**First Nations in Cyberspace:
Two Worlds and Tricksters
Where the Forest meets the Highway**

by

Michael Patterson, B.A. M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
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Abstract

This dissertation examines both the literature and my personal experiences regarding the implications of cyberspace, with a view to contemporary Native and First Nations peoples in Canada, particularly in light of the Seventh Fire Prophecy of coexistence and cooperation (Patterson 1995).

I examine the role of Information Technology (IT) in the emerging First Nations cybercommunities in Canada, also the ways in which IT impacts on people's lives. This dissertation seeks to determine what is being gained and lost in exchanges between people and computers, people communicating in new ways via IT, and in new global dialogues.

I then describe some visions for the future use of cyberspace, with a caution to be aware of its contradictory possibilities, concluding that First Nations in Canada should take a proactive approach to this new territory still in the process of creation, to refine and redefine Native and non-Native priorities with regards to cultural survival, self-determination, and mutual recognition.

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Introduction

Over the last 15 years, I have seen first myself, then friends and family, and now all of global society gravitate more and more to the new place called cyberspace. This is a place “where the forest meets the highway” (Patterson 2000), where land-based people such as Natives¹ in Canada meet the landless world of e-commerce, dot-com and global change.

I speak in this dissertation as a person of mixed ancestry — mainly Irish, French, English, and also, most likely, Mohawk. Although most of my ancestors are Irish and French, I was told since childhood that I have Native blood. I don't know how much Native blood I have, as the stories and pictures that have come down in my family are only fragmented and incomplete; some date to the early 1800s near Akwesasne (Mohawk) and there are generations not known before. On one side I can trace the Sauvé name (my great grandfather's) back to the 1660s in Québec.

The definition of who is Native and who is not is the matter of ongoing debate. To many people such as the late Wilf Peltier (Odawa/Potawatami) and Simon Brascoupé (Mohawk/Anishnabeg), both familiar faces at Carleton, race or blood quantum is not an issue, as the important things are shared values.² When I

¹ I will use this term to refer to all people who are descendants of or related to the original inhabitants of Turtle Island (North America). Today this includes full-bloods, mixed-bloods, status, non-status, Metis and distant relations. Descendants of the original people here do not have a common name, as there are diverse histories and origin stories. People in the United States still prefer to use the term “Indians,” although this reference is now in disrepute in Canada. “Native” had become the preferred term here in the 1980s, but there are now advocates for the use of the terms “Aboriginal,” “Indigenous” and “First Nations” people. Some ten years ago there were advocates for the term “First Peoples,” but there were objections to the label “First Peoples person.”

² Wilf Peltier once told me a story about when he was a young man in a council of elders some thirty years ago in Morley, Alberta. Some of the older men were opposed to letting white people into an upcoming gathering and ceremonies. Joe Mackinaw stood up to speak and said: “Look at the

voiced doubts about my self-identification to Elijah Harper, he told me: "It's your heritage too." After spending more time at Akwesasne recently, close to the birthplace of my great-uncle and grandmother, I began to realize that he was right.

In Canada, definitions of 'Indian,' 'Aboriginal,' 'Native,' 'Metis' and so on have always been in flux. The first statutory definition of 'Indian' in Canada was enacted in 1850; there were no provisions for mixed-blood, one was either an Indian or one was White (and relegated exclusively to that society). The definitions were both racial and ethnic: 1) All persons of Indian blood belonging to a particular tribe and their descendants; 2) All persons intermarried with any such Indians; 3) All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents on either side were or are Indians; and 4) All persons adopted in infancy by any such Indian (Frideres 2001: 24). As will be shown later, the definition has become much more complicated today.

In my MA thesis on Native music in Canada I examined the coming together of 'Two Worlds' for Native people, and the weaving together of two worldviews on many levels (Patterson 1995). Now I am extending that work and trying to reconcile what we see and feel in these Canadian spaces (Our Home, and Native Land)³ with Information Technology (IT) and the place it (and we) have created — cyberspace.

trees in the forest: The pine, red cedar, the birch tree, the yellow poplar. They all live in the forest, all are welcome. They do not discriminate. I can not discriminate either; all are welcome in my lodge." Later, the older men again raised their objections to whites being welcomed, and Wilf stood and said: "Did you not hear what Joe Mackinaw said ?" and the council fell silent for a long while. The "Native Code of Ethics" developed by Georgina Toulouse of Manitoulin Island includes 1) Giving thanks, 2) Respect, 3) Honesty, and 4) Sharing (honour your guests).

³ This is the slogan on a t-shirt designed by the late Emond (Sonny) Vincent for the NDN Village in Farm Point, Québec — a collaborative project hosted by the Alqonguin people (Anishnabe Aki). It features a Canadian Flag, with a soaring eagle replacing the maple leaf. Although Ottawa is named

In June 1998 a show arrived at Ottawa's SAW Gallery, created by Iroquois artists exploring and using IT. The show visited those areas "At the Edge of the Woods: Along the Highway" and also "the notion of four states of awareness in Iroquoian culture, representing the progression from the edge of the woods, to the clearing around a village, the village itself and the inside of a longhouse" (Marple 1998: 14). Two exhibits struck me: One, an installation consisting of lodgepoles forming a tipi, with a computer where the fire would be, displaying a video of a fire; and the other an interactive Web project that allowed people to remotely and virtually contribute beads toward the making of an Electronic Wampum Belt.ⁱ Both suggested cultural interaction alive on many levels, reaching into the past and future, trying to find ways of reconciling the meeting of two distinct worldviews that, in Iroquoian and other Native perspectives, were supposed to stay apart (the Two-Row Wampum belt, *Keswehtheha* — see Appendix A).

Natives in Canada have maintained their value systems throughout 500 years of colonization policy in Canada, but cyberspace is a new territory. A strong movement toward self-determination has begun in this country, and tools brought by the Europeans and others have traditionally used by Native peoples to allow

after the Ottawa people, the land in this region is part of unceded Algonquin territory. "Parliament Hill is unsurrendered Algonquin land. And so is the entire watershed of the Ottawa river, which runs behind the Parliament buildings" (Matchewan 1990: 139). "The right of the Algonquins to their territory was recognized and confirmed by European laws and proclamations... The Algonquins have lived in the valley of the Ottawa River at least as long as the French have lived in France or the English have lived in England" (Sarazin 1990: 169-170). Also see "This Land is Our Land" (Aubrey 1995).

them to break the constraints of imposed marginalization⁴ and colonization policy. As a type of Trickster,⁵ cyberspace now plays a central role.

Natives are answering the process of colonization to redefine their role in Canada today, and they are also reflecting traditional teachings. These include the Seven Generations Prophecy (Iroquois, Onkwehonwe) and the Seventh Fire Prophecy (Ojibwe, Anishnabek). These teachings are related to concerns about the killing of mother earth along with her medicines, trees, fish and animal life (environmental degradation), and also with the social and economic crises in this and other countries. Today is the age of the Seventh Fire.

This thesis explores how cyberspace is helping to bring Native perspectives and prophecies to the centre of the world stage, but at the same time contributing to language loss and further marginalization. Cyberspace is linked to the idea of virtual reality, and "a unique and wonderful characteristic of the medium of virtual reality is the discourse surrounding it. The conversation is very broad and rich, involving people from technology, the arts, social sciences and philosophy. It encourages a fusion of these concerns in a way of thinking among its participants" (Laurel 1998: 331). That process is certainly underway.

⁴ I have to agree with this note from Craig McKie, who wrote in summer 2002: "It is improper to unequivocally refer to imposed marginalization, as some of that marginalization was voluntarily undertaken, that is, withdrawal from Euroculture to the margins where the people would not be harried to comply. It is not the typical case but flight is a deeply human response. Possibly fleeing disease is the most appropriate response as well. Clearly many people did flee the settlers for relative freedom at the margins, territorially, in Canada."

⁵ The Trickster figure is familiar throughout Native America, and in many parts of the world. Known in Canada as Raven (West Coast), WhiskeyJack (western Canada) and Nanabush (central and eastern Canada and the northern U.S.), the Trickster is a creation figure who is constantly meddling in the world, trying to teach lessons through schemes that often backfire on himself and others. He is not malevolent, like the Windego we will meet later, rather he is a life-force that is constantly instructive, and disruptive at the same time. Like a double-edged sword, he rewards and plagues the people in his created world — as in cyberspace, as will be seen.

A good overview of Nanabush stories can be found at

My dissertation, a bricolage of theory and observations in cyberspace (data), shows that cyberspace allows us to see ourselves in many ways and on many levels; it is a tool that is teaching us new ways of looking at old things. It also holds keys to our understanding of ourselves, and our future as First Nations.

The geographic centre for this paper is the Eastern Woodlands of Canada, particularly the area encompassing the Great Lakes. The predominant nations around me right now in Ottawa, nations that have lived with or visited this land for centuries, are the Mohawks and others of the Iroquois Confederacy,⁶ the Algonquin and the Odawa, the Ojibwe, the Cree and other Anishnabek.⁷ I will also refer to other peoples and other areas of Canada, and insights from this work are also applicable to all First Nations, but my perspective is formed from this place and the people here. In particular, I have been working at and visiting a large circle of communities for the last ten years or so, including Kahnawake, Akwesasne, Tyendinaga, Six Nations (all Iroquois), Wikwemikong (Ojibwe), and Golden Lake and Maniwaki (Algonquin). My most recent visits were to Akwesasne in September to December of 2002, where I taught a writing course to Bachelor of Social Work

<http://www.geocities.com/Yosemite/Gorge/1066/513ojibwa.htm>.

⁶ The Iroquois Confederacy was created from the older brothers, the Mohawk and Seneca, the younger brothers, the Cayuga and Oneida, and the firekeepers, or Onondaga. The last of the Five Nations to ratify or adopt the Confederacy law were the Seneca, who joined on August 31, 1142 according to recent research by Mann and Fields of Toledo University. The Tuscarora joined around 1700, making it the Six Nations. (Johansen 1995: 62) The Five Nations came together at the time that the Peacemaker planted the Great Tree of Peace, thought to be "as early as 1000 A.D." (Lyons 1993: 2).

⁷ Anishnabek denotes primarily the Algonquin speaking Nations. In *The Mishomis Book*, Edward Benton-Banai explains that it is from the Ojibwe expression Ani (from whence) nishna (lowered) abe (the male of the species). There are various spellings for Anishnabe and Ojibwe; I have taken my spelling from the "Native North Americans in Canada" section of the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (Kallmann and Potvin 1992). This section was compiled by Canadian researchers, including Beverley Diamond Cavanagh, Robert Witmer, Franziska von Rosen and M. Sam Cronk.

students from Carleton (called Off-Campus education at the university; On-Reserve education at home).

Research was also undertaken in the city. Ottawa is a power centre for the federal government and draws the national voice of Native peoples. "Ottawa has the fastest growing native community of any city in the country" (Bohuslawsky 1994). The population is estimated at 31,000, or sixth highest of all urban Native populations in Canada. The Native community here is characterized as being close-knit, family-oriented and culturally aware, and many of the people drawn here are politicians, professionals or entrepreneurs.⁸ Many are also elders, artists, college and university students, healers and teachers.

I will begin with an examination of where cyberspace exists, followed by an overview of its population in terms of class, ethnicity and gender, then an examination of how cyberspace affects traditional (and Native) knowledge of time and space and ultimately transcends certain human traits once taken for granted (transhuman, morphing, cyborgs). An extensive review of the literature on cyberspace is here, along with a personal approach to local views, including my own, and from places such as the Assembly of First Nations.

I have also been conducting fieldwork in cyberspace for over ten years, finding information and following trends on listservs and websites. This data is combined with theory and literature on cyberspace, and with experiences on the ground, to highlight important themes for cyberspace. As I write this I am still logging more time in cyberspace (I can't estimate the amount of time I have

⁸Information and quote from two articles by Maria Bohuslawsky, demographics writer for the Citizen.

spent there in 15 years); my laptop is always handy, always surfing.⁹

Lastly, an objective is to describe some visions for the future use of cyberspace; because this work will be linked to First Nations and Native views in Canada, "the ultimate intent of ethnographically-led cyberspace studies... is to ground the process of imaging cyberspace on both a rich empirical understanding of what is actually taking place and to articulate ethically informed intellectual rules of thumb to guide further imagining... (in an effort to) help create cyberspace, not be created by it... Because its imaginings can affect the future, cyberspace ethnography has a distinct moral charge" (Hakken 1999: 227-28).¹⁰

⁹ I can't imagine that sitting in a La-Z-Boy with my laptop is doing my health much good, but I don't overdo it daily, and break things up with frequent dog walks. There is something to Red Green's comment on cyberspace: "Oh, yeah, world wide web sit on your fat ass for twelve hours a day dot com."

¹⁰ There is a loss of origins for possibly most of the World's people. Many can no longer locate themselves in tribal/clan space at all. This is at once a loss of life's traditions, and an invitation to anomie, but also "a liberation from the dead hand of precedent. Anyone who can unequivocally state an original identity is an oddity in the world today I think" (personal communication from C. McKie, 2002). While this loss is occurring, this dissertation will show that the tribal and clan nature of Native society is still strong.

Research Questions

For Natives, can electronic assimilation coexist with ethnic separation and distinct worldviews?¹¹ This dissertation shows what is being gained and lost in exchanges between people and computers, people communicating in new ways via IT, and global dialogues.

Past AFN national chief Phil Fontaine remarked that “our future is very much tied to the computer and the youth are making the adjustment - they’re also creating content that expresses their culture and future. We’re really leapfrogging decades of development (by) putting these services into communities that in the past have only had one phone. (IT) opens opportunities for expression and communication among groups across the country and outside the country” (in Szick 1998). “Leapfrogging decades” is an interesting phrase, and quite true. Who, and what, is being left behind in this rapid game?

Will English prevail over Native and other languages? The English language perpetuates and grows its linguistic hegemony via cyberspace, and the computer code that supports it.

How is IT transformative, in terms of the Iroquois saying that “the Mohawks are like the rabbit: brown in the summer and white in the winter,” which speaks of transformation, adaptation and (cultural) survival.¹² At the extreme, IT

¹¹ Natives live in 'Two Worlds,' one being the world of Mother Earth, the land, traditions, teachings and a "dynamic self-esteem" (Paula Gunn Allen) linked to Creation. The other is the artificial and constructed world of mainstream 'White' values.

¹² I think the Mohawk (and also Anishnabek) references to 'rabbit' ('wabus' in Ojibwe) more rightly point to the Varying Hare (sometimes called Snowshoe Rabbit), which has white fur in winter, turning brown in the summer, and ranges across the northern half of Turtle Island. With smaller ears and very large back feet, the snowshoe rabbit is larger than its southern cousin, the Eastern

and its progeny such as bioengineering speak of a rapid “transhuman” development wherein humans and technology together are defining the future, removed from “nature” and other interventions. Bill Joy, a pioneer at Sun Microsystems, worries that these technologies may collectively create “self-replicating” machines and processes (nanotechnology, genetic technology) by the time computers are “a million more times more powerful” in 2030 (Pugliese 2000).

Will Natives be able to re-invent their distinctiveness and origins in cyberspace? What are implications for all ‘non-territorial nations’ and interest groups in cyberspace? Are we returning to the tribalism of 200 years ago, where locale and the pre-industrial extended family prevailed, via direct connections among people on the Net? Can there be a ‘Gemeinschaft’ in cyberspace, a constructed tribe of lifetime affinity groups, created among the larger Geselleschaft of the expanding global dot-com (commercial and technological) community?¹³ Finally, if ‘Gemeinschaft’ is possible in cyberspace, to what extent might the affinity extend to traditional support obligations for kin and local communities?

Cottontail Rabbit, which roams the Eastern and Central U.S.

¹³ In the late 1800s German sociologist Ferdinand Toennies sought to use ideal types to explain the evolution of German society from agrarian to industrial. Gemeinschaft means “community,” and is associated with the local and tribal-based communities built on territory (space), kinship and associations, and common religious or spiritual and ethnic beliefs. Geselleschaft, by contrast, is a society based on a larger artificial constructs such as individualism, capitalism and the division of labour. See Toennies 1887.

Methodology

I did a survey and catalogue of views on cyberspace based on extensive review of the expanding literature. To date the word 'cyberspace' (coined by BC author William Gibson in the novel *Mona Lisa Overdrive* in 1988) leads to hundreds of books at the Carleton Library catalogue; checking the academic journals going back to 1997, I found over a thousand citations for cyberspace. Cyberspace, whatever its 'real' nature or process, certainly exists as an object for research and discussion.

Almost all the contents in the cyberliterature on cyberspace are recent; there is a movement building for the examination of cyberspace as an entity. Newspapers and other media are also a source of insight into the fast-breaking territory called cyberspace. The literature on cyberspace is examined in a thematic way for content analysis.

In addition, I used diverse qualitative methodology (participant observation, ethnography, autoethnography etc.) to allow for a richness and depth of data and for triangulation through use of multiple sources.¹⁴ I used a type of theoretical sampling where *"the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where (and when) to find them," a process of data collection "controlled by the emerging theory"* (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 45). This is sampling on the basis of concepts that have demonstrated theoretical

¹⁴ Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Denzin (1997) endorse the use of library, newspaper and other media sources in triangulating field data with observations from others. The validity and reliability of the theory which develops from the research is strengthened by using multiple methods of interviews, observations, and document content analysis.

relevance to the evolving theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

Theories are either deduced from logical assumptions or generated from observation (deductive, inductive).¹⁵ Glaser and Strauss' "grounded theory" is a qualitative approach that generates theory from observation, using a structure often lacking in other qualitative approaches. The resulting theory is an explanation of categories, their attributes, and their interrelationships. This creates an evolutionary body of knowledge that is grounded in data, and further, in phenomena (also thought of as concepts). Grounded theory should be grounded in phenomena, not data, as data provide the evidence for the phenomena (theories, categories) which we investigate. Data are observable; phenomena or concepts are not as apparent. Put another way, concepts have dimensions, and these dimensions are assessed through measures and indicators.

The researcher is an active sampler of relevant data, as they support central variables of the emerging theory. This is the "constant comparative method," a systematic process for generating structured problems and theories high in content and rich in description. Also described as Naturalistic Inquiry, this approach to social research emphasizes the importance of "...the need for developing grounded theory — the discovery of theory from data — that help link

¹⁵ Social science research was dominated by hypothetico-deductive theory in the 50s and 60s. Theories and paradigms by Weber, Durkheim, Cooley, Mead, and others dominated approaches to sociological inquiry. Glaser and Strauss argued that the prevailing emphasis on theory testing neglected the process of theory generation.

At the same time, the connections between theory and practice in the social sciences had grown more tentative as positivist theories became more removed from the social phenomena that they were trying to explain. Grounded theory emerged as part of the humanist attempt to tie social science data more closely to the concerns of participants, so that theory and practice could be more closely aligned.

theory with methodology of the empirical world... (through) a 'constant comparative method'... (which) involves a rigorous process of collecting data, coding for commonalities and dissimilarities, and analyzing data jointly and repeatedly" (Halbert 1999: 31).

The directions followed for this research in cyberspace were largely determined in a reflexive way (Bordieu); accumulating data spoke to the research questions, but also provided new directions for further insights. I am working with "slices of data," in an open inquiry with "no limits to the techniques of data collection," a variety that "is highly beneficial, because it yields more information on categories than any one mode of knowing (technique of collection)" (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 65-66).

"Qualitative research is inherently multimethod in focus. However, the use of multiple methods, and triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question," and "the qualitative researcher-as-bricoleur¹⁶ uses the tools of his or her methodological trade, deploying whatever strategies, methods or materials are at hand" (Denzin 1994: 2) This is also in line with Mills: "The sociological imagination...in considerable part consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of a total society and of its components... its essence is the combination of ideas that no one expected were combinable... There is a playfulness of mind in back of such combining as well as a truly fierce drive to

¹⁶ "Bricolage" means "tinkering," or "puttering around," much like carpenters and other craftspeople often construct things, moving from one task to another. Lévi-Strauss applied the principle to anthropology, and in sociology Denzin describes ethnographers as bricoleurs producing a sensitive patchwork of data that generates theories.

make sense of the world" (1959: 211).

This is not the sociology of the scientific model, rather one of narrative, discourse and examination (Mills, Latour, Serres, Bordieu, Robert Park). Meaning is always deferred (Agger), is produced within sets of difference and semiology (Derrida) and hence a process, not fact-as-thing.¹⁷

Charmaz and Mitchell argue that, beyond discourse:

...there is also merit in audible authorship. We speak of the writer's voice from the standpoint of ethnographers committed to the vocation of using all we can of our imperfect human capacities to experience and communicate something of others' lives. We go and see and sometimes join; we ask and listen, wonder and write, and tell our stories, not necessarily in that order. We believe that these simple acts of outward inquiry and inward reflection together with effort and creativity will give us something to say worth of sharing. We do not pretend that our stories report autonomous truths, but neither do we share the cynic's nihilism that ethnography is a biased irrelevancy. We hold a modest faith in middle ground (Charmaz and Mitchell 1997: 194).

They maintain that "We do ourselves and our disciplines no service by only telling half-tales, by only reporting finished analyses in temperate voice, by suppressing wonder or perplexity or dread." Clarity and truth are more likely found in "ethnography, (where) the emergent self is acculturated; it learns the limits of its own power" in a reflexive way (Charmaz and Mitchell 1997: 212-213;

¹⁷ Denzin (1997) examines the twin problems of legitimation in social theory, and the interpretive research and representational crises that undermine the direct link between experience and text in qualitative research, locating them within a history of ethnographic research in the U.S. The eras are seen as the traditional (1900-50), the modernist, (1950-70), blurred genres (1970-86), crisis of representation (1986-90), and the postmodern (1990 to the present).

Each of the "earlier moments still operates in the present, either as legacy or as a set of practices that researchers continue to follow or argue against," and so now we are in a "moment of discovery and rediscovery" in which "new ways of looking, interpreting, arguing, and writing are debated and discussed" (1997: 135). At the heart of this theoretical flux is the argument that no discourse can claim exclusive privilege, no method or theory can claim universal applicability or

also see 1998) This dissertation then is formed from a process, akin to what Mills describes:

By keeping an adequate file and thus developing self-reflective habits, you learn how to keep your inner world awake. Whenever you feel strongly about events or ideas you must try not to let them pass from your mind, but instead to formulate them for your files and in so doing draw out their implications, show yourself either how foolish these feelings are, or how they might be articulated into productive shape... To maintain a file is to engage in the controlled experience (1959: 197).

Chapter One

Mapping Cyberspace

As an information economy and a cultural hallmark, cyberspace belies traditional boundaries yet involves a distinctive territory, citizenry, literature, technology, capital and finance, ritual, weapons and belligerencies, a recognizable past, and variegated if unspecified futures... it involves a regional geography perhaps best captured in a koan: 'What is the place where everyone is but nobody lives?' (Starrs 1999).

Three days after September 11, on the Friday night CBC news at 11, the FBI reported 36,000 tips on the WTC attack; "of those, 30,000 came over the Internet," only some 3,600 via phone etc.

Cyberspace is a place that brings together the Internet, telecommunications, World Wide Web and other communications technologies, a place virtually populated by a select (though rapidly expanding) group of people, with increasingly disparate aims and objectives, not the least of which is the desire to make large amounts of money.

Changes are taking place in this new, definable territory. William Gibson's fictional "cyberspace" is described as a place that contains all the information in the world and can be entered with disembodied consciousness with the aid of a computer. It is "an infinite cage" wherein the heights and depths of power, pleasure, culture and survival are plumbed (1988: 49). Like the real cyberspace, "Gibsonian cyberspace offers power to those who can manipulate information in cyberspace, either individual hackers relying on expertise or large corporations relying on corporate muscle" (Jordan 1999: 20).

Internet writer and Grateful Dead bassist John Perry Barlow has borrowed

Gibson's term to describe that place between computers where messages and communication are processed and exchanged, i.e. Bulletin Boards and listservs, and Multiple User Dungeons (MUDs), so cyberspace is a space that currently exists, and can be seen to change over time. It is a community built of bricks such as the Internet, the World Wide Web, browsers and search engines, virtual spaces such as MUDs, chatrooms, whiteboards, and video conferencing and streaming.

I agree more with Barlow's interpretation, partly because the Internet does not contain "all the information," not even a fraction, and much of that is inaccessible, unless one has the skills and patience to look, as we will see. Barlow, who did as much as anyone to popularize the term, also said of cyberspace: "It's where your money lives," and we will see that as well.

We are trying to re-create our society in cyberspace, to the extent that we now take our dead there, perhaps in the belief that they can exist in this new place. Roberts explores some 300 memorials in the newly created "virtual cemeteries" on the Web, some 30% of which are written to the deceased (2000), perhaps in the belief that they can exist there.¹⁸

In *Mona Lisa Overdrive*, the hero Angie's boyfriend is Bobby Newmark aka 'the Count' (Count Zero), who stole a very expensive biochip ("aleph") with

¹⁸ Further on life and death in cyberspace: "In the domain of virtual reality/cyberspace, now that we have a medium which is totally extrasomatic, there is a threat that the body will be declared dead. Michael Heim, Sandy Stone and David Tomas all document this tendency in *Cyberspace: First Steps* (Benedikt, 1991). A recent issue of the *Whole Earth Review* asked "Is the body obsolete?" and about half of the respondents said yes. Enthusiastic advocates of hypermedia exult about escaping the constraints of space and time. However, cybernauts, lost in cyberspace without their bodies, do not escape biological time. It continues to measure out their three score and ten, whether they are chatting over the backyard fence or zapping around the universe by satellite at the speed of light. This euphoria of technophilia is simply the latest in that brilliant array

hitherto undreamt of storage capacity, to which he stays permanently “jacked in.” He hides at a disused factory and lives with others jacked into the “construct” of cyberspace, searching for its boundaries, the shape of the matrix. In the end they are attacked by the owners of the aleph, and although Angie dies during the fight, but she lives on in cyberspace with Bobby.

Characters in *Mona Lisa Overdrive* are “victimized or threatened in various ways by the actions of corporations” and take to cyberspace as a refuge, but “their own actions are often governed by the same emotionlessness and ambition which characterize this pervasive horror,” the heroes “become part of another corporate environment, the world of ‘simstim’ (an electronic form of Hollywood glamour), surgical enhancements, expensive clothes and large salaries” (Goh 2000: 33, also see Gibson 1986: 243-244).

So cyberspace, fictional and now real, is not that much divorced from mainstream reality. In the fictional world, the plots in Gibson’s visions of cyberspace (which appear in a number of his novels) fail to develop: “such actions and intrigues inevitably ending in the same condition of society in which the novels begin” (Goh 2000: 34); it remains to be seen in this discourse how much cyberspace is changing, and being changed by, society in the real world.

1.1 *Where is it?*

Many authors talk about the feeling of ‘place,’ the ‘there’ in there, in virtual communities such as MUDs and the WELL (Rheingold 1993, Dery 1994, Hakken

of techniques, documented by Ernest Becker, for denying death” (Gardiner 1993).

1999: 105). These are perhaps the suburbs of cyberspace: discrete, contained, governed partly by local concerns and mores.¹⁹

We are becoming transhuman in cyberspace, like Capt. Picard and the Borg. "The popularity of 'morphing' is not simply explained by our ancient proclivity for transformation and transcendence; its popularity also stems from a deep prescience in our children about technologies of transformation... these transforming scenarios are also rehearsals for the practical skills our children will need in the transhuman era" (Dewdney 1998: 18).

"Virtual" means what appears to be real, but is not, but "may have the same effects... it attests to the possibility that seeing and being might be confused, but that the confusion might not matter in the end... this sense of the virtual arises from a complex history of relations between reality, appearance and goodness. The roots of 'virtuality' are in 'virtue' (or truthfulness), and therefore in both power and morality." The oldest roots of "virtual" are in a religious worldviews in which "power and moral goodness are united in virtue." And the characteristic of the virtual is that it is able to produce effects, or to "produce itself as an effect even in the absence of the 'real effect.'" This confusion of boundaries suggests that "technologies of the virtual are destined not only to simulate the real, but replace it," (Porter 1997 9-10) also described by Baudrillard as the virtual replacing the real with what is "more real than real."

Stacy Horn created the Echo virtual community in 1989, a "Bizarro 'Our

¹⁹ Like the suburbs, they are also home to discontent. Spinelli dismisses the WELL: San Francisco's WELL is a typical fee-based access provider, but promoted itself as a community since it launched in 1985. But "...the communal feeling did not grow out of shared interests, but was formed by bribes, discount prices and contrived social interaction: (Spinelli 2000: 275-76).

Town.” His book *Cyberville* is a description of this community as a real, vital space located away from the mainstream AOL and Compuserve “malls,” where “If you like the place, you either resolve the conflicts or learn to live with them. Online, we rediscover how societies are built and how they hold together. Every virtual community has its town cranks and drunks, psychos and saints, good girls, bad girls, good guys, bad guys -- if it's out there, it's in here” (Horn 1998: 9-10). He describes his community as distinct, as are others like the WELL, and notes that while members of one group may visit another, they tend to stay in the group that makes them the most comfortable, and they are very faithful subscribers.

He notes, tellingly for the whole of cyberspace, that “the first thing we do when we get online is recreate the world as we have always known it” (Horn 1998: 10). Echo is unique in being a local service, so subscribers often get together offline, and this makes for a stronger cybercommunity.

John Barlow talks about the WELL (Whole Earth ‘Lectronic Link) for Deadheads in the late 80s, a place where thousands of “Deadheads in community” were “gossiping, complaining, comforting and harassing each other, bartering, engaging in religion, beginning and ending love affairs, praying for one another’s sick kids. There was, it seemed, everything one might find going on in a small town, save dragging Main Street and making out on the back roads” (1998: 165).

As vital as this community seemed, being rooted in the real phenomenon that is the Deadhead community, Barlow found there to be a lot missing, *prāṇā*

(Sanskrit for breath and spirit) being one. He describes *prāṇā* as “the literally vital element in the body and unseen ecology of relationship, the dense mesh of invisible life, on whose surface carbon-based life floats like a thin film.” He lists other missing things as “body language, sex, death, tone of voice, clothing, appearance, weather, violence, vegetation, wildlife, pets, architecture, music, smells, sunlight, and that good ‘ol harvest moon. In short, most of the things that make life real to me” (1998: 166).

Horn argues back: “If there is no *prāṇā* in cyberspace, where does it go? I don’t feel as if I am having an out-of-body experience when I’m online... here I am online, goodbye *prāṇā* ... At what point was I separated from my *prāṇā*?”. There is no “here’s real life and here is virtual life” or here is *prāṇā* and here is no-*prāṇā*. “Cyberspace exists in the connections. Between people. Who have life and *prāṇā*... It takes time, what is exchanged online: the lives that meet, cross, connect, explode, the loves, the babies where there were no babies, the friendships, jobs, companies -- where is *prāṇā*, where is *prāṇā* not? I tell you, cyberspace is packed with *prāṇā*” (Horn 1998: 46).

“Unquestionably, it seems that virtual interactions are real, they take place between real people. In making this conclusion, I feel it necessary to distance myself from Baudrillard’s hyperreality (1994), which is often so inextricable from discussions about cyberspace. First and foremost, the interactions between people within cyberspace are real, and — accepting a poststructuralist critique — therefore, not in the language of image and referent” (Miah 2000: 220).

Cyberspace entities can be seen as transhuman, or Creolized, or

multilocal. Creolization being “the process by which new cultural structures/processes or “structurations” (Giddens 1987) develop into complex dialectic unities out of the interactions of diverse cultural traditions;” social groups participating in the development of something distinct from both, although drawing on both traditions (Hakken 1999: 84, 87). Multilocal implies both the local (at home) and the local culture or milieu of the MUD, or the listserv. The Seventh Fire Prophecy, calling for an alliance of Native and non-Native perspectives to form a balanced circle, as well as calling for the maintenance of physical and local distinctiveness, can be seen in both the process of creolization and multilocal discourses.

Just as in the discursive production of selves, in cyberspace we are what we talk about, also how we talk. Notes Horn: “There is a virtual accent which is unmistakable. New Yorkers have a different style of communicating, regardless of where they happen to be, and they talk about different things” (Horn 1998: 8). Native chat groups and listservs also have their own tone and agenda. These are apart from the commercial face of cyberspace: “To understand the dynamics of communities in cyberspace, we need to recognize their differences from social relations with intimates, on the one hand, and macro-social relations, like economic dependence, on the other” (Hakken 1999: 94).

Cyberspace is becoming itself a home, within our homes, as we commune and work from our dwellings. “We may even now be in the first stages of a process of social collectivization that will over time all but vanquish the ideal of the isolated individual... we increasingly accept the transparency of a life lived

within a set of systems, electronic or otherwise... We are already captive in our Webs. Our slight solitudes are transected by codes, wires, pulsations... We will bring our terminals, our modems, and menus further and further into our former privacies; we will implicate ourselves by degree in the unitary life, and there may come a day when we no longer remember that there was any other life" (Birkerts 1998: 320-21).

Cyberspace is many communities, types of cultures, a workplace and playspace with "real" repercussions, and an evolving connection of people. This is a world not of "disembodied (disembedded) consciousness having access to the sum total of human information, but of myriad acronyms, corporate rivalries and gradually growing sources of information and opportunities to communicate with other humans" (Jordan 1999: 55). It grew from military to academic communications, from free discourse via freenets and mailing lists to wild west gambling and porn shows, a real free-for-all, but now corporate phenomena such as Knowledge Economy, e-commerce, business-to-business (B2B) and dot-com commercial culture are prevailing. Despite the recent dot-com meltdown, the inability of ventures such as amazon.com and yahoo to generate a profit, and the failure of the least successful ventures such as free Internet Service Providers (ISPs) which were designed to live on paid advertising, cyberspace is now a virtual billboard along the infoway — the advertising and commercial intent is everywhere on the Web.

If we live in the forest or grew up in the bush, we are now meeting by the infohighway, in cyberspace, where the local meets the unknown. "Cyberspace is

much more than just web sites and discussion rooms. It will profoundly affect our business and social lives. Companies and other institutions will be decomposed and recomposed, with new power structures... A much more efficient economy will come at the cost of us having to get used to very rapid change. Stability is history" (Pearson 2000: 87).

