue particularly resonant for rural indigenous communities. Although the Internet is often framed as a transformative space for the new democracy,[18] this rhetoric willfully overlooks basic issues of access. When CyberPowWow was launched in the late 1990s, access to computers and the Internet for indigenous communities was exceptionally restricted. Industry Canada's "Connecting Canadians" agenda, which played a large role in "connect[ing] rural and indigenous populations by providing broadband to community access points such as local schools and libraries" was not implemented until 1998, a year after CyberPowWow's first exhibition.[19] Access was inadequate, even with this initiative. According to a 2004 report from the Canadian National Aboriginal Health Organization (NAHO), 43 percent of Aboriginal communities still relied on dial-in connection for household Internet use. Five percent used a satellite connection.[20] In 2012, it was estimated that almost half of First Nations households in Canada still did not have Internet access, and the access available to those living in remote and rural communities was primarily dial-up, dependent on "largely urban-centred telecommunication regulations and legislation."[21]

While there has been some progress in connecting rural indigenous populations, the digital divide between indigenous and non-indigenous communities remains a prevalent issue that must be taken seriously in any study of indigenous new media and cyberspace such as this one. Skawennati's gathering sites provide an important model through which contemporary artists and researchers working with computers and the Internet can respond to the digital divide and welcome First Nations communities into the digital urban with the support of the community. By engaging IRL communities in CyberPowWow through established indigenous spaces (such as Friendship Centres) across Canada and the United States, and welcoming them with food and drink,

Skawennati illustrated the very real potential for bringing cyberspaces into the material lives of community members with limited access or technical knowhow.

Of course, access was not the only point of contention for Skawennati and her team of indigenous artists. Connecting indigenous users to land with CyberPowWow also meant decolonizing the digital terrain, providing the space for indigenous participants to enact and discuss identity within the limiting strictures of empire. On a technological level, CyberPowWow took place within an established, colonial, digital infrastructure, marked not only by its Time-Warner ownership, but in the name of the platform itself: The Palace. As Skawennati notes, with its connections to global mass media and its explicit evocations of empire, The Palace was a fraught platform from which to carve out a space for indigenous identity. However, despite the imperialistic overtones, what made The Palace such a remarkable space for CyberPowWow was the degree to which artists could shape their environment to represent their respective communities and traditions. They did so by building rooms out of remediated photographs (see fig. 4), by incorporating their own bodies into the space, by performing dances and ceremonies, discussed below, and in the later iterations, by regulating who could enter the space.

The Palace further facilitated the deconstruction of colonial cyberspace via a prescient means of digital engagement that deploys customizable software and dynamic, real-time interaction between users and producers. Two years later, this would come to be known as Web 2.0. As Adam Fish demonstrates in his essay "Indigenous Digital Media and the History of the Internet on the Columbia Plateau," the cultural and technological shifts between Web 2.0 and Web 1.0, the original mass-market Web, play an important role in the politics of indigenous representation on the Internet.[22] From its implementation in the early 1980s until nearly the end of the twentieth century, the 1.0 Internet, as it is retroactively known, was a "read-only" Web. Web 1.0 websites were almost entirely static, meaning that there was no active communication flow, either between users, or between consumers and producers. Because Web 1.0 was document-centric, aimed at retrieving information and passively engaging with it, whenever a site was visited all users found exactly the same unvarying material.

As Fish illustrates, in this sense, Web 1.0 was congruent with some aspects of indigenous political strategy in providing stable access to official documentation on community law and protocol—a necessary feature in a colonial system that demands "proof" of identity and property. However, Web 1.0 did not provide for the dynamic interactions that shape community and provide for responsive constructions of identity. According to Fish,

> At the same time that these websites [Web 1.0 websites] offer tools that fit with traditional concepts and narrative strategies, these websites do not allow for audience participation, and therefore do not fully represent how culture is a processual and participatory project. They might not intend to be participatory but for whatever reason the absence of interactivity results in a misrepresentation [*sic*] the dynamic relationship between narrative and culture.[23]

In contrast, and heralded by chat rooms like The Palace, Web 2.0 was coined by Darcy DiNucci in 1999 and was brought into prominence at the O'Reilly Media Web 2.0 Conference in 2004. While not radically different on a technological level, Web 2.0 represented a major shift in the ways in which users *engaged* with Internet technology, emphasizing user participation, user-generated content, and interoperability—meaning that both users and producers contributed to the information available on a website, thus allowing it to continue growing in response to its users, as well as in relation to them. Ultimately, Web 2.0 introduced a major shift in the way digital information, and information itself, was consumed and produced: information was no longer seen as passive, but engaged and dynamic, blurring the lines between producer and user and rendering content mutable and collaborative.

In the sense that Web 2.0 is designed to provide responsive and interactive engagement with knowledge, it also represents a more amenable space for indigenous knowledge production. As Fish's article illustrates, the Web 2.0 platform speaks to the ways in which histories and stories change in response to their time and environments, mirroring more closely the ways in which tribal histories are shared. For Fish, traditional stories, at least in part, exist in relation to the moment in which they are told, making them dynamic, such that "A fugue results, integrating the traditional wisdom into the social present for the participating people." In this way, the boundaries between past and future are blurred and traditional knowledge is remediated.[24] In short, Web 2.0 radically changed how indigenous users could conceive the reproduction of traditional knowledge in digital space, *remediating* stories and histories in ways that mirrored community processes of knowledge production. By interrupting the static representations of its predecessor, the "new" Internet provided a more active space in which indigenous community could be imagined in cyberspace, providing for interactive, dynamic sites of knowledge sharing in which stories, histories, and even identities were responsive to current events and real-time interactions. While on the one hand Web 2.0 meant that communities risked losing control over "official" information, on the other hand it decentralized authority and opened up conversations over identity politics, home, and belonging to a larger audience. In many instances, the conversation now includes those who had previously been excluded because their identities did not conform to static representations of "Indian."