1.2 White Collar Web

There is a trend toward exclusion in cyberspace, what is commonly referred to as the 'digital divide:' "Inequitable distribution of resources has generated an information gap that propels those with the greatest access to information and communication technologies far ahead of other members of society... Internet resources have exponentially increased this rift (in that it) requires extensive economic, technological and knowledge-based resources (which) far exceed the reach of lower middle-class or impoverished citizens in the United States" (and Canada) (Carrier 1998: 157).

In 2001 Cycle 14 of the General Social Survey (GSS) was released, the first cycle to collect detailed information on individuals' use of technology in Canada, using a telephone survey and a representative sample of 25,090 respondents aged 15 and over. It found a great leap in numbers of people using the Net, but also found that there was an economic "digital divide" persisting. In 1994, approximately 18% of Canadians were using the Internet, and that number rose to 53% in 2000, with the majority (61%) spending 1-7 hours per week in

cyberspace, from home or work.²⁰

But the Cycle also found that “Internet users differ from non-users in average age, education, and income. Non-users of the Internet are more likely to be older individuals, and are more likely to have less education and lower household income than Internet users.” They are also more likely to be women, Francophones, or “living in rural Canada” (as is some 50% of the Native population, as will be shown later). “When non-users were asked to identify the greatest barrier that keeps them from using the Internet, cost was cited by the largest percentage of people. Lack of access to computers or the Internet was the second most often cited barrier” (Dryburgh 2001: 4).

At the same time, “the same enhancements that have made Internet reception and searches easier” have caused Internet publishing, and the realm of information control, to become technically more complex and exclusive. Web creating, or just keeping current with Web tools and advances, requires nearly continuous learning, and “only the most sophisticated users can keep up with cutting-edge publication capabilities on the Internet” (Carrier 1998: 160-61).

It could be called the White Collar Web. Its culture is largely American-defined and driven. Some 90% of Internet hosts exist in English-speaking countries. “The Internet may be in the process of internationalization, but it remains blatantly American in its social rhetoric and values” (Lockard 1997: 222), meaning that the consumer society is being faithfully reproduced on the Web, as

²⁰ An Ipsos-Reid survey released in December 2002 found that the U.S. has the highest incidence of Internet usage with 72% of the population going online once within the previous month, followed by Canada with the second highest Internet penetration rate of 62%. At http://www.nua.ie/surveys/index.cgi?f=VS&art_id=905358657&rel=true.

the Internet itself becomes increasingly commodified, and class ruled. There may be “little to separate the celebration of cybermachines from the then-progressive nineteenth-century infatuation with machines as the realization of human liberation” (which led to industrial slavery) (1997: 230).

A count of host computers (IP addresses) conducted by Network Wizardsⁱⁱ in July 1998 showed almost 37 million Internet hosts. According to the survey, 71% of the hosts were in three countries (the U.S. and NAFTA partners), 20% in Europe, 5.5% in Japan and SE Asia and 2.6% in Australia and New Zealand.²¹ Central Asia, all of Africa and South America each came in at less than 1% (Jordan 1999: 49-51). More recently, according to NUA, a Net statistics institute that monitors a number of sources, the world’s Net users totaled 600 million in September 2002, and over 95% were in North America, Europe, and Asia/Pacific (mainly Japan and China); South America had less than 5% and Africa and the Middle East still accounted for less than 1% of users each.ⁱⁱⁱ

Of these last few places: “In countries where children are dying of starvation, where there is little or no health care and no clean water, it borders on the obscene to talk about the pressing need for information infrastructure” (Spender 1998: 267). Nonetheless, the U.S. has committed \$15-million toward getting sub-Saharan Africa, the “least connected place on earth,” on the Net. The problem lies in the phone lines: There are some 150-million phone lines, or one

²¹ Similar figures emerge in a survey by research firm eTForecasts, which predicts that Net users will surpass 665 million in 2003. As of December 2002, “the US has over 160 million Internet users, making it the most online nation in the world. Japan follows with 64.8 million users, while China has 54.5 million. Rounding out the top five online nations in terms of users are Germany and the UK with 30.3 million and 27.1 million users respectively.” The research company also forecasts that the worldwide number of Internet users will top one billion by 2005. At http://www.nua.ie/surveys/index.cgi?f=VS&art_id=905358638&rel=true.

for every 1.67 people in America; in Africa, the figures run from one phone line for every 217-800 people, city or rural (O'Connor 1998: 272). It probably remains for the wireless revolution to rescue Africa and other parts of the world; the fibreoptic, copper wire and network routing infrastructure found in North America could not exist in places where electricity is a luxury.²²

In the beginning cyberspace was largely populated "by white males under 50 with plenty of computer terminal time, great typing skills, high math SATs, strongly held opinions on just about everything, and an excruciating face-to-face shyness, especially with the opposite sex" (Barlow 1998: 167). This last reference is not as gratuitous as it may seem, given an upcoming look at gender online. And while WASPs still account for a large presence on the Web, women and minorities are gaining ground, and youth is taking over. According to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in September 2001, 66% of Americans were using computers, and children and teenagers were using computers and the Internet more than any other age group: "Ninety percent of children between the ages of 5 and 17 (or 48 million) now use computers; Seventy-five percent of 14-17 year olds and 65 percent of 10-13 year olds use the Internet" (Evans 2002: 7).

But although the cyberpunk movement (hackers, civil libertarians, dreamers and others) can be seen as a "site of public dissent against

²² In most parts of Africa the ratio of phone lines per users ranges from one to a hundred to one line per thousand users. There is also a marked lack of Internet infrastructure, stalled partly by the fact that "the likelihood that the Internet would undermine state control made its adoption especially undesirable in Africa's autocratic contexts... where government participation in the construction of infrastructure is not yet negotiable" (Olorunnisola 2000: 47). It is easy to be pessimistic about the potential of African countries to become players in cyberspace. Experts "foresee the continued dominance of the West and a continuation of operations after the distribution patterns of economic and military power structures that will widen the gap between

technology-based surveillance and the commodification,” as an “anti-establishment” movement, it “is itself elitist” (Bromberg 1998: 34). Young white males with above average incomes are running the show. Most Net users have college degrees; high school diploma holders, the largest percentage of the population, have least access.

In the U.S., adults (age 25 and above) with education beyond college are the most likely to be both computer and Internet users, approaching 90% of that population in 2001. “At the opposite end of the spectrum are those adults whose highest level of education is less than high school. In September 2001, the computer use rate for the latter was 17% and the Internet use rate was 12.8%” (Evans 2002: 23).

In the same survey, the computer use rates were highest for Asian American and Pacific Islanders (71.2%) and Whites (70%). Among Blacks, 55.7% were computer users. Almost half of Hispanics (48.8%) were computer users. In 2001, Internet use among Whites and Asian American and Pacific Islanders hovered around 60%, while Internet use rates for Blacks (39.8%) and Hispanics (31.6%) trailed behind (Evans 2002: 27).²³

the North and the South... Fortunately, new technologies (will) allow leapfrogging without the construction of elaborate infrastructure” (2000: 65).

²³ Using surveys conducted in Carolina and Indiana in 1998, Erik Bucy showed that income and education were primary social determinants of online access. Internet use was lowest among single mothers, “members of lower socioeconomic groups” and older respondents (2000: 50). The issues are both technical (equipment) and social (training) access. “Though it might appear that physical access is the main impediment to expanded Internet use, other factors, particularly computer and print media literacy, could be equally influential” (2000: 54). Race per se was not a factor in either state — both “White” and “Minority” respondents show similar rates of Net usage. The two dominant variables are income and education: in both categories, respondents at the upper Y axis were twice as likely to regularly access the Net, in the categories “1-3 Days” and “4-7 Days” per week.

Far from being the “Great Equalizer,” a metaphor that “contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of the status quo,” the Internet “serves only to equalize differences among young, college-educated, middle-class, white males” (Wolf 1998: 30). Although Asian Americans may have a high penetration rate in cyberspace, they are still a small minority compared to the WASP population.

In “Black Liberation and the Internet,” Colin Beckles says that we are witnessing “a reconstruction of power along class and race lines” in cyberspace. Internet polls consistently show that African Americans comprise less than 5%, and people of African origin some .05%, of total Net users, and “absence from cyberspace will lead to further exclusion and isolation from a future center of the world’s social and economic power” (Beckles 2001: 311-312).

Beckles argues that Pan-African websites of resistance should be used to produce and archive “Black counter-hegemonic discourse,” organize the black community, network with similar sites and control/own their own Web space. He argues for “Black information gateways” (such as the Universal Black Pages and the Black Information Network Homepage) to organize and disseminate information, as mainstream portals such as Yahoo serve the “White global community” (2001: 313).

He complains that Alta Vista contains some two million references to black power, but of the first 100 most are “referring to such things as the Black Hills Power and Light Project or Black and Decker power tools” (2001: 314). He argues that African Americans must own their own infrastructure (such as ISPs) and provide community-based training and organizations (such as the

Empowerment Network at www.tonybrown.com which seeks to mobilize black “cyber-leaders” and tech mentors) (322-323).

There is also an emerging group of expatriate Africans who have ready Net access and ability. “African emigrants to the west are predominantly educated elites,” professionals and students. They are “constructing virtual national communities through the use of electronic mail, a myriad of websites devoted to ethnic, professional and national content” (Olorunnisola 2000: 54-57). They are part of an emerging, reflexive, macroscopic “network of networks” that include African and western media — content providers increasingly use local (back home) media and the media in turn draws on developments on the Internet (2000: 61).

Overall, low-income non-whites are still excluded, as Carstarphen observes: “Cyberphilosophers tout the Internet as the ultimate egalitarian gathering place” where race is ignored as a liberal, graceful gesture, but there is a “tyranny of a canon of ideas that excludes other cultural participants” (1998: 124-25). There is also a tyranny of capital and investment.

“As the Information Age progresses, access to communication technologies and resources will become increasingly important in determining social boundaries...there is evidence that this distribution continues to become more unequal, resulting in a small information elite” (Carrier 1998: 165-66).

“Cyberspace is an expensive space. True believers who tout the Internet as democracy realized, as an electronic town hall meeting, live with class blinders in a muddle of self-delusion” (Lockard 1997: 220). He argues that as

lower-end technologies become universally affordable, they are discontinued in favor of new, expensive technologies, so that the tools always remain out of the hands of the lower classes. Leading-edge technologies will always be privileged in the “search for profitability” (1997: 221).

Earlier we visited the WELL, a virtual community “based securely within global structures of power: overwhelmingly white, upper middle class, and technocratic.” In her examination of expatriate Nigerian listservs, Bastian concluded that “Naijanet (the first such list, and like most others) exists at the sufferance of MIT or other educational networks, and its membership is mobile and part of a racial subgroup that has not, historically, been the most successful in the west... These differences may not matter as much on a medium that gives priority to literacy—and even hypertextuality—over body type (whether interpreted racially, by sexuality, or by morphology).” But she still agrees that future access to the “information superhighway” may not be maintained: “What will happen when (or if) marginalized communities come more firmly under the domination of the “owners” of gigabits of memory, satellite telecommunications, and undersea fiber optics cables strung around whole continents?” (1999: 38-39).

Still, David Elkins argues that IT and the globalized world will not foster homogeneity (and assimilation), rather “technology is empowering. We’re not forced to be what we were before in terms of our identities because we’re no longer bound by the restrictions of distance in the way we once were.” Elkins sees an “unbundling” of the power of nation-states in favour of “non-territorial

organizations and identities” through the Net, creating “a century of individualism in which multiple loyalties and identities enhance personal freedom because they are based on membership in communities of your own choosing.” He goes on to say that “the more extensive the globalization, and by definition the wider the awareness of diverse communities available, the greater the support an individual’s community of choice can offer to that uniqueness” (in Sibley 1998: D8-D9).

1.3 Gender Online

Working with a number of survey sources, Jordan shows that gender balance has changed over time. While some 95% of Net users were male in the early 90s, the ratio has changed to a 60-40 balance, with some surveys showing women comprising more like 50% of Net users. Age has been more constant, with 30-40% of users under 30, and an average age of 35. Race is also a constant, with whites making up 90% of the Net population. Occupational surveys are somewhat conflicting, but show that the vast majority of users are in managerial or technology related work, and manual or semi-skilled workers are barely represented (Jordan 1999: 51-53).

Women are online in numbers almost equal to men. Much of the literature on gender in cyberspace relates to the problem of reproducing society at large (and its attitudes) on the Net. Sherry Turkle, who spent years online in MUDs, realized that we recreate our worlds in cyberspace, and “from my earliest efforts to construct an online persona, it occurred to me that being a virtual man might

be more comfortable than being a virtual woman" (Turkle 1995: 210). Poster points out that "The disadvantages of women in society carry over into the 'virtual communities' on the Internet: women are under-represented in these electronic places and are subjected to various forms of harassment and sexual abuse. The fact that sexual identities are self-designated does not in itself eliminate the annoyances and the hurts of patriarchy" (Poster 1997: 212).

On being harassed by young males in chat rooms, penning thoughts such as "Cockle Doodle DOOO" and "Can we undress?," Barbara Ehrenreich asks: "Everyone wants to protect the children from the online kiddie-porn creeps, but who's going to protect us from the children?" (Ehrenreich 1998: 80).

Julian Dibble describes a "rape in cyberspace" which occurred at the LambdaMOO MUD, where an "evil clown, two wizards and a cast of dozens turned a database into a society" in which a woman was assaulted by unwanted and untoward messages, resulting in the "rapist" being barred from the group and the victim calling for his "virtual castration" (1998: 83, 86-87; Turkle 1998).

In a not uncommon role reversal, Jesse Kornbluth writes about taking the identity "MsTerious" and learning to become "open and empathetic" so as to be believable online. His online gender experiment led to a fight with another "woman" over a man in the chat rooms, much confusion and animosity, and Kornbluth being called a "slut," "harlot" and "hussy" by his online competitor (1998: 77-79).

Gays and lesbians, virtual cross-dressers and others are finding a home in the anonymity online, and are well reviewed in the journals, although numbers are hard to come by.

Charlene Blair argues that role flexibility on the Net can be empowering to women, because “discourse carries with it the stigma of gender” but by “mastering a neutered discourse” or “re-examining her own (gender) to eliminate its weaknesses and play on its strengths” women can learn more about themselves and others in cyberspace (1998: 214). There is an argument that the lack of these social cues and the “lack of hierarchy in the structure of the Internet” provide the potential for equality in cyberspace. Many studies have shown, though, that the issues of power in cyberspace are similar to the issues of power in physical space. In an analysis of two feminist newsgroups, one researcher found that “sarcastic questioning, strong assertions, accusatory disagreements, and sexist comments can create a hostile and noninclusive ethos” in groups supposedly devoted to feminist ideals (Fredrick 1999, also see Ward 1999). Gender roles and relations online are shaped partly by the WASPish tendency of the Web, partly by possibilities of anonymity, but largely by the social milieu from which they originate. This is a major study in itself.

Net users now have a clear and largely stable demographic profile, with the sole exception over some uncertainty over whether gender equality lies in the future. Although women may comprise 50% of Net users, for example, recent studies in Canada show that women lag far behind men in economic cyberspace activities such as online day-trading (*Silicon Valley NORTH* Dec. 2000).

1.4 Powers that Be in Cyberspace

Technopower in cyberspace is governed by the ever increasing reliance by users on technological tools that time after time appear as neutrally pointing the way to greater management of information, but time after time result in different forms of information constituted by values inherent in the tools that can never satisfy the abstract need for information.

The direction of technopower in cyberspace is towards greater elaboration of technological tools to more people who have less ability to understand the nature of those tools. Control of the possibilities for life in cyberspace is delivered, through this spiral, to those with expertise in the increasingly complex software hardware needed to constitute the tools that allow individual users to create virtual lives and societies. (Jordan 1999: 128)

The author does not imply that every mechanic is a powerful individual because of his knowledge, nor is every programmer working in Kanata or Silicon Valley; they might be seen largely as “cogs in the corporate or government wheels rather than as powerful individuals” (Jordan 1999: 130). If there is a social fabric to cyberspace then there is an elite, and “pressures partly generated by the politics that empowers individuals also fuels a spiral of technopower that also offers this elite greater control over the social fabric of cyberspace, even as it provides individuals with ever greater ease of use” (1999: 144).

Jordan sees “cyberpower” as being “the form of power that structures culture and politics in cyberspace,” consisting of individual avatars and virtual hierarchies, a possession of individuals; the social dominance of the technopower spiral and the “information space of flows and results (between online and offline) in the virtual elite;” and a cyberpower of the imagination which

“consists of the utopia and dystopia that make up the virtual imaginary: Power here appears as the constituent of social order” in cyberspace (1999: 208).

In their book *Cyberfutures: Culture and Politics on the Information Highway*, Sardar and Ravetz predict: “Cybertechnology is a runaway state as well as being the *raison d’être* of state. The future will be shaped by two kinds of generations, one experiencing ever more intoxicating powers, while the other a deeper and deeper hopelessness” (1997: 7).

Cyberspace can be seen to be “a conscious reflection of the deepest desires... of Western man (for colonization). It is resolutely being designed as a new market and it is an emphatic product of the culture, world-view and technology of Western civilization. That it is a ‘new frontier’ and a ‘new continent’ being claimed from some unknown wilderness” like North America... is quite evident from how the conquest of cyberspace is described by many of its champions”... it has now become what Howard Rheingold calls a “manufactured and metered commodity” (Sardar 1997: 16). Put another way, “Cyberspace is social engineering of the worst kind. Those who have made cyberspace inevitable have shaped its datascape with their subconscious perceptions and prejudices, conscious fantasies and fears — all of them pulled out from the dark well of colonial projections: (Sardar 1997: 38).

“In many respects, the recent expansion of the Internet retraces the geography of Europe’s first colonization of the globe from the late 15th century onwards. Are these new forms of electronic communication a continuation of capitalism’s inexorable expansion, or are they symptomatic of a new ‘media age’

that is qualitatively distinct?" There are correlations "between the 'rich trade' of early colonialism and some of the uses of the Internet," but also "implications for forms of cultural life, and for new modes of resistance to domination" (Hall 1999: 39).

It could also be argued that the new avatars of cyberspace could hold true to some founding ideals of the Internet, such as equality of access (if only among themselves), and some N-Gen concepts such as shared distribution ("N-Geners" (Tapscott 1998) are those under 25, the Net generation). These avatars value their privacy; they are a potent antidote to the tendency of corporations and government to intrude on our cyberspaces and our lives.

In "The Netizen, Birth of a Digital Nation" Jon Katz writes:

Cyberspace constitutes a new social class. Its citizens are young, educated, affluent. They inhabit wired institutions and industries — universities, computer and telecom companies, Wall Street and financial outfits, the media... They are predominantly male, although female citizens are joining in enormous — and increasingly equal — numbers... they have almost unhindered access to the world's information.

As a result, their values are constantly evolving. Unlike rigid political ideologies that have ruled America for decades, the ideas of the postpolitical young remain fluid... they tend to be libertarian, materialistic, tolerant, rational, technologically adept, disconnected from conventional political organizations... and from narrow labels like liberal or conservative. They are not politically correct, rejecting dogma in favor of sorting through issues individually, preferring discussion to platforms... This is a culture founded on those of individuality, not leadership. Information flows laterally — from many to many — a structure that works against the creation of leaders. (1998: 217-18).

He goes on to point out, optimistically, that “here is a growing élite in control of the most powerful communication infrastructure ever assembled... If they choose to form a political movement, they could someday run the world. If they chose to develop a common value system, with a moral ideology and a humane agenda, they might even do the world some good” (1998: 224).

As it stands today, however, we are simply being observed by the powers that be. Froomkin describes the rapid deployment of privacy-destroying technologies by governments and businesses which threatens to make informational privacy obsolete. These include: routine collection of transactional data, growing automated surveillance in public places, deployment of facial recognition technology and other biometrics, cell-phone tracking, vehicle tracking, satellite monitoring, workplace surveillance, Internet tracking from cookies to “clicktrails,” hardware-based identifiers, intellectual property-protecting “switchware,” and sense-enhanced searches that allow observers to see through everything from walls to clothes. “The cumulative and reinforcing effect of these technologies may make modern life completely visible and permeable to observers; there could be nowhere to hide (2000: 1461).

Privacy concerns have led many to resort to PGP encryption in messages, and using software to erase trails on the Net. There is still little academic literature on this. One story I heard ended up with RCMP knocking at someone’s door. As Jay Kinney points out: “PGP may enable you to exchange mail securely with a friend but it doesn’t help much if what you exchange is defined as illegal and your hard disk is seized” (1997: 148).

Cyberspace is a new “superpanopticon” of consumerism and social control, “more insidious to the extent that it is not understood” (Lyon 1994: 47). The “rationalized bureaucracy” (Weber) that manipulates media and culture can be identified (Microsoft, MSNBC, government, IBM or Pepsi), and as long as technocratic rationality rules as a systemic feature of cyberspace, any exchange among communities is filtered through the IT bureaucracy, and through the nature of the tools themselves.

1.5 Time and Space

A central focus of cyberspace is the locus of time and space, from Native concepts of time together with place to mainstream “disembedding” of traditions and “distanciation” of relations around the globe (Giddens) — tasks and routines ordered by artificial time, divorced from people and place (Internet banking and shopping, interest networks and listservs, long-distance wireless education and telehealth (now e-health)). Space and time and are being rearranged by globalization and technology, leaving behind those who traditionally take their time from the natural world (place). With IT and the Net, place and its historicity has largely been surpassed by the real-time time of telecom.

Giddens discusses how “coordination across time (through time zones) is the basis of the control of space,” that space today is being disassociated from actual “place” by relations fostered “locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction. In conditions of modernity, place becomes

increasingly phantasmagoric: that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social instances quite distant from them" (1990: 18-19).

Today with globalization and telecom, a new type of space is prevailing. "Post-modernity traffics in the contemporaneous and the simultaneous, in synchronic rather than diachronic time." Foucault argues that "we are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed" (in Kumar 1995: 146-147).

This world is now in cyberspace, and it has just arrived: Mosaic, the first successful graphic browser, was introduced in Jan. 93, and there were some 50 Web servers at the time. A year later, there were 5,000 and 100,000 the year after that. There could be a billion users on the Net by 2005.

On the Net, "the separate stories which are displayed along side one another express orderings of consequentiality typical of a time-space environment from which the hold of place has largely evaporated." This doesn't take us toward global unity; postmodern accounts of communications technologies frequently focus on "dispersal and fragmentation," for Baudrillard this new world of the "pure simulacra, of models, codes and digitality" means the passing of modernity "when history can no longer be seen as unilinear; it is just the past from a series of different viewpoints (Lyon 1994: 48-49)."

As we seem locked into time together on the Net (the "tyranny of the here and now" (Fulford 1998)), the post-Fordist IT system of measuring time is very different to that of the Native people who reckon time from the space around them, the earth and the stars. The unnatural and arbitrary timing systems of high

tech and infotech are removed from the thirteen moons of twenty-eight days each with twelve months of irregular lengths, and natural observable phenomena like the seasons are contrasted by the artificial idea of hours, minutes and weeks (and now down to digital seconds and fractions of thereof on the Net). Native identity, knowledge and time is also centered on place. Giddens observes that “all pre-modern societies always linked time with place,” and “no one could tell the time of day without reference to other socio-spatial markers” in a world where “when was almost universally connected with ‘where’ or identified by regular natural occurrences” (1990: 17). As Robert Dewdney points out: “...the speed of instant media gratification has collapsed our sense of time. McLuhan said that the electronic media had shrunk the world to a global village: however, media has shrunk not only space, but time, and they have shrunk cultural history to a timeless present, a media chronosphere that contains all eras” (Dewdney 1998: 15-16).

The locus of time and space is changing, from Native concepts of time together with place to mainstream “disembedding” of traditions and “distanciation” of relations around the globe (Giddens) — tasks and routines ordered by artificial time, divorced from people and place (Internet banking and shopping, interest networks and listservs, long-distance wireless education and telehealth (now e-health)). Space and time are being rearranged by globalization and technology, leaving behind those who traditionally take their time from the natural world (place). With IT and the Net, place and its historicity has largely been surpassed by the real-time time of telecom.

From first contact, the European arbitrary system of measuring time was very different to that of the Native people who reckoned time from the space around them, the earth and the stars. The unnatural and arbitrary timing systems of science and the church conflict with natural time, replacing thirteen moons of twenty-eight days each²⁴ with twelve months of irregular lengths, and natural observable phenomena like the seasons with the artificial idea of hours, minutes and weeks.²⁵

Today, Native time is still reckoned in terms of the thirteen lunar months of the solar year and the four seasons, and there are celebrations for every moon and season. Native identity, knowledge and time is also centred on place.²⁶ Wilf Peltier speaks of how one can never be "late" for anything, as we are always in the "right time" where we are and can only arrive when we are there in a place. We can be "over here" in the future or "over there" in the past, but we are always "on time" where we are with the world around us. Natural Native time, rooted in the place and

²⁴ Iroquois Moons include the Green Corn, Strawberries, Midwinter and The Grandmother Brings Fertility to Women. Anishnabek Moons include the Little Bears, Crusted Snow, Strawberry and Wild Rice. For more on the Anishnabek moons see Stone 1993: 70-72.

²⁵ "We (Native people) didn't know the difference between the Sabbath and those other six days. For us, every day of the week was sacred. We didn't have any weeks. Just sunshine and darkness. The flow of time to meet appointments with warmth and cold. The flow of life...our lives through seasons of fullness and plenty...periods of leanness and hunger" (Pelletier (Wawashkesh): 16). Today as well, "time does not control life (for Native people) as compared to Whites who seem to live by the clock" (Peltier 1975: 2).

²⁶ Céline Bellefleur says that "knowledge for the Montagnais people is a place." Innu "read" their territory and the plants and animals in it like a book, they hear the "languages" of the animals (in Diamond, Cronk and von Rosen 1995: 8), and judge time by these and other connections with the land.

"My people never knew or had any position in life except the face of the earth - stretching away from them in all directions forever. And they lived there laterally - on one level with each other and all things. They looked up only to trees and eagles... By reading our own footprints we could always tell where we had come from. In fact, we had no future. In our language, the closest word we had to future was sort of an arc or circle. Our going was part of the arc of a circle. So was our coming" (Pelletier (Wawashkesh): 11).

space around, is lived in the way ceremonies and gatherings²⁷ are conducted and individuals' ²⁸ days are ordered.

Cyberspace has taken concepts of time and space and mixed them, changed them, for mainstream society. Before the Net, the mainstream was still tied to 'artificial' time, clocks and watches, standard time. Natives before, and still, are more aware of the natural connections between time and place. There are two worlds, and worldviews, involved here.

If Natives can keep their connections to the land, to place, then cyberspace may become less of a life-altering experience. Rather, it can become simply another tool for expression, and for strengthening of communities.

1.6 Cybercommunities?

There are two separate aspects to globalization. At the top, and highly visible, there are hegemonic corporate linkages extending

²⁷ Norman Rosenthal, a researcher on Seasonal Affective Disorder (SAD) which is a depression brought about by the lack of daylight in winter, says that modern medical practitioners are beginning to re-discover the effects of the seasons (natural time) on people. For instance the observance of Christmas and Hanukkah is seasonal; a gathering at midwinter in the tradition of the Ancient Romans (Saturnalia) and also Native midwinter gatherings. "While older civilizations all viewed time as cyclical, a linear view of time has dominated (non-Native perspectives) since the 17th century, which is more in keeping with ideas about human progress" (Robin 1995: A1). "Unlike the future orientation of the 'Great Religions' tribal ideology emphasized that everything was good in its natural form - and should stay that way. For untold centuries the present was experienced as a continuation of the past, a perpetuation of the sacredness of life in all its manifestations" (Brasser 1987: 122).

²⁸ So-called "Indian time" is sometimes used as a reference to "indifference to promptness," but actually it "is based on an understanding of time which is often linked at the tribal level to language and structure." On an individual basis, it is "a need not to be filled with activity... Indian people know how to sit still and enjoy things, how to look even when there is nothing to see. Indians feel no compulsion to fill time with words. Words should not be substituted for meaning." When words are used in ceremony or storytelling, "all time is fused into one, with no past, present and future. The same may be said of the dance at powwows." This view of time is also linked to the individual freedom of Native people, allowing for as much free time as possible for creation and realization of one's own potential, which is then shared with the group as part of each individual's "autonomy and responsibility" (Young 1981: 345-346).

'transworld' within the capitalist financial situation and creating *megamergers*. But at the bottom equally expansive and inclusive communications linkages are emerging and creating *coalitions* (Hackenberg 2000: 365).

And we now make our livings largely in cyberspace, at home, both together. This is where the meeting of places becomes physical, where the paycheques come: "The merger between the Internet, corporate and co-operative networks introduced changes in all three. This must be kept in mind when assessing the nature of cyberspace that develops with the Internet: (Jordan 1999: 45).

Cyberspace is becoming itself a home, within our homes, as we commune and work from our dwellings. "We may even now be in the first stages of a process of social collectivization that will over time all but vanquish the ideal of the isolated individual... we increasingly accept the transparency of a life lived within a set of systems, electronic or otherwise..." (Birkerts 1998: 320-21).

This sharing and distribution is also part of the trend toward distinct and free cybercommunities on the Internet. First Nations and other users of the Net have at least two out of three of Foucault's "three great variables," those being "territory, communication and speed" (1984: 244). It was the technology of the horse that enabled the Plains Indians to become the finest survivors, and light cavalry, of their day and place.

Natives in Chiapas, Mexico used the Net to publicize their plight almost a decade ago, when they were under attack by government forces. "The success of Internet organizing in southern Mexico is due to the constant and reciprocal

connections between cyberspace and other social spaces, which avoided the restriction of events to a contained space and scale" (Froehling 1997: 291).²⁹

"If the conquest of the Americas furnished the Spaniards with a charter for conquest and colonization, the enthusiasts of cyberspace point... to the Americas as the site for new forms of resistance to global capitalism, as the originary point from which a truly new world order can be envisioned... The laboratories and universities of the United States may have seeded the script for the cyberspace revolution, but it was enacted in the relatively remoter areas of Mexico, when the Zapatista National Liberation Army led the people of Chiapas to an insurrection on New Year's Day 1994" (Lal 1999: 139).

The Zapatistas held six towns, forcing the government to the negotiating table by using an international media campaign using a "new element of revolutionary warfare," the Internet. Mexico's foreign minister Jose Angel Gurria observed that after initial shots were fired, for 15 months 'the war has been a war of ink, of written word, a war on the Internet,' and the commander of the Zapatistas declared that 'one space... so new that no one thought a guerilla could turn to it, is the information superhighway... It was a territory not occupied by anybody'" (ibid.).

The irony of this victory is in the threat and promise of cyberspace together, the Trickster: "Though the activists who staged the marvelous demonstration against the World Trade Organization in November 1999... were summoned to Seattle by messages widely dispersed on the Internet, it is doubtful

²⁹ This is also a connection sought in repressive or dictatorial regimes. "In Slovenia, people who answer opinion polls perceive the Internet as the main information medium, over TV, radio,

that these activists, buoyed by their Internet successes, have reflected sufficiently on the ironic fact that the Internet is avowedly the most expressive realization of that very idea of 'globalization' against which they militate" (Lal 1999: 140). This may not be as ironic as it seems: The Spanish introduction of the horse to the Americas foreshadowed the colonizing imperative which followed, but at the same time, Plains Indians gained the speed and communication they needed to form alliances, and to resist and evade the colonizers.

Invoking the ghost of Joe Hill, founder of the International Workers of the World movement of the early 20th century, a huge recruitment and organizational network at grassroots level, Hackenberg describes the "nonhegemonic, globalized, Internet-connected coalition" that organized against "exploited labor" by Nike, the Chinese and other governments (2000: 368). Newland notes that "The driving force behind these campaigns has been a diverse coalition composed of organized labor, nonunion workers, activist lawyers, human rights groups, foundations, academics and even celebrities... Aided largely by the same forces driving economic globalization, particularly the revolution in information technology, these transnational networks have the potential for enormous reach and impact" (1999: 60-62).

Hackenberg speculates: "Can we visualize, perhaps in the year 2025, a collective dream of One Big Union including 450,000 global assemblers of Nike sports apparel? Let me lead all you prospective participants, each a

superempowered individual applied anthropologist, in a chorus of 'Solidarity Forever'" (2000: 368).

Chiapas and Seattle, and the prospect of world union-organizing, demonstrate the power of the Net as an organizer, bringing together people from the margins.

The ability of Natives today to gain and broadcast information in cyberspace must be a concern to the Canadian government. Natives allying with others globally is potentialized by cyberspace, and officials have always found cross-border communications unsettling. "Often the Indian Affairs Officials believe that 'foreign influence' is generally responsible for problems it has with Indians. (In 1967, it was reported in the House of Commons that radio broadcasts from Cuba were causing the Prairie Indians to become restless about intolerable living conditions.) In 1916, it was the Germans" (Rarihokwats 1974).

As cyberspace gains the bandwidth to transport sound and video to more people, the "war on the Internet" will escalate: "The lowly handheld video camera (is) becoming instrumental in chronicling human-rights abuses in far-flung corners of the world that most mainstream media organizations have little or no inclination to cover for political, logistical or fiscal reasons."

In *Seeing Is Believing: Handicams, Human Rights and the News*, a documentary which aired on CBC Newsworld on November 3, 2002, the producers "track the efforts of fearless video activists around the globe, most notably the courageous, diminutive Joey Lozano, who arms indigenous tribes in the Philippines with handicams to chronicle the rights abuses they face on an

almost-daily basis in their contentious land claims with the government” (Boshra 2002).

Every new technology creates contradictory social possibilities for either oppression or emancipation. Camcorders can enhance personal freedom and civil rights by documenting abuses of power... or they can be a tool for institutional oppression - governments and corporations using video surveillance of citizens and workers... Nevertheless, ubiquitous camcorders seem to support a bottom-up democracy wherein individual citizens can police their governments but the government cannot use public surveillance, as effectively, to police their citizens” (Dewdney 1998: 43).