In addition to its founding presence online, CyberPowWow's anticipation of Web 2.0 knowledge-sharing practices is another remarkable contribution to indigenous digital space. Conceived in 1996 and launched in 1997, CyberPowWow predated the Web 2.0 turn, which only gained wide acceptance in 2004, and its spaces clearly foreshadowed today's interactive and community-based Internet. Indeed, the rooms composed for CyberPowWow were made online to be consumed online, with the specific goal of dialogue and interactivity. This in itself was a revolutionary intervention into indigenous digital art practice. As CyberPowWow contributor and digital artist Archer Pechawis notes, before CyberPowWow the pieces of indigenous art found on the Web were almost entirely 1.0 based, consisting primarily of photographs of sculptures and paintings which were then rendered down into seventy-two-bit megapixel thumbnails.[25]

To suggest that that CyberPowWow predates the Web 2.0 turn is not to say that Skawennati reinvented the Web, but rather that she understood the importance of engagement and interactivity in cyberspace and used the tools made available to her by The Palace to support indigenous knowledge production and storytelling practices. Indeed, for Skawennati part of "indigenizing" cyberspace was to give artists and guests an online space that enabled them to interact with art and share knowledge. By allowing participants to gather in real time in spaces designed by the community using avatars designed by indigenous artists, The Palace offered dynamic interaction. Users engaged in conversation with the artists and one another, took tours of the space, and attended lectures on the various rooms—all online (fig. 1). As a communal, discursive space, CyberPowWow enacted not simply a gallery, but a performance space in which participant interaction was a part of the art itself. As Pechawis explains, "the performative aspect of CyberPowWow is reinforced. The environment turns spectator into performer."[26]

One online piece is a particularly engaging example of the performance that composed CyberPowWow: artist Lori Blondeau (Cree/Saulteaux/Metis) led a Round Dance. As Anna Hoefnagels describes, the Round Dance "foster[s] pride and a sense of community amongst participants, renewing relationships with one another while celebrating First Peoples' identity."[27] Blondeau used Palace software to shrink participants' avatars down to a single pixel, thereby maximizing the space in her room and the dancers who could participate. Guests then entered her Palace as tiny specks of their digital selves, and, following the artist, circled around the space in time to the music Blondeau had embedded. As pixels, the dancers appeared as a tiny constellation of stars, a community of digital bodies caught up in the translation of traditional practice into a new urban territory. "Knowledge" in the sense communicated by Blondeau's Round Dance becomes directly linked to user participation in the space, rather than emphasizing the space itself, and in doing so redirects the idea of the Internet away from passive conceptions of space to performative modes of engagement.

CyberPowWow's interactive, user-participatory artwork far exceeded the static representations associated with Web 1.0, including early representations of digital indigenous art, and demonstrated how indigenous community could be conceived and developed in the digital urban. In addition to participant engagement making the space interactive, the rooms themselves were interactive, allowing participants to use the displayed work to build their own narratives.

Most notably, Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew's series of interlaced rooms were connected with a series of "doors," hyperlink areas embedded into the image that gave users control over how and when they moved through the piece. The static images were remediated into an interactive website and highlighted a participatory model of engagement. As a foundational figure in the development of indigenous cyberspace, Maskegon-Iskwew's important and historic contribution to the field has gone relatively unanalyzed in the scholarly literature. In taking an in-depth look into the workings of Skawennati's space, then, this article will focus on Maskegon-Iskwew's CyberPowWow rooms. While it is difficult to capture the sense of exploration and interactivity that Maskegon-Iskwew evoked in this work, I will now lead the reader on a path through

the piece which I took using the "canned" version of CyberPowWow. To be clear, because CyberPowWow is no longer live, my experience did not include the user interaction that Skawennati intended. However, Maskegon-Iskwew's use of interactive storytelling, which he facilitated with dynamic software and remediated images, still demonstrates the responsiveness of the space.

The user enters Maskegon-Iskwew's rooms from a digital forest featuring a series of portals to CyberPowWow 2 galleries, which are set among the trees. Maskegon-Iskwew's interactive piece begins with a black-and-white photo that includes nine Cree people, children and adults, who are posed stoically in front of two teepees (fig. 3). The avatar on the right labeled "David" is mine, created by CyberPowWow artist Marilyn Burgess, which I selected from a previous CyberPowWow room.

Figure 3: *Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew's* Ahasiw1. CyberPowWow, CPW 2. *The avatar on the right ("David") represents the author of this article.*

In the initial room, a series of negatively transposed frames blink in and out of the scene of the photo, bordering and magnifying the heads of its subjects. In the top right-hand corner of the screen, a transposed World War I photo has been added that features armed soldiers in the midst of battle. The war photo also blinks in and out. Each of the four "doors" in this initial room is embedded onto one of the people in the photo, transforming the subjects into portals that lead to new rooms in the series. The fourth door is embedded into the World War I photo, providing multiple ways for the user to proceed.

In this particular visit, I click on the World War I photo and am transported to another room, set in the midst of what appears to be a bombed-out apartment building. A note in the bottom left-hand corner informs me that the room's title is "Broken." A bright Red Cross emblem has been transposed into the center of the frame, providing the only color in the room. Because this space is directly connected to the photo of Cree people on the plains, "broken" seems to illustrate a possible and devastating future for the featured subjects. And, indeed, many First Nations sent their young men to serve in defense of the nation state; many of these men returned broken or not at all.[28]

Clicking on the door in the top left corner of this room (here a dying animal that fades in and out), I am transported out of World War I to a snowy, peaceful scene in front of a sturdy wood cabin. This room is entitled "Kokums," the Cree word for grandmother, and is composed of a remediated black-and-white photo of two older women bundled up for the cold. They smile into the camera, and therefore at me. Moving away from the devastation of the war, I am now brought back to the community with which the piece begins. In drawing a connection and continuance across war, the effect is one of return and comfort. The door in this frame is the smiling Kokums. I am led to reflect on how movement and passage through this piece is connected to the stories and memories of Elders. In making the photograph interactive, Maskegon-Iskwew brings new life to the image and the grandmothers and engages users in a small piece of memory.

The Kokum door, however, takes me to a room entitled "Sanatorium," and therefore away from the peace evoked by the previous space. "Sanatorium" is another remediated black-and-white photo featuring a row of beds in what looks like a hospital or residential school. In the bed at the far end of the room is a small body curled up under the sheets. The other beds are empty. Like a hospital or residential school, the space is sterile and sparse, evoking the hygienic impulses—mental, physical, and racial—of the nation-state, which in the case of residential schools were aimed at "taking the Indian out of the child."[29] This room feels cold, closed and claustrophobic, but it also offers the possibility of escape: the door out of "Sanatorium" is a large window at the end of the room, through which I can see a few branches and leaves. By embedding the link out of "Sanitorium" in the window, Maskegon-Iskwew seems to be inviting users themselves to escape from the space, as many indigenous children (perhaps the grandchildren of the Kokums) did when they were removed to the residential schools.[30] Again, Maskegon-Iskwew remediates a photograph and brings it to life, creating a sense of movement through the static space and engaging the possibility that the photo represents.

Moving out through the window and into the trees, I then find myself in a dark swamp. There are dead trees and water is everywhere, giving the impression that I am standing in it, damp and cold. A brightly colored image, a digital scan of what appears to be a fetish item of some sort, fades slowly in and out in the left-hand corner. I cannot immediately find the door and I search for it while the strange image pulses in and out. From residential school to swamp, this room seems in some way to be a place of escape and refuge, but it is also permeated with a sense of alienation and loneliness. The scene is grey, drab, wet, but at least I am back outside, away from the antiseptic room. I finally locate the door out of the swamp in the brightly colored scanned image, which seems to serve as a kind of talisman, in that it helps to guide the user through the desolation of the swamp. Moving away from the swamp via the door, I arrive at the final room in this particular path through Maskegon-Iskwew's contribution, which is titled "Air." This time a remediated black-and-white photo has been transposed into its photographic negative. From this photo's perspective, I am looking down from the sky toward a piece of land.

From my position above the earth I can see a highway dividing two distinct spaces. On one side of the highway is a town with large buildings set amongst a cluster of trees; on the other side is a dark forest. The bird's-eye view provides a sense of the

Figure 4: *Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew.* Air. CyberPowWow, CPW 2.

divide between city and nature and offers a final sense of escape and freedom from the troubling journey I have taken through the piece. However, because "Air" is the last room in this journey, there are no doors left to move through and I am left floating, with nowhere to go except backwards. The series of rooms moves back and forth between spaces of community and conflict, and thus walks the precarious line between hope and loss; between the strength and resilience of indigenous communities, and the suffocating violence of colonialism.

Resetting and starting again at the opening photograph, aside from the World War I entry point I can choose from at least three alternate pathways. For instance, clicking on the woman on the far left of the initial photograph takes me to a picture of the Balmoral and Washington hotels, two of Vancouver's most infamous single-room occupancy hotels—low-rent hotels occupied by some of the city's poorest and most vulnerable residents and known for cockroaches and cramped, dirty living spaces. Choosing the door framing the two men in the middle of the opening photograph transports me to the swamp featured in the World War I path; the door to the far right of the opening scene transports me to a bridge which leads to a town hall meeting. Some of these alternate paths connect to the scenes described above, some start entirely new routes through the piece, and some lead me completely outside of Maskegon-Iskwew's contribution into CyberPowWow's larger gallery space—making the piece porous and uncontained while putting it in conversation with the larger gallery space. As I move through the space finding new paths, I build and rebuild my own narratives and it becomes evident that I am complicit in the ongoing construction of the work's meanings.

As evidence of the importance of this digital art's ability to generate dynamic interactions, Steven Loft's essay on Maskegon-Iskwew quotes Cherokee sculptor Jimmie Durham, who asserts that "traditions exist and are guarded by Indian communities. One of the most important of these is dynamism. Constant change—adaptability, the inclusion of new ways and new materials—is a tradition that our artists have particularly celebrated and have used to move and strengthen our societies."[31] While

Loft's piece does not examine Maskegon-Iskwew's CyberPowWow contribution, the rooms I have described are persuasive examples of the artist's use of change and adaptability in the (un)finished work of art. Like CyberPowWow itself, the series of rooms Maskegon-Iskwew created were based on interactive and interoperable processes that, in addition to putting the user in conversation with the work, allows new stories to unfold and develop in the relationship between art and audience.

In the ways that Maskegon-Iskwew's work and CyberPowWow itself were able to remediate existing traditions and storytelling practices, they both succeeded as digital urban spaces and set a critical foundation for future indigenous cyberspace artists. In the next portion of this essay, I will demonstrate how Swampy Cree artist Kevin Lee Burton continues to use interactive technology to make space for indigenous communities in the digital urban using indigenous and Internet protocols.

God's Lake Narrows

Burton's interactive website *God's Lake Narrows* (*GLN*), produced nearly a decade and a half after the first iteration of CyberPowWow, differs from Skawennati's work in that it is not a social space in which participants can engage.[32] Although it does take place online, it lacks a chat room or audience space. Rather, the website is interactive, a cyberspace that, much like Maskegon-Iskwew's trendsetting work with CyberPowWow, compels users to participate in its design and/or narrative progression. Like CyberPowWow, it employs remediation to represent indigenous community online, in this case Burton's home community of God's Lake Narrows. By building indigenous guesthood protocol into its structure, *GLN* makes connections to land, community, and cyberspace in a way similar to CyberPowWow, and further illustrates the ways in which indigenous artists are delineating spaces in the digital urban by integrating indigenous community into it. Inasmuch as Burton's piece is about bringing his small community into cyberspace, my analysis questions the applicability of the digital rural and the stakes involved in translating community across the information highway.