The democratizing power of camcorder technology will increase as high speed bandwidth becomes more accessible. “Decentralizing technologies — not just handycams, but wireless technology, the Internet — allows for communication and accountability to happen at a whole other level, and we think the potential for that is definitely a positive,” said Montréal film-makers Katerina Cizek and Peter Wintonick (the Carleton U journalism dropout who produced *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*)... “the mainstream media, perhaps out of necessity, share a symbiotic, often synergistic relationship with video activists” (ibid.)

After the program, Wintonick took part in a live online chat about the film as part of an ongoing Forum at www.seeingisbelieving.ca. One salient comment, pointing to the double-edged potential of camcorder and cyberspace communications, talks to this thesis:

The handheld camcorder becomes... a way of defending one's place. The Nakamata tribe's place is defended by a single camera, which tells (as Joey notes in the film) a story of its own. This narrative of images (just as myths have forever done) further solidifies the tribe's identity...

As we witness the proliferation of perspectives (if it is not unfair to say that until citizens have a 'voice' or 'eyes' they are not citizens at all), the fragmentation of identity-narratives becomes more obvious. This is, I think, a necessary step; these narratives can shackle human beings and prevent growth. But what ultimately will come from this tendency toward multiplicity, fragmentation? The resounding response is 'freedom'; a freedom to defend one's own place.

Is that possible for the Nakamata if they all have camcorders? Or do they cease, then, to be the Nakamata at all? One sustains one's own identity in part by 'differing' from the other. The subversive power of the camcorder is extraordinary. We wonder only what will remain unturned.^{iv}

This community activism is also community building. Gary Bunt examines the "Internet manifestations" of religious experience and symbols such as pilgrimage and mystical expression in Islam, noting that "numerous organizations and individuals are proactive in establishing a Web presence for Islam, utilizing the networking and dissemination possibilities of the medium" (2000: 127-128). A professor of Islamic studies, he established a Web guide to significant Net resources on Islam in 1996, beginning with 20 sites and ending up with over a hundred. Now he counts sites in the thousands, with new pages emerging daily, an "ever-changing bookshelf" on the Net. (2000: 128). A search on the term 'hajj' (the required Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca) produces tens of thousands of hits on major search engines, and Bunt shows how each site presents a different slice of the experience virtually, and how it is now possible for minority views in Islam to become "majority players" in cyberspace (2000: 140).

“‘Islamic authority’ as presented online can emanate with as much status from Swansea as from Mecca... (a) subversion of the traditional routes of knowledge and interpretation, together with the opening up of new global on-line audiences, meant that authorities in mosques and religious schools began to pay greater attention (to the Net)... religious scholars can now be found learning hypertext mark-up language alongside classical Arabic in Islamic institutions... endeavoring to present their worldviews on the Internet” as part of their ‘dawa,’ or promotion of Islam through ‘call’ or ‘invitation’ (Bunt 2000: 128). “The quest to attain global readership (Muslim and non-Muslim) and influence inevitably will see substantial investment — from governments and benefactors — into research and development of cyber-Islamic environments” (2000: 148).

Misty Bastian explores the virtual communities formed by an “educated segment of expatriate Nigeria,” engaged in trying to manufacture consensus about Nigeria's problems and find solutions to those problems, and discuss their own ambiguous position(s) in the membership of various transnational communities. “We should not be surprised to find that the technological tools of late modernity (and even postmodernity) are utilized to keep a contemporary diaspora like that of the Nigerian immigrants from complete fragmentation... At the same time, we should not be surprised to see that such a diaspora still contains its historically constituted internal divisions — or that those divisions do not disappear even in an idealized, or “virtual” space...” She goes on to argue that “in a place where discourse is relatively unmediated by the painful day-to-day material realities of life in West Africa, those divisions could be even more

clearly demarcated" (1999); this would also seem to be true of Native listservs we will visit, where distance and anonymity often make arguments (and flames) central to the landscape.

Tocqueville wrote in the 1830s that citizen associations are dependent on forums, through meeting halls and newspapers, each with their own advantages and disadvantages. Cyberspace embodies both: "Compared to the meeting hall, the Internet has fewer barriers of space, time and cost. Compared to newspapers, the Internet allows for far greater participation in many-to-many communications. By providing a new technology for forums, the Internet opens up new possibilities for citizen associations" (Klein 1999: 216). This has been described in Internet associations in Italy:

Les associations virtuelles aident les usagers à développer leur 'capitale sociale' de relations (géographiquement ou symboliques). Nous allons découvrir un nouveau flâneur, capable de compléter la dimension du jeu privé avec la sensibilité aux affaires civiques, la puissance souterrain et la 'démocratie virtuelle' (Dell'Aquila 2000: 67-68).

But it is not "utopianism," as forums on the Net do not take the place of face-to-face communications or broadcast media such as newspapers; also there is the fact that "at least in the near future, the Internet's democratic potential will be exploited by relatively elite groups of citizens with the money, access to technology, skills, and general education to use them" (Klein 1999: 219).

Like the horse, cyberspace may be the tool to allow Native expression; but like a Trojan Horse, it also suggests assimilation through its linear, English-

based, inaccessible (to the average Native in Canada) nature. When we turn to cyberspace, what do we leave behind? Can we be in both worlds at once, and how will the cyberworld change ours?

“The transhuman condition is liminal. We are constantly passing over thresholds in our perpetual state of transition through successive technologies. It seems that almost everything is simultaneously under construction and in use. The world of culture and technology has become a work-in-progress... On another level, we are accustomed to being works-in-progress ourselves... we are always in the state of renovation. Improvising solutions out of expediency is the essence of our existence. In that sense, traditional technologies mirror our natural state of being” (Dewdney 1998: 155-56).

It remains to be seen how much a real *Gemeinschaft* is possible in cyberspace, how cybercommunities might extend to traditional support obligations for kin and local communities. In the end, can people in cybercommunities ask for our time, food and money in a pinch? I think the Chiapas example demonstrates that the virtual can become physical, tangible aid. It may be true today that “real” or “grounded” communities are born amidst conflict and “must thrive among conflicting interests” while cybercommunities are founded more on the principle of exclusion (Lal 1999: 141), but as examples above and further examples to come will show, conflicting interests on the ground have moved to cyberspace, and exclusion is less and less possible there. Rather, as we will see, the real problems in cyberspace are in illusion, not so much exclusion.

As the Net evolves, we will be able to ask for more tangible community support, support that can exist beyond the services provided by the state, media and corporations, and the creators of cyberspace itself. As will be shown, cyberspace is already affecting things on the ground in 'real' communities everywhere, particularly in Native America.

1.7 — *Māyā*³⁰

The Net or cyberspace is not unlike Borges' "Library of Babel," which contains all possible books on all possible topics, and therefore the solutions (and false solutions) to all problems: "The Library is unlimited and cyclical. If an eternal traveller were to cross it in any direction, after centuries he would see that the same volumes were repeated in the same disorder (which, thus repeated, would be an order: the Order)" (1998: 298). The difference being, I suppose, that the process is now much faster, and has been brought home (cyberspace at home). "To get a sense of the rate at which the information labyrinth is growing, one need only try to grasp the fact that there are about a million new electronic pages add to the world wide web each day" (Harris 2000: 321).

Goh describes the "heterocosmic" non-linear narratives and text of Gibson (and cyberspace itself) as being "simultaneously positive and dystopian" (as opposed to classic or modern epic narrative, with chapters leading toward a

³⁰ This is another Sanscrit term, I use it in tandem with *prāṇā*, which we have already seen. *Māyā* is transitory and illusory, it is the manifold appearance of the observable world, which obscures the spiritual reality from which it originates. I use it here more as a concept of sheer illusion, the appearance or reality or worth where there is none.

conclusion). Cyberspace contributes to the proliferation of New Age cults and fantasies, as “texts to be consumed, even as they consume other fantasy (apocalyptic, millennarian, UFOlogic) texts... a more spectacular manifestation of postmodern society’s heterocosmic impulse. One might say that cultism is merely a form of postmodern narrative and lifestyle politics that chooses an ostensibly ‘religious’ packaging, although in its fundamental process, it has much more in common with electronic, print and visual heterocosmic narratives” (2000: 36).

Cyberspace is also becoming more commercial, and information become increasingly commodified, and directed at individuals. This is where cybercommunities give way to services, such as shopping at home for Xmas, day-trading dot-com stocks, inputting data, telephony with the boss overseas.

It is commercial, and it is shallow. The expression that the Internet is two miles wide and half an inch deep is true. Cyberspace today, like the earth when it was seen to be flat, is still largely a two-dimensional place — it can not see itself as we can globally today. It, like the lateral Indian worldview described by Wilf Peltier, does not pretend to know everything.

“There are seemingly ever-increasing means of searching cyberspace to find information or places, but they do not, even taken together, manage the information in cyberspace.” Taxonomy-based search engines such as Yahoo! fail to track sites that do not fit their categories (i.e. Society\Environment\Pollution) or misfile them; keyword-based SEs, using fuzzy logic, such as HotBot, can produce an overload of unrelated information. Information overload occurs as

there is too much information; entropy also sets in when one begins trying to sort it — a 1997 search on “information and overload” brought 45,910 hits on one SE and two on another (Jordan 1999: 118-119).

When you’re looking for something on the Internet, you generally ask a search engine, such as AltaVista or Yahoo, to find it for you. The engine checks the only websites it knows about, but “the average search engine actually searches less than 20% of all the sites on the Internet” (Chu 2000).

Still we are confronted with information overload, often considered the basic problem of the post-industrial, knowledge-based society. It is much like “surveying a huge smörgåsbord and crying *overload* because we can not eat it all” (Gardiner 1993). But there are two ways of looking at this overload: “In our outside-in education, in which being educated is viewed as stuffing oneself full of facts, we are overwhelmed by the fact that we could not even assimilate the contents of our local library in our lifetime. The inside-out teacher, who views education as growing from the inside out, welcomes our enriched environment... Beneath the pseudo-problem of information overload, however, there lurks a real problem of management of complexity” (Gardiner 1993).

Brewster Kahle is president of Alexa Internet in California, and has created the Internet Archive and the Wayback Machine, one of thousands of archives, search engines and databases being assembled today for academic or commercial purposes.^v The Internet Archive is building a digital library of Internet sites and other cultural artifacts, and offers free access (for now at least). A leading digerati since the early 80s, Kahle serves as archive director for the

Internet Archive, which is “about five times as large as the Library of Congress, with its 20 million books.”

In the Wayback Machine, currently there are 10 billion Web pages, collected over five years. That amounts to 100 terabytes, which is 100 million megabytes. So if a book is a megabyte, which is about what it is, and the Library of Congress has 20 million books, that's 20 terabytes. This is 100 terabytes. At that size, this is the largest database ever built. It's larger than Walmart's, American Express', the IRS. It's the largest database ever built. And it's receiving queries -- because every page request when people are surfing around is a query to this database -- at the rate of 200 queries per second. It's a fairly fast database engine. And it's built on commodity PCs, so we can do this cost-effectively. It's just using clusters of Linux machines and FreeBSD machines... Three hundred, we may be up to 400 machines now. (Kahle 2002)

Kahle is working to index and digitize the Library of Congress and other archives. His system, which uses digital “crawling machines” to dig for indexed data, is bringing the cost of data management and archiving down as the recorded data waiting for storage becomes more manageable.

Having the capital cost of equipment drop to effectively zero allows you to think bigger. You start thinking about the whole thing... “Let's go index every document in the world...” So if all books are 20 TBs, and 20 TBs are \$80,000, that's the Library of Congress. Then something big has changed. All music? It's tiny. It looks like there're only one million records that have been produced over the last century. That's tiny. All movies? All theatrical releases have been estimated at 100,000, and most of those from India. If you take all the rest of ephemeral films, that's on the order of a couple hundred thousand. It's just not that big. It allows you to start thinking about (indexing) the whole thing (Kahle 2002).

These are big promises. I have seen the Net move from a text-based,

black and white promise to an audiovisual multimedia feast for the masses (or certain of the masses). I have seen it used by academics, by interest groups in search of help and connectedness, and by corporations looking to control the flow of information.

I do not know many people who do not spend time there now. Cyberspace frees us from business hours, dependence on key individuals and places, from the media circus to a certain extent, and it allows us to imagine alternative realities and play them out to see if they work.

We certainly have bought into the promise of this new cyberland. But promise may be just that: On Nov. 1 2002, I searched the Wayback Machine with the term 'Native,' with 0 results. At the Internet Archive itself, I got 89 results, most to do with the project's archived films, and many were way off target, such as *Have I Told You Lately That I Love You?*... an "Imaginative film showing how automatic gadgets in homes and workplaces alienate people from one another...."

On Google, Yahoo and AltaVista, 'Native' listed 11 million, 28 (only twenty-eight) and just over nine million Web pages respectively. As with any search engine, what you get depends on how the data was indexed (tagged); search design is in the hands of the creator, not user. The virtual answer may not be as real as it seems.

It can be argued that there is a *māyā* to cyberspace, that all of us, regardless of background, are buying in to a created universe. Writing of Disneyland, (and no doubt cyberspace), Baudrillard says that "everything that

can be derived from the imagination has been caught, represented... made visual. Literally putting it on show for consumption without any metaphors is obviously a radical deterrent to the imaginary. Once again, utopia becomes reality" (Baudrillard 1993: 246). In cyberspace, these realities are being shaped by a design (metaphor) of indices, tags, and routes: instruments as roadmaps. Goh describes this as the "paradigm shift that has installed the proliferating and self-referential image or text as the model for social reality, rather than an insistence that the text is produced by a prior set of sociological factors somehow 'outside' of textuality" (2000: 22), what Baudrillard calls the "precession of simulacra" (1994).

Michael Heim's rather optimistic assessment of virtuality provides a contrast, and a warning, regarding the above: "A virtual world needs to be not-quite-real or it will lessen the pull on imagination. Something-less-than-real evokes our power of imaging and visualization" (1994: 133).

Disneyland, says Baudrillard, "is there to conceal the fact that it is the 'real' country, all of 'real' America, which is Disneyland," meaning that after Disneyland, places like Los Angeles shopping malls strike us as 'real,' although they are also re-creations (Poster 1988: 171-72). Turkle calls this the "culture of simulation" (1995: 234).

If cyberspace can be like Disneyland, it can also be like any "fabricated" city. Graphic designer Bruce Mau calls it "design culture," in which our environments are increasingly mediated by visual representations. "There are places still — and Canada is unusually rich in this regard — where you can go

and basically have an unmediated experience. But more and more, people don't go to these places. More and more, they go to places that are an extreme form of worlds that we are designing for ourselves everywhere. We don't think of Paris as a fabricated designed place... and more and more it's fabricated intentionally, with focus groups and marketing, so that we can actually calibrate the differentiation. So cities become involved in the production of difference" (Mau 2000).

As do cybercommunities, search engines, webpages. We are fascinated with the Web, and with our part in producing a difference in that world.

Baudrillard writes that "fascination is not dependent on meaning. It is proportional to the disaffection of meaning. It is obtained by neutralizing the message in favor of the medium" (*The Shadow of the Silent Majorities*). The media 'is something which... neutralizes meaning through an excess of diffusion... For example, the media multiply events, "pushing" the meaning — events no longer have their own space-time; they are immediately captured in universal diffusion, and there they lose their meanings, they lose their references and their time-space so that they are neutralized... *It all goes too quickly and too far, so that (sequences, events, messages) don't have time to return and reflect on themselves, hence to acquire a meaning...*' (in Gane 1993: 84).

This could be a description of cyberspace, a place Baudrillard has yet to explore directly, although his explorations of communications media all lead in that direction. The pace of cyberspace can also be seen in Baudrillard's "fascination:"

Fascination, in my opinion, is what attaches itself to what is disappearing. It is the disappearance of things that fascinates us. And for me the media are a place of disappearance. It is just as interesting as a place of production or a place of apparition. It is a place of disappearance; it is a place where meaning disappears, where significance, the message, the referent disappear. It is a way of making things circulate so quickly that they are made to disappear. And it fascinates us like a black hole (in Gane 1993: 85).

As William Gibson warned us many years ago: Cyberspace is “a consensual hallucination experienced daily by billions of legitimate operators, in every nation,,, A graphic representation of data abstracted from the bank of every computer in the human system. Unthinkable complexity. Lines of light ranged in the nonspace of the mind, clusters and constellations of data. Like city lights receding” (Gibson 1984: 67). Or as Kroker and Weinstein postulate, we will face the consequences of our flirtation with virtuality: “The next millennium spreads out before us like a fatal scene where things disappear only to the extent that they are more (virtually) present than ever before” (1994: 28).

We seem to be sitting by and watching — like cyber-vagabonds. Andre Lemos likens the Web surfer to Baudrillard’s characterization of the urban vagabond as a poet who appropriates and remakes the urban setting according to his needs.

Si marcher dans la ville est pour la flâneur une forme de (des)organiser l’espace urbain et imprimant ses marques personnelles, les cliques du cyber-flâneur sont une forme d’encouragement à la naissance d’une marque (écrire) non-linéaire indexée à des associations d’idées et de concepts...

Le cyber-flâneur, comme le flâneur, devient l’observateur qui regarde sans juger, qui cherche l’immersion et non pas la

compréhension, qui clique sans espoir dans des nouveaux espaces numériques” (2000: 87-88).

Surfers seeking immersion, not comprehension, partly enabled by the circularity of information imposed by cyberspace itself, an illusion of truth. Like sitting in the mall, watching the shoppers:

Les moralistes appelant cela le grand danger de se perdre dans l'excès d'information produit par cyberspace. Mais le cyber-flâneur ne se laisse pas intimider et essaye, sur la froide structure technocratique, de créer ses nouveaux territoires symboliques... contre les ordres de la technocratie du actuel e-business, le cyber-flâneur cherche son espace dans les mailles du cyberspace (Lemos 2000: 89).

Circularity in cyberspace follows the way of the modern media. As Bordieu points out, “No one reads as many newspapers as journalists... To know what to say, one must know what everyone else has said... This sort of game of mirrors reflecting one another produces a formidable effect of mental closure” (1996: 24), as does the multimedia news dominance of the Web today (canada.com, msnbc.com, cnn.com, aol). Watching stories evolve is part of the Web experience, from Chat Rooms to Newsgroups to CNN.³¹ This is where the original topic (let's say Y2K) is also 'made to disappear' into a circular system of media production.

The Y2K scare showed cyberspace to be a real, physical presence (at

³¹ Bordieu points to the small differences that occur between networks and newspapers as stories evolve; the task of journalists is to scoop each other or enhance the other's latest scoop, 'differences (that) completely bypass the average viewer, who could perceive them only by looking at several networks at the same time. But these differences, which go completely unnoticed by viewers, turn out to be very important to producers, who think that they are not only seen but (that they) boost ratings. Here is the hidden god of this (media) universe which governs

least with regards to the possibility of having lost it). It was a promoter, with the media, of a frenzy of information and misinformation, dialogue, debate and circularity (self-reference) to the point that it created real panic situations on the ground.

Some rather extreme survivalist movements came along. There were a growing number of advocates of survivalism and disaster preparedness in the face of Y2K. Bruce Beach, a retired computer science teacher, converted a 10,000 square foot bunker near Toronto and invited 500 people, via the Web, to join him. Fred Walter, who works at a computer firm near Waterloo, bought a hobby farm specifically to survive the Y2K. In the U.S., there were reports that manufacturers of freeze-dried food were cleaned out of their stocks, a rush that also hit Canada. In Calgary, one woman cleaned out one of the city's largest army surplus stores of all its Canadian Forces rations. Harvest Foodworks of Toledo, Ontario got hundreds of requests for its dehydrated entrées, mainly via the Internet from the U.S. There were hundreds of Y2K websites on the Net, and the largest carried some 500 new stories each day (Patterson 2001).

Filmmaker Michael Moore (*Bowling for Columbine*) comments on fear-building in the American media (partly through urban myths such as razor blades in Halloween apples): "Our state of panic and fear manifests itself on a personal level, and a global level... we're told to be afraid of everything... not the fact that we have 40 million people living in poverty... that's the real problem." On the mainstream press sites in cyberspace, "it's very hard to get coverage of what's really important or what's really going on (in the world) now" — we live in a state

of perpetual anxiety encouraged by the media (nightly news images of black men, sniper trucks, schools).³²

In the media and in cyberspace, the entire planet is changing and problematizing exponentially as the 'globalization of risk' described by Giddens continues as 'the expanding number of contingent events which affect everyone or at least large numbers of people on the planet' are made possible through cybercommunications (1990: 124). At the same time, "in the tyranny of the here and now" due to media and convergences and expansion of the arts, "a large part of North American society now lives exclusively in the present tense... (and) the vast expansion of the arts (and information) has made consensus much harder to achieve. It's not that we know so much more; it's that what each of us knows is different" (Fulford 1998: D8, D10).

In real spaces at the same time, "the body as a stage, the landscape as a stage, and time as a stage are slowly disappearing. The same holds true for the public space" (Baudrillard 1988: 19); we are all at home. Are "virtual communities a postmodern form of the spectacle — driving people (alone) indoors and making them think that virtual communities are real" (Foster 1997: 31) or allowing them to substitute virtual for human community? Baudrillard "sees electronic communication as part of the whole web of hyper-realistic illusion we've turned to, in our technologically stimulated flight from the breakdown of human communities" (Rheingold 1993: 225).

Heather Menzies describes "deepening societal alienation, as work and other social activities are increasingly disembodied from grounded, face-to-face

³² On *Oprah*, November 1, 2002.

contexts into asynchronous bit-actions, the tempo of which is driven by the lightning speed of global digital communication" (Menzies 2000: 75).

"Cyberspace is a particularly disembodied medium, a space of thoughts, ideas, and information communicated in words and images; it is not a place where our bodies participate. As such, cyberspace has the potential to further split our minds from our bodies, a cultural trajectory that is well-documented in Western culture," but there is also the argument that "if we approach cyberspace as part of a larger, integrated, sacred experience of the world, our perspective begins to change dramatically. In this context, cyberspace can enable us to expand and enrich our embodied spirituality," a theme hinted at by Turkle and others (Cobb 1999: 393).

More and more we multitask over our keyboards, in a multimedia environment. The music is digital: it is often harsh, with distorted upper partials of overtones delivering something akin to white noise. Rather than "enhanced music" from "natural artists," the digital sound we subject ourselves to is an unnatural creation (i.e. not natural and relating to the natural overtone series) and thus more a sign of music than music. The effects of our moving from analog to digital hearing environment, or mixing the two, should be an object of study, as so much of our experience rests on what we hear, and how we hear it.

Cyberspace fosters disembeddedness and disassociation from physical life and relations. I find this example, written to be a paean to the near future, quite chilling:

When you whistle a tune into the computer and ask it to score the melody for two violins, have it play back the score and then... add a new piano line, which you whistle over the violins, have that played back and listen for mistakes and then, finally, have the whole thing transcribed into hard copy to be faxed to your agent in Tokyo; when, as you are hiking through the mountains, you suddenly realize that the ending of a chapter in your novel would be better if you added a new scene, and you use your cellular phone to call your computer at home and discuss text changes with it while your computer, in word-processing mode, makes additional, helpful editorial suggestions... and then reads the piece back to you in marvelously modulated English (or French or Cantonese); when your purest, most creative flashes of insight and creativity are effortlessly translated into enhanced music, sculpture and prose, you will be one of a new breed of ('natural') artists (Dewdney 1998: 84-85).

This is somewhat obscene, like the recent TV commercial showing an artist painting the Rockies, superimposing a graph of a rising equity fund on the peak, and hiking back to his rustic retreat filled with artworks of mountains and rising equity. How are we ever to get out of cyberspace, once we get so deeply in? The facility described above is already here; everyone has a singing webpage, people in Infomercials are encouraged to share their thoughts (and make cash) on the Web.

Some experts are noticing that toddlers with computers are becoming hooked on the quick reaction time of the machines, that the "instant gratification" of children's software is creating aggressive behavior with a low threshold for frustration (Black 1998). Psychologist Robert Kraut found that the Internet "caused a decline in psychological well-being" in those already predisposed to depression, that the more they used the Net the worse they got, and that people's "physical interaction with friends and family members declined in direct

correspondence to how much time they spent online.” Kraut says “our hypothesis is that there are more cases where you are building shallow relationships, leading to an overall decline in feeling of connection to other people” (in Delves Broughton, 1998). There are articles now on the stresses of cybercommuting, the intrusion of cyberspace into our personal spaces 24/7. An examination of the literature, however, shows that “counter to the initial and widely publicized claim that Internet use causes depression and social isolation, the body of evidence is mainly to the contrary” (McKenna 2000: 57).

Cyberspace has potential, also, to help us — but must we submit to it like Capt. Picard did with the Borg?

Cyberspace, the ultimate writing/drawing space viewed as a mirror, can be used to create a conceptual self-portrait, a sort of expert system of oneself. The siliclone — that is, a silicon clone of oneself — is a primitive prototype (Gardiner 1987).

It can be represented as a HyperCard-based filing cabinet of one's favourite quotations, anecdotes, images, sources, and so on. Person-machine synergy can be explored as the appropriate division of labour between your natural intelligence and the artificial intelligence in this satellite brain. One vision of this division is that your siliclone focuses on storing content, setting you free to focus on putting content into context, and thus moving up a data-information-knowledge-understanding-wisdom hierarchy. This is how value will be added to raw data to generate wealth in our information society” (Gardiner 1993).

Māyā exists in the vast structure of the Net, and also in our own homes, as we sit and surf. On macro and micro levels, we are being fooled. Research into the real-life effects of our forays into this new territory are just beginning, and most of

it will focus on the fact that what we thought to be 'virtual' about cyberspace is, in fact, not true at all.

1.8 Conclusions

Cyberspace promises a new frontier, but it is built of old colonial bricks. A select group of people now have the power to manipulate information in cyberspace, a vast new territory that has become home to many of us. There are individual hackers and large corporations, both part of the new mainstream vehicle on the infohighway.

There is also room for marginal groups, such as Natives, on the sideroads and in the alleys, as will be shown. There is potential for cross-cultural communication, for political activism, for self-determination, as in Chiapas.³³

It is also possible that much will be lost, or misconstrued. There is much information, but also much mis(myth)information, as was shown in the sections Gender Online, Time and Space, and Māyā.

This māyā will be visited again later when we meet the Tricksters, Wannabes and Windegos in the new Native cyberterritory, as will the prānā to be found in places where the forest meets the highway, through an exchange between Two Worlds.

³³ Nelson Graburn points out that self-determination is the only way for "fourth world" cultures such as Natives in Canada to avoid assimilation. See Appendix B.

Chapter Two

Native Demographics, Timeline and Projections

In 1492, America became the meeting-ground of what were then the two most widely opposed ideologies on earth. Once there was contact with Europeans, Amerindians — because of their circular, non-evolutionist vision — saw the others as humans whose culture was undergoing degeneration and needed to be regenerated, while Europeans, because of their linear and evolutionist vision, saw Amerindians as a backward human type that must at all costs be forced into the European process of evolution and development (Sioui 1992: 100).

The Native population in Canada has gone from 100% of the total in 1497 to some 4.4% today, through a long history of attrition through disease (brought by the Europeans), assimilation and warfare. A population of perhaps 1 million in the 1600s was reduced to the hundreds of thousands by the 1800s. From there, it has been steadily growing, and estimates now put the population at over a million again (Statistics Canada 2003, Frideres 2001).

2.1 Disease and Defiance

Many sources chronicle the military and political colonization of Natives in Canada, but Native scholar Georges Sioui points out that disease, not the military, took the greatest toll on the Native population from the time of first contacts with the Europeans.³⁴ Based on work by William Robertson and Henry F. Dobyns, Sioui

³⁴ Syphilis is one disease that may be an exception. Some scientists argue that syphilis actually originated in the Americas and spread to Europe. Others argue that syphilis and the microorganism that causes it – *Treponema pallidum* – came into being in Europe. Some maintain that syphilis emerged on both continents independently. See "The History of Syphilis and Its

says that the Native population in North America dwindled from 18 million in 1497 to some 250-300,000 by 1900 (Sioui 1992: 3). The figures seem remarkable, but as Canadian estimates support, may not be too far out of line.

Native American immune systems were unprepared to fight smallpox and measles, malaria and yellow fever. In some cases, diseases were deliberately inflicted on Natives by the Europeans (in items such as boxes and blankets). Nonetheless, "the general health of Native Americans had apparently been deteriorating for centuries before 1492," and a recent study headed by Richard H. Steckel and Jerome C. Rose, *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*, shows that pre-Columbian Natives were suffering from declining health due to something that had already afflicted the European and Middle Eastern civilizations: the rise of agriculture.

Working with over 12,000 skeletons and seven basic indicators of chronic physical conditions, the researchers found a widespread decline in health "in large part to the rise of agriculture and urban living. People in South and Central America began domesticating crops more than 5,000 years ago, and the rise of cities there began more than 2,000 years ago. These were mixed blessings. Farming tended to limit the diversity of diets, and the congestion of towns and cities contributed to the rapid spread of disease... The more mobile, less densely settled populations were usually the healthiest pre-Columbians... Even so, in the simplest hunter-gatherer societies, few people survived past age 50. In the healthiest cultures in the 1,000 years before Columbus, a life span of no more than 35 years might be usual" (Wilford 2002).

The Iroquois and Wendat, more agrarian and settled, living in communal longhouses. were worst hit by disease in the Northeast through European contact; at the same time the nomadic horse culture of the Great Plains "in the 19th century seemed to enjoy excellent health, near the top of the (study) index. They were not fenced in to farms or cities" (ibid.).

Colonizers³⁵ have had a profound impact on Native life in the last 500 years. At one extreme, the history of contact has been a policy of mortal and cultural genocide, perpetrated by the colonizing imperative³⁶ of Western civilization in the Americas (Dickason 1992: 63-399; Frideres 2001: 3-20). Although First Nations³⁷ and their cultures were minimalized and suppressed by colonizers from first contact, they have survived through wearing a coat of many colours; by learning to use selected tools and ideas imported by the colonizers. From a Native perspective, the process has become a syncretic weaving of styles and values. The colonizers sought to blend Native cultures into their own through assimilationist and extermination policies, but Native teachings including the Iroquoian Two-Row Wampum Belt and the Anishnabek Medicine Wheel³⁸ demonstrate how the original

³⁵ I will use this term to refer to the system that has evolved from a number of things: European colonialism, the growth of industry and technology in the Western World (sometimes called the West), exploitation and expansionism by settling cultures in the United States and Canada; and the financial and military power of corporations and governments in America and allied Europe and Asia.

³⁶ Also described as "Manifest Destiny" in the U.S.

³⁷ Natives think of nations less in the political sense, and more in the cultural and linguistic sense: "In 12th-century Europe, nation originally meant people. This term was used to designate a human group whose members, as a result of complex historical processes, had attributes in common such as language, customs and beliefs... By the end of the 18th century, however, the cultural meaning had been almost totally usurped by the emerging political economy view developed by Western societies of Northern Europe. (Grenier and Guilbault 1994: 205). The term now often means a place controlled by a state, but in the case of First Nations, its meaning is closer to the early European.

³⁸ See Appendix C.

inhabitants of Turtle Island³⁹ have always sought to live beside their European and other guests, not among them.

Natives are moving in and out of the colonizing culture. There is giving and taking, but it is between two groups, two cultures, two different symbolic universes — what is referred to in Indian country as Two Worlds (for more on differences in values see Appendix D).

With reserves and residential schools, both instituted in the late 1800s, Natives were bullied towards assimilation. In some cases, this approach has had its desired effect; in many others it has simply provided a focus for resistance by Native culture and an insistence on Native tradition.⁴⁰

It is often thought that Native peoples have all been physically displaced by the arrival of white⁴¹ civilization, but this is not true. For example, the Iroquois of Six Nations, or the Mohawks⁴² of Kahnawake, Kahneseetake, Akwesasne and

³⁹ This is a Native term for North America. Anishnabek and Iroquois stories tell of a giant turtle that emerged from the sea to form this continent; we are all now living on the shell of this turtle. This story points to the sensitivity and interdependence of the ecosystem (and of creation).

⁴⁰ I speak of Native tradition as a teaching system unlike the regimented schools and pervasive media of mainstream society. In his book *Culture*, Raymond Williams shows that tradition is "a process of deliberate continuity (through) selection and reselection of received and recovered elements of the past which represent not a necessary but a desired continuity." Tradition evolves through "operative reselection" to meet changing conditions, and operates "in the looser and more general relations of the whole cultural process," allowing for the use of "elements of an alternative or even oppositional tradition." This open growth process is more holistic than institutionally controlled formal education, which is aimed more at "cultural reproduction," not necessarily understanding. Native traditions, teachings and ways of learning are more autonomous, as they are "removed from otherwise organized society" (1981: 187-88).

⁴¹ "White man," "white" and other pejorative references to the colonizers are still in use, but more people now realize that the colonization process also includes other races and factors other than race. I sometimes use the term "white" to refer to Caucasian people, particularly in reference to the last 500 years of colonization, but "white" is perhaps too simplistic a reference. In the 19th century, the term was commonly used "by both Indians and non-Indians to identify the dominant society" (MacDonald 1993: 43). Note the following comment from a Native living in Hawaii, expressed on the Internet: "Everyone I've ever met has been some shade of pink or brown, so personally I've never seen a white man, but if I ever do, I'm going to kick his ass. Those guys apparently just go around all the time causing problems. Aloha, jesse."

⁴² "Mohawk" is an English term, and will be used in this paper. The more proper word, which

Tyendenaga, have not moved significantly from the time of contact.⁴³ Living on their ancestral land while all the apparatus of technological urban civilization has gone up around them, they try to take what is needed from the mainstream and leave what is not: The people survive like the rabbit; they are white in the winter, and brown in the summer...