In 2010 Burton and Caroline Monnet (Algonquin) unveiled the installation piece RESERVE(d) in Winnipeg. RESERVE(d) welcomed "northern" guests into the homes of the residents of God's Lake Narrows, a remote, indigenous community 550 kilometers outside of Winnipeg, only accessible by plane or boat, and even then only in the best weather conditions. The installation featured film, sound, photography, and archival images of Burton's grandmother, organized so as to create out of Winnipeg's Urban Shaman Gallery what Burton and Smith call an "intimate community," one in which (primarily Southern) visitors could experience a "reserve reality" otherwise largely inaccessible to urban audiences.[33]

National Film Board producer Alicia Smith was one of the guests invited into the RESERVE(d) installation at Urban Shaman. After her experience in the space, Smith and Burton worked together to write and produce an online version of the installation piece, which was released as an interactive website hosted by the National Film Board in 2011, retitled *God's Lake Narrows*. Free from the geographical constraints of the gallery installation, Burton was able to radically widen the breadth of the welcome

offered in the original piece, inviting visitors from around the world into God's Lake Narrows while expanding his experimentation with representations of space and place.

GLN's use of cyberspace illustrates the intersections possible between the urban and the rural, bringing traditional land to a technological space and facilitating communities that blur the rural/urban binary. *GLN* offers a digital rural which brings the unique issues and relationships of reservation life to bear in an urban space, in many cases educating urban audiences and generating empathy for rural challenges. However, moving the rural into the cybercity also carries a number of risks, namely intrusion of privacy. *GLN* contends with this issue by employing novel Web 2.0 strategies and respectfully engaging its users through Internet and community protocols that identify and respond to the user as a guest in indigenous digital territory.

The website *God's Lake Narrows* opened a door to a community that had traditionally been determined by its lack of access. As Burton states, "if you're not an Indian, you probably haven't been there."[34] The website's form and aesthetic follows a compound principle of hospitality: the Cree *miyo-wîcêhtowin*, "the principle of getting along well with others, good relations, expanding the circle,"[35] and hospitality, "the act or practice of being hospitable; the reception and entertainment of guests, visitors, or strangers, with liberality and goodwill."[36] Analysis of *miyo-wîcêhtowin* and hospitality furthers understanding of how indigenous artists are delineating indigenous space on the Internet in relation to the other. When viewers are received as guests by the artist's friends and family, entertained by music, and warmed by conversation, the *God's Lake Narrows* website expands the circle of the God's Lake Narrows community into the digital city, while setting protocols (Internet and otherwise) for good relations.

GLN's welcome to a variety of guests into the intimate and vulnerable space of the reserve home—the other, the stranger, the settler, and the community member—extends the welcoming of guests and strangers into online territory. This is not a superficial gesture. Although often framed in utopic terms, the Internet can dangerously enact neocolonial and assimilative ideologies that mirror real-world colonialism and that reinforce real-world harms.[37] Challenging the utopic language that surrounds the Internet, cyberspace theorist Lisa Nakamura illustrates how—under the guise of technological progress—this rhetoric facilitates racist discourse. Nakamura bases her critique on an analysis of "Anthem," a 1990s MCI, Inc. commercial, which reads "imagine a world without boundaries . . . Utopia? No! The Internet."[38] Nakamura asserts that the liberal and supposedly progressive tone of the MCI ad obscures the ways in which it depicts race as something that can be eliminated by technology: "the rhetoric of cyberspace . . . proclaims the Internet to be above all a democratic space, one that promises to provide everyone with access to the articulation of self within the public—even global—sphere."[39] For Nakamura, the utopic rhetoric and "democratic" undertones surrounding the Internet facilitates a cultural and racial tourism that reaffirms the exotic qualities of otherness, and, in doing so, closes off what should be a productive dialogue with the minority of users who are other than white and male: "I use the term [tourist] not to condemn those who pass as versions of the other, but rather because I wish to retain a sense of the identity tourist as one who engages in a

superficial, reversible, recreational play at otherness, a person who is satisfied with an episodic experience as a racial minority."[40]

Nakamara's critique is an essential consideration for white, allied users such as myself who explore and research racialized online territory. In CyberPowWow, for instance, there is a very real risk of cultural appropriation and tourism because of its indigenous avatars. Skawennati limits this risk to some degree by controlling user access to the site and limiting avatar creation to CyberPowWow artists. Remaining vigilant about the effects of tourism is also important for indigenous and nonwhite programmers with the intention of welcoming white users into indigenous digital community spaces. In comparison, although *God's Lake Narrows* also risks tourism, it is not in its use of avatars, but rather by inviting strangers into the homes of a largely inaccessible (and therefore "exotic") community. Through the interactive medium, strangers are afforded the fantasy of control over that environment while under the relative shelter of anonymity.

Burton is well aware that hospitality, tourism, and colonialism are historically linked and thus reserve communities are especially cautious of tourists for good reason. The artist's website makes it clear that reserves like God's Lake Narrows often feel "like closed communities" to outsiders, not only because of geography, but also because the inhabitants are rightly suspicious of visitors: "it's a protective thing / There are different social codes / what do you expect from a people that have a history of displacement and removal?"[41] Thus, inasmuch as *GLN* is about remediating his community, what is at stake for Burton is not just providing tourists access, but also establishing the means to protect indigenous hosts against the threat that tourists represent, both materially and digitally. Close reading of the website illustrates how Burton uses *GLN* to outline some of the cultural codes and protocols of *miyo-wîcêhtowin*, particularly the ways in which the artist reestablishes the terms on which guest/host relations are (re)articulated in indigenous cyberspace.

In a series of twenty-six slides, *God's Lake Narrows* alternates between photographs and text, which the viewer traverses by clicking on navigation arrows embedded in each page. The first half of the piece is composed of individual exterior photographs of community homes by Anishinabe photographer Scott Benesiinaabandan. Each photograph is taken from just beyond the threshold of the yards.

There is no human activity in any of these slides, drawing the focus squarely to the small, makeshift homes themselves, homes that are, as the accompanying text points out, just beyond third world conditions.[42] Accompanying the photographs and text is a muffled sound loop featuring a collage of local noises; voices on a CB radio, a bingo caller, and the crunch of feet walking in the snow are layered beneath the steady drone of a telephone dial tone. Together with the mounds of snow and lack of people that make up the remainder of the scenery, the sound college, designed by Winnipeg musician Christine Fellows, fosters a sense of disconnection in the audience—hence the dial tone in the soundtrack—and affirms the viewer's initial position in the reserve as outsider.

Beginning at slide thirteen, the second half of the piece acts as a transition between exterior/interior as it moves viewers out of the cold and welcomes them into the

Figure 5: *Kevin Lee Burton and Alicia Smith*. God's Lake Narrows.

family setting inside the homes they had just been considering from outside. As the perspective changes from exterior to interior, so does the music. The same voices speak out to the audience, but before words were buried and muffled. Now they are now clear and resonant and supported by an upbeat banjo and guitar. Crossing the threshold, the audience is put face-to-face with children, grandparents, mothers, and fathers, met by smiling faces that look directly into the camera. Guests are allowed access to the most intimate spaces, welcomed into bedrooms and living rooms, and made privy to the cramped conditions and homey clutter of family life. Coffee cups, televisions, and playing children make up the *mise-en-scene* of the slides that now, in direct contrast to the lonely exteriors that preceded them, reflect warmth and welcome. The act of welcoming that Burton and Smith unfold in *GLN* is a key portion of the piece. Burton is concerned with the casualness with which settler tourists pass through his home. The third slide, for example, notes that "the only people that go casually through God's Lake / are here to fill White People's jobs: nurses / teachers, police, conservation officers."[43]

In the artist's conception, the casual visitor (what Nakamura calls the tourist) is the visitor without a material stake in the home; he/she is the guest who does not have to worry about the long-term effects of his/her actions on the environment and its people, and—to evoke the dial tone in the soundtrack once more—is thus disconnected from the land and community. The tourist is made even more prevalent—and more casual—in the anonymity provided by the Internet, which facilitates faceless, nameless interactions that provide the "guest" with the opportunity to inflict violence on the cyberspace "home" (as in the "troll" phenomenon) or even to take on the role of the host (as with the often romanticized "hacker").[44] As Burton emphasizes in the text of *GLN*, websites such as YouTube and Google shift attention away from God's Lake Narrows' complex political and social matters and instead facilitate casual

visitation by drawing attention to the natural beauty of the area, or the activities of inebriated teenagers:

> If you Google God's Lake, you'll find photomontages of pristine forests and lakes. You'll also find videos of kids lip-synching to Lady Gaga, drinking, hickey giving, and other antics. . . . I wish they'd take some of the videos down. I feel like they're misrepresenting my hometown, or at least supporting the age-old prejudice of reserves as desolate places—nothing but a cesspool of Indians.[45]

Focusing on "pristine" landscapes and the "savage" Indian, these casual representations of the community reinforce colonial stereotypes and, as Burton points out in a *GLN* slide, the complexity of lived experience on the reserve: "And yeah, it's pretty ghetto if you're judging it from a certain set of values. But when you have 100 families that desperately need housing, what are your choices?"[46] Another slide notes these websites' elision of the deeper history of indigenous peoples in Canada: "In the gap between my ancestors and now: segregation, reserve placement, residential schools, the Sixties Scoop, mining, flooding and foresting. All of it has influenced who we are today."[47]

These slides help to illustrate the difficulty with the digital urban as it is applied to indigenous rural spaces: though it can provide access to isolated communities, it often does so in a way that elides nuance and alienates viewers from the real complexities of what Burton calls "reserve reality"—lived connections to place, community, and history. For Burton, if the mainstream Internet did "welcome" visitors to God's Lake Narrows before he created his own interactive *GLN* website, it did so only under colonial prepositions, which paradoxically closed the door to a more involved understanding of what it actually means to live there. Moreover, Burton has drawn attention to the ways in which "data" is mined from indigenous Web communities: "By all means, Mr. White folk, tell our story, but only if you've gone through proper protocol with the people/community and have been invited to do so."[48] Still, although it offers such a critique, *God's Lake Narrows* itself is not simply an account of the problems of indigenous digital representation and cyberspace tourism. Rather, because the website is structured around invitation and welcome, it establishes a discourse of *miyo-wîcêhtowin* outside of the overdetermined, colonial spaces of the digital urban. Burton engages cyberspace as a space of welcome while working within the unique discourse of Internet service providers (ISPs) and its language of "homes," "domains," and "hosts"—tools that offer the artist the freedom to establish cultural codes and protocols that work to protect indigenous communities and their position as hosts while remaining open to visitors and tourists.

The *GLN* website encourages and facilitates a more ethical "tourist" experience in indigenous digital space. Indeed, its most important terms of hospitality are the ways it compels tourists to engage with indigenous land, history, and culture. In order to cross the threshold from house exterior to home interior and before they are allowed to enter a home and engage with the families that live there, viewers are asked to engage with the history of colonialism as it has negatively impacted Aboriginal life in Canada. Visitors must first learn some basic facts about the history of God's Lake and the effects of colonialism on indigenous peoples, such as the impacts of residential

schools and the ongoing problem of government funding. In positioning these facts before the interior shots, access to community space is precipitated by education.