2.2 Early Numbers

An estimate of the Indian population in central and eastern Canada in 1630 is provided in map form by Energy, Mines and Resources Canada. The year 1630 was chosen as it represented the last stable Native population before the fur trade, disease and intertribal warfare decimated settlements and forced people to move to new territories. Also, by this time, much of the given territory of present day Canada was known (if not mapped), and this is also a time for which extensive archeological records now exist. Because of the migratory nature of most people (with the exception of the Iroquois and Wendat), "it is difficult to construct entirely

alludes to the Mohawk's original settlements in the Mohawk Valley and their role as keepers of the Eastern Door of the Iroquois Confederacy, is "Kanienkehaka," which means "people of the flint" (Blanchard 1980: 2). Many people I know use the term "Onkwehonwe" which means "the people" or "the original people" and is more related to similar names of the Anishnabek and Innu. The commonality of these names and their meaning stand in contrast to government separation and classifications of the people as "tribes" and "First Nations."

⁴³ In the disputed territory at Kahnasetake (Oka) for instance, the Mohawk people argue that "independent of the arrival of Mohawk religious converts in 1721 at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, the Mohawk Nation used and occupied that territory and exercised sovereignty over it long before the land grants by the King of France" (Frideres 1993: 383). Mohawks point to prior treaties with the Dutch, French and English, and also acknowledge the ancestral rights of Algonquins to the same territory (a 1763 census at Kahnasetake showed 307 Mohawks, 253 Algonquins, 200 Nipissing and 76 other Natives (1993: 368).

In April 1995 I was spearfishing for pickerel on the Salmon River at Tyendinaga, and I was told by people there that they have been fishing at this place for some 500 years. People from Kahnawake have told me that their relatives left for Tyendinaga and other points West "over 500

satisfactory maps of Native distribution until the reservation period” (National Atlas of Canada 5th Edition MCR 4054).

EMR estimates that in 1630 there were from 170-330,000 Natives living in what is now southern Ontario, Québec and the Maritimes, also northern New York and Vermont. The highest population centres, then and now, are along the St. Lawrence river and the bottom of the Great Lakes, where many groups of 5-10,000 people were located in the 1600s. Today, Aboriginals⁴⁴ in the three Canadian regions account for some 30% of the Canadian total, so numbers across the country could have been as high as 510-990,000 (one million) people, four hundred years ago.

By 1863, EMR estimates the total Aboriginal population at 148,000, using more accurate data, as reserves had been established and the country had been well mapped (National Atlas of Canada 5th Edition MCR 4139).

In the first report of the new Department of Indian Affairs in Canada in 1864, the “population of the different Indian Bands throughout Canada, between the years 1863 and 1864” shows a population of less than 16,000. The Dominion of Canada at the time included mostly southwestern Ontario and central Québec, so Natives in the east, west and north were not counted. A projection across Canada in 1864 would suggest a population of almost 50,000 — which further indicates that this report was not representative of true numbers. Indians listed in

years ago.” For more on the history of Mohawk settlements in the St. Lawrence Valley, see Blanchard 1980, Dickason 1992: 122-156; and Frideres 1993: 367-385).

⁴⁴ According to INAC, ‘Aboriginal’ refers to those people who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit in the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. Also included are all those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian as defined by the Indian Act of Canada, as well as members of an Indian Band or First Nation.

this initial Census were settled on reserves — and large segments of the population (such as the Algonquin, Montagnais and Cree) remained largely migratory.

These figures are likely a gross underestimation, but nonetheless depict a rapid and precipitous decline in Aboriginal population in just over 200 years. This trend has been reversed in the last century, most markedly in the last fifty years or so, as will be shown in further sections.

2.3 Demographics Today

In the 2001 Census, just over 1.3 million people reported having at least some Aboriginal ancestry, representing 4.4% of the total population. This is almost a 20% leap from 1996, when Aboriginals represented 3.8% of the total population. Statistics Canada states that “over time, patterns in Aboriginal self-identification have changed. In recent years, a growing number of people who had not previously identified with an Aboriginal group are now doing so.” Also, the questions regarding ancestry have become more inclusive since 1991. In 1991 and previous censuses, Aboriginal persons were determined by asking people their ethnic origin (ancestry), i.e. Aboriginal or other. The 1996 and 2001 Censuses asked about individuals’ own perceptions of their Aboriginal identity, and which group(s) they identified with.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ “Caution should be exercised in analyzing trends for Aboriginal peoples based on previous census data. Over time, patterns in Aboriginal self-identification have changed... There are different ways to define the Aboriginal population in Canada.” The 2001 Census gives us two different numbers for Aboriginal people — 4.4% and 3.3% of the population. The first is in reply to

From the 1996 to 2001 Censuses there was a rise from 799,010 to 976,305 individuals reporting that they were Aboriginal. About two-thirds of the Aboriginal population is North American Indian, almost a third are Métis (the fastest growing group) and one in 20, are Inuit. The grouped numbers slightly exceed the total Aboriginal population, since a small number report being members of more than one Aboriginal group.⁴⁶

Most of the leaps in Aboriginal population have taken place in the last 50 years, and there has been a 50% increase in the last 20 years. From 1981 to 1991 the status Indian⁴⁷ and Inuit populations increased one-third while non-status Natives almost doubled their numbers; between 1986 and 1991, the total Aboriginal population grew by 43%. This was due to the almost 80,000 Bill C-31

Question 17, asking respondents to write in their ethnic origin(s), and over 1 million people listed some Aboriginal ancestry. Question 18, however, asked people to define their own 'identity,' and slightly less than 1 million people reported 'Aboriginal.' I find it odd that anyone with Native ancestry would not claim the attendant identity in the second question. "Depending on the application, data on either identity or ethnic origin/ancestry may be appropriate for defining the Aboriginal population;" I do not yet know how these two figures are meant to be used.

In 1991 and previous censuses, Aboriginal persons were determined using the ethnic origin question (ancestry). The 1996 Census included a question on the individual's own perception of his/her Aboriginal identity. The 2001 Census question is the same as the one used in 1996. At <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census2001/dict/pop001.htm>

⁴⁶ The way of defining Native people may be about to change again: At the July 1998 AFN General Assembly, a mandate for the development of a Native statistical institution was resolved. Today the First Nations Statistical Institute has been established, and with the proposed First Nations Governance Act (FNGA) would have the legislative authority to collect, assess, analyze and protect First Nations statistical information, and will work with existing data and create new studies to reflect Native realities as part the self-determination process. See <http://www.firststats.ca/home.html>.

This is part of the RCAP recommendations: "For Aboriginal people, knowing how political, demographic, social and economic changes will affect their nations and having in place data collection vehicles that provide a community and nation level aggregate picture will be essential to Aboriginal government implementation and planning process" (RCAP 1995 Vol. 2: 349).

However, most First Nations and the AFN are opposed to the FNGA, which mandates the FNSI, so this Institute may never become active.

⁴⁷ In Canada the term "Indian" describes all the Aboriginal people in Canada who are not Inuit or Métis. Status Indians are registered with the federal government as Indians according to the terms of the Indian Act, which requires that he or she is a member of a Band (a group of First Nation people for whom land (a reserve) has been set apart and money is administered by the

registrants to the Registered Indian component, also to the rapid growth of the non-status Indian population (up 29% between 1986 and 1991) which could be attributed to increased awareness of Native issues (INAC Fast Facts 2001).

Currently, the growth rate for Aboriginals is 2%, double that of the Canadian population. "The overall Aboriginal population is growing very fast... and (status Indians and Inuit) will continue to have higher growth rates than the Canadian population for several decades" (Frideres 2001: 60-61).

The Aboriginal population in Ontario is larger than any other province or territory. Similarly to the rest of the country, nearly half of the registered Indian population does not live on the reserve. The most populous First Nation in Canada is Six Nations of the Grand River (Iroquois), near Brantford, with nearly 20,000 members, while the largest territory in Ontario is Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation (Anishnabek), covering some 43,000 hectares, on Manitoulin Island. Akwesasne, a Mohawk territory straddling the Québec, Ontario and New York borders, also has some 20,000 members.⁴⁸

Crown). Natives can be registered if one parent, prior to April 17, 1985, was registered or was entitled to be registered.

⁴⁸ Statistics Canada admits that the population on many reserves in the east is underreported, as the Iroquois (and Mohawks in particular) refuse to participate in Canadian censuses. Six Nations is an exception, so Statistics Canada has numbers for them, but the figure for Akwesasne is commonly known by the people there, and was mentioned to me several times in Sept. 2002 (Statistics Canada lists only 137 Mohawks in Akwesasne in the 1996 Census). Mohawk territories of Kahnéssetake, Kahnawake and Tyendenaga are also grossly underreported. Speaking of the 2001 Census, *Indian Country Today* reported "StatsCan estimates that upwards of 35,000 aboriginals living on reserves refused to be counted because they see the census as an unnecessary intrusion" (<http://IndianCountry.com/?1043682955>).

Ontario (190,000) and British Columbia (170,000) had the highest Aboriginal population in the 2001 Census, representing 4.4% of British Columbia's total population and 1.7% of Ontario's.⁴⁹

The situation is different in the west. Manitoba is the third most populous province with 150,000 Aboriginal people, here they represent 13.6% of the total population, the highest proportion among the provinces. Aboriginals make up 13.5% of Saskatchewan's population, and over 5% of Alberta's. The highest concentrations are in the north: In the Northwest Territories, 50% of the population is Aboriginal, as is 85% of Nunavut's population.

The Aboriginal languages most commonly spoken in Ontario are Cree, Ojibwe, and Mohawk. (INAC Fast Facts Ontario 2001). Almost 40% of Aboriginals counted in Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Survey of 1991 reported they could speak their own language well enough to carry on a conversation -- tellingly, though, some 80% of these respondents were over the age of 55 (INAC Facts from Stats 15: 2000).

In the 1996 Census, 29% of the Aboriginal population reported that they could carry on a conversation in an Aboriginal language (Statistics Canada 1998), that number dropped to 25% in 2001. Eight of the 14 languages with at least 2000 speakers in 2001 had increased since 1996, while six languages showed declines. Cree is the largest Aboriginal mother tongue, at 10%, and is followed by the fastest growing — Inuktitut, reported by 3.4% (2/3 of the Inuit

⁴⁹ In 2002, the Cat Lake Band of Ontario acquired an additional 3,836 acres of new reserve land under Canada's new Addition to Reserve policy, which could make situations much more tenable for small remote reserves. The Cat Lake Reserve is now seven times its original size of just over 538 acres. The land was purchased following negotiations with the Province of Ontario at an

population), and Ojibway by 2.8%.⁵⁰ Some 70% of respondents reported English as mother tongue, while 6% reported French, in 1996.

Of more than 50 ancestral languages listed when the Census was first taken after Confederation in 1867, 10 have disappeared and 12 are teetering on the brink of extinction. In December 2002 the federal government allotted \$172 million to fund programs to provide instruction in Native languages. But many First Nations, such as the Mohawk communities of Akwesasne and Kahnawake, have taken matters into their own hands and created ancestral language classes and training as part of the curriculum in the territories schools.

In Québec, nearly half (47%) of the Aboriginal population reported an Aboriginal language as mother tongue, the highest proportion of any province. In contrast, only 17% of Aboriginals in Ontario claimed an Aboriginal mother tongue.

"The number of people who could speak an Aboriginal language was about 10% higher than the number who reported an Aboriginal mother tongue, indicating that a significant number of persons learned such a language later in life" (Statistics Canada 1998). Many Mohawk communities, such as Kahnawake, Akwesasne and Six Nations, have been teaching their language in their own elementary schools for years, but a large number of mid-aged adults missed this and now are engaged in a process of picking up their language through informal

assessed fair market value of \$84,500 This isolated Ojibway community is approximately 500 miles north of Toronto. Cat Lake has 465 registered members, of whom 362 live on the reserve.

⁵⁰ Data on Iroquois mother tongues such as Mohawk were also incomplete as several large Iroquois territories in Ontario and Québec chose not to participate in the Census. "Undercoverage in the 1996 Census was considerably higher among Aboriginal people than among other segments of the population due to the fact that enumeration was not permitted, or was interrupted before it could be completed, on 77 Indian reserves and settlements" (Statistics Canada 1998).

and formal means (there are a number of Mohawk teachers who have designed language courses, using tapes and CDs).

Taken together, Natives in Canada are among largest national language groups, after English and French — and Natives are certainly the largest “ethnic” group, if one can be called ethnic in one’s own land. Ethnologue.com, hosted by SIL International,⁵¹ lists the “national or official languages” of Canada as: “English, French. 30,563,040 (1998 UN). Indian (800,000) and Eskimo (32,000) ethnic total (1993): 146,285 mother tongue speakers (1981 census).”^{vi} The same study found Chinese to be Canada’s fourth-largest “national language,” at 736,000 speakers. These estimates used ethnic affiliation, not just mother tongue, to help define a language group.

Preliminary data from the 2001 Census in Canada, using mother tongue as criteria, shows the largest Aboriginal language groups much as they were in 96: “Of Aboriginal languages reported as mother tongue, the three largest groups were Cree (80,000 people), Inuktitut (29,700) and Ojibway (23,500),” but national totals are not yet available. Chinese, at over 800,000 mother tongue speakers, is the third largest language group reported.^{vii} ⁵² If Census Canada had broken ‘Chinese’ into its ethnic and linguistic components, as it has done with Native

⁵¹ SIL International (formerly known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics) has been working with language communities worldwide for some 50 years, “to facilitate language-based development through research, translation, and literacy.” At <http://www.sil.org/>.

⁵² There are some 30 million Chinese living outside their country, many of them students, who have developed an array of Internet publications, following in the tradition of local Chinese newspapers around the world (such as San Francisco News founded in 1854).. “The overseas Chinese are among the pioneers and most active users of on-line communication to promote cultural and communal ties among the ethnic people” through the development of “computer network-based Chinese publications” (Zhang and Xiaoming 1999: 22). Most of these are volunteer-run, low-overhead operations, able to survive without the perils of overhead endured by traditional ethnic hardcopy press. In Canada, there are several online publications and also a

Canadians, there would be perhaps a dozen scattered categories (Mandarin, Cantonese) and the profile would be lost. I would argue that, using ethnic affiliation as the key, Native languages do and should be seen to constitute Canada's third largest "national" or "official" language.

According to the 96 Census, about 30% of Aboriginal people in Canada lived in metropolitan areas, that number has risen to 50% in 2001. "The Census metropolitan area of Winnipeg, for example, had more Aboriginal people than the entire Northwest Territories" (Statistics Canada 1998). Another 30% of Aboriginal people live on rural reserves, and some 20% in rural areas other than reserves, often in isolated northern communities, in 2001.⁵³

About one-fifth of Aboriginal people lived in seven of the country's 25 census metropolitan areas in 2001 — Winnipeg, Edmonton, Vancouver, Saskatoon, Toronto, Calgary and Regina. After Winnipeg at 55,000, Edmonton had almost 41,000 and Vancouver almost 37,000 Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people accounted for 7.5% of Saskatoon's population, the highest proportion of any census metropolitan area, as well as about 7% each for Regina and Winnipeg in 1996 (Statistics Canada 1998). These areas account for much of the high Native profile in the justice system, as Natives have a much higher incarceration rate than the general population.

In the larger centres, Aboriginals are a smaller part of the population. They represented only 1.7% of the population of Vancouver, Canada's third largest

Gopher server for Chinese publications at McGill University (gopher:sunrise.cc.mcgill.ca), which has logged upwards of a million visits (Zhang 1999).

⁵³ There are currently 2,284 separate parcels of reserve land across the country, covering some 3 million hectares, divided among 621 registered 'Indian Bands' (now commonly known as First

census metropolitan area, and they represented less than 1% of the population in Canada's two largest census metropolitan areas, Toronto and Montréal. Nevertheless, because of its size, Toronto had the fifth highest number of Aboriginal people among the census metropolitan areas.

Natives are significant part of the Canadian population, and will continue to have a strong political and cultural presence here. As following sections will show, cyberspace is an increasingly important territory for the future of First Nations development, and self-determination.

2.4 Youth of Tomorrow

The majority of the Aboriginal population is youth under the age of 25, but not all are N-Geners — lack of infrastructure and support keep them out of cyberspace. In 1991 "Registered Indians living on reserve represented the most youthful population of any group with nearly 40% aged 15 years or less and 20% aged 15 to 24 years;" this trend is continuing today. Unlike the non-Aboriginal population, which is considerably older with 48% over 35 years of age compared with 25% for Registered Indians living on reserve, the on-reserve community's greatest challenge is the education and employment of its young population, "while most of Canada will be preoccupied with the provision of services for its growing number of senior citizens." (INAC Facts from Stats 8: 1995).

The Aboriginal population in 2001 was still much younger than the non-Aboriginal population, but has been aging. The median age of Canada's

Nations), subject to change by federal government (Frideres 2001: 55-56).

Aboriginal population, 24.7 years, was 13 years younger than that of the non-Aboriginal population, a result of the higher birth rate among Aboriginals. The territory of Nunavut and two provinces had the youngest Aboriginal populations. Aboriginal people in Nunavut had a median age of only 19.1. The median age in Saskatchewan was slightly higher at 20.1; in Manitoba, it was 22.8. In these regions, Aboriginal birth rates continue to be very high.

There is a trend toward aging in the Aboriginal population, albeit slower than in the total Canadian population. This aging is in large part due to a gradually improving life expectancy and to the declining birth rate among Aboriginal peoples. Today, the Aboriginal birth rate is about 1.5 times that of the non-Aboriginal birth rate. Children aged 14 and under represented one-third of the Aboriginal population in 2001, less than five years ago, but far higher than the corresponding share of 19% in the non-Aboriginal population.

Although the Aboriginal population accounted for only 3.3% of Canada's total population, Aboriginal children represented 5.6% of all children in Canada. Statistics Canada notes: "As these children move through the education system and into the labour market in coming years, they will account for an increasing part of the growth of the working-age population. This will be the case particularly in provinces with higher concentrations of Aboriginal people. Although the share of the total Aboriginal population in Saskatchewan and Manitoba was relatively large — 14% in each of these provinces — the proportion of children at about 25% and 23% respectively, was much larger" (Statistics Canada 2003: 8).

Education and jobs will have to be provided for these baby boom generations, but social infrastructure is sorely lacking. Another underlying problem remains: "Almost one-third of all Aboriginal children under the age of 15... lived in a lone-parent family, twice the rate within the general population. The rate was even higher in urban areas. About 46% of Aboriginal children under 15 in Census families who lived in a census metropolitan area were in a lone-parent family" (Statistics Canada 1998) These figures were similar for 2001.

The Aboriginal population will continue to boom. There were 491 Aboriginal children aged under five for every 1,000 Aboriginal women of childbearing age in 1996, some 70% higher than the ratio for the total population, and "given the number of young children, large increases will occur in the next decade in the Aboriginal youth population aged 15 to 24. In 1996, there were about 144,000 in this age group. By 2006, it is projected to reach 181,000, up 26%. The associated increase in Aboriginal women of childbearing age will result in continued large numbers of Aboriginal children being born" (Statistics Canada 1998).

At the same time, over the next two decades, "other segments of the Aboriginal adult population are expected to increase significantly, particularly those aged 35 to 54 who comprise the majority of the working-age population. By 2006, this group is expected to grow from 173,000 to 244,000, a 41% increase. By 2016, it is projected to reach 280,000, up 62% over 1996. (Statistics Canada 1998).

2.5 Conclusions — The New Wave

Today there are some 1 million Native people in Canada spread throughout the country. Most of them are young, and looking toward their futures on and off the reserve. Part of that will involve access to education, and cyberspace.

Aboriginal university and college enrollment was under 2,000 in 1975, and rose quickly through the 80s to 20,000 in 1992, leaping to 40,000 by 1995. Still, Natives enjoy only half the national level of participation in higher education (Frideres 2001: 115). The factors contributing to this low level of participation are largely economic and geographic, born of colonial policy; this trend will continue unless Natives gain widespread Net access. Facility in cyberspace is critical to a university education today.

Unlike most Canadian households, most Native households, reserve or urban, do not have regular Internet access, and economic means is consistently shown to be the primary criteria for determining access. The most recent Household Internet Use Survey released by Statistics Canada shows another “leap” in use of the Net by Canadians overall, to 60% of all households that had at least one member who “regularly used the Internet” in 2001. Of those households, 73% accessed the Net from home on a daily basis.

This looks like a huge penetration of cyberspace into everyday Canadian life, but the first survey question only asked if a ‘Regular-use household’ member had accessed the Net from any location, over the course of a given *month*.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ “Approximately 85% of the individuals answering the survey for their household were one of the members that regularly used from various locations. Regular-use households are those that

Once a month does not sound like a cybersurfer of any type, so the actual penetration by frequent users is more like 44% overall for Canadian households.

A February 2003 poll by INAC shows that, on-reserve, 55% of Natives used the Net at least once over a given *three* months, again not an indication of regular use. There are no other statistics on Native access to the Net in Canada at this time, but taking economic factors into account, which point to the largest discrepancy in Internet use, it is fair to say that Native access to the Web is a fraction of that enjoyed by Canadians as a whole: "In 2001, 87% of the one-quarter of households in the highest income bracket used the Internet from one location or another, up from 58% in 1997. In contrast, only 32% of the one-quarter of households with the lowest income level regularly used the Internet in 2001. Still, this was almost triple the rate of 12% in 1997" (*The Daily* July 25, 2002). If we extract the same 73% of 'real' regular users, we can see that the penetration of the Internet on Native reserves and poorer households is likely to be 23%, or less.⁵⁵

responded "yes" to the question: "In a typical month, does anyone in the household use the Internet from any location?" The 2001 Household Internet Use Survey (HIUS) was conducted as a sub-sample of the Labour Force Survey, a monthly household survey, the sample of which is representative of the civilian, non-institutionalized population aged 15 or older in the 10 provinces. (*The Daily*, July 25 2002, at <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/020725/d020725a.htm>).

⁵⁵ It is beyond this dissertation to explore in detail the poverty and problems that afflict most Natives on and off reserve in Canada today. Most is a matter of public record. James Frideres writes that "Aboriginal people in Canada reside in scattered communities and are divided by geographical boundaries, cultural differences, and legal distinctions... they lead marginal lives characterized by poverty and dependence (a 'culture of dependence'). Not only are they alienated from middle-class society by White racism, but also through the destructive mechanisms whereby one class profits from another." While gains have been made in education, employment and health over the last decade, Natives "continue to fall further and further behind other ethnic groups in Canada" (2001: 122-123).

As well, "Aboriginal people experience much lower rates of labour force participation than the average Canadian and are more likely to be employed at the lower skill end of the labour market or to be unemployed. This situation carries heavy social and economic costs." While the overall unemployment rate in Canada is at less than 20%, the rate among Aboriginals off-reserve is 40%, and on-reserve, 60% (Greenall 2002: 9).

Nonetheless, as will be shown further, there is a strong penetration of a segment of the Native population into cyberspace, and this is part of the history of Native peoples adapting, and adopting Western technology. The social and political power of a growing generation of cyberwarriors is beginning to be felt in cyberspace through websites and listservs.

As has been shown, there is a lack of access to education, and to the Net, in Native communities today. This makes for a Native cyberelite, as with the whole of cyberspace — few within a community have access to these tools. This may lead to a reinforcement of the stratified society already emerging in Native communities, divided between the older, less educated and the young urban students and professionals. There are younger people — far too many of them — with no future, and this situation is of widespread concern across Native communities.

There is a threat in that a traditional Native respect for Elders, family and community, and for consensual government, may be further undermined by this vast generation of youth, some with highly specialized IT skills, most with little cyberspace and computer experience. It remains to be seen how cyberspace will help to bind, and divide, Native communities. Further chapters will explore these possibilities.

The data do show, however, that despite incursions of various types, including new and invasive technologies, Natives in Canada have gone 'Beyond Survival' to new ways of living, and are now in the midst of a demographic resurgence, if not a boom. This has translated into a new age of pan-Indian

cooperation, and political, spiritual and cultural determination, all of which will be visited in cyberspace.

Chapter Three

Pre-Cyberspace Prophecies Now in Place

Light It Or Lose It. (7TH Fire)⁵⁶

Part of the Native movement to self-determination today is contained in prophecies that call for a re-reckoning of the role of Natives in larger society. These prophecies can be seen as the philosophy or spiritual teaching behind Native self-determination. They are ancient and hard to date, but they arose with great strength in the early to mid-90s, as events such as Kahnasetake (Oka) in 1990 foreshadowed a resurgence of Native activism, and the arrival of a new generation to lead to the future, and into cyberspace.

There is a reclaiming of Native values in cyberspace, after 500 years of resistance to European views. The European (largely Christian) worldview labeled people as good or bad, and organized society into submissive and dominant (class system). "Bad" behavior (that is, not responding to authority) was to be punished. Within 30 years of first contact with the Jesuits around 1600, the Wendat (Huron) and Innu went from being a consensual, egalitarian people to a "hierarchical" and "self-policing" group that began meting punishment on its own children, women and men. "Women were especially singled out for surveillance and punishment on the grounds that they posed the greatest potential threat to the collective well-being," as they were now instruments of the Devil (Anderson 1991: 96-98).

⁵⁶ Message on a tombstone at the end of the 1994 video for The Cheque is in the Mail, written and performed by 7TH Fire, an Ottawa-based band of Ojibwe and other ancestries, named for the Seventh Fire Prophecy, which calls for the lighting of the Eighth Fire.

Missionization began with the Migmag, Innu, Wendat and Iroquois in the 1600s, and spread to Algonquin and Ojibwe through the 1700s, reaching the Cree and Dene in the West and Cree in the North some 100 years later. In the 1800s, the Oblate missionaries and Protestant groups such as the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries worked with the traders on a new North American colonizing imperative that took in the whole of the Great Lakes area as far North as James Bay (Devens 1992: 45-46), and continued into Western Canada.

Native Men, including medicine people trying to preserve their status, would adopt trappings of the Christian religious and economic system while the women more often "declined conversion and instead stressed the importance of older rituals and practices." Confrontations escalated as the women "scorned priests and converts alike for flouting tradition." Some Iroquois and Ojibwe women "had little patience for Christians who threatened eternal damnation to those who clung to heathen practices" (Devens 1992: 22); I can say the same is true today. Whether men or women complied with missionaries' efforts, however, the "evangelization of Huronia (and many other areas) was destined never to be completed. This mirrored the general picture in New France: "evangelism produced a few religious vocations among Amerindian women" (Dickason 1992: 127), and almost none among the men.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ These "converts" were often acting for the Native people. "By the 1830s the category of 'Noble Savage' included Indian missionaries trained to act as translators and teachers. Their writings attempted to raise the awareness of the whites on both sides of the ocean to the realities of Indian life" (MacDonald 1993: 31). George Copway, an Ojibwe Methodist missionary, published *Recollections of a Forest Life* in 1851. Rev. Peter Jones, a Mississauga Ojibwe also trained as a Methodist minister, lectured new England and Britain, where he was presented to King William in 1832. He wrote: "Oh, what an awful account at the day of judgement must the unprincipled white man give, who has been an agent of Satan in the extermination of the original proprietors of the American soil !" (in 1993: 31). The first Native priest to be ordained was probably Abbé Prosper

European attitudes were shaped by social subjugation, class differences and male supremacy, and the European model of life imported by the Jesuits and other missionaries in Canada was strictly hierarchical and exclusive.⁵⁸ By contrast the Iroquois are a consensual society, with institutions designed to integrate knowledge and customs from other peoples. The Iroquois accepted the dances, customs and ceremonies of all of their member nations. The print version of the Great Law of the Iroquois states that: "The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed..." (Parker 1991: 56).

The Iroquois also accepted the dreams, visions and beliefs of individuals, and promoted each individual's responsibility for one's own life and relations with the natural world. On a personal and social level, differences were recognized and celebrated. Unlike the Europeans, Natives "do not see history as a meaning that humans can confer on life; for them, the sense of life is, instead, the liberty of every being" (Sioui 1992: 23). This perspective was not entertained by the monarchies of Europe at the time of contact, but was adopted later on (in principle at least) by the founding fathers of democracy in the U.S.

Missionization was a powerful tool for colonization and assimilation, yet the erosion of tradition was not complete. Although surrounded by Christian institutions and teachings, Natives still kept their own spiritual leaders and individual beliefs,

Vincent in 1870, a Wendat who was also an informant of Marius Barbeau. Date from liner notes for Francois Kiowarini and Claude Vincent's album Huron Ritual Songs.

⁵⁸ Hiawatha was the lawgiver who helped Dekinawida "establish the Great Peace." Dekinawida planted the "Tree of the Great Peace" and said that "Roots have spread out of the Tree of the Great Peace, and the name of these roots is the Great White Roots of Peace. If any man of any nation outside the Five Nations shall show a desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace, they may trace the roots to their source and they shall be welcomed to take shelter beneath the Tree of the Long Leaves" (in Parker 1991: 8-9). The Great Law was given to the Onkwehonwe sometime around 1390 (1991: 61).

hidden from white eyes. While it has been argued that "White colonizers destroyed the Natives' political, economic, kinship and, *in most cases*, religious systems" (Frideres 2000: 4) (emphasis mine), the continuance of traditional teachings and Native worldview by many elders gave Native people the strength to survive this process.⁵⁹

Dickason notes how in the late 1600s, "the Iroquois had managed to keep their confederacy intact in the face of disasters (war losses, disease, starvation and desertion to Catholic missions)⁶⁰ and despite the relentless pressures of European settlement." Iroquois society was changing, and the communal traditional Longhouse dwelling was abandoned for single family units. "Nevertheless, the Iroquois identity remained strong" (1992: 155), and the Longhouse teachings survived.

Europeans brought the Bible and other books, and a way of looking at the world through books as something separate from people. They brought the idea of a world with a beginning and end (like a book) and introduced linear and segmented thinking to a people who were used to seeing the whole of things. "For native peoples, human beings are at one with the universe and do not conceive of

⁵⁹ This is my understanding from many of the people I have spoken with. Through the darkest times of the last 500 years, there have always been teachers and elders to remind the people of the old ways.

⁶⁰ The Iroquois War of 1609-1701 was largely fought over trade competition (among Native nations and the English, French and Dutch) and to maintain Iroquois territory in the face of European incursions. At this time the Iroquois were surrounded by the French and their allies, which included the Wendat and Algonquin. the Attiwandaron (Neutrals), the Erie and Susquehannocks. Between 1689 and 1698, it is estimated the Iroquois lost half their fighting forces (Dickason 1992: 149-156). Around this time "the Five Nations suffered mass defections" to Jesuit missions, and during the 1690s "fully two-thirds of the Mohawk decamped for the two French missions around Montreal" (1992: 156).

themselves as separate from 'nature' as we do within our own set of beliefs" (Beaudry 1992: 72-73).⁶¹

In her book *Countering Colonization*, Devens shows how the colonizing process also undermined Native social structure by reorganizing relationships between the sexes. The Jesuits promoted a male dominated nuclear family, which was unnatural to Natives who lived in extended family groups and who were used to women sharing in the socioeconomic and spiritual life of the group. Traditionally, women had public lives and councils - as did the men. The missionaries and traders favoured "the productive activities of native men" while often ignoring women altogether.⁶² As the men moved from "subsistence hunters to fur traders" and capitalist conditions on reserves replaced natural migratory and social patterns including "communal relations," the extended family disintegrated (Devens 1992: 4; 28).⁶³

Women were not fit to rule in the European Christian framework, and so the matrilineal and matrifocal (meaning the inclusion of women in the governing

⁶¹ Frideres explains it this way: "We (Whites or Europeans) think in terms of minutes, hours or days. Implicit in this linear thinking is the view that time flows one way and cannot be made up. Linear thinking lends itself to singular thinking, (toward) values which imply 'one answer,' 'one way.'" In contrast, the "cyclical" and "holistic" Native view "begins with the premise that everything is interrelated...it is a generalist perspective rather than a specialist one," and "there is no beginning, no end," rather repetitive and cyclical phases and patterns and since "all parts are interrelated, each part is equal to all the others" (1993: 269-270).

⁶² The role of women in pre-contact societies has often been misunderstood. Devens shows how a late 19th-century "invented tradition of male supremacy" observed by Ruth Landes and A. Irving Hallowell among the Southern Ojibwe is a colonial phenomenon, and how studies by Diamond Jenness, Frank Speck, Frances Densmore and Eleanor Leacock with the more isolated Northern Ojibwe and Montagnais-Naskapi (Innu) show that women also hunted, dreamed of game, danced, drummed and sang before the white influence took over (Devens 1992: 114-121). Diamond-Cavanagh notes that "the feminist anthropological critique" argues that "the Jesuits undermined the strength of the extended family and greatly undermined the role of women" (1992: 382). Also see Cavanagh 1985, 1989.

⁶³ "Integration into an economy based on production for exchange rather than for use, instead of providing for greater security, introduced new variables that had a destabilizing effect on Amerindian ways of life" (Dickason 1992: 203).

process) nature of Native society was also weakened. Karen Anderson discusses how, in the *Jesuit Relations*, women are classified either as “non-converts, who are lewd, unnatural seductresses” or “chaste, innocent women and girls who had embraced Christianity and who were now compliant and fearful” (Anderson 1991: 89). In either case, their traditional role as partner in the consensual governing circle was diminished. The inclusive (circular) nature of Native society was damaged.

Today, this history is well understood in Indian Country, and efforts to re-emphasize Native perspectives take up much of the time of traditional Natives. These perspectives can be seen in the following prophecies. They are helping to heal and strengthen within Native communities, and are an answer to the colonizers and the colonization process of the last 500 years — and they are heard in cyberspace as well.

3.1 The Seventh Fire Prophecy

In the Seventh Fire prophecy of the Anishnabek, each of the seven fires represent an era in human history. We are now in the time of the Seventh Fire. The task of the people of this age, including the Anishnabek and other red people, the yellow people, the black and the white, is to come together through choosing the road of cooperation. Without this, there will be no Eighth Fire, or future for Natives and others.

The following is from the Ojibway Cultural Centre on Manitoulin Island:

THE LAW OF THE SEVEN FIRES

In a time long, long ago, seven prophecies came to the Anishnawbe.

Each prophecy or fire came from a different prophet who foretold of events that would shape the future of the Anishnawbe. Each of these fires referred to a particular period of time.