In addition, Burton makes his audiences active participants in creating the form of *GLN* by giving them limited control over its progress and direction by advancing and retreating through the slides. Allowing guests to move in and out as they please through these homes allows for the liberality of hospitality—a guest with no freedom of movement is a prisoner—but active, yet administered, engagement also ensures that rather than passively consuming media, the viewer is positioned as participant rather than observer, making the encounter less casual. It demands, as the Assembly of First Nations puts it, "that outsiders recognize [Aboriginal] rights to sovereignty and self-determination" by welcoming guests into the home while retaining ultimate authority and control over that space.[49]

From the very beginning Burton works to inhibit the viewers' ability to enter the site as casual tourists by removing some of their anonymity. Following the work of Joy Harjo (Creek) on the importance of naming to sovereignty, Burton's website mirrors the protocols of guesthood employed in material-world indigenous territories. Harjo writes, "Protocol is a key to assuming sovereignty. It's simple. When we name ourselves . . . we are acknowledging the existence of our nations, their intimate purpose, insure their continuation."[50] Fittingly, Burton engages Internet protocol naming, in this case pairing IP addresses with geographical location, or geolocation. IP address location data can include information such as country, region, city, postal/zip code, altitude, longitude, and time zone. Deeper data sets can determine other parameters such as domain name, connection speed, ISP, language, proxies, company name, and industry classification, and allow access to media industry and government statistical data based on designated market area and metropolitan statistical area. Writing on the privacy and security implications of geolocation code in HTML 5, Adam Freeman warns,

> the accuracy of locations inferred from network information varies, but it can be startlingly accurate. When I started testing this feature, I was surprised by just how narrowly my location was reported. In fact, it was so accurate, that I have substituted the location of the Empire State Building in the screenshots—with the real location information (derived from my nearby Wi-Fi networks) you can easily find my house and see photos of my car on the driveway. Scary stuff. [51]

Because *GLN* is composed in Adobe Flash as opposed to HTML, Burton is not using code with the levels of penetration of which Freeman warns, but *GLN*'s coding does allow the site to pinpoint the viewer's position relative to God's Lake Narrows and the nearest reserve (fig. 7). For instance, at the University of British Columbia I am 2,032 kilometers from God's Lake and 3 kilometers away from the Musqueam Indian Reserve. *GLN*'s geolocation thus makes clear that the website knows the user's digital identity and physical location. Thus, visitors are not allowed access without submitting some form of identification, which, as Harjo argues, puts in place the foundations of sovereignty and hence guest responsibility as well.

Figure 6: *Kevin Lee Burton and Alicia Smith*. God's Lake Narrows.

Most Web designs make IP information available only to the host, but Burton's website makes geolocation explicit. By giving guests access to the ways in which the host views them, Burton restructures the systems of knowledge that delineate guest and host in a colonial framework of hospitality. Again, the artist is not handing his community over to his guests, but rather than using knowledge as a means of surveillance and control, the artist privileges this knowledge as the right of the host. Hospitality is thus contingent on the host's right to reflect the position of guests and place them in relation to indigenous spaces.

The website configures the space between guest and host in ways that reinforce *miyo-wîcêhtowin* as a process of exchange and mutual obligation. Once the camera crosses the threshold, a community member is at the forefront of each photograph. Burton explains that his intention is to interrupt the anthropological fantasies of unobserved observers and tourists: "the subjects in the photographs look out at us more than we look in at them, putting the viewer in the position of subject and shifting the focus from voyeurism to engagement."[52] Linking the gaze of the subjects to the interactive structure of the website itself, and thus configuring both the aesthetics and structure of the piece around the idea of interaction, Burton further conceives hospitality as an active process—one in which tourists, working with the indigenous host, must endeavor to understand their own relationship to *home*, and for settlers, how that home is presupposed by their position as guests on indigenous land.

Not only do the subjects of *GLN* call for visitors to engage them, but the artist too makes an appearance, turning his filmic gaze on the audience and making them a part of the site's observation. Upon clicking the "About God's Lake Narrows" tab at the bottom left of the site, visitors are confronted with a looped video clip of the filmmaker staring out at them (fig. 8). While the host's visage is warm and friendly, facilitating *GLN*'s ability to welcome the audience inside as guests, it is clear in the way that the gaze is inverted here that Burton is again placing the audience in the position of that which is being viewed. Even this supplemental portion of the website

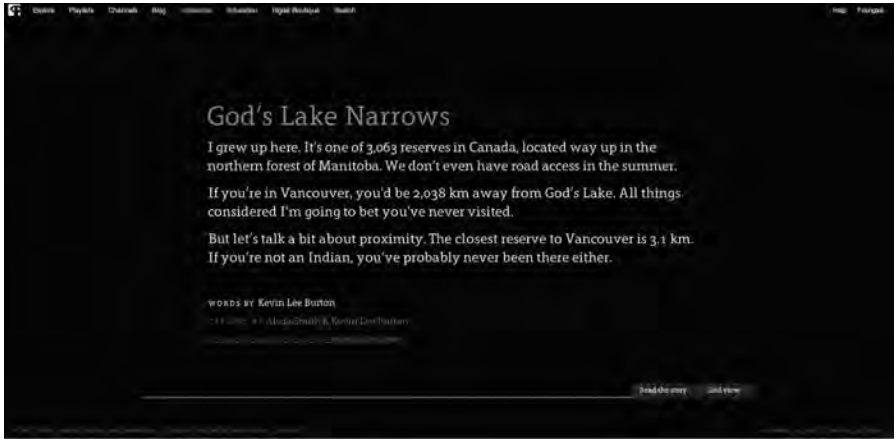

Figure 7: *Kevin Lee Burton and Alicia Smith.* God's Lake Narrows. *Opening slide featuring geolocation. Note the user's proximity to GLN and the nearest reserve (in this case Musqueam). Distances are calculated using IP addresses which identify the location of the user.*

necessitates a critical engagement between guest and host and expands the boundaries of the piece. This is made clear not only in the immediacy of the gaze itself, which is somewhat disconcerting, but also in the video loop's *mise en scene*. Burton's shirt reads "are you ready?" which can possibly be taken as interrogative challenges to the tourist viewer's guest status, such as "are you ready to come into my home?" "Are you ready for this encounter with the other?" "Are you ready to shift your perspective on indigenous issues?" However, the "y" of "ready" is difficult to see, which introduces possible alternative questions about knowledge and familiarity.

The question "Are you read?" not only asks viewers if they are familiar with the history of Native peoples in Canada, which refers back to how the *GLN* site establishes the need for engaging with history, but also asks how guests garnered that information—through written histories rather than community interaction or oral history—and thus puts guests' epistemologies at stake. Finally, if taken homophonically, the shirt can also read "are you red?" or in other words, "are you indigenous?" Much like geolocation, this question positions the viewer in relation to the piece, albeit this time from a cultural, rather than a geographical, perspective. "Are you red?" asks the viewer to address the fundamental question of guest/host and consider how it affects one's relationship to the space. For instance, as a nonindigenous user, my engagement with the site will be reflected through my European ancestry and a particular whiteness, which does not simply disappear in the bodiless space of the Internet. This gesture indicates how race and bodies continue to inflect our engagement online despite the "freedom" that utopian rhetoric regarding the Internet often projects. As the semiotics of this video loop compel its audience to question how their own subjectivity produces "information" about *GLN*, at the same time it connects Burton's hospitality to the demand for guests to position themselves in relation to the

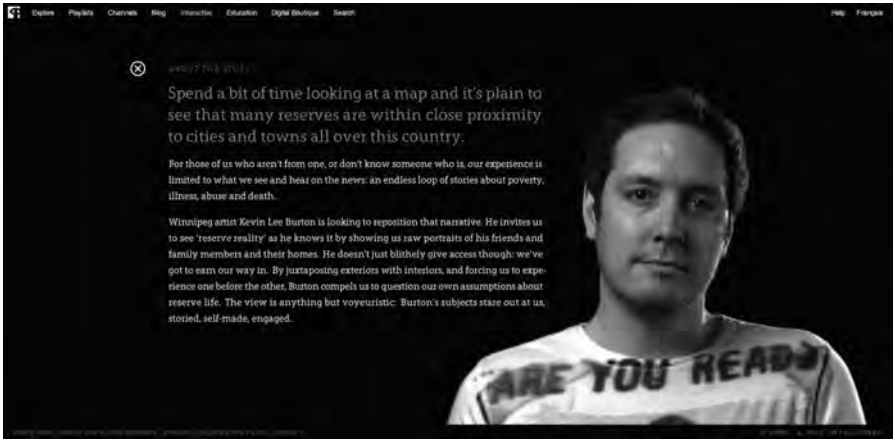

Figure 8: *Kevin Lee Burton and Alicia Smith*. God's Lake Narrows. "About God's Lake Narrows."

community, the reserve system, and traditional territory. Like CyberPowWow, identity is thus revealed to be a matter of discourse, critical reflection, and interactivity.

In its businesses, social spaces, free market ideologies, and colonial underpinnings, cyberspace is an expansion of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century city. Without disavowing the importance of land, it is important to engage with the ways in which indigenous communities selectively engage with urban spaces—and particularly, as they continue to grow and influence the human experience, "landless" territories like the Internet. Cyberspaces like Skawennati's CyberPowWow and Burton's *God's Lake Narrows* contribute valuable sites for further theorizing the ways in which indigenous artists and thinkers are conceptualizing and realizing indigenous identity and community away from homelands—such as remediating ceremony and protocol, and even translating entire communities into the digital urban. Both CyberPowWow and *GLN* illustrate how indigenous artists, writers, and programmers are carving out uniquely indigenous spaces in the digital realm, populating them with indigenous bodies and epistemologies, and facilitating conversations across the material and the digital. In their use of gathering sites, protocol, and remediation, these sites blur the distinctions between land and technology and make a unique contribution to an evolving and dynamic understanding of what it means to develop, nurture, and protect Aboriginal territory in cyberspace.

Notes

1. Most specifically, *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, ed. Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).

2. Ibid., 8.

3. M. Christine Boyer, "The Imaginary Real World of CyberCities," *Assemblage* 18 (1992): 115, doi: 10.2307/3171208.

4. Mike Patterson, "Wearing the White Man's Shoes: Two Worlds in Cyberspace," *Indigenous Screen Cultures in Canada*, ed. Sigurjon Baldur Hafsteinsson and Marian Bredin (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 143–44.

5. Lewis and Skawennati, "Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace," http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/canada/aboriginal-territories-cyberspace.

6. Skawennati, "A Chatroom is Worth a Thousand Words," http://www.cyberpowwow.net/STFwork.html.

7. waitingforgodot.com, http://ajenik.faculty.asu.edu/desktoptheater/desktoptheater_content/archive/files.

8. "Dress the Nation," http://creative-catalyst.com/abc/lysis/lysis.html.

9. Skawennati, "A Chat Room."

10. Jay T. Johnson, "Dancing into Place: The Role of the Powwow within Urban Indigenous Communities," in *Indigenous in the City*, 217.

11. Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, quoted in James B. Waldram, D. Ann Herring, and T. Kue Young, *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, Cultural, and Epidemiological Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 151.

12. Renya K. Ramirez, *Native Hubs: Culture, Community, and Belonging in Silicon Valley and Beyond* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 58.

13. Richard Hill, "Light in the Forest," in *Powwow: Images Along the Red Road*, ed. Ben Marra (New York: Abrams), 8.

14. Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 49.