The first fire tells us that the Anishnawbe would rise and follow the ways of the sacred shell or Midewiwin. The Midewiwin religion, to the Anishnawbe, would be the focal point for clean living and a source of strength for all Anishnawbe.

The second fire tells that the nation would be camped by a large body of water. In this time, the direction of the sacred shell would be lost and the ways of the Midewiwin would become weak. It was prophesized that a small boy would return and point the way back to the traditional ways. The boy pointed to the sacred island of Manitoulin as the way to revitalize the ways of the Midewiwin.

The third fire tells that the Anishnawbe would find the path to the chosen land of Manitoulin. This was the place where the Anishnawbe must move their families.

The fourth fire tells of the coming of the light skinned race.

The fifth fire tells of a great struggle to come.

The sixth fire prophesized that during the time of the great struggle grandsons and granddaughters would turn against their elders and that the spiritual ways of the Midewiwin would almost disappear.

The seventh fire tells of the emergence of a new people, a people who would retrace their history to find the sacred ways that had been left behind. The waterdrum would once again sound, its voice signalling the rebirth of the Anishnawbe and a rekindling of life's fire.

During the time of the seventh fire, the light skinned race would be given a choice. If they chose the right road, then the seventh fire would light the eighth and final fire...a fire of peace, love and brotherhood.

If the light skinned race made the wrong choice, then the destruction which they brought with them to this great turtle island would come back to them, causing much suffering, death and destruction.

And that is how the story is told.

The Seventh Fire prophecy is recognized as a "...migration legend, a story which recounts the seven 'fires' or stopping places of the people in their journey from the East coast toward the West..." (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 929). This prophecy also relates to the present-day struggle to strengthen traditional teachings and bring the Anishnabek message of cooperation and understanding to others (Deleary 1990). The Midewiwin society of the Anishnabek teaches the Seventh Fire Prophecy today and "among the Ojibwe of northwestern Ontario, the Midewiwin is a fundamental religious institution... Traditional Anishnabek in adulthood in the 1980s saw themselves as the generation of the seventh fire, and accept a role in bringing back many of their traditions..." (Kallmann and Potvin 1992: 929).

Nick Deleary, an Ojibwe and member of the Midewiwin, says the following in his 1990 Carleton MA thesis:

About one thousand years before the coming of the European, our lives were full and complete. We had known at least five hundred years of peace and prosperity. The alteration that would come with the warring European nations was known throughout our land. Long before the invaders stepped ashore we had fore-knowledge of what to expect. This fore-knowledge came to us in the form of seven prophets, or prophecies. Each foretold of a time in the future and symbols to look for. One such prophet (Fire) spoke of how the Midewiwin would be the source for our lives, we would see great health. Another spoke of a time when we would follow the sacred Megis shell, towards the West "to the place where food grows upon the water," Minnesota. The reason for this move was foretold by

another prophet or fire. His words were of the coming of the light-skinned brother. We were told to beware as the stranger would come wearing two faces, one of peace and true brotherhood, the other face would be that of death and destruction. We were told to exercise great caution in accepting this stranger. As time would prove, the face the "newcomer" came with was one of destruction. We know the words of the next prophets to speak of the truth; the face our white brother has come wearing has been the face of destruction and death.....

One prophet said you will know the words of the other prophets are true when you see the "waters turn foul and the fish turn belly up with disease." Another prophet spoke of a time when families will be broken up, children will turn their backs on their elders and grandparents. Those who know the Life ways will go silent out of fear for freedom of religion, and when that day comes, those who come looking will find emptiness and dissolution....

The last prophet had a different outlook. It is said that he spoke of a new generation who would retrace their grandfathers' and grandmothers' foot steps along the trail of the migration, reclaiming what has always been theirs. The water drum would once again sound its voice across the land... The above story is a fraction of the full story. The main ideas are nevertheless present (Deleary 1990: 57-59).

One person who talks about the Seventh Fire is Grandfather William Commanda of Maniwaki.⁶⁴ An Algonquin elder, he holds three wampum belts, one of which is the Seventh Fire Prophecy belt which was made in the 1400s. His understanding of the prophecy was received from Ojibwe people in Minnesota, Michigan and northern Ontario, and through his own family, which has held the belts for over 100 years.

He speaks of the fact that the white race was welcomed by the Anishnabek, and it was hoped in the time of the Fourth Fire that the white race would come

⁶⁴ These comments about William Commanda are derived from a talk he gave when showing the belts at the Gathering of Aboriginal People in June 1993; from his visit to the KUMIK in July 1994; from discussions we had at his home in the summer and fall of 1994; from informal meetings we have had from 1994 to 2002 at Powwows and other gatherings. and from the chapter "Seven Prophets, Seven Fires: Grandfather William Commanda" in McFadden 1991: 35-47.

wearing a face of brotherhood, and that the Anishnabek and whites together would form one mighty nation. This did not happen and the white race chose the course of destruction and death.

Today, in the age of the Seventh Fire, the races are again faced with a choice. The two roads are the black road of technology and overdevelopment leading to environmental catastrophe, the other is the red road of spirituality and respect for the earth. Together, people of the world have to choose the right road, be of one mind, or the earth cannot survive. Cyberspace will play a big role in this movement, as will be examined in further sections.

In April 1994, William visited the United Nations with Hopi elders and elders from other nations, including the Migmag and Mohawk. The message from the Hopi was that desecration of their sacred lands must stop, or else there will be a purification of the earth which will destroy life. Their prophecies are in line with those of the Seventh Fire: "Mankind must return to Peaceful ways, and halt the destruction of Mother Earth, or we are going to destroy ourselves. All the stages of Hopi prophecy have come to pass, except for the last, the purification. The intensity of the purification will depend on how humanity collaborates with Creation."⁶⁵ The Hopi gave a deadline to the industrial nations: Four years from the date of their presentation in April 1994. This corroborates the fact that we are indeed in the time of the Seventh Fire, and also at the culmination of other Native prophecies.

In Spring 1995 Six Nations hosted the Cry of the Eagle Conference, which was attended by many of the same delegates to the 1994 UN presentation, as well

⁶⁵ From a statement presented to the United Nations (UN) April 21-23 1994. The Winter 1994 (2/1) issue of Aboriginal VOICES features these prophecies.

as other leaders and elders from Tibet, New Zealand, Malaysia, Mexico and South America. Hopi elder Thomas Banyacya stated that “the Hopi is looking for a white brother... We will create a spiritual circle where we join the material and the spiritual together and we will take care of the whole world in a spiritual way as well as with the fabulous inventions” (in Hill and Monture 1995: 102). William Commanda has said that “Native people must put aside their differences and speak for Mother Earth and the Great Spirit that is in all people, all races and colours” (LeBlanc 1995: 9).

William teaches that now is the time for Native people to forgive colonizers for their ignorant and destructive actions. Without this forgiveness, Native people will not be able to think clearly — and they need to be strong and healthy in order to be able to teach the road of cooperation and spiritual understanding to the industrial nations before it is too late. This is part of a movement toward decolonization — a time when Native concerns and identity are finding a voice.

The Seventh Fire is not just a time of reclaiming spiritual teachings; it is the time to use those teachings to help correct the imbalance felt in the circle that is the world.⁶⁶ It is more than a revitalization movement, it is more like an arrival. Many Natives today are listening to teachings like the Seventh Fire prophecy, the Seven Generations teachings of the Iroquois and the prophecies of nations like the Hopi, and they are making these concerns felt on the Web.

⁶⁶ One last word from William on this imbalance: “Traditional people of Indian nations have interpreted the two roads that face the light-skinned race as the road to technology and the road to spirituality. We feel that the road to technology.... has led modern society to a damaged and seared earth. Could it be that the road to technology represents a rush to destruction, and that the road to spirituality represents the slower path that the traditional native people have traveled and are now seeking again? The earth is not scorched on this trail. The grass is still growing there.” William Commanda, Mamiwinini, Canada, 1991, at <http://ishgooda.nativeweb.org/>.

3.2 *The Seven Generations Prophecy*

Mohawk chief Oren Lyons speaks of how we must look seven generations hence in all our actions as “when we walk upon Mother Earth we plant our feet carefully because we know the faces of our future generations are looking up at us from beneath the ground” (in Wall and Arden 1990: 68). This prophecy says that “the world will eventually come to Indigenous Peoples to learn or relearn how to live in harmony with the Earth. Today, we call this sustainable development” (Brascou 1993: 3).

The Seventh Generation prophecy also says that seven generations after contact with the Europeans, the Onkwehonwe would witness catastrophes: The elm trees would die, the birds would fall from the sky, the rivers and air would burn, deformed animals would be born, and the weather would change, creating “winter without snow and a season without growth” The prophecy says that seven generations after contact, the Onkwehonwe will rise to demand restoration of their stewardship of the earth, and people will turn to the Onkwehonwe (“and particularly to the eastern door of the great Iroquois Confederacy”) for guidance (Blanchard 1980: 478-482).

Anishnabe/Mohawk elder Simon Brascou writes that “The West will have to learn from Aboriginal Peoples about respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth... Society must learn, not only to respect the Earth, but to love Mother Earth, as a loving parent loves their children. We have accepted a second

rate system based on cynicism and mistrust for people.” But “caring for each other is our highest calling” and a “short-cut to spirituality,” and “spirituality is about our personal and direct relationship with the environment and the community” (Brascoupé 1993: 5).

The message of the Seventh Fire and Seven Generations relates to the land. Concerns of the land and environment are on peoples' minds. The industrialization of North America has meant that most Native lands have been lost to development, which makes it nearly impossible for Natives to raise their children with traditional cultural values — as those values are tied to the land.

The future of the planet itself is in question. We are affected by disasters in the Amazonian rainforests, by carbon dioxide emissions in all the industrialized countries, by damage to the ocean and depletion of fish stocks. The turtle, sacred animal to the Iroquois and others, and symbolic of our life on North America, has “assumed the new role of harbinger of death by pollution” at Akwesasne, where turtles are found to have record amounts of mercury in their bodies, and where, by 1990, “the state was warning residents not to eat any fish at all” (Johansen 1993: 12-14). This is the result of pollution, foretold in the Seven Generations prophecy; destruction of the land is also central to events of protest and violence that occurred in Akwesasne and Oka from 1988 to 1991 (Johansen 1993: xxxi), and will be central to incidents to come.

Natives here have taken responsibility for trying to control this environmental damage. One example is the Protectors of Mother Earth Day, observed by Natives across Canada with prayers, protests to governments, and gatherings. POME was

celebrated on Feb. 19, 1992, and this declaration, from Andrew Big Smoke of Canoe Lake, Saskatchewan, was published in the Odawa Native Friendship Centre newsletter, and is typical of dozens of other gatherings that have occurred over the last ten years:

I have discussed the matter of Protectors of Mother Earth Day with the elders of POME. We are now into seven months of the blockade at Wiggins Bay to protest the clear cutting of the trees. The effect it has on Mother Earth is an outright crime, not only to the people of the territory but to the world as a whole. For the trees are one of the protectors of the people who are on Mother Earth. For this reason, it not only concerns the people but the world also.

We the Red Nation of the Four Colours were given the instruction of caretakers of the Earth. We would be given knowledge of plants, grass, medicine, trees and the power that is in this plant life. We would be in harmony with the earth and all life that is from our source of life Mother Earth.

We the Red Nation are in the sacred time of the 7th Generation Fire. We will go back to our teachings of all life and harmony. We will be a people that will become as an all powerful people, unity prayers and knowledge our responsibility as caretakers of Mother Earth. This is the reason why now in the short pass that people have come to say: "No more of this destroying our way of life and our beautiful Turtle Island, the Earth." Blockades have been set up throughout Canada, from the west coast peoples to the east coast peoples of the Red Peoples. This is why we must come to acknowledge the duty we are doing. For there will be a day of prayer, knowledge, feast, dancing, sharing and caring that will make up this day. And we will call it Protectors of Mother Earth Day.

World leaders, such as those at the United Nations and at the Earth Summit in Rio De Janiero in 1992, are asking for Native input.⁶⁷ The West is finally beginning to realize that traditional Native teachings about sharing and respect for

⁶⁷ "Throughout the years, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) has found common cause with indigenous peoples from the Arctic to the Amazon, from Australia to Argentina." It has "responded to a specific appeal made by the Haudenosaunee Six Nations Confederacy to assist in the exploration of environmental hazards in their territories with the intent

the land⁶⁸ are valuable and that Natives must be heeded if global disintegration is to stop.⁶⁹

Canada's Maurice Strong was Chairman of the Rio summit. He acknowledged the need for the West to listen to all Aboriginal peoples, and stated that the first world must transfer power to the third (and fourth) and must start on a new track.⁷⁰ Former Supreme Court judge Bertha Wilson has said that Canada must be part of the world wide movement to bring respect to Native people and their teachings, and that it must come up with a national policy of reconciliation⁷¹ and regeneration.

Mordecai Richler points out that the "wasting tribal quarrel between the English and the French" will eventually be laid to rest, but perhaps not by the parties involved. Within 20 or 30 years, the majority of Canadians will be of neither

of forming a strategy for the restoration of native lands" Johnson, Brown and Stephens 1995: 68).

⁶⁸ One way of teaching respect comes from Albert Snow from Kahnawake who promotes the study of "Ethno-Science," rooted in Navajo culture and tradition, as a way of promoting traditional stories and songs (about plants, for instance) to foster that direct relationship while showing new ways of looking at the teaching of subjects like science and agriculture in the classroom, among Native and non-Native students. See 1972, 1977.

⁶⁹ "The West will have to learn from Aboriginal Peoples about respecting and living in harmony with Mother Earth... Society must learn, not only to respect the Earth, but to love Mother Earth, as a loving parent love their children. We have accepted a second rate system based on cynicism and mistrust for people." But "caring for each other is our highest calling" and a "short-cut to spirituality," and "spirituality is about our personal and direct relationship with the environment and the community" (Brascoupé 1993: 5).

⁷⁰ "It is now generally acknowledged by the international development community that Western development models have collapsed because they were not sustainable," and "consumption mentality results in increased consumption of resources, and further exploitation and pollution of the environment." Indigenous peoples around the world are calling for sustainable economy and development in keeping with traditional values. When elders from the Yukon were asked to define economic development, they called it 'spirituality,' when asked again they said 'respect' ("a development model based on exploitation has little use for respect"), asked again they mentioned 'sharing,' but "many believe that sharing has been rendered meaningless by industrialization (and mass production)" (Brascoupé 1992: 8).

⁷¹ "Western science and Indigenous knowledge are, in reality, complimentary. By sharing and cooperatively making informed choices and usage (Natives and non-Natives may be able to realize) worldwide sustainable development. Indigenous knowledge can, through its spirituality, fulfill the ever-enlarging spiritual void created by Western rationalism and alienation with the natural world... In order to understand Indigenous knowledge and spirituality, the West must enter into a

extraction (Richler 1992: 101). The majority of new Canadians will represent the world; many have come here as a last island of escape. The Native people who continue to meet them will try to remind them of their link to the earth and to each other:

Think about where you are. See yourself for a moment from the perspective of outer space looking back at the Earth. Slowly, slowly, slowly approach closer and closer to the surface of the atmosphere, through the sky and way below you see yourself. You are part of a large biosphere of interlocking, interdependent life-forms sharing the air, the water, the Earth and many living resources of the web of life. When we take things for granted part of our consciousness is split off. Through acknowledgement and Thanksgiving, one recognizes the importance of everything, thus creating a larger consciousness, a continuous memory of what we have on the planet. Thoughts precede action. Unfortunately the systems of life are not in most people's thoughts. Thus the consequences of their actions on the rest of Creation are not perceived and seemingly the (environmental) problems do not exist (Callen 1995: 91).

This reminding is part of the new Native presence in cyberspace; hopefully this will help to correct the indifference that still exists towards Natives, and their knowledge about our responsibilities to the land, found in these prophecies.

3.3 Missing the Mainstream

These teachings and sentiments were heard far and wide in the early to mid-90s, and are still fundamental to Native views. But we are almost finished with the UN's International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, and these messages are

partnership with Indigenous peoples based on respect" (Brascoupé 1992: 12).

no more mainstream than they were in 1994, at the beginning of the UN's Decade of the World's Indigenous People:

On Thursday, December 8 I sat in the vast and eerily empty press balcony at the United Nations' General Assembly Hall in New York and observed the opening ceremonies for the UN's "Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004)" There were two other reporters on hand: one from Sami Radio in Norway, and a print guy from Kenya. Rumor has it that a Newsweek ace was roaming the halls. Over the course of the morning we heard predictable -- and perhaps promising -- speeches from Official representatives of the UN, and some of its member states.

The Officials said they got it -- that they now realized indigenous people have a close relation with the Earth, and that their ecological knowledge, democratic traditions, and agricultural systems could play an important role in sustainable development, especially when partnered with some of the latest technological tools. They said they got it that indigenous peoples have been dispossessed and subjected to genocide as a consequence of "modernization's thirst for energy, minerals, timber, farmland and living space..."

But talk is talk. "Deeds," the native people responded. "We've had words for centuries. We are asking for deeds." This theme of 'deeds not words' arose in the late afternoon through six "unofficial" presentations by speakers representing not just various indigenous communities around the world, but networks of indigenous communities...

It struck me as predictable... that the indigenous speakers at the UN from North and Central America received in the aftermath not a column inch of news anywhere I could find...

The thrust of the indigenous talk at the UN on Thursday, and in general among many traditional peoples, concerned basic stuff that can seem, to some, tiresome: human rights, respect for the environment, freedom of religion, respect for differences. They talked not of ethnic exclusivity, or of a desire to break up the world's nation states -- as is happening worldwide -- but of their desire for meaningful and respectful inclusion into the benefits of the Nation States that have arisen on the lands where they live. They say they have something important to contribute, as well as to gain.

The traditional native voices said that they have learned something about living close to the earth in this Hemisphere -- and around the globe -- over the last 30,000 years or so, and that if finally we would just listen, we might learn something that would help us all out.

- Pax Vobiscum,
Steven McFadden for The Wisdom Conservancy
(McFadden 1994).

3.4 Conclusions

There is a pan-Indian call for a return to traditional values and teachings, and the Seventh Fire prophecy is now known across Canada. It is part of the movement toward self-determination, and part of the philosophical underpinning of young Native sentiment today. It forms a basis for Native action, on the ground and in cyberspace. As further sections will show, these traditional Native teachings are very much alive in cyberspace today.

Chapter Four

Moccasin Telegraph Telecom

The moccasin telegraph is the way that things travel, by word of mouth in Native country — the Native way is to visit, and exchange gifts, stories and information. This slow but sure network is augmented by radio, television, print and now cyberspace. This section examines some things that are being gained and lost in historic and modern cultural exchanges through technology among Natives and others in Canada.

These show cultural exchanges, losses, and survivals at the same time. The current opportunity for cultural exchange in cyberspace is perhaps a last chance for exchange of perspectives, or a knell for assimilation.

In *Cyberspace Smoke Signals*, Larry Zimmerman writes that trade activities and communication crossed the continent long before contact:

Such activities required mechanisms for cross-cultural communication, and indeed, these mechanisms existed. On the Great Plains in the center of North America, there was a sign language effective for trade as well as giving locations of bison herds and positions of mutual enemies. In the Northwest, Chinook "jargon" became a *lingua franca* in the substantial trade systems along the coast, even incorporating white words after contact. Smoke signals from smudge fires allowed some groups on the Plains and in the Southwest to exchange information over great distances and across cultures.

Where synthetic forms of communication developed, they actually worked to preserve identity rather than break it down. At the same time, they aided in formation of some level of pan-Indian identity, a process nearly institutionalized with the coming of the Euroamericans. Both processes remain visible today, and new technologies have become the prevalent synthetic communication types (2002: 70).

Life on Turtle Island before the European invasion was very much an aural, and oral, experience. Native life is oral and kinetic; it is vested in sound and movement of the natural world rather than the written word which tries to describe and control nature. The voices of the indigenous people here carried legends, stories (history) and songs. Little was written. Native culture and knowledge lived through a constant communication, a circle including people and the earth, spirits and the natural environment.

Wireless crystal radio sets, accordions and fiddles were early forms of communications technology, precursors to the phenomenon of cyberspace, and Natives used them to continue these traditions. Adopting and adapting technologies are central to the cultural changes among Natives in Canada. Radio reached remote settlements and reserves long before TV and stereos (in many places, there was no electricity to run these devices until the 1960s).⁷² This was a profound introduction to white culture and music. Much of that music was country and western, and it determined the sound of the new Inuit music for generations.⁷³

⁷² Like the Net today, radio in the 1930s emerged (at least in the South) "with hopes of initiating utopian democracy" but was "conceived by its creators not as a public service but a consumer product;" the rhetoric of the promise of the Internet like radio before it "obfuscates any real understanding of the material place of the emergent medium in society and ultimately nullifies any potential for social change the emergent medium might have had." The "feeling of fulfillment offered by the surrogate space of radio was an essential element in the rhetoric of democracy and equality (and revived sense of community) that evolved around its promotion," but rather than ameliorating constraints of geography and economic status, radio was rather a means of merely "effacing real class differences" (Spinelli 2000: 268-69, 270).

⁷³ "Radio continues to influence (remote Northern) places as the Southern urban culture switches its attention to TV, MuchMusic and MTV, and CDs. Long before Anik brought television to the North in 1974, the Inuit could pick up WWVA, West Virginia's country heartland station, and most Inuit in Eastern Canada grew up with that sound.

Country and western is the most popular genre of music in the North and in other rural Canadian areas. A representative sample of some 20 Inuit albums in the School for Studies in Arts and Culture: Music at Carleton University are almost all country oriented, displaying genres

The Inuit are a prime example of Indigenous people taking up technologies as they arrive, mastering communication and technical devices, from accordions and fiddles to the computer, adopting from the first whaling boats in the 1600s, wireless crystal radio sets in the 1930s to GPS today.

Jon Pierce tells a story from the Keewatin, of the white men (kuallinuk) who were camped in a raging snowstorm, a whiteout, in the middle of the tundra. "You couldn't see two feet in front of your face. Then out of nowhere, these Inuit pulled into camp on their skidoos. They just wanted to check to see the visitors were OK. "How did you find us in this storm," they asked, marveling at their Inuit abilities on the land. One guy grinned and pulled a GPS from inside his parka."

Adopting and adapting technologies are central to the cultural changes among Natives in Canada. Radio reached remote settlements and reserves long before TV and stereos (in many places, there was no electricity to run these devices until the 1960s). (via

The reality is that technological and other adaptations have had profound effects on Native cultures and norms, advantages and costs. From the beginning, though, resistance has been strong, in the sense that Native have always striven to make use of the new tools on their own terms.

as diverse as bluegrass, rockabilly, country rock and the slick Nashville sound" (Patterson 1995: 73).

4.1 *The Fiddle and the Drum*

Among the Iroquois in the 1600s,⁷⁴ the Jesuits had trouble trying to enforce a wholesale acceptance of their religion⁷⁵ and music, because the Iroquois wanted to use the white religion on their own terms. "In the same way that the Jesuits initially responded to Huron customs from their own European cultural perspective, the Huron seem to have interpreted European (French) beliefs and practices according to their own concepts and signifying systems" (Grabell 1990: 96). So while the Jesuits viewed Native healing songs as satanic howling, the Wendat (and Iroquois) viewed Jesuit singing as a powerful intonation of a new type of spirit society. The Jesuits were often asked to pray at Native healing ceremonies, and Natives would use traditional invocations during Christian services (1990: 96-97).

A further example of cultural borrowing is the early Native adoption of the violin (or fiddle), an instrument which represents European musical culture, and was at the zenith of its popularity in the 1700s and 1800s. During the era of the fur trade in Canada, French and Scottish traders and settlers socialized at fiddle dances. Natives in contact with white settlements were drawn to the dances, and the fiddle.

⁷⁴ Most of the Jesuits' early work was done with the Wendat, also the Innu. The Wendat are related linguistically, culturally and familiarly to members of the Iroquois Confederacy, although they never joined. Their early contact and alliance with the French is thought to be one source of their later decimation through disease and warfare. Their worldview and traditions, and their experiences with the church, are linked to those of the Iroquois, so I examine these groups together here. For more on this relationship, see Sioui 1992: 39-60.

⁷⁵ There is no word for "religion" or "spirituality" among Anishnabek and Iroquois languages, as these elements are part of everything in everyday existence. The division of life into areas of "religion," "economy," "politics" and "culture" reflect the segmented thinking of Europeans. An "old Cree Indian from Northern Québec" once said to Wilf Peltier: "What is culture anyway ? We are a way of life" (Peltier na: 4).

The fiddle was portable and loud enough to stimulate gatherings. *Rolling Stone* magazine described the fiddle as “the electric guitar of the 19th century: loud, portable and flashy” (in Pinto 1994: 70). From the beginning, fiddle music and accompanying dances and gatherings interfered with traditional Native ways. Handsome Lake of the Iroquois forbade the use of the fiddle, and Ojibwe Midewiwin teachers around the Great Lakes found their lodge attendance dwindling as Saturday night fiddle dances took over.

Much as Native traditionalists (and the clergy) would protest, the fiddle gained popularity. Basil Johnston describes the early days of dances and fiddling on the reserve in his story “What is Sin ?” Priests and the police were working to eliminate drinking and dancing parties on the reserves, while “the dancers continued to meet secretly... the square dance loving Indians scheduled the Saturday night November dances in a remote part of the reserve, “ and in order to distract authorities, “Kagige was for assaulting the priest and even raising a small party of men to howl outside his residence for several hours every night for several nights” (1978: 76-78).

The fiddle was the instrument most adopted by Natives during early colonization, and this resulted in some new hybrid music styles and in survivals of both Native and European styles and tunes. Musically, the fiddle allowed for a syncretism of European and Native musics, wherein both traditions are distinct within a new music. Anne Lederman works with Metis fiddlers, in Saulteaux communities in western Manitoba, composed largely of descendants of Ojibwe who migrated from Sault Ste. Marie in the late 1700s, in pursuit of the fur trade.

Marriages or alliances "in the manner of the country" with French and Scottish traders created the Metis communities there today.⁷⁶

It is in the musical traditions of the Saulteaux communities that we can perhaps most easily see the mixed legacy of the past 200 years... even though it is their mother tongue, no one seems to sing Ojibwa songs anymore. Fred McKay, born in 1908, says he never heard any "powwow music" at Pine Creek in his lifetime, only violin. In spite of that, however, and even though the older style of fiddling is close to Québécois playing in many ways, the fiddle music of these communities bears the unmistakable stamp of traditional Native music...

This Native character is evident largely in the form of the tunes. The length of the phrases changes drastically from one line to the next: the overall structures have any number of these different-length phrases and are very asymmetric. Each player has his own versions of tunes and the players vary the tunes in certain ways from one time through the tune to the next. These renditions frequently vary in length as well as melody. This is playing in "the old-time way" (Lederman 1987: 9).

She goes on to point out that these characteristics are common to old Ojibwe songs. She speculates further that some of these musical characteristics, such as the unusual use of five-beats, may be due not only to musical tradition but also linguistic flow and structure (1987: 13).

Saulteaux fiddle music is imbued with a heritage from Scots fiddlers. The complicated foot tapping patterns, thought to have originated in the British Isles as a way for solo fiddlers to accompany themselves, are part of the style that traveled from Cape Breton and other Maritime areas to the Plains and beyond (Lederman 1991: 42; MacGillivray 1982: 6).

⁷⁶ In most cases, these marriages were in "la facon du pays," partly because the clergy did not approve or were not available. See Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties*.

There is still a busy sociomusical syncretism in the North, where musicians with Native, Inuit, Irish, French, and Scottish influences are getting together in places such as Yellowknife and Whitehorse to create a lively country and bluegrass scene. Multi-cultural music festivals, such as *Northern Lights*, help bring threads of many traditions together in music.

4.2 Menace and Promise in the Media

Television (which Jerry Mander calls “freedom of speech for the wealthy” (1991:78)) has had a bad effect on family relations, language and social structure in remote communities. Cindy Gilday points out that the effect of TV of the Dene has been “to glamorize behaviours and values that are poisonous to life up here... People are sitting in their log houses, alongside frozen lakes with dog teams tied up outside, watching a bunch of white people in *Dallas* standing around their swimming pools, drinking martinis and plotting to destroy each other or steal from each other, or to get their friends’ wives into bed... I heard of one old woman who prays every night for the people in the soap operas. She thinks they’re *real*” (in Mander 1991: 104-105).

Six Nations actor, musician and Native activist Gary Farmer points out that TV is “the modern assimilator, replacing the old methods of residential schools, churches, and governments... Television has infiltrated practically every native household from the farthest reaches of the Northwest Territories through the tip of South America, and indigenous communities are bombarded by information that

does not reflect their reality or their needs, their language or their culture... This cycle of alienation must be broken and Indian media are the only hope in sight for this task" (1994: 63).

There are now over two hundred Native radio stations on reserves across Canada, many of them tied into networks such as the Wawatay Native Communications Society in Sioux Lookout Ontario. There are dozens of small television and cable producers as well, creating shows in Native languages that are broadcast on Inuit, Dene and other TV networks across Northern Canada. These are augmented by many Native radio stations now online (mostly in the U.S.), most notably Native Radio at <http://www.nativeradio.com>. Gary Farmer has now established a Native radio centre in Toronto, and is lobbying the CRTC to allow for a Canada-wide Native radio network.

"For the past twenty years, indigenous communities around the world have begun to take control of the media most related to them. This is not an easy task" as the communities face governments and regulatory boards that favour private broadcasters, but communities are mastering the technology and the "positive change a publicly owned radio station can make in an Indian community is astounding," and "one day, all the indigenous broadcasters around the world will come together — one day soon" (Farmer 1994: 64).⁷⁷

⁷⁷ To this end, a number of Native communities are offering courses in broadcast and other media. At Tyendinaga, "the Aboriginal Media Program was created in the spirit of telling our own stories." The three-year post-secondary program leads to either a diploma in print or broadcast journalism. At <http://www.tyendinaga.net/fnti/media/media.htm>.

4.3 Questions — *Adoptions, Survivals*

The question remains as to what the effects of the adoption of the new technology, the new arena of cyberspace, will be. Adoption of the fiddle showed cultural losses, and survivals at the same time. As the following section explores, the current opportunity for cultural exchange in cyberspace can be seen by as perhaps a last chance for exchange of perspectives, or a knell for assimilation — in light of the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

Natives, particularly on reserve, missed the early forays into cyberspace, and regarded it with suspicion from the start. In 1998 I was at South Bay Mouth at the tip of Manitoulin waiting for the ferry to Tobermory and the Bruce Peninsula. I stopped at a diner that advertised whitefish and chips, and sure enough, there was an Ojibwe woman there just getting started for the afternoon. I asked if I could plug my laptop into her phone line; her younger son (about 12) thought it was a neat idea but said “ask my dad.” The older son (15) sat smoking cigarettes looking out the window at the cars headed for the ferry — it was powwow weekend and there was a lot going on.

I asked their dad if it would be OK for me to tap into his phone line and get to my office in Ottawa. He said alright, come back in the morning. I got takeout whitefish and relaxed at my camp. The next morning, the younger son looked upset and the older had gone off to the powwow; after breakfast Dad told me that he had laid awake all night in thought, and now feared that I might use my computer and the Internet to get into his bank account or take the money from

his Interac machine; he asked if I could prove otherwise. Not being able to, I nodded to his wife and youngest son and left.

I headed to the popular Esso fishing stop down the road. The owner there, a non-Native running a busy corner shop, let me plug in. When I told him about my trouble up the road, he said: "If you can get to my bank account, please put some money in."

The people at the whitefish shop were right to be suspicious. If Barlow is right, and cyberspace is "where your money lives," then the mainstream shopkeepers are there already, waiting for the Natives to come and 'trade.'

Chapter Five

Natives in Cyberspace — Early Echoes

I began finding Native networks in cyberspace in the early 90s; they now number in the thousands of websites, bulletin boards and listservs. Bulletin boards and listservs were the first technologies to allow rapid, relatively open format, multi-user communication in cyberspace, and Native issues have been present from the start.

5.1 NativeNet

I was a member of the Native-L and NATCHAT listservs (a part of NativeNet) almost since its inception to the mid-90s. A U.S.-based listserv, it was the first large site for Aboriginal (and Native American, in the political sense) interests, drawing thousands of subscribers and producing dozens of messages each day.

Gary Trujillo created NativeNet after attending the Tribal Lands conference in 1989, at Smith College in Massachusetts, which examined the endangered land base of Native peoples around the world.⁷⁸ NativeNet now is

⁷⁸ At this conference, in line with the Seventh Fire and other prophecies, participants "spoke about subjects like threats to ecosystems and to biodiversity as well as those to indigenous peoples, and about how those threats are related to one another. Overall, a picture emerged of choices lying before humanity, having to do with the degree to which we permit ourselves to rely solely on technological solutions to our problems rather than developing a critical awareness of broad historical patterns within which it becomes possible to understand and to question the way in which certain societies have exploited resources and have behaved toward other societies over which they have had a military advantage... By reconciling relationships with and learning from those cultures that have traditionally lived in better balance with the earth than have industrial societies, we may yet learn how to achieve a sustainable existence. In healing our relationship with the earth and with one another may lie our only real hope of truly healing ourselves" (Trujillo

hosted at Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College (Ojibwe) in Minnesota, but has been on hiatus since Aug. 1997, when the last messages from Trujillo and List moderator Jay Brunett talked of hardware difficulties, and constraints due to lack of volunteer time available.^{viii}

NATIVE-L disseminated news and information, and NATCHAT was the attendant discussion group. The content of both groups was wide-ranging, but there were a number of predominant themes. These were: Who is Native, what are valid claims regarding Native identity?; issues of spirituality, teachings, prophecies; people seeking cultural or genealogical information; racial denigration of colonizing culture.

There was enough interest and traffic that specialized groups were also formed. At the time of the Columbus Quincentenary in 1992 NATCHAT expanded to include a room devoted to discussion of the impact of Columbus stumbling upon the Americas (or, as Mohawk blues artist Murray Porter sings: "Fourteen ninety two... who found who?") as well as decrying celebrations of the event.⁷⁹ NAT-HLTH was started to deal with health concerns and NAT-EDU followed to provide discussion of education.^{ix}

at <http://cs.fdl.cc.mn.us/natnet/vision.html>).