15. Jolene Rickard, "First Nation Territory in Cyber Space Declared: No Treaties Needed," n.d., http://www.cyberpowwow.net/nation2nation/jolenework.html.

16. Loretta Todd, "Aboriginal Narratives in Cyberspace," *Immersed in Technology: Art and Virtual Environments*, ed. Mary Anne Moser and Douglas MacLeod (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 182.

17. Skawennati Tricia Fragnito, "Distribution: A Curator Discusses Distribution and Participation Projects including Cyber PowWow," CRUMB (Feb. 12, 2001), http://www.crumbweb.org/getPresentation.php?presID=17&op=4.

18. Evgeny Morozov argues that "cyber-utopianism seems to be everywhere these days: tee-shirts urging policy makers to "drop tweets, not bombs"—a bold statement for any antiwar movement—are . . . on sale online, while in 2009 one of the streets in a Palestine refugee camp was even named after a Twitter account." Morozov, *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012), 19.

19. Philip N. Howard, Laura Busch, and Penelope Sheets, "Comparing Digital Divides: Internet Access and Social Inequality in Canada and the United States," *Canadian Journal of Communications* 35, no. 1 (2010): 109–28.

20. "Internet Connectivity Among Aboriginal Communities in Canada" (2004), http://www.naho.ca/documents/naho/english/2008_Aboriginal_connectivity_rates.pdf.

21. Rob McMahon, Susan O'Donnell, Richard Smith, Brian Walmark, and Brian Beaton, "Digital Divides and the 'First Mile': Framing First Nations Broadband Development in Canada," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 2, no. 2 (2011): 1–15, doi: 10.18584/iipj.2011.2.2.2.

22. Adam Fish, "Indigenous Digital Media and the History of the Internet on the Columbia Plateau," *Journal of Northwest Anthropology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 89–110.

23. Ibid., 90.

24. Ibid., 95.

25. Archer Pechawis, "Not So Much a Land Claim, n.d., http://www.cyberpowwow.net/archerweb/.

26. Ibid.

27. Anna Hoefnagles, "Renewal and Adaptation: Cree Round Dances," n.d., http://www.native-dance.ca/index.php/Renewal/Round_Dances?tp=z.

28. Timothy Winegard, *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 189–93.

29. David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs. Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).

30. Madeline Dion Stout and Gregory Kipling, "Resilience and the Residential School Experience," *Aboriginal People, Resilience and the Residential School Legacy* (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003), 46.

31. Steven Loft, "For Iktomi," n.d., http://ghostkeeper.gruntarchives.org/essay-for-iktomi-steve-loft.html#fn:275.being.

32. Kevin Lee Burton and Alicia Smith, *God's Lake Narrows* (website), produced by Alicia Smith, Executive Producers Loc Dao and Rob McLaughlin (2011), http://godslake.nfb.ca/#/godslake.

33. Urban Shaman Gallery, "RESERVE(d): An Art Exhibition Exploring Aboriginal Communities," *cineflyer winnipeg*, April 8, 2010, https://cineflyer.wordpress.com/2010/04/08/reserved/.

34. Burton and Smith, *God's Lake Narrows*, slide 1.

35. Harold Cardinal and Walter Hildebtandt, *Treaty Elders of Saskatchewan: Our Dream is That Our Peoples Will Be Clearly Recognized as Nations* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), 14.

36. See "hospitality, n.," *OED Online* (December, 2015: Oxford University Press), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88730?redirectedFrom=hospitality.

37. For instance, quoting Anderson, Kim Christen argues open access models on the Internet reimagine colonialist practices by eliding indigenous concerns about "culturally appropriate conditions for access" under the demand for unfettered access to information that benefits a very dated and colonial notion of the "whole." Kim Christen, "Does Information Really Want to Be Free?: Indigenous Knowledge and the Politics of Open Access," *The International Journal of Communication 6* (2012): 2870–93, 2873.

38. Lisa Nakamura, *Cybertypes: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity on the Internet* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 84. MCI, Inc. was succeeded by Verizon.

39. Ibid., 137.

40. Nakamura, *Cybertypes*, 55.

41. Burton and Smith, *God's Lake Narrows,* slide 17.

42. Ibid., slide 11.

43. Ibid., slide 3.

44. An Internet "troll" breaks the protocols of cyberspace to wreak havoc on an online community. According to E. Gabriella Colman, "trolls work to remind the 'masses' that have lapped onto the shores of the Internet that there is still a class of geeks who, as their name suggests, will cause Internet grief, hell and misery." Coleman, "Phreaks, Hackers, and Trolls and the Politics of Transgression and Spectacle," *The Social Media Reader,* ed. Michael Mandiberg (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 110. Unlike "troll," "hacker" has now been included in academic dictionaries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "hacker" in 3(b) as "a person who uses his skill with computers to try to gain unauthorized access to computer files or networks." See "hacker, n.," *OED Online* (December, 2015: Oxford University Press), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/83045?rskey=Hb8jVW&result=1.

45. Burton and Smith, *God's Lake Narrows,* slide 13.

46. Ibid., slide 7.

47. Ibid., slide 15.

48. Ezra Winton, "The Beauty and Agony of Home," *Art Threat* (July 15, 2011), http://artthreat.net/2011/07/conversation-kevin-lee-burton/.

49. Assembly of First Nations, *Ethics in First Nations Research* (Environmental Stewardship Unit, March 2009), 5.

50. Joy Harjo, "Threads of Blood and Spirit," *A Map to the Next World* (New York: W. W. Norton [repr], 2001), 119.

51. Adam Freeman, "Using Geolocation," *The Definitive Guide to HTML 5* (New York: Apress Publishers, 2011), 978.

52. E. C. Woodley, "Circling the Truth": RESERVE(d) Exhibition at Urban Shaman," *BorderCrossings* 29, no. 2 (2010): 20.