⁷⁹ "Duke Redbird (1975) tells a story about a non-Indian who is looking for the road to the Duck Lake powwow. He sees an old Indian sitting outside his house and he calls out, 'Where's the road to the Duck Lake powwow?' The old man never looks up as he answers, 'Don't know.' The man in the car mumbles 'Dumb Indian.' And the old man looks up and says, 'I might be dumb, but I'm not lost.'

This story held special meaning for First Nations in 1992, a year in which Americans celebrated the quincentennial of Columbus and Canadians continued to digest the meaning of what became known as the 'Oka crisis...' Indians know that when Columbus sailed to America, he was lost; and for many Native North Americans, this paradigm of Columbus's encounter with the 'New World' is an apt description of the society precipitated through his voyage. The conflicting quincentennial visions of Indians and non-Indians are represented in the titles of the PBS television program *Columbus and the Age of Discovery* and the Indian-made video entitled *Surviving Columbus*" (Valaskakis 1993).

Ten years ago, cyberspace was a stark, text-driven universe compared to the WWW today (see Appendix E). The following is a series of glimpses from these and other listservs I visited in Cyberspace in the early 90s. They reflect the most common themes in Native cyberspace, themes that will be further explored in Chapter Six.

5.2 Prophecies

This first exchange is on the topic of Cherokee Religion, but includes references directly related to the Seventh Fire and Seven Generations prophecies. Although the Seventh Fire prophecy itself was rarely mentioned on these lists, many discussions of prophecies contained key elements of the Seventh Fire prophecy.

On the topic of Cherokee Religion, an Ojibwe working for NASA writes:

One of the best fires to sit around is when two people start talking (or yelling) and we get the benefit of the debate. Usually, the two doing the talking don't change their minds, in fact they become more solidified in their point of view. But we the listeners are the benefactors in that we can see the merits and faults of each speaker. To prove that I'm not so wise, I'm about to join the speakers and remove myself from the ranks of listeners. First is the clipped-texts from an older conversation:

* Young Owl Hatching posted:

I don't know about others & can't speak for others, but many spiritual elders of many tribes have it in their prophecies that this would all happen in the 5th generation after the 1800's - that the invaders would come back to learn. Many teachers & leaders I have heard have talked about this and that this is what they must do, even if it is not what they wanted to do at first.

* Amy Echo-Hawk replied:

I would appreciate something a little less nebulous than "many." What other tribes & which "spiritual elders" prophecies have you heard? I'm curious. :)

* Amy continues: It would be nice if all people (including myself) knew which tribes believed that they -must- teach the invaders what they have forgotten. That way, those who sense the need to return to landbased/Nature based spirituality would know who they could turn to for instruction without offending other Natives.

* Amy continues: I am very serious about my request. I would like to know which Tribes I can refer people to who try to steal my religion. It is only Rape and only Theft when it is AGAINST the WILL of the PEOPLE.

Here I go. (Stupid is as stupid does. (grin))

Amy, don't steer the culture-less failures to my tribe, the Ojibway. Yes we do have the beliefs that the Western culture must learn. (And many many more the new agers would love to get their ears on... but they won't hear about those from me! Least of all not on a national bb.)

Our Ojibway prophecies say that the West must become more like the Indian cultures. (Insert gasps here!)

So does that mean we must hold seminars, sweats, move everyone out of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and put them into the Birch forests or the plains and make them hunt buffalo. Live in teepees or rice on our lakes with our traditional canoes and get sugar from maple trees, and treat the world with respect, and love our families rather than abuse them... (sorry for going on... I just enjoy my culture so...)

No it does not.

What it means is that our elders, over 200 years ago observed the Western culture and made some horrible predictions. For whatever reason the Western culture has come here, they are here, and they are here to stay. Forever.

What it means is that the Western culture must learn that people are more valuable than "things." The "one-to-one" relationship is more important than money, fame, or the popular description of "success." Turn to us? No way. I don't even want to give them a flashlight to show them the way. (grin) The prophecies say that the Western culture must learn a different way, or they and we with them are doomed. Like it or not (so the elders say) our destiny forever more is linked to theirs. (YIKES!) Nowhere do they say we must teach, but the West must change their ways or else we are all going down together.

Stealing our culture? You bet. Big time. Look at our tribal Dream Catcher! (sigh) But taking things is among their talents. Then again, we as Indians are guilty too of stealing their culture. Look at the

discussions on the board about who is Indian and who isn't. Look at the discussions about "success" and money. Look at the illegally elected tribal councils, child abuse, and drug abuse. How many of our Indian brothers and sisters are paintcan-sniffers to escape and/or trash their lives. These are not traditional topics. In fact it clearly shows a lack of tradition and enforcement.

The Hopi also have a similar prophecy to our Ojibway elders. They too see the demise of the Western "so called Civilization."

No we don't teach and please don't send them our way. No culture (not even Ojibway) can tell another culture (Pawnee or White) what to do or how to change, so the question is how?

We don't want their seekers, wannabes, pretenders, phonies, flakes, fakes, windigos and crooks (to name only a few). But something must change. Or.... or.... lets just say an ugly nation and a dark time in humanity will emerge. I tend to have a brighter outlook, though lately I seem to be on the losing side... yet again.

—Charles P. Whitecoyote, born Ojibway...
(Sitting back down next to the electronic fireside.)

Another take on this conversation, from Young Owl Hatching:

(Amy EchoHawk) writes:

Hi!

Young Owl Hatching posted:

"I don't know about others & can't speak for others, but many spiritual elders of many tribes have it in their prophecies that this would all happen [re. Cherokee Religion/Wannabe's/cultural rape etc.] in the 5th generation after the 1800's the invaders would come back to learn..."

> I am still curious exactly which tribes & individuals & "spiritual
> elders" constitute the nebulous "many." Whose prophecies are
> you referring to?

(Young Owl Hatching) writes:

My former Pawnee teacher spoke of this and said it was in the Prophecies that were handed down from his Grandfather. I've heard it from Slow Turtle and Medicine Story, from the Wampanoags here. I've heard them from Grandfather Wallace Black Elk. I've heard them from various other Lakoata elders. I've heard them from Mayan elders. I've heard them from Eli Gatoga, Cherokee. And I've read of

them with dozens of others from various tribes. Again, as Jay pointed out, it's not tribes, but specific elders.

- > This would help them and it would help religions that are not
- > evangelical or preaching or open. Not all religions and not all
- > cultures and not all tribes are into making "converts."

It isn't about converts! This is the narrow view. We all go down if things don't change first. I'm not interested in specific tribal things. We're talking about coming together as human beings. There is nothing to convert! Everyone has the same set of Original Instructions from the Creator. Everyone has the Tribal living thing in their blood. Everyone had Sweat Lodges and quests. Everyone lived close to the Earth. It's about helping each other re-discover those things we already knew. It's much more universal than the: I want to learn a tribe's things, You won't share, point them to some other. It's not about that. Creator made all of us. We all are human beings.

- > I am interested in prophecies -- if anyone is of the mind to
- > share them (ie. if they are prophecies that may be shared.).
- > The ones I am most familiar with are similar to the ghost
- > dance prophecy of Wovoka -- which new agers & wannabe's
- > do not really care to exploit for some reason! :D

We can start with Black Elk's Vision and prophecies: that the people would suffer for 5 generations and then people would return to the sacred hoop in the 5th generation (now). This would be people from the 4 races as in his vision all making one great Flowering Tree. There's much more I could say about this one if you would like.

I'll just say these things for the last time. I was at a Pow Wow yesterday where one of my elders and teachers, Slow Turtle, Supreme Medicine Man of the Wampanoag Nation here in Massachusetts had everyone in the Circle hold hands. He told about going all over the world looking for human beings. He has not found many. He then told how he hoped that he could plant a seed today in people to follow the Original Instructions and to all be together as human beings. That's what I'm talking about.

In the Circle is the power of understanding other viewpoints and healing.

Young Owl Hatching

5.3 Identity

The subject of identity, of who is “Indian,” becomes more alive in cyberspace, where the physicality of race has disappeared, making creolization more acceptable and open discourse easier. It is not only a question of how to define a Native person, but also who should be allowed to become involved in Native customs, ceremonies, etc. — or visit on Native listservs

The question of race is tied into the idea of spirituality, as the following email shows:

People saying that only card-carriers have a right to walk the red road, do Spirit a serious disservice. When they forbid the ways of Spirit which fit this land, from goodhearted people who live here, just because of the seeker's color or ethnic background, do they think they are doing right by God?

Recently Oren Lyons (of the Six Nations Confederacy) said this: “The elders will say it is impossible, while the young have the capability to make it happen...” and... “I was at a meeting with several tribal elders, when young white people seeking native ways showed up on my doorstep. I asked the other elders what should we do? The guidance of the creator has always been to refuse this help to no one. So we decided to help them.”

And for a while I've been saying stuff like this:

This continent was settled by several waves of migration, from Atzlan, southeast Asia, and northeast Asia. All came here with respect for the land, and the land accepted them. Their descendants are now known as Indians, Native Americans, Native, etc. Even a few whites came before Columbus, sailors from Scandinavia who found it good here and settled in with those who were already here. All were accepted by the land, because they respected the land.

The way it was supposed to be was anyone who lives here and respects the land, was to be considered native. Until the Europeans came, who for the most part did not respect the land, it was so. Then a distinction had to be drawn, as to who is “native” or “indian” and who isn't. A distinction was drawn between friend and enemy, and the gov't was the main one who drew this distinction.

Some people ask me what percent Indian I am. I cannot say, because my family didn't like to talk about those things. Anyway, "percent Indian" is a BIA thing -- a U.S. Government thing -- a power of 2 based on how far back your most recent known fullblood ancestor was. What does it matter how many generations back she was if she is talking to you now? That's what I tell them. People cannot be cut up like pie charts; "percent Indian" conjures up images of dissecting human beings. Someone else I know, when asked this, likes to say, "my heart, my mind, and my right middle finger!", or something like that. Nowadays many tribes are disbanding, and many new tribes forming. Maybe it will be the way it was supposed to be from the beginning -- that anyone who lives here with respect for the land is a native, no matter what their ethnic heritage or when their family got here!

This is the way it was meant to be, and this is the way it will be again.

Dee @ 4C

It is not only a question of whether or not to exclude non-Natives, questions of identity arise among various Natives themselves:

Being a "Breed" myself this short poem displays my feelings exactly.

Song of the Breed

Don't offend
the fullbloods,
don't offend
the whites,
stand there in
the middle
of the god-
damned road
and get hit.

Carroll Arnett - Cherokee/French

On the subject of race in Canada, Métis Martin Dunn, an Aboriginal consultant living in Ottawa, wrote the following. It goes a long way toward explaining the Nativeness of the Québécoise, acquired over hundreds of years.

Donald Phillipson writes:

>(If you want to get serious about genetics, the most “purely” bred
>Canadian community is probably French Canadian, six million
people >now traceable to 60,000 Quebeckers 230 years ago.

Considering there were never more than 10,000 immigrants to Canada from France, and no more than 2,000 of them were women, I'm not sure what the writer means by “purely” bred Canadian. Most Quebeckers -- estimates range from 40 percent to 85 percent -- have some Aboriginal ancestry. From my own (admittedly Metis) point of view these are, indeed, pure Canadians, -- in fact the first Canadians -- but they are definitely not “pure” French.

Martin Dunn

Identity is not simply discussed in cyberspace, it is also created and changed through discourse. “Identities and lives are not merely recorded or transacted in cyberspace, they are fictionalized and changed in the process” (Harris 2000: 326). As we will be seeing, this is not always a good thing for the Native community.

5.4 Wannabes

People on the lists often wrote as if they knew each other, as if they expected to see each other at the next summer gathering. The lists were very supportive of issues such as cooperation and understanding among races, environmental

issues, rights for mixed bloods. Non-Natives such as university students and environmentalists often posted to the list for help finding information. Unless the list found the request to be a good one, the interloper might be rebuffed. The dislike of curiosity seekers and wannabes was obvious.

Deanna Shlee writes, and Jay Brummett, moderator of the list replies:

>An idea just came to mind with all the talk about Thanksgiving and
>telling our children the "right stuff." Has anyone heard of
>SPENDING Thanksgiving WITH an Indian family/tribe?

As a matter of fact some of us do spend "Thanksgiving" with an Indian family -- OUR OWN! Thanksgiving as a holiday to give thanks to Tunkasila for all that we have received is IMHO a good thing. In my family we celebrate such a giving of thanks each day. This is the Indian way, the idea of stuffing ourselves with food and watching the football as a way to thank Tunkasila seems strange. Don't get me wrong, we may eat a good meal on the third Thursday of the month of November. In my family we do not feel that the "custom" of celebrating a "Thanksgiving" that the Pilgrims lived through their first year is very good idea, as the Pilgrims could not have had their feast without the help of Indian people. The same Pilgrims who OWED their lives and the lives of their children to the Indians who helped them out were the SAME people who killed the CHILDREN and wives of those who helped them. (not to mention the Indian men who were also killed). Perhaps your idea bears reconsideration.

>Here in Arizona, there are several reservations and different tribes
>of Native Americans. I will check into it here. I think it would be
>great and would love for my family to do it!

I suspect that you will find that you are not as welcome as you seem to expect to be. Native American people tend to hold Thanksgiving meals within their own families and communities. If you really want to experience the First Thanksgiving from INDIAN eyes, then take your meal and find some starving homeless strangers and welcome them into your home, feed them and give them all that they need to thrive. Show them your family treasures. However, one word of warning, experience has taught us that they

may come back to kill you. Take your chances; perhaps you will do some real good in the world by sharing your meal.

Another notable bulletin board described by American anthropologist Larry Zimmerman reflects this Native anger against interlopers, both historical and present, quite strongly. I have seen people who asked naïve questions, or offered self declared “non-Native” perspectives on issues, get thoroughly flamed and discouraged by Natives online. Also, outright interlopers such as racists, new-agers and witches (Windegos) fight pitched battles with the Native community in cyberspace, as will be shown later.

Zimmerman’s example occurred in the late 90s in an American Indian Studies chat room hosted by the University of Iowa Student Computer Association.⁸⁰ He was an early subscriber to the room, which was started and moderated by a Native American graduate student.

Initially, the room was very much a mix of Indian and non-Indian, but mostly the latter. Almost from the start, an Anishinabe man, a disabled Vietnam War veteran (online name-Black Wolf’s Shadow-BWS), began to challenge any question he felt inappropriate to the room. In particular, he challenged anyone who asked questions that seemed stereotypical.

For example, a question such as “Can anyone tell me the Indian word for...?” would draw his attention and ire. Any online discussion of religion became his wrath, and any effort on the part of non-Indians to suggest they might know anything about Indians would be challenged (L. Zimmerman knows this from first-hand experience).

As BWS was older than most of the online participants, he was initially called an elder, a term of veneration and respect, which after some time he rejected. He, in his own words, didn’t have the temperament of an elder, which requires patience.

⁸⁰ This is the largest student bulletin board in the world, with some 250,000 users and hundreds of topic rooms. It is accessible by telnet to whip.isca.uiowa.edu. You can login as Guest to look around or access the American Indian Studies room by getting an ID. Then hit J, and type 177.

He often uses ridicule, and those who challenge at all can be “flamed.” At the same time, he will give praise to those who do stand up to him, though he will rarely give in. There is a relatively small group of Indians and non-Indians (all self-identified) who support him and dominate the room. Reading the room regularly, one can tell that there is a detectable background of private mail that discusses the actions in the room (Zimmerman 2002: 74-75).⁸¹

Zimmerman calls this “the process of maintenance of ethnic boundaries,” although in my experience these boundaries are often better maintained by an informative sharing by way of answering ignorant questions (Such as the one attacked by BSW above; there is no “Indian word” for anything, asking such a question displays great ignorance of the diversity and linguistic variety of Aboriginal peoples).

Ignorance and cultural insensitivity abounds on Native listservs and chat rooms, and always inspires a response. Some of the angriest responses come when non-Native armchair anthropologists suggest that they might know better than Native listmembers. “A major issue is that of remnant Indian anger, commonly raised when a non-Indian asks why people are still so angry about what happened in the past, and why Indians don’t just move on” (Zimmerman 2002: 75).

It is often non-Native comments that inflame Native lists. Zimmerman noted “no more than 20 messages a week” in his chat room, “unless an issue or person is challenged. Then traffic expands to 20 or so posts a day. In that sense, the room has become mostly Indian. Many non-Indians certainly lurk, but those who regularly contribute largely accept the crisply maintained boundaries” (ibid).

⁸¹ BWS has now established an Indian controlled and operated mailing list and website with chat

5.5 Spirituality

The following email appeared on NativeNet in 1995, it is a reminder that spiritual belief, and worldview, are fundamental to the differences between Natives and non-Natives. It is an example of spirituality, or spiritual beliefs, being celebrated virtually in cyberspace. This reflects the strongest underlying current on the list, often reinforced through "sharing" traditions and personal information among Natives online, and sometimes expanded to include non-Natives.

Keith Idso writes:

Hau to all:

I have been off the net for about a month, and have just returned to read many posts that sadden me. It is not good to see so much anger and resentment go unchecked while there is still much happiness and gratefulness around.

My grandmother was very sickly this past summer and laid on her death bed for about a week before slowly recovering. Doctors scheduled her for exploratory surgery to check her body for internal cancerous growth.

A humble sundancer offered to pray for her recovery and my family travelled North to pray upon this alter with him. While dancing, his own wife fell ill and was admitted to the hospital. This dancer wanted to head home to be with his family, but at the same time he knew he could help them more by continuing to send prayers from the sundance. When a few hundred people of all colors pray together with the sacred pipe in a sacred way - without anger, resentment, or prejudice - extremely powerful things can occur.

The wife of this sundancer recovered the following day at the hospital. My grandmother's surgery proved to find no malignant growths in her body. Who can say what additional prayers were answered following this sacred time?

The point is this, that prayer is powerful. It matters not whether we are full, mixed blood, or non-indian. Any sincere prayer is listened to by the Creator, as we are all his children, and are recipients of his love. We must remember that all good gifts come

from the Creator, and that different gifts are given to different children; but again, all these gifts are good. By looking at our own families, we might notice that when good gifts are shared amongst our own children, all of them benefit.

To the Lakota, the sacred pipe was given. Proper use and respect for this pipe brought countless benefits to the people. The Lakota shared this gift that other children might also benefit from it. It was first shared with those belonging to neighbouring tribes, and was eventually shared with peoples living across the entire North American continent before the arrival of the Europeans.

At present day there is much debate over who should or who should not be allowed to participate in or even lead a "traditional" native american ceremony. Specific tribes and religious groups or societies within these tribes are the ones who ultimately make this decision. But no group can force an individual to go against the dictates of his own conscience.

So if an individual decides to share a good gift with another, it should be done sincerely with an open heart and with no monetary strings attached, as it is done when larger groups or societies choose to share a good gift that others too may benefit from it.

At the sundance where I prayed for my grandmother's health, all sincere and humble people had the opportunity to come and pray. They had the opportunity to benefit from this good gift that the Lakota people had chosen to share with everyone at this given location. No one there was misjudged, mistrusted, or mistreated based solely on their outward appearance. And as I stated earlier, the prayers given there unselfishly were extremely powerful.

So let us remember not to dwell on our feelings of anger and resentment, because doing this only brings ourselves and others down with us. Instead we should spend more time praying for those who have caused us to feel anger or resentment that we might somehow reach an understanding of one another's strengths and weaknesses and respect them. And when you pray, remember to be sincere.

In closing, I would just like to say that it was not so long ago that our own Moderator of this newsgroup had fallen ill and was hospitalized. I know of some individuals who have not agreed fully with Jay on certain topics, but I know that they too were among those praying for his full and speedy recovery.

I hope I haven't been too preachy, but I was deeply saddened after reading some of the harsh language that was written after returning to the internet. I pray that we can all continue to discuss our different viewpoints on this forum without losing the perspective that there are real people out there who might be hurt by what we post.

Mitakuye Oyasin, Keith

5.6 Windegos

At the same time that (William Gibson's) novels construct cyberspace as a realm of infinite possibility — where (organically) dead people can continue to exist in electronic form, where one can instantaneously access (the data centres of) remote countries and even outer space stations, where forgotten or demolished scenes can be (electronically) reproduced with startling accuracy and detail — they also repel with their picture of totalising power and dehumanized entities (Goh 2000: 32).

Windigo is a fierce and malevolent spirit described by the Anishnabe, who lives deep in the bush and waylays passersby. He is never seen, which makes cyberspace the perfect territory for him today.

The Windigo is a terrible spirit of cannibalism that... can take both physical and mental forms. It is a half-phantom, half-beast that lives in the forests and preys on human beings, especially children. It can also take the form of a mental disorder that causes its victim to become a zombie that performs acts of cannibalism.

Windigo is known in the Maritimes, the Northwest Territories, and the northern regions of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. It haunts the forests and tundra in the triangular domain reaching from the Atlantic Ocean in the east, to the Rocky Mountains in the west, and to the Arctic Ocean to the north.

It can feast on flesh and blood, it can change shape at will, and it can scare its victims to death with a single look. It can strike such terror into a person that he would be rendered into a cannibalistic zombie void of all personality and individuality.

The Windigo has been described as an evil spirit, a ten-foot tall demon with an enormous head, gigantic teeth in a twisted mouth, beady eyes, and supernatural strength and speed. It moves faster than the human eye could follow, and can blend into the trees and winds.

The name is derived from the Algonkian root word witiku, and means 'evil spirit' and 'cannibal.' It dates back to the earliest of Indian legends, where it is described as a phantom of hunger that

stalks the forests, hunting for lone Indians to eat. It is a creature of the Algonkian people's experience and imagination. Its origin spawned from the fear and disgust of cannibalism. This act is seen to be so horrid that persons who commit it can only be explained by possession of a supernatural evil, for it is inconceivable that a healthy man, with full control of his mental facilities, will eat the flesh of his fellows by choice or by desire.

Like most legends, the Windigo is also an explanation for the unknown, an entity drawn from the depths of the dark and mysterious forests. (ThinkQuest Library)^x

Cyberspace also has dark and mysterious depths, drawn of human imagination, so Windigo can exist there as well. In cyberspace, Windigo manifests as a fake medicine man or teacher, bringing illusion to the unknowing and creating confusion and destruction through the appropriation of Native teachings.

A common discussion on Native listservs is the theft (appropriation) of identity and culture by "wannabes,"^{xi} perhaps a type of living cannibalism. Non-Natives have always taken on selected Native cultural traits — today the "Indianists" of Germany, Belgium and other parts of Europe regularly dress up in Native outfits, make crafts, and imitate ceremonies. European Indianists such as the Germans (who have an ongoing "fascination with Indians") are a humorous, but disturbing, group. In 1990 an "annual gathering of Germans playacting and dressing like Plains Indians" upset a visiting Sarcee couple from Alberta who saw "sacred dances being trivialized" (MacDonald 1993: 31, also see Appendix F).⁸²

Now the pseudo-powwow on the ground has moved: Indianists exist across

⁸² The late Dario Domingues, a South American musician who lived in Ottawa, told me about playing for a crowd of Indianists in Germany in the late 80s. He couldn't see the audience, he said, because of a group of Germans in the front rows, wearing buckskin and huge, feathered war bonnets that blocked his view of the back rows. "They sat there through the whole concert, arms

Europe, and are thriving in cyberspace. The Native American Association of Germany (NAAoG) boasts some 300 members (none are Native American I am sure), publishes the ezine Indian Country Germany, and hosts a website complete with tips on powwow protocol, Native spirituality, and online application forms and an ecommerce interface. Other sites, most of which also have crafts and memberships for sale, include: The Aktionsgruppe Indianer und Menschenrechte (Action Group for Native Americans and Human Rights, formerly called Big Mountain Action Group) which publishes Coyote magazine online; the OK-OC in France, dedicated to a connection between Oklahoma (OK) Indians and Occitania (OC) (I don't quite get this one, but it is colourful); the Four Winds Association in Switzerland, which promotes powwows; in the Netherlands (and in Dutch) is an organization involved with the (modern-day) Lakota, called Lakota Stichting, and another concerned with Leonard Peltier (Leonard Peltier Stichting) — a political support organization, and another association, the Danish Native American Society, which also focuses on the powwow, on 'hobbies' from the past (crafts), and again and always, spirituality.^{xii}

Ironically, as we saw with the preservation of traditional Scottish Orkney fiddle styles by Natives from Maniwaki, Indianism may be of some use to First Nations. "German Indian enthusiasts, known as 'hobbyists,' are so dedicated to authenticity that some real American Indians have approached them seeking information about their own culture. In fact, some dying Indian languages may end up being preserved by German hobbyists" (Hagengruber 2002).

folded across their chests, looking serious..."

In cyberspace we can touch the realm of the sacred, but we also see a hodgepodge of stereotypical questions and beliefs on the part of wannabes. Much is taken out of context, which is disrespectful and misleading. Even when wannabes and other Native supporters suggest that they are allies, Natives on the lists usually rebuff these suggestions, protective of their cultural practices.

In "Internet Indian Wars," Glen Martin talks about Ohio software consultant Don Rapp, who masqueraded as a Shawnee Indian named "Blue Snake" on AOL in the early 90s, where he conducted seminars, passed on "teachings" to members of his "Evening Sky Clan" of the "Red Heart Tribe." Blue Snake created a virtual "lodge" (a dwelling, also a sacred and teaching space):

Before you is a lodge, a large tepee... The silhouettes of its inhabitants are cast upon the canvas sides by the fire in the center. You hear only night sounds, a stream chuckles in the distance as it hurls itself headlong through the forest, an owl challenges the darkness as she hunts for prey, a coyote voices his loneliness as he waits for his mate.

Blue Snake is seated in the back of the lodge. At his feet, beside the fire, a pipe carved in the image of a rattlesnake rests on a cedar box. The pipe is a symbol of his authority. He bids you welcome. He raises the pipe then lowers it and points the stem at each of his guests. Six times he draws smoke... six times he exhales it, once to each of the four directions, once to the Everywhere Spirit above, once to Grandmother Earth below....

Blue Snake speaks, "Welcome to my lodge. May you always feel welcome here, as in your own lodge." (in Zimmerman 2000: 73).

As Blue Snake, Don Rapp was "dispensing... Indian spirituality, based largely on his reading of published materials. The "wisdom" was pan-Indian in the worst way, mixing... practices and traits from many tribes."

“By March of 1993, some real Indians had logged on to the room, challenging most of Blue Snake’s ‘teachings.’ Several made themselves so obstreperous that they were thrown off AOL, but continued to log on through friends’ accounts. In the end, the three recognized Shawnee nations sent a joint resolution to AOL and Blue Snake declaring that he was not a tribal member, and noting that their ceremonies and rituals were not for public consumption. AOL replaced Rapp and his room with a Native American oriented chat room” (Zimmerman 2000: 73).

Martin and Zimmerman point out that the use of alternate identities and personae is at the heart of cyberspace culture, with many people online to experiment with, or expand, their identity. Don Rapp’s attempt to masquerade as Native via the Web raises the issue of the nature of identity, and spirituality, and the mix of *prāṇā* and *māyā* that holds us together in cyberspace: “Tradition-minded Indians assert that there’s an uncrossable line in both cyberspace and the real world, a line that separates tribal religious rites from the commerce of everyday life. Such rituals, these Indians maintain, are sacred, proprietary — and indeed, exclusionary” (Martin 1998: 125).

If we accept there is life to cyberspace, however, perhaps some rituals can exist there too. In the transhuman condition, “virtual reality may be many things. It may become a tool, a game machine, or just a mutant form of TV. But for virtual reality to fulfill its highest potential, we must reinvent the sacred spaces where we collaborate with reality in order to transform it and ourselves” (Laurel 1998: 334).

While listservs and chat rooms breathe life into cyberspace and discussions on appropriation, culture and ownership, websites present a more static image. Most cyberspace citizens have their own webpages or at least plan to, and these pages take on peoples' personalities perhaps more than their online discussions — there is potential for personal, audiovisual representations.

Non-Natives are not shy about using Native motifs, themes or stories on the Web. Lambert Gardiner writes:

"The people who control this second reality (cyberspace) have a vested interest in replacing first reality with *their* second reality. *Unintentional* blurring of first and second reality can also be threatening." We have an "understandable enthusiasm for virtual reality/cyberspace" which should not assume "that the world we imagine can substitute for the world we experience. Creating a replica of an American Indian village in a museum (or in cyberspace) is a wonderful way to invite patrons to 'visit' who would not otherwise be able to. This concept of the museum as a virtual reality has been unfairly derided as *Lévi-Strauss-meets-Mickey-Mouse*. However, the replica threatens to eclipse the original if unthinking people consider this visit to the synthetic village as a substitute for a visit to the real village — or even as superior, since it is *hyper* real" (Gardiner 1993).

Michael Twohorse's Wanabi Tribe Home Page^{xiii} lists a number of wannabe sites, as: "We also have a responsibility as Indian people to protect the cultural integrity and cultural property of our various tribes; this page is my effort to do so." Zimmerman notes that Michael has been "sharply criticized for his effort" by non-Natives, but he has a clear rationale:

I have been accused of being judgmental and have been told in the same "breath" that "Indians aren't judgmental." This is the worst kind of stereotypical nonsense...all human beings, including

Indians, make value judgements based on a mixture of self-interest and community interests. The continual stereotyping of Indian people as somehow above the rest of humanity in terms of “nobility” simply defeats attempts by Indians to self-define as human beings.

I believe that it is essential that non-Indians either cease to attempt to define Indian cultures (not likely) or preface their work with statements that make clear that they are writing from an outsider’s perspective and therefore cannot pretend to accurately represent Indian desires and interests. I further believe that there is no punishment severe enough for white people masquerading as Indians, particularly for purposes of stealing/selling Indian (especially Lakota) spirituality...and like I say all over this page: this is my opinion.

Therefore, the Wanabi Tribal Home Page is a listing of those sites which in my opinion, based on research, are run by non-Indians engaging in activities injurious to Indian self-definition and self-determination. (in Zimmerman 2000: 82-83)

In the mid 90s the Tribal Voice website came along, one of the first professional sites with a Native focus.^{xiv} I was taken with their free communication technology — a Web-based voice messaging/phone device that worked quite well — and recommended it to my friends. I enjoyed the Native motifs, and links, but was quite sure that this was not a Native-run enterprise. It was too slick, and too professional, offering free cutting-edge technology.

Zimmerman noted that Michael Twohorse and (the late Native Web pioneer) Paula Giese worked to ‘out’ the site. Tribal Voice “listed a range of Indian events such as powwows around the country and made an effort to promote some Indian causes. At the same time, with little effort to conceal it, non-Indians had obviously created the site, and began to use terms like “heyoka” to describe the roles of the webmasters.”

The site became popular and “began to be listed as an Indian website on numerous other sites. Paula Giese... did research that led her to discover that the

site was founded by John McAfee, the virus software giant, as a self-funded educational charitable trust, as she says, 'a tax dodge (Zimmerman 2000: 83)'”⁸³

The Native American Indian Resources portal is Paula Giese's legacy in cyberspace, hosted by Fond du lac Tribal Community College (Ojibwe), with links to over three hundred web pages. From the start “she made it very clear that the site was for Indian people and teachers who taught Indian students, **not** non-Indian teachers who wished to include Indian-related cultural materials in the curriculum of largely white schools,” and although the site later became more inclusive, “the overall content of the site is geared toward maintaining the ethnic boundary” (Zimmerman 2000: 81).

The Tribal Voice website won a prestigious award by Point Communications, under the guise of being Native. Paula was first honored to see a Native site had won an award, but then wrote:

That was before I discovered Point has picked as a top Native culture site *Tribal Voice*, which is a commercial venture owned by a 100% white corporation, that desecrates several major Indian religions in the guise of a “Warrior game”. It includes a twisted Heyoka who picks disgusting scatological and porno sites as examples of Indian humor. (Lakotas think Heyokas are sacred, not twisted perverts.)

Our Sacred Pipe, sweat lodge, cedar, tobacco, all of our most important symbols, ceremonies, objects, places are not just exploited but desecrated, trashed, by this Tribal Voice corporation, which spent hundreds of thousands of dollars preparing its

⁸³ Note from Kathleen Jenks, Ph.D.: “Paula Geise was a passionate, tough, brilliant, insightful woman dedicated to the literature, lore, art, and cultural integrity of First Peoples, Native Americans, and Meso-Americans. With her death, hundreds of web pages, while still in existence, aren't being tended, links have broken and much is being lost.” At <http://www.mythinglinks.org/Geise~MayanWeaving.html>. More pages by Paula Geise: <http://www.kstrom.net/isk/art/art.html> (Native art), <http://www.kstrom.net/isk/mainmenu.html> (huge Internet directory), <http://www.kstrom.net/isk/food/juniptri.html> (uses of juniper and red and white cedar).

commercial site, but has advertised itself all over the web as "Native Culture."^{xv}

"Cyberspace is a vast and expanding network of people connected with each others by computers. It is social in nature and scope... The emergence of online identity construction, with its similarities to and differences from face-to-face interaction, poses an interesting challenge for sociology in general and symbolic interactionism specifically" (Halbert 1999: i). It "represents a space without place, where people can interact with others across time, geography and even identity" (Halbert 1999: 18); suggesting that cyberspace "has the potential for erasing all social identity since the primary markers we depend on — the body and the voice — no longer exist. However... even though these markers are not *technically* present, they are *technologically* present... (in that cyberspace) depends on cues about 'real life' identities, including sex, gender, sexuality, age, race/ethnicity, and socio-economic status," particularly in relation to places such as chatrooms (Halbert 1999: 61).

In an analysis of 1,276 non-Native chatroom names, Halbert found references to gender in some 65%, followed by romance/sex at 55% and geography at 40%. Age and race were present in under 10% (1999: 63). In Native chatrooms, racial and ethnic identity is almost always referred to in email handles.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Native handles can be in Native languages, or refer to clan, or make a political statement, as in "Kahente" (a Mohawk name), or "Wolvbtch" or "JRWolf" (Wolf Clan), or "Primitive Jim" (sarcasm). Wannabes often adopt overblown stereotypical Indian names, such as "Blue Snake" or "Soaring Eagle."

5.7 Conclusions — Reinforcing Identity

Whether Windego or Wannabe, pretenders on the Web have caused a great deal of grief to Native cybersurfers. At the same time, they have re-opened doors for the discussion of what is, and is not, Native.

Cyberspace is a place for preserving and reinforcing Native identity, but also a place for online identity construction, also for tricks and Tricksters. The processes involved in constructing and preserving identities, at home and online, are intertwined, complex. It is a discursive production of selves and community in cyberspace, a way of exploring ethnic boundaries and beliefs by delineating those for oneself, and the cyberworld, to see.

Cyberentrepreneurs and others out for power are still misrepresenting Indian traditions. But all traditions adapt to their environments and few are the same as they were 100 years ago — even the Catholic church. Indian traditions may seem to be particularly vulnerable to change by fiat, partly because there are few written works which date back a long way and which can be checked. Those that do exist, such as the Ojibwe Birchbark Scrolls on Manitoulin Island, are kept by the people themselves, and not open to mainstream scrutiny.

What mechanisms are used to legitimate a value, story, tradition, ritual, piece of history? In the Indian community, that is community itself, oral history, now being translated to text on the Web. There are also the wampum belts, treaties, and prophecies which inform the people.

In these dialogues, a new exchange of old arguments is in keeping with the Seventh Fire, and the Two-Row Wampum. To a large extent, Natives maintained their identity and their place in cyberspace from the start, exposing colonial or exploitative attitudes and fakers while at the same time providing a new, expanded opportunity for discourse from all directions of the circle.

Chapter Six

Natives in Cyberspace — Today

We missed the Industrial Revolution. We will not miss the Information Technology Revolution. Our citizens, and especially our youth, are ready to take full advantage of this revolution and the possibilities offered. I will strive to ensure that they have that opportunity. (Matthew Coon Come in AFN Proposal 2001: 3)

Increasingly, all people are being drawn into global networks, marked out through cyberspace. Cultural isolation is not an option, so how can Native people protect and advance their values in the face of mainstream pressure from an interconnected world?

The Net has increasing power over the future of groups such as First Nations divorced from the institutions and agencies of government; cyberspace in and of itself is an agent of change. Foucault's description of hegemony in terms of seemingly normal practices (such as patriarchy) could be applied to cyberspace, and this 'normalization' of the Internet in daily life may be beyond the capacity of the dominant group (state, corporation) to manage. Increasingly though, commercial interests and agendas are driving the Net.

On the one hand we have the monopolist agenda of multinational big business, creators and sponsors of the technology. On the other we have what a Mohawk advisor at the Assembly of First Nations called "cyberpeasants," anticipating the day when everyone will have the technology — but not the control of it.

First Nations are in search of survival through Net alliances. The seeming

anarchy (or freedom) of the Internet is inviting to these communities, but it remains that the infrastructure and tools supporting it are increasingly in the hands of monopolies. If everyone has a watch capable of computing like a Pentium and communicating via satellite, how will the balance of power change? Won't kids in some reserves still be living near a communal outhouse at the corner?

As it is on the land it can be in cyberspace, as Carstarphen observes: "Cyberphilosophers tout the Internet as the ultimate egalitarian gathering place" where race is ignored as a liberal, graceful gesture, (but there is also a) "tyranny of a canon of ideas that excludes other cultural participants" (1998: 124-25).

Still Natives are bound to participate: "With the rapid development of new multimedia technologies involving satellites, computers, information networks, and radio and television broadcasting, Native Americans... are recognizing that the survival of their languages and cultures hinges on the ability to 'keep up' with modern technology" (SpottedBird 1994: 65).

The strength and presence of Natives today was created through a long process that demonstrates that Native cultures are not transitional or on their way out, as was once believed. Alfred Young Man explains it this way: "North American Indian artists... have literally reinvented their cultures many times over with no loss of continuity with earlier Native cultures and consequently, they have had, and do have, an untold influence on the way the 'outside' world perceives them... To an anthropologist and an archaeologist, cultures do die. To a Native American cosmologist, perhaps they do not..." (Young Man 1994: 390).

They do not, but exist in other ways. Buffy Sainte-Marie wrote:

On an airplane, my Powerbook is singing to me in Lakota, while the words to the song appear onscreen in both Lakota and English.

In the Canadian Rockies, Indians carrying portable computers trudge through a herd of elk and into the Banff Center for the Arts where the "Drumbeats to Drumbytes" thinktank confronts the reality of online life as it affects Native artists.

A week later in Bismarck, North Dakota, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium votes 'yes' to V-SAT technology that will facilitate distance learning in and out of various Indian communities and 30 Indian colleges.

Across Canada, thousands of First Nations children network their observations and life experiences into mainstream education, as the Cradleboard Teaching Project/Kids From Kanata partnership provides both Native content and connectivity to schools as far away as Hawaii and Baffin Island.

I make a commercial record in a tipi on the Saskatchewan plains, and CBC television films the event for international broadcast. Navajo E-mail markets crafts to 40 foreign countries. A six-foot high painting of Indian elders graces the front office of the American Indian College Fund in Washington, D.C.: it's digital and it's Indian made.

The digital scene in Indian country at the moment is a microcosm of the way it is most everywhere else, with people at various stages of expertise and enthusiasm going through the big shift.

Issues of sovereignty are often the first to come up among Native intellectuals, and the spectre of digital colonialism frightens some and challenges others. Questions of control and ownership arise of course, as they do in the mainstream, but with perhaps a sharper edge, given the facts of Native American history. Indian educators, artists, elders, women, tribal leaders and business people have plenty on our minds when it comes to counterbalancing past misinterpretations with positive realities, and past exploitations with future opportunities.

The reality of the situation is that we're not all dead and stuffed in some museum with the dinosaurs: we are Here in this digital age. We have led the pack in a couple of areas (digital music and online art). Although our potential at the moment exceeds the extensiveness of our community computer usage, our projects are already bearing fruit, we expect to prosper and to contribute, and we will defend our data.

Among Indian people online as elsewhere, we continue to observe the usual gangs of unknowledgeable non-Indian and/or "I-

was-an-Indian-in-my-last-life” opportunists and exploiters, who now are upgrading their acts, trying to take advantage of rumored tax breaks and other scams in the cyber-sector of Indian country; but we are pretty much used to this ‘vapor-speak’ phenomenon, having lived with it to these past 500 years. “Beware of White man bearing good ideas and grant proposals” is a tacet refrain we laugh about over the phone. However, I am glad to report that usually this observation does not interfere with honest deals among knowledgeable people of different races; and personally I do believe that we’re smart enough to know who our friends are; and they come in all colors.

Sometimes I am asked, where did all the brain and fire of the sixties American Indian activism go? In my observation, in Canada we went into every field; but in the United States, where things were far more dangerous, those of us who were not killed, imprisoned, put out of business or otherwise sacrificed to the uranium industry, went into education. If I have a message in this scant overview, it is this: real Indian people are rising to the potential of the technology, in school and out. We were born for this moment and we are solidly behind our pathfinders. (Sainte-Marie 1998)

Cyberspace has seen another dramatic use of new technology by Natives. “In the short half-decade of the web’s existence, the number of American Indian (and Indian-oriented) web sites has more than kept pace with the general growth of the web” (Zimmerman 2000: 78). Native websites “range from those prepared by school children to those promoting Indian owned businesses” and number in the tens of thousands, if not hundreds, today. There are also dozens of listservs and chat rooms. The following sections examine some sites and listservs that represent Native directions in cyberspace, and their implications.

“With a multimedia computer the Internet becomes a multimedia system, featuring sound and graphics and video...” It allows remote communities to communicate and access the latest information, it can support culture, and “our

Nations will be able to speak more quickly and directly than ever before” on the Internet (Morrisson 1995).

The mainstream homogenizes Indian culture. In Native communities, pan-Indianism is seen as a threat (loss of the local) and gain (alliances, trading, sharing). All of this is at work in cyberspace as well. People who are Canadian, African, Australian, Cree, Ojibwe, Mohawk can all be part of one community. As we will see, within these cybercommunities, identities are often reinforced. In cyberspace, there is a reaction among Natives to the imposition of stereotypes, of a single Indian identity, and this message crosses the highway between Two Worlds.

6.1 FrostysAmerindian

Ron (Frosty) Deere is a Mohawk from Kahnawake. I first ran across him on Native listservs in the mid-90s, where he often provided third-party material (newspaper articles, reports) on Native people and issues. He has expanded on that today with his FrostysAmerindian Listserv, which provides volumes of information on a daily basis. It is not a chat group like Native-L, although comments and dialogue can occur, it is more of a narrowcast of current news and events across Canada and around the world.

I joined in March 2002, and have since collected hundreds of emails directly related to my interests, research, and concerns of Native people in general. There are now around 150 people on the list, with perhaps a dozen

regular contributors. This is patently a Native list — it is not moderated by Frosty, but I have yet to see the anti-Native arguments, insulting questions or comments that I have seen on other lists.

The list is “for and about Native American Indians / Aborigines / Amerindians. The objective is to talk about nations and international subjects that are important to all people... to keep us informed about what is going on in Indian Country.” As documented on the list website, the number of messages has gone from just over 1,000 at the start in 1999 to 2,973 in 2000, peaking at 3,598 in 2001. As of this writing in Nov. 2002, there are already 2,247 postings, so the figure may approach 3,600 again.^{xvi} That’s 300 messages a month, or ten a day in theory, but my experience is that the number is more than double that on most days — which means there may be more postings than accounted for at the website, and implies that there may actually be some 7-8,000 messages distributed yearly.

Frosty has also created a dozen or so other lists, related to Iroquois languages, politics and culture, and also a chat room.^{xvii} The Mohawk language list alone has generated some 700 messages to Nov. 2002 — which is remarkable in that the Mohawk-speaking population is estimated at only 3-4,000 individuals. Frosty also publishes Kahon:wes’s Mohawk & Iroquois Index, a personal and humorous take on many subjects (Kahon:wes is his youngest son).^{xviii}

As well at Yahoo, there are 659 chat groups under the category Native American, ranging from the largest at almost 3,000 subscribers to less than five.

These are all lists truly relating to Natives — the search on Native American only turns up lists registered as such, unlike a more complicated Boolean search (Native American Canada) which I undertook below, which seemed to draw from the master list of Yahoo groups.

There are 90 lists with 100 or more members, 57 with 50-100 members, 96 with 25-50 members, 128 with 10-25 members and the rest, 143 lists, have nine or fewer members. I tallied these figures using the minimum 100 members in the first case (90 lists) and the median in the others, and found some 20,000 subscribers overall; I would estimate the true total at 20-30,000 subscribers to Native lists at Yahoo.

Categories include Powwow talk, Recipes, general Chat, languages such as Mohawk, Seneca, and Lenape, Prophecies, Crafts, Politics and Issues, Music, Native Singles, Women-only, Two-Spirited, Gay Native Women, Black Native Americans, Metis Issues, and Sports. It is beyond the range of this dissertation to assess all these — almost all are based in the U.S., some are highly specialized. Here are the ten largest:

- 1 **powwowtrail** A bi-monthly newsletter for new or updated powwows all across Turtle Island, including Canada and Hawai'i. Members: 2738 | Archives: Members only
- 2 **NativeCelebsNews** Newsletter about Native American entertainment, specifically actors and movies and television. One newsletter a week - usually, and a TV-listing a week covering the US. At the moment... Members: 1200 | Archives: Public
- 3 **NativeShare** NativeShare started as a project with the Urban Indian Summit in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1999, to identify and share opportunities with local Native people. Initially, information was sent... Members: 1143 | Archives: Members only

- 4 **indigenous_peoples_literature** "This system is dedicated to the indigenous peoples of the world and to the enrichment it can bring to all people." Related Lists: Indigenous Peoples Issues... Members: 1067 | Archives: Public
- 5 **nativeperspectives** Come and join our ndn club! Do you have an opinion on a subject and you feel no one is listening or cares? This club is for those who want to express themselves and be heard. I realize... Members: 811 | Archives: Public
- 6 **native_truth** Let's face it: American history textbooks were (and sometimes are still) full of lies, stereotypes and misconceptions in relation to the Native American Indian. Such books were written... Members: 770 | Archives: Public
- 7 **nativeamericansinglesclub** Anyone is welcome to join. Don't be shy, and don't forget to introduce yourself! :) You will meet some of the most real people in cyberspace! FLIRTING IS DEFINITELY ENCOURAGED! =) Members: 729 | Archives: Public
- 8 **Official_MNS_Press_Release** Authorized recipients of Official News Releases from the Metis Nation of the South. This is a restricted group for receipt of MNS news releases. Members receive these releases... Members: 591 | Archives: Members only
- 9 **Lakhota** A place where people can discuss and share information on the Lakhota Language & Culture, and hopefully learn from each other. This group is open for everybody with... Members: 547 | Archives: Members only
- 10 **Native-Cooking-L** Native-Cooking-L was created for the discussion and exchange of traditional and contemporary American Indian recipes, cooking techniques, utensils, foods, ingredient sources... Members: 533 | Archives: Members only (http://dir.groups.yahoo.com/dir/Cultures__Community/Countries_and_Cultures/American_Cultures/Native_American?show_groups=1)

In doing a search on Native American and Canada in October 2002, I came up with 14 lists. In this list, drawn I think from the Yahoo master group list, there are some references that do not deal with Natives per se. Except for the first and eighth groups, most are small and highly specialized:

- 1 **native_peoples** This is a list to learn about Native American cultures throughout the US and Canada. All who are truly interested

in Native peoples and their cultures are welcomed. Members: 92 | Public

2 **native american adoptees** Welcome! This club is a place where Native American adoptees (from America or Canada) can get together to discuss our experiences, our reunions, our hardships and our triumphs. Members: 9 | Public

3 **native orchid conference** This forum has been organized and is being run by the Native Orchid Conference. The purpose of our group is to foster the study, conservation, and enjoyment of the native orchids of the United States and Canada.

4 **American metis** The American Metis has been established by a professional journalist of mixed Native American ancestry to aid in preserving the history of what it is -- and was -- like to be a Native American mixed-blood (Metis) in the United States. The French word "metis" literally means "mixed." In the U.S., Metis, have found themselves living in a limbo-land, accepted as neither Native Americans, European ("white."), nor in some cases as fully African American. Belonging to no one, they became "the people... Members: 12 | For Members

5 **First nation of all tribes** This is for all tribes in North American; Canada; USA; Mexico...for us all get together and become peace with our Native American First Nation of All Tribes; including mixed. There are a few rules here, no religions except for the First Nation traditions, ceremonies. But we must do this in respects of others and not to offend others. Please those who are traditional teach us who are ignorant. No name callings, no perversions, honesty is a must, this isn't a dating service, we're to learn of each... Members: < 5 | For Members

6 **rhea the friendly ratite** Rhea americana, the South American Ostrich, is the smallest of the group of giant birds...

7 **wendys search and find** Touroo/Toureau/Tatro/Roulo/Henry/Hill/Basney/Jolin/Doherty/Hamlin/Harmel/Trombley/LaFebver/Coash/Pominville/Powell/Heacock/Shoemaker/Gould/Cutcher/Maison/Lester/Cole/Jacot and many more. These are a few of the surnames I have been re- searching for the last 10 years in Michigan, Canada and New York. Also Native American. I have learned a lot along the way. This is a place where we all can come to ask questions, post surnames, exchange information and most of all have FUN doing it! Members: 112 | Public

8 **The Red Road Newsletter** The Red Road is a bi-weekly email newsletter edited by Su'mer Mourns Always (SumerWCree1@aol.com) This publication has been in existence for several years The newsletter contains articles regarding issues, political and social, facing Indian - Native American in America and First Nations in Canada We also offer poetry, stories, reader comments, and even recipe and craft articles

RedRoadTalks@yahoogroups.com and Indianz@yahoogroups.com are discussion groups associated with this newsletter and...
Members: 448 | Public

9 **war_party** Discussion of political situations involving American and Canadian Indians that require the support of the people. This list will provide email and snail mail addresses for elected officials and principle parties involved in the situations and include samples of emails and faxes that might be used to help achieve change We are working to achieve political power and change for the Native Peoples of the Americas and we hope to accomplish this by showing the mainstream governments of the united... Members: 22 | Public

10 **Native Tongue Magazine** For all of you Native Musicians and Fans out there, who would like to comment about things in the Native American Music Scene in the U.S. and in Canada.

11 **metis nation usa** This site is for the use of The Me'tis Nation (USA & Canada) for better communication throughout our Nation. The Me'Tis nation is a tribe of mixed blood people who follow the ways of the Native American Indians. mixed blood people from all tribes are welcome. Any questions are welcomed!
Members: 59 | For Members

12 **come-on-over** An email discussion mailing list about Canadian country pop artist Shania Twain. Biography b. Eilleen Regina Edwards, 28 August 1965, Windsor, Ontario, Canada. This glamorous Canadian country/pop star (her first name is pronounced 'Shu-nye-ah') grew up in the mining town of Timmins. Before her musical career began she planted trees with her Native American stepfather as part of a forest crew. Poor even by rural Canadian standards, her family made great sacrifices to support her embryonic career. ... Members: 59 | For Members

13 **silntnite2001** Here I would like to have serious discussions on the fact that American and Canadian Blacks should have the right of passage across both borders. This is a right that the North American Native Indian has. I believe that people of African ancestry who were brought to these Countries by the Slave Traders, should have that same rights. Perhaps through our discussions the Governments of these two Countries will come to the conclusion that we should have these same rights of passage as well as the... Members: <5 | For Members

14 **NWIA** A communications portal for NW Native Americans and NW tribes. Announce pow-wows and potlatches, advertise native crafts, discuss cultural preservation and current events from the NA perspective. This is an attempt to bring together American Indians and tribes from the Northwest and to promote inter-action within this particular geographical location. Virtually all subjects are

allowed but the primary goal is *communication*. The Northwest includes British Columbia and Alberta in Canada and...

There are two lists related to birds (Native to 'Canada'), one devoted to genealogy and one for African-American rights. Ten out of 14 are Native related, but most are based in the U.S., 'Canada' emerges mostly as a reference, not a point of origin. FrostysAmerindian, a "Native" list from "Canada" did not appear here — which again reveals the inability of many search engines to find appropriate references).

There are many websites involved in the information network designed by Frosty, ranging from mainstream sources (Globe and Mail) to local Native efforts (tuscaroras.com). A group of suggested links is appended to all emails on the list; this version is from Nov. 2002:

www.kahonwes.com
www.frostys.qc.ca
www.globeandmail.com
www.canadianaboriginal.com
www.tuscaroras.com
<http://pub61.ezboard.com/biroquoistrail16914>
www.tekanews.com
<http://nativeonline.org/>
www.indigenations.com/index.shtml
www.indiancountry.com
<http://dreamkeepers.net>
www.transformcolumbusday.org
www.owlstar.com
www.nanews.org
www.redwiremag.com
www.treatycouncil.org
www.destination.ca/~curybuck (French Language)
www.ubcic.bc.ca (New)
www.nativeheritage.net
www.un.org/News/ (New)
www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rsparrow.htm(NEW)

www.bloorstreet.com/200block/rguerin.htm (NEW)
www.indigenousmedia.org (NEW)
<http://americanindian.net/> (New and very Interesting)
www.digitaldreamcatchers.com (New with Interesting Links)
www.webtamtam.com

These sources and others produce a flood of information daily. In this section I will explore some themes that stand out on the list since I joined last March, in chronological order. The first is a note from Frosty himself, complete with two Mohawk defining traits, salutations of peace at the start and end, and also a reference to seasons and gardening:

She:kon kwe kwe

For sometime (it has) been the goal of this group to increase to over 150 readers. I can now say, we have done that. Next over 200 members, it is possible... After all there are more than 200 people interested in LINKS and reading news.... that is fit to print.

What is sad is the number of sites I can not list, or post writers' works. Seems that rather than getting others to read what they write, they prefer to keep isolated to their websites. Which is a shame because some have very interesting views. Not only would we post what they wrote from time to time but promote at no cost to readers the portal websites they have.

But to each their own I guess. But as I see it, if you are trying to get the masses to support something, the more readers the better informed they become.

Peace everyone and enjoy the nature as she leads us in to a new planting season....

Another Mohawk love is fishing, most Kaniekehake today live along the St. Lawrence and attendant tributaries, so I thought to include this note from Frosty, which arrived on the same day:

April fool a day early
I caught the ICE FISH.

Its spring and time to catch my first fish of the year.
Where is my tackle box ?
The earth is soft, maybe I can find some worms.
Where is my tackle box ?
Oh I need to find a shovel to dig for worms.
Where is my tackle box ?
Need to find a spring jacket as its still cool.
Where is my tackle box ?
Well I have everything I need.
Grab my tackle box,
Time to head for the creek.
Time to bait my hook.
Time to cast my line.
Time to wait..
Wow I have a bite.
It's fighting hard.
I can feel it pulling.
Maybe it doesn't want to be caught.
I am getting it.
Someone get my net.
Oh darn it, its only a chunk of ICE.
I can not believe I caught ICE.
Okay guys stop laughing, its not funny.
Where is my tackle box.

Ron Deere
March 31...

One of the most prolific sources for news is Sharon Greene's Gathering Place News. A listing of stories and links from across the country, distributed every week, the Gathering Place News carries both Native and non-Native sources.⁸⁵

Another similar service hosted at Frosty's is provided by the Assembly of First Nations on an irregular basis, called "Top of the Morning" and sourced via commercial search engines. It lacks the personal approach and comments that

⁸⁵ These narrowcasted stories are also at Sharon's Gathering Place First Nations Canadian News website, along with other links and information, at <http://gatheringplacefn.tripod.ca/>.

Gathering Place News carries. But the AFN also regularly contributes background information and policy statements, such as Matthew Coon Come's "Speaking Points for AFN National Chief at the Conference 'Beyond the Indian Act'" distributed on April 17 2002.

Sharon, a Mohawk from Coboconk, Ont. (at Six Nations) says that: "Making (our website) the #1 and most trusted news source for Aboriginal News is the vision of two Aboriginal women who both love news and love discussing it with others... an internet journalist for several years now, (my) Email bulletin is for those interested in Aboriginal Issues... (and is) being read by an estimated 4000+ users." Her partner Meaghan Walker-Williams is an "Aboriginal accountability activist turned Journalist. Her main focus is on Accountability and Sovereign Rights for First Nations. Her writing has appeared in the National Post as well as the Winnipeg Free Press, and she does a weekly column about events on her reserve in Duncan BC, for the Cowichan Valley Citizen Newspaper"^{xix}

Following is a list of headlines and intros to stories from March 26, 2002:

NATIVES CONTINUE DEMONSTRATIONS AT SUN PEAKS

"The Native Youth Movement was back in force, demonstrating at the Sun Peaks Resort near Kamloops Saturday."

WHITE BEAR BLAZED TRAIL FOR SASK.CASINOS

"March 22 marked the ninth anniversary of the infamous RCMP raid on the Bear Claw casino on the White Bear First Nation. This incident still brings back painful memories for the people at White Bear, especially those who were present when over 100 RCMP stormed the casino.

NORTHERN RESERVE STOPS LOGGING TRUCKS

"The Stoney Creek Band near Vanderhoof has won it's ongoing fight to stop logging trucks from driving through their reserve.

AGREEMENT EXCLUDES MANITOBA FROM INDIAN ACT AMENDMENTS: CHIEF

"The grand chief of the Manitoba Keewatinowi Okimakanak northern chiefs' group says he managed to get some political support when he was in Ottawa on Thursday."

NATIVE HOCKEY TOURNAMENT SETS PRECEDENT IN YUKON

"A weekend native hockey tournament in Whitehorse will be an alcohol-free event for the first time in 15 years."

DAVID SUZUKI TO VISIT KAHNAWAKE

Davis Suzuki, renowned environmentalist, author and CBC television host, will be in Kahnawake on Thursday afternoon."

COUNTRY FOOD CONDOM COLLECTING OVERLAPS PIN TRADING

"Condom collecting has become as popular as pin trading at the Arctic Winter Games in Iqaluit. The Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association is giving out what they call "lifesaver" condoms as part of its awareness campaign."

TREATY REFERENDUM FACES COURT CHALLENGE

"A Vancouver Island First Nation is going to court on Tuesday in an effort to stop the B.C. treaty referendum before it even begins."

IQALUIT LASTS UNDER PRESSURE, CITY A GRACIOUS HOST

"The 2002 Arctic Winter Games are over and the small capital city of Nunavut proved it could meet the challenge of co-hosting the biggest sporting event in the circumpolar world. Athletes, coaches and performers from around the circumpolar world boarded planes and headed home. More than 900 came to Iqaluit along with close to 15,000 visitors."

NOT ALL FIRST NATIONS SIGN ON TO OIL AND GAS PROTOCOL

"First Nations from north-west U.S. and Canada have agreed to work together on any future oil and gas development in the north but not all groups are on board."

SO YOU WANT TO BE A STAR

"The CBC is looking for the hottest undiscovered musicians in the country. Here's your chance to play on a nationally televised special, The Great Canadian Music Dream."

CHILD TAX BENEFIT DEBATE MOVES TO FEDERAL LEVEL

"The National Council on Welfare wants the Northwest Territories and other governments to stop deducting federal child tax benefits from welfare cheques."

B.C. SUPREME COURT REJECTS NATIVE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL CLAIM OF PRIEST ABUSE

"The B.C. Supreme Court has rejected a woman's claim that she was sexually abused by a priest at a native residential school. The woman, who attended the Sechelt Indian Residential School in 1967 and 1968, said she was repeatedly sexually assaulted by an Oblate priest."

GOVERNMENT IGNORING METIS: CHARTRAND

"The president of the Manitoba Metis Federation says the provincial and federal governments are ignoring the rights of Metis people."

CONFLICTING VERSIONS OF CONFRONTATION

"Two opposing versions of a confrontation involving Saskatoon-Humboldt MP Jim Pankiw and a Saskatoon aboriginal lawyer emerged Friday."

CRAB QUOTA TRANSFER WORRIES MI'KMAQ CHIEFS

"Mi'kmaq chiefs in Cape Breton say they're worried violence will erupt if the federal department of fisheries goes ahead with a transfer of crab quota."

OFFICIALS WORRY HIGH INUIT STD RATE WILL TURN TO HIV

"Unprotected sex has led to soaring rates of sexually transmitted diseases in Nunavut."

RANGERS TO STUDY EROSION ON HERSHEL ISLAND

"Some coffins are sticking out of the ground and some have floated into the Beaufort Sea on Hershel Island because of erosion."

FEW DETAILS KNOWN ABOUT INMATE'S DEATH, EVEN AFTER INVESTIGATION

"The internal investigation into the death of an inmate at a Prince Albert Jail is complete, but don't expect to read the results — ever."

Much is concerned with the then-ongoing Arctic Games in Iqaluit, but the balance shows a cross-section of events across Canada, from Miqmaq territory on the east to the B.C. referendum. Western Canada is highly represented, with

regard to justice issues (Native inmates are a disproportionately large percentage of the prison population everywhere, but most notably in Saskatchewan and Manitoba) and protests regarding land claims and sacred territories (Sun Peaks). Also, there are general stories that affect all Canadians, but Natives in particular, dealing with HIV/AIDS, welfare and child care issues — and also the entertainment business (So You Want to be a Star), a mainstream sector that is increasingly open to Natives in Canada (Aboriginal Achievement Awards, an Aboriginal category at the Junos, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, numerous shows on mainstream TV and community radio).

The Gathering Place News archive begins at Dec. 23 2002, and so the service is less than a year old at this writing, but it is perhaps the most comprehensive Canadian Native news source today.

Another thread that runs through FrostysAmerindian is in support of non-Natives asking for help or recognition for certain causes. Both Frosty and Sharon supported this appeal from a Jew in Israel:

An Open Letter to American Jews Erev Pesach, 5762 / 2002

By Assaf Oron,

Dear People,

Yesterday I was informed of an interesting phenomenon: a peace-supporting Jewish organization called Tikkun published an ad in favor of us, the Israeli reservist refuseniks, and was immediately bombarded with hate mails and phones from other American Jews.

What's more interesting is that even other Jews considering themselves supporters of peace have denounced the Tikkun ad, to the extent that some of the Tikkun Advisory Board members are resigning in order to minimize the personal damage to themselves.

This has so saddened, alarmed and angered me, that I find myself setting aside a half-day at the eve of Pesach, and writing this open letter to you all. As is my habit, it is quite long, so please bear with me. (Excerpt from 30/3/02)

On Apr. 5 Sharon sent through a note with another letter in support of Israeli refusniks: "Please pass this as far and wide as you can...This may not be a First Nations issue...but surely we need to support those who say no to killing...Since many stand with us when we ask for help... I think we could join together here and support these people... Nai:wen... together we can make a difference in this world."

Although INAC (still most often referred to as Indian Affairs on the list, and by most Natives I know) and minister Robert Nault are constantly criticized on the list,⁸⁶ resources at INAC are not overlooked, and the list brings as much useful data as possible to the forum. Frosty posted "Indian Affairs Annual Reports Now ONLINE,"^{xx} and a day later on Apr. 25, a woman wrote:

This is TRULY an AMAZING resource friends! I have now spent the better part of the last 2 days totally immersed in this searchable database.

I found pictures of my great grandparents - and siblings. I found names of hereditary chiefs from our Nation that have been all but forgotten, even by the current living elders - who were born nearly 60 years after the hereditary system had been dismantled.

I found references to a business that my ancestors ran - owned and operated a mill in our village - a threshing mill wholly the property of the Somenos people.

⁸⁶ The anger and contempt heaped on Robert Nault by the Native community and this list is enough material for a dissertation in itself. Suffice to say he and his policies are not popular anywhere in Indian country today. From Frosty's: "The Algonquins of Barriere Lake have returned the quarter tossed at them by a member of Indian Affairs Minister Robert Nault's staff during a protest last week in Ottawa. The quarter, which has been the subject of increasing controversy, was retrieved after it was tossed from Nault's car. The incident occurred when Algonquins, concerned about terrible conditions on their reserve, attempted to meet with the Minister" (21/8/02);

I am totally blown away.

I've been reading and printing sections of this and been receiving visitors all day from my great uncles and aunts - whom I called to tell them of this discovery.

I've got a lineup of people asking for time to spend on my computer to access the database.

Incredible stuff here!

I highly recommend it!

The list is also a site for other resources, such as the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN).⁸⁷ The APTN was launched in Sept. 1999 and reaches over 8 million homes in Canada via cable television, direct-to-home and wireless service viewers.⁸⁸

Contact is a live, weekly national phone-in program that has been hosting a series of town hall meetings and forums on the First Nations Governance Act (FNGA), a federal initiative that has drawn criticism from Natives everywhere. Like the APTN as a whole, the show also relies on email for input and has been using Frosty's to help draw in participants. This email to the list details one recent broadcast:

⁸⁷ "The launch of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network... represents a significant milestone for Aboriginal Canada — for the first time in broadcast history, First Nations, Inuit and Metis people have the opportunity to share their stories with the rest of the world on a national television network dedicated to Aboriginal programming... APTN offers all Canadians a window into the remarkably diverse worlds of Indigenous peoples in Canada and throughout the world." Corporate profile at http://www.aptn.ca/corporate/corporate_home.html

⁸⁸ Inuit in the North led the way in securing a national communications network for Natives. From 1978-1982 satellite experiments with Anik B included Inuit organizations in Nunavut and Northern Quebec, testing applications such as TV broadcasting, community communications, tele-education and tele-health. The CRTC's Therrien Committee stressed the urgent need for special measures to allow aboriginal people to preserve their languages and foster their culture through various broadcasting initiatives. In 1983 the government launched the Northern Broadcasting Policy and the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program for the production of radio and television programs by thirteen native communications societies across the north. These and other efforts, such as those by the CBC in early remote northern broadcasts and music recording, led to the present APTN.

Contact this week:

The First Nations Governance Act (FNGA)

LIVE Friday November 15, 2002, 8 pm Eastern, 7 pm Central

On April 30, Canada finally released its much-discussed First Nations Governance Act, the government's effort to re-write the Indian Act. Indian Affairs Minister Robert Nault claims the changes will finally put the power in the hands of the people and allow them to run elections fairly, make their own laws and let the community know how bands spend their money.

But many say the new law is not what it seems, and that the changes miss the boat on what really matters to native people. Some even fear the Act will actually do away with First Nations' rights, not add to them. What do you think? Join Anna Hunter, a political studies professor at the University of Saskatchewan, as we discuss what the new Act really means. To take part during the show, call 1-877-647-2786 or email contact@aptn.ca.⁸⁹

Frosty's has also distributed transcripts of previous meetings — such as the one this summer at the Museum of Civilization, attended by Matthew Coon Come and other leaders, with Robert Nault notably absent despite his invitation.

Beyond resources, the list is a forum for people looking for assistance, a place to make a case to the community. I first caught attention of Joanne Shenandoah-Patterson's plight when it was broadcast to the list on Aug. 22, and it has continued through to Nov. She and her family were threatened with eviction from their "ancestral home" in Oneida territory in New York state, and looked to the Internet as a place to gain support. Danielle's messages were forwarded to the list by a third party, I quote the first in its entirety:

Urgent! For Immediate Release August 22, 2002
NOTICE:

My name is Danielle Schenandoah Patterson, I reside on the Onyota'a:ka Oneida Indian Territory all native community with my

⁸⁹ For a response to this show, and more on FNGA, see Appendix G.

three small Oneida children. My children and I are Oneida citizens of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy in upstate New York.

I am requesting for immediate supporters and legal observers to come to the Oneida Indian Territory. Although private home owners, residents of this long-standing community are facing eviction and the destruction of their houses at the order of the illegitimate government of Arthur Ray Halbritter.

Halbritter's 'leadership' was imposed upon the Oneida people, against their will, by the BIA, the federal Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs. He has since created a dictatorship and established the "Oneida Indian Nation of New York", an INCORPORATION disguised as a nation.

Halbritter wields power only through this federal recognition. The Iroquois Six Nations Confederacy (Oneida, Onondaga, Mohawk, Seneca, Tuscorora, Cayuga) has continuously notified the BIA that Halbritter does not represent the Onieda people, as he does not follow elective nor traditional forms and there is NO PROCESS THROUGH WHICH THE PEOPLE CAN REMOVE HIM FROM THIS APPOINTED FEDERAL POSITION.

A men's council government (unheard of amongst the Iroquois) was established by Halbritter, on his payroll to validate all his decisions. Halbritter created an all non-native Paramilitant squad (AKA ONEIDA NATION POLICE) under his direct command to harass, intimidate, physically abuse, and install fear in the people, forcing them to submit to the Halbritter regime. It has also been publicly exposed that "The Oneida Nation Bureau of Investigation Spy Network" exists to perform covert operations against natives and non-natives who do not go along with his plans.

In May 1995, a peaceful March for Democracy was held on Oneida homelands. The participants in the March were exercising their rights to choose their own leadership and government, opposing the federal imposition of Halbritter and BIA treaty violations. In retaliation, Halbritter took tribal membership away from over 200 Oneida participants, stripping them of their tribal benefits, including employment and education benefits, and right to participate in tribal affairs. He also closed down our food bank that serviced 280 native people. Halbritter then locked our longhouse (traditional religious building and center of the community) and banned all traditional activity and ceremonies. He threatened that any Onieda found entering any tribally owned buildings would be arrested.

None of the Halbritter establishments, newly built Nation court, casino, or government buildings are located on the Oneida Indigenous territory, and none of his paramilitants or administration officials reside on the Oneida Indian Territory. The Territory residents learned from the local media that the Halbritter

administration had announced a "Beautification Project, 2001" where our homes would now be inspected, condemned, and demolished under the guise of health and safety.

The territory families homes were destroyed although some of those homes were 1990 models or newer. In one year, eleven Iroquois families were evicted and their homes demolished against their will.

The only option these homeless, displaced families were given was to pay rent to the Halbritter administration for homes outside of this community. The remaining residents rejected the Halbritter-sanctioned inspections because they only lead to eviction. The local media was present when this announcement was made by the territory residents.

I was called on the telephone yesterday by media and asked for a statement on the August 8th decision of an appeal of the eviction of my family and destruction of our home. Halbritter's tribal court ordered the demolition of my home to be executed by no later than September 15th, 2002. I was shocked as I was unaware of this decision. I immediately went to Halbritter's legal office to obtain my paperwork on this order. I was denied the demolition order, even though it's publicly accessible.

My three children's & my inherited birthrights of this country are being violated. Although my home meets and exceeds all New York State safety and housing codes, we are going to be made homeless with no financial means as we have to seek all future accommodations at our own expense. I have been a prisoner, unable to leave my home unattended in fear of when the demolition & eviction will occur.

There is no justice in this tribal court since Halbritter has final decision over any and all appeals. Because I do not recognize this illegal dictatorship under Ray Halbritter, "whatever it takes" measures are being used against me and the remaining families to remove us from our inherited birthrights to live as Haudenosaunee free people upon our indigenous land.

I ask for anyone who opposes violators of civil, constitutional, religious, and human rights to please aid us in our stand to exercise our right to fight with the truth and save my home as well as the homes of the other remaining residents who all face the same fate.

We are in need of financial assistance and legal observers to come to the Oneida Territory. Help us to record inhumane and cruel treatment and actions forced upon Indian people by the hired non-native paramilitants - right here in central New York.

Rules: NO WEAPONS, NO DRUGS, NO ALCOHOL We are maintaining our peaceful presence, our community rejects any

violence to be used as the excuse for Halbritter to execute every last one of us here fighting for our rights.

All statements are true and have been documented by video, legal documents, audio, pictures, affidavits. We extend an open invitation for all to come and see the truth for yourselves.

Ny;Wah ~thanks to all who are willing to aid us as we face these illegal actions taken against an all traditional native community close to destruction.

Directions: Off New York State Thruway exit 33, make left onto Rt. 365 follow to end to Rt. 5, make right and at the intersection of Friendly's restaurant make left onto RT. 46 s, 3 1/2 miles make left at intersection of blinking light, check-in point is last home on the left side at end of road. Please bring tents, any and all recording devices, walkie- talkies, supplies, and food. At any given moment the paramilitants are going to be here to evict and demolish.

I took this appeal to heart, partly because of our common name, but more because I thought it sounded like a situation that might be helped by the online community. A list of email contacts was sent separately, I chose one name and I sent the following email to the list the next day:

To: Daniel Umstead, Oneida Nation Internet Representative

I am concerned with the current situation involving Danielle Shenandoah-Patterson and her wish to remain in her home; via the Net many others are concerned and interested also. Would you consider thinking this through a bit more before taking any further action, the Whole (Native) World is now Watching.

Thanks,

Mike

I never heard back from Daniel Umstead, but the following note from one of the more vocal people on the list followed:

To anybody who is going to send a note...or maybe a flame...to Dan Umstead....

Dan _is_ the Oneida Internet wizard, and he does read the mail. But Dan would just be the messenger. You might just ask him to forward the flames to the Oneida 'business' leaders.

Dan isn't Oneida, he's employed _by_ Oneidas.

Let's aim those flamethrowers accurately, men! 8-)

Phil Van Riper / On the West Coast...of the Hudson

I had stepped into a conflict I didn't understand. I knew the Shenandoahs slightly, Joanne at least, a well known singer. There are lots of Pattersons on the New York side as well, mainly Tuscarora. Somehow this had helped prompt me to step in to what turned out to be a war between Band Council (business) and traditionalist (Longhouse) people.

This situation is typical of the division between "traditionalists" and government-appointed councils, particularly when gambling is introduced. Similar conflicts have occurred in Akwesasne, Kahnawake and other communities. The Longhouse people (Haudenosaunee, also called "longhairs" by some) are usually at odds with the gambling and development-oriented, government appointed Band Councils.

In Oct. 2000 traditionalist Oneidas had launched a civil suit in tribal court charging the nation government with trying to take their homes in the guise of enforcing a new tribal housing code. They lost the suit, which asked that their homes be saved.

The 20 plaintiffs included Maisie Shenandoah, a Clan Mother of the Wolf Clan, her daughter (Danielle), noted singer Joanne Shenandoah, and residents of Territory Road on the 32-acre Oneida Nation Territory as well as other longtime opponents of the Oneida Nation leadership...

The tribal court suit continues an internal dispute dating to the early 1990s. This split, led by anti-casino "traditionalists," has so

far produced an appeal to the BIA to remove Halbritter's federal recognition as leader of the Oneidas and a federal court suit against construction of the Turning Stone Casino and Hotel...

The new issue in the tribal suit centers on a Health and Safety Ordinance for the 32-acre territory announced by the nation March 30. The ordinance requires inspections of all homes on the 32 acres and mandatory repairs of safety hazards. The ordinance, stipulates that homes "beyond repair" will be condemned, with reimbursement for fair market value and assistance for the move to alternate housing (Indian Country 4/10/02, at <http://www.indiancountry.com/?619>).⁹⁰

Most of the Oneidas on the 32 acres live in new housing built with tribal and federal assistance. Maisie Shenandoah, some of her family and other residents of Territory Road, however, still occupy old mobile homes. As a result of earlier disputes with Halbritter, the Oneida Indian Nation's Council and Clan Mothers declared in 1995 that members of this group had "lost their voice" in the nation and would no longer receive its benefit payments, including housing assistance. "Halbritter's new housing initiative is intended to, and will also have the effect of, banishing Oneida citizens who have lost their voice from the 32-acre territory," says the suit.

Over the weeks more appeals were circulated by Danielle and her supporters. A website had been launched, and Danielle published pictures of her

⁹⁰ This quote and several others here are from the largest Native newspaper in the United States, Indian Country Today, which is owned by Halbritter. The American Indian Movement (AIM) and traditionalists view the paper as being biased and pro-development. At the First Nations — Issues of Consequence (and AIM) website hosted by Jordan S. Dill, an early contributor to many Native listservs, the paper is quoted on the splash page: "At Indian Country Today we use internet sources as potential leads for stories. We carefully check the sources and authenticate information. We do not consider much of the internet as a factual source. Indian Country Today will no longer visit the (First Nations) website... because of (its) continued proliferation of gossip, rumor and innuendo in their misguided attempt to support American Indian issues... misleading and misinformed sources may harm innocent people and cause others unnecessary anguish." Jordan Dill responds: "In light of the Editor's antipathy towards Leonard Peltier, AIM, (and) Peter Matthiessen, and his support for the FBI, I consider his declaration an endorsement of this site's

bruises at the hands of police, and details of other police actions, as the situation deteriorated.^{xxi} Her home had been raided, and she ended up in court. One supporter from Frosty's made the trip to Danielle's home territory, and the extent of the dispute became more apparent:

I just returned from Oneida Territory, New York, USA. To my surprise, what we think only happens in third world countries is happening right here. The tribal government is imposing its own laws upon the people which includes eviction, demolition of homes, police brutality and an unjustly court system.

Many of the people are prisoners of their homes. They have witnessed the example made of another family who left for the day to visit relatives. Upon arrival home, the family found their home to be crushed in two because they would not give into the politics of the current leadership.

During my visit, I was staying with a family who received a phone call to inform them of the newest court order of eviction and demolition on or before Sept 15, 2002. Witnessing their emotions of disarray was overwhelming. The children were crying, they do not understand why they are losing their home. The oldest child went to his room to put on his warrior fatigues complete with toy weapons and some rope. I questioned him what the rope was for, he explained, 'to hide my family in the tree when they come to get us'.

Such a large burden for a child of 11 years old, he should be outside playing with his friends enjoying the summer. But these children have no friends because the politics have caused a division among a community.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, nor the United States Government will be a mediator even though they are the ones who installed this leader for life, against the people's will. The Government and B.I.A now consider the Oneida Nation as a sovereign nation. Will anyone come to their rescue or will the world only listen to the plight of the indigenous people when someone dies?

Please take time to let this traditional community know you are listening by writing to oneidapower@hotmail.com or visit www.oneidasfordemocracy.org. Find out what you can do to help this seven year conflict come to an end. Time is running out for them, very few families are left on the territory.

veracity." The First Nations — Issues of Consequence site (AIM page) is at <http://www.dickshovel.com/AIMIntro.html>.

In Sept., a “Prayer and Peace Camp” established at Danielle Patterson’s residence was successful, as over 200 people created a human chain to prevent the demolition of her home and the eviction of her and her three children that was to be carried out on Sept. 15.

On Oct. 18, however, she was arrested for contempt of court and assault against police for an incident which had occurred the previous Nov.⁹¹ Within three days she had been ordered “permanently” off her land, and wrecking crews descended on her house. Indian Country then published a picture of the trailer, where she lived with her three children, ages 9-11:

At <http://www.indiancountry.com/pix/1035561886.jpg>

On Oct. 21, Danielle agreed in Court to cease resistance to the demolition of her house, which was razed the next day. The Oneida Tribal Court accepted a

guilty plea on a misdemeanor charge of contempt of court and dismissed a more serious charge of assault. She was sentenced to time already served.

The conflict continues, however, in cyberspace. The ONEIDA ACTION NEWS CENTER is online, and emails for support continue to come through FrostysAmerindian. All other residents of the 32-acres are to have their homes inspected, according to the Council. "This means, in common terms, that they are very likely to break into people's homes and use unregulated force to carry out the demands of the self imposed leadership, which is to demolish the homes of the traditional Oneida and evict them from their Territory."⁹²

FrostysAmerindian hosts everything from articles on Chretien's retirement to the distribution of AFN contact lists, arguments against salmon farming and discussions on golf, upcoming powwows to plans for civil disobedience, as in Danielle's case. The Shenandoah-Patterson affair has brought a local crisis to the attention of hundreds, if not thousands of readers, through Frosty's and other lists.

The results were real, in that at least one supporter from Frosty's made it down to the territory, I expect others did as well. Many, like myself, learned through cyberspace that this personal struggle was part of a large, layered, multi-jurisdictional nightmare, tied into family dynamics (in Oct., Indian Country reported that Halbritter is Maisie Shenandoah's nephew and first cousin to Danielle). In all, the picture of Oneida territory that gradually appeared in

⁹¹ The Oneida Nation Court and Oneida Nation Police.

⁹² Oneida Action News Center, Nov 14. at <http://www.angelfire.com/indie/oneidas/>.

cyberspace was very true to the realities faced on most reserves, particularly the Iroquois territories near and on the border.

The war in Oneida territory is in cyberspace today, or one could say that the territorial imperative on the ground has moved to cyberspace: The traditionalist 'Oneidas for Democracy' have a website (oneidasfordemocracy.org) which seems to be in limbo, while another version (the Oneida News Action Centre) exists at another address; at the same time one person in sympathy with the developers has launched the 'REAL Oneidas for Democracy' site.⁹³

The author of this site is critical of the traditional faction, and also wrote a largely racially-based criticism of the recent work of (non-Native) anthropologist Bruce Johansen, who has assessed the Oneida situation for a chapter in his upcoming book, *Native American Treaties, Laws, and Issues in Contemporary Context*.⁹⁴ Had I not found the critique on the Web, I might not have found the articles, which were posted on the *Indian Time* (Akwesasne) website.⁹⁵

⁹³ At www.oneidasfordemocracy.com. From the site: "THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ONEIDAS FOR DEMOCRACY: Maisie, Diane, and Joanne Shenandoah, along with Doug George, have allied themselves with the anti-Indian hate groups UCE and CERA. Both National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) and United South and Eastern Tribes (USET) have condemned the UCE and CERA as anti-Indian hate groups who are trying to destroy Indian sovereignty. And Maisie, Diane, Joanne, and Doug are helping them! Read on and see how these groups are threats to all of Indian Country and why Maisie, Diane, Joanne and Doug must be told to STOP THE HATRED!"

⁹⁴ He may be non-Native, but Johansen has made many valuable contributions to Native scholarship, particularly with regards to the Iroquois. That is partly why he was published in *Indian Time*, a distinctly Mohawk publication. Johansen has written thirteen books in Native American Studies, most recently *The Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee* (Iroquois Confederacy). His "Forgotten Founders," describing "Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois and the Rationale for the American Revolution" (1982) is published online by Six Nations at http://www.ratical.org/many_worlds/6Nations/FF.html, part of a body of work which has helped establish a scholarly basis for Native American contributions to democracy. He is also greatly concerned with the environment (*Life and Death in Mohawk Country*, 1993).

⁹⁵ It should be clear to the reader that although the incidents are taking place in the U.S., they are very much also a concern of other Iroquois people on the Canadian side of the border. Since the Iroquois straddle the border, concerns in one country are felt in the other. Akwesasne is particularly sensitive, being a "jurisdictional nightmare" taking in Ontario, Québec and New York.

Published in four parts, "Halbritter, Inc.: A Business Called A Nation" came down hard against the Oneida Nation government, in support of the Shenandoahs and other traditionalists:

By the year 2000, Ray Halbritter was, by all accounts, the wealthiest Oneida of all time. Halbritter, "Nation Representative" and "Chief Executive Officer" of the New York Oneida Nation, was never voted into such an office. Instead, he established a business, called it a Nation, and acquired the requisite approvals from New York State and the United States Federal Government to use this status to open a very profitable casino. Money soon aggregated power. Soon he had appointed a "Men's Council," (a body unheard of in Traditional Matrilineal Iroquois Law or Tradition) which issued a Zoning Code to "beautify" the Oneida Nation. This Code enabled his 54-member Police Force (patrolling a 32-acre reservation) to "legally" evict from their homes Oneidas who opposed his role as leader of the New York Oneidas, which was solidified by the acquisition of a number of other businesses, a phalanx of public-relations spin-doctors, several-dozen lawyers, and ownership of INDIAN COUNTRY TODAY, a National Native American newspaper.

Who governs the New York Oneidas is important to (other Natives) and to non-Iroquois because three groups of Oneidas (New York, Wisconsin and Canada) have filed suit to recover ancestral lands in New York's Madison and Oneida Counties that they believe were illegally taken during the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The Oneidas and the U.S. Justice Department contend that 250,000 acres were taken in 26 illegal transactions... The Oneidas' land claims were upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court a quarter-century ago, but, as of the year 2002, no land had yet been awarded.⁹⁶ The land question has long agitated large numbers of non-Indian landowners, who fear their homes and businesses could soon fall under the legal aegis of Halbritter's increasingly powerful

⁹⁶ "The Oneidas, unlike a majority of other Iroquois, supported the patriots during the American Revolution. The Oneidas' corn surplus...was put to use in 1777 feeding Washington's hungry troops during their desperate winter at Valley Forge. Oneidas... also supported Washington's troops with military aid at the Battle of Oriskany (1777) which prevented the British from advancing to a position that would have allowed them free access across New York State and up the Hudson River, dividing the colonies in half... In the mid-eighteenth century, the Oneidas lived on roughly 5.3 million acres in central New York. Despite their aid in the American Revolution, New York Oneida lands were steadily eroded after United States independence was formalized in the Treaty of Paris (1783)" (Johansen 2002).

juggernaut. New York political figures, notably Senator Charles E. Schumer, have suggested that land claims should be traded for the rights to a second casino, probably in the Catskills, which would tap the lucrative New York City market. Thus far, the Oneidas have refused to talk of trading land claims for casino rights. (Johansen 2002, at

The Land Claims for Casino trade is a popular buyoff in the U.S. Mohawks involved in similar claims have also been offered lucrative casino locations in exchange for giving up their claims. This is central to the dispute between traditional factions and government appointed or sanctioned councils -- traditionalists insist, as in the Seven Generations Prophecy, that the land is sacred and not to be sold.

Said Diane Shenandoah:⁹⁷

We know our struggle is far more than a simple family dispute but involves every right and freedom held sacred to all Haudenosaunee. We are opposed to trading our ancestral lands for casino compacts, we want Traditional leadership, and seek a return to our ancestral democratic heritage. Anyone who dismisses the Onyota'a:ka situation as a "family" matter not only belittles the suffering of the Oneidas but demonstrates contempt for the decisions of the Grand Council itself.

The māyā in this case might be the original Oneida Nation website, one of the first developed in Indian country. It was developed by the Turning Stone Casino and Oneida Nation Council, and depicts a thriving community, casino and tourist destination.^{xxiii} As Zimmerman points out, in the U.S. at least, the purpose of "Indian nations" websites "vary from promotion of tribal economic development

⁹⁷ This is an Oneida name. Washington knew "the Oneida Chief Skenandoah (sometimes anglicized as "Shenandoah,") who lived to an age of 110, an anomaly at a time when the average life-span was between 35 and 40 (Johansen 2002).

to communicating news and events... (At the official Oneida site), “from the top of the page sovereignty is a key issue. Even the tribal police have their own sub-page explaining that they have federal, state, and local authority. The phrase ‘a sovereign nation’ appears often throughout the site. The site now also includes important information on the clans, economic development and a range of other information” (2000: 81). Nothing, of course, about the long-standing dispute at the 32 acres.

In Nov. at Akwesasne I brought up the Shenandoah-Patterson case in my class, and put most of the websites up for all to see. Akwesasne was the key to grounding my theory in this. This was cyberspace meeting the land; one of my students from Kahneseetake knows the Shenandoahs (distant relations) and recounted the story to the class, which mirrored the emails from littlefeatherspirit. But she hadn’t seen anything about it on the Web — she knew of it through the moccasin telegraph. Most of my students had heard about the conflict (it’s only 50 miles away). One person asked where the trouble was, and someone replied: “Turning Stone,” meaning the people, and the casino.

How Frosty’s cybercommunity helped Danielle’s situation is unclear. Almost all the emails to the list were generated by Danielle’s supporters; it seemed few on the list wanted to take sides. This suggests to me that many, if not most of the people on Frosty’s, have heard this type of story before, or knew this one first hand, and were cautious. Much more than discussions about Indianness, prophecies or culture, this thread was grounded in real life. In any

community, taking sides on an issue this personal, and this serious, can be dangerous.

The Akwesasne newspaper *Indian Time* also contributed to promoting the traditionalists' perspective. Publishing Johansen's analysis on the Web was important for these Mohawks (there are only a handful of major stories posted at a time — the paper still relies on hardcopy subscribers) and others concerned about the situation. It reflects two trends emerging in cyberspace: The Native use of "communication and speed" (Foucault) to bring attention to situations; and the emerging Native ability to 'appropriate' mainstream scholarship and other tools in real time for their own purposes — as has always been the Native way. In cyberspace, these tools become more available and useable. As in the Oneida conflict, a struggle on the ground is reflected, and influenced, in cyberspace.

As cyberspace becomes more dangerous in this real, related way, it becomes more an extension of our territories, our places, our homes. Most of Frosty's messages are newsbytes and resources; some, as we have seen, have the potential to cross that line where the forest meets the highway, where our Native land and cyberspace come together.

6.2 *The Fighting Whites*

What started as an idea among some University of Northern Colorado students soon became a phenomenon in cyberspace and in the media. The Fighting

Whites story says a lot about the power of the Net as host to dialogue on issues such as Nativeness, racism and appropriation.

In March 2002, the *Denver Post* reported that some university students had named their intramural basketball team, made up of American Indians, Hispanics and whites, "The Fighting Whites." The satirical name was aimed at nearby Eaton High School for its nickname, the Fightin' Reds, and the American Indian caricature on the team logo. Eaton High School mascot was a caricature of an Indian with a big crooked nose, loincloth and feathers. The aim was to get Eaton to stop its offensive stereotyping.

The UNC team had tried talking to the high school to no avail; their pleas for tolerance were misunderstood or discounted, so they decided to use some provocative humor to stir up the debate, and eventually it worked. "Walk in someone else's shoes, and then you can make a judgment," said Mohawk Ryan White, 22, a team member.^{xxiv}

The Whites printed up jerseys saying: "Every thang's going to be all white," with a caricature of a middle-aged white businessman on the front. Later, to clarify their position, the students put the message "Go Fighting Whites — Fighting the use of Native American Stereotypes" on the back. The intramural basketball team's official name had been "Native Pride," but soon after adopting the new name the "Fightin' Whites" became more widely known by the more in-your-face "Fightin' Whities," a name ascribed by the campus newspaper. Another misunderstanding occurred when some white people at the university took the Fighting Whites name to be an affirmation of the recognition of whites in sport.

Solomon Little Owl, director of Native American Student Services at UNC, is a member of the team and said the 'Whities' mascot is about education, not retaliation. His wife, non-Native Kacy Little Owl, taught special education at Eaton High School for two years, and he said that "as parents of a half-Anglo, half-American Indian son, we felt uncomfortable mingling with townspeople at school events, especially at ballgames where the large-nosed Indian caricature was the prominent team symbol."

He said Eaton was a convenient first target to raise the issue of how sports mascots used by teams ranging from high schools to professionals offend Indians, but not everyone was ready to make a stand on this issue (I will show further on that some Natives in the U.S. actually endorse or enjoy some Native stereotypes in sports).

"When I put the team together, I didn't plan to make a political statement," said student Charles Cuny, another Native on the team. "I just wanted to play basketball on Tuesdays." He said that "most young Indians are more interested in larger issues, such as health care, tribal treaties with the federal government and mineral rights to their land, but offensive mascots are a starting point to deal with the weightier issues." He didn't expect their T-shirts to cause Eaton to change its mascot. "Going to the school board is like going to Congress and asking for our land back," Cuny said. "It's not going to happen."⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Article by Joe Garner of the Rocky Mountain News, 12/3/02, at <http://www.rockymountainnews.com>.

Like Ryan White, Little Owl said, "The Fighting Whities" issue is "to make people understand what it's like to be on the other side of the fence. If people get offended by it, then they know how I feel, and we've made our point" (ibid.).

Soon after the story hit the local papers, it began to get national press, and thousands of emails flooded to the university near Denver. The debate began: Some said it was about time that a white person was made a mascot for a sport team; others complained the idea as perpetuating yet another racial stereotype.

Team members got phone calls from around the country and invitations to appear on TV, they were mentioned by Jay Leno on the Tonight Show, and the American Indian Movement (AIM) announced support of the name. Within weeks, the team was selling T-shirts online, and had started a Chat room to discuss the issues.

Early emails were mostly positive, many apologetic for non-Native attitudes. Some said the mascot image should be even more derogatory than a middle-aged white man with a tie. "The mascot should be ... a fat guy with buckteeth kissing his sister," said one fan, who started his own website selling spin-off shirts, hats and mugs.

The Whities then reached the Native mailing lists, which were overwhelmingly in favour of the name. Some wanted to take the concept further: "And then they could have an Elvis impersonator as the head cheerleader! Wow! And dress the band in sequined jumpsuits!," or "Maybe a Southern black school, the "rednecks"? Sort of a more masculine, violent image. The mascot could be a

big old hawg," which garnered this reply: "Naw, they can't use the hawg! The Razorbacks use that mascot! How about a big old lazy houndDAWG!" A further description evolved: "But I was thinking not of an actual hog, but more a porcine good-old-boy type, huge belly in a tight t-shirt, chugging beer and chowing down on BBQ (giant rib in one hand, pitcher in the other) Maybe he could remain "passed out" on the sidelines during play," ending with this reply: "Well, put him together with a big old fat, lazy hound dawg, and you have it made!" (alt.native Mar. 31-Apr. 3, 2002)

This thread on alt.native had evolved over several weeks, describing possible names and connotations. Whatever the intention of the Fighting Whites in adopting their name, the discussion quickly turned into a racist rant:

Re: The Fightin' Whities mascot
Date: Fri, 15 Mar 2002 14:43:20 GMT
Newsgroups: alt.native

I was thinking maybe they could have a goofy cartoon of Hitler for their mascot, and everyone in the stands could chant Heil Heil Heil. Or maybe a silly Truman, riding a nuke down to ground zero with their slogan "Fighting Whities "Bomb" their competition" Two very profound White racial images of power, I don't see why not.

And in reply:

Subject: Re: The Fightin' Whities mascot
Date: 15 Mar 2002 17:38:13 -0800
Newsgroups: alt.native

I have a proposed mascot for the renamed Cleveland Peckerwoods; check it out at <http://greenmail.freeyellow.com/peckerwood.htm>.

One poster said that if the point was to have a team name that terrified people, you should name it Soggy Frybread or Late for Dinner.

One of the teams near here at a new school just adopted the team name Wildfires; in the Sierra foothills, that is genuinely scary.

Soon after the Fighting Whites story hit the media, Sports Illustrated came out with a poll that showed Native Americans to be in favour of the use of Native stereotypes in sports. The poll reached American Indians living on and off reservations and non-Native sports fans, conducted by the Peter Harris Research Group, and found that 81% of those surveyed were in favour of using Native nicknames at high schools and colleges. One of the most popular threads on Native lists is the depiction of Native stereotypes in sport, so reactions to the poll soon hit alt.native, along with the Whites issue.

What resulted was an intense exchange among several subscribers, regarding the validity of this poll, and statistical procedures in general. Here is an exchange over several days between a Native (JRWolf) and Bro Jack, beginning with a discussion of the poll, and ending with some racist flamethrowing. I have distilled this exchange from some ten emails sent over several days in early Apr. 2002:

JRWolf: 1) ...I think it is safe to assume they polled those who support a particular activity...in this case, sports teams. And depending on the team, their answer could be easily predicted. For example, it is highly doubtful that a fan of the KC Chiefs or the WA Redskins would be against NDN mascots.

Bro Jack: You seem to be saying that the fans are not Indians while the article says that all of those polled were Indians.

JRWolf: In that poll "The pollsters interviewed 351 Native Americans (217 living on reservations and 134 living off) and 743 fans." Gee, should we discuss the fact that the fans outnumber the

NDNs 2 to 1 in the poll? Or perhaps we should ask which reservations they polled (it does make a difference given that the racial demographics of different reservations are quite different). The poll was not only flawed, it was given with a particular outcome in mind.

JRWolf: 2). It is much easier to conduct a statistically valid poll when one polls a large segment of the population that very closely represents the demographics of that population. It would be **very** difficult to obtain any kind of valid stats when one polls barely 1000 people that is supposed to represent the US population. Even attempting to represent **just** the NDN population, 1000 persons is **far** too small of a group.

Bro Jack: If all of those who were polled are fans, I would agree that the result could be skewed. There is no indication that such was the case, however. Regarding your other point, 1,000 is an excellent sample size if the universe were randomly selected. If you had bothered to take a course in elementary statistics, you might have learned that even a random sample of 30 has a confidence of plus or minus 5%.

JRWolf: Wrong. All you have achieved is a random sampling. We are not talking about rolling dice or flipping coins here. A totally random sampling does not necessarily represent the demographics of a complex population. Perhaps **you** need to take a refresher course in statistics.

Let's see if I can explain this in simple enough terms that even you can understand it:

- 1). SI wants to publish a poll that supports NDNs as mascots;
- 2). They know they need to poll some NDNs so that they can say that NDNs support NDNs as mascots;
- 3). They know they need to have the results say that NDNs support NDNs as mascots;
- 4). They call up some telephone numbers on a reservation and ask if they support NDNs as mascots;
- 5). They ask some people they know who support NDNs as mascots if they happen to have any NDN heritage;
- 6). They then ask twice as many sports fans (non-NDNs) as "NDNs" they have already polled to ensure the skewing of the data;
- 7). They make sure that any one they have asked who has NDN heritage is reported as one of the NDNs (non-rez) that they polled to boost the number of NDNs they polled;
- 8). They now publish a poll saying that even NDNs support NDNs as mascots.

That would suggest that the survey was not random but biased. Proof?

ROFL....I don't need "proof" that they biased the survey when it is so very plain that it is in their best interest to bias the survey and the vast majority of NDNs I know are quite vocal about their lack of support for NDNs as mascots. It is also quite easy to tear apart the demographics of their poll given what I know about NDN demographics and rez demographics.

Bro Jack: Oh I see. Because *you* say it is in their best interest to bias, and because of *your* knowledge of Indian demographics, the study is flawed.

BWAHAHAHAHAH!

Is that your version of scientific objectivism??!!

They did sample only Indians. And if was truly random and drawn from the universe of all Indians and 3/4 of them are fans, so be it.

JRWolf: They would have reported that they spoke with *only* NDNs moron.

Bro Jack: The poll would be flawed in the other direction if they weeded-out sports' fans. The idea is to randomly select from the whole universe of Am. Indians.

JRWolf: I see you are still mentally lagging behind Jack. Try getting past that mental block about NDNs and sports fans. They are not different groups for this survey. One is not a subset of the other, nor do they share members. Try to use what little cognitive power you have left.

Bro Jack: You're contradicting yourself. First, you say that they're not different groups. I agree. Then you say that they are , ie that no NDNs are sports fans.

Now prove to us that the designers of the study tried to select and poll Indians who also happen to be sports fans instead of a more random process.

(For more detailed comments on this issue see Appendix H)

Shortly after this exchange the two correspondents broke into a discussion of a past conflict, involving a newspaper article about black man biting off a white

man's nose, posted by Bro Jack. This exchange was an attempt to undermine each others' credibility in the current argument by referring to this past one:

JRWolf: Remember your masterpiece of reasoning: "The crime was not racially motivated at all. ... the black man attacked and bit off a *piece* of his nose (not the whole damn thing as your source wants us to believe.)"

Bro Jack: I remember it well. I did say a *piece* of his nose in correcting you because you said his *whole* nose. The word "whole" was not used in the article.

JRWolf: No it was not. But when one states that someone's "nose was bitten off", "whole" is implied. I understand why the racist rag you posted the article from stated the facts in that manner though....they were trying to purposefully mislead the reader...just like you do.

All the articles at first said that the nose was bitten off. Only you are so stupid as to imply that the amt. of nose is the relevant issue here.

Bro Jack: But more importantly, you implied that the amount of nose bitten-off is the controlling factor in whether the crime should be charged as a hate crime.

JRWolf: LOL....I never implied any such thing. I corrected 5 separate facts in that article. You are just too stupid to be able to separate them.

Allow me

"The crime was not racially motivated at all. ... the black man attacked and bit off a *piece* of his nose (not the whole damn thing as your source wants us to believe.)"

Bro Jack: I also said it was not racially motivated just because the jerk bit off a *piece* of the guys nose. The perp is known in that area as a violent SOB. I also had to correct you when you made it appear the two were strangers when in fact they knew each other.

JRWolf: I also had to correct you when you said the perp yelled racial slurs to the white guy which he did not. *I* also added that although there was no proof that the case was racially motivated at all, the local police were asking the FBI to investigate it as a hate crime due to the purposeful act of biting off a piece of the guys

nose. As a matter of fact, the *only* thing *you* got right in that post of yours was the fact that one guy was black and one guy was white and it happened in Alabama. I had to correct every other fact on that case from your post. That statement of mine still holds more truth than half the crap you have posted here.

Bro Jack: It's my intention to post divergent articles to let everyone have his say. At the time, no one really knew the facts for sure.

JRWolf: ROFL....I doubt this statement *very* much! What your true intent is no one knows but you. However, the perception of your intent is that you make every attempt you can to stir up shit, cause trouble, increase tensions, and promote racial hatred through misrepresentation of facts, outright lies, insipid commentary, hateful statements, and totally idiotic "analysis" of data.

Bro Jack Misrepresentation of facts? Idiotic analysis of data? So sayeth the boy who argued that the amt. of nose tissue that was bitten off was the determining factor as to whether this was a hate crime.

Increase tensions? Yeah, you'd be happy if whitey just keeps on bending over and taking it up the ass from you whining shitbirds. *I* prefer to fight you bastards.

But I digress. The real boo-boo is your belief that the amount of nasal tissue lost is the determining factor as to whether a hate crime was committed.

JRWolf: LOL...see, perfect example of your outright lies. The two issues are not related. I corrected the amount of nasal tissue bitten off in one statement. I corrected the misrepresentation of the facts to promote the crime as a race based crime in another statement. I never linked the two statements. You did that in another one of your idiotic twisting of words.

You are just a sad little man.

Bro Jack: And you're just a deceitful little snot who cannot make it in this society without playing the race card and condemning white society, while at the same time enjoying the civilized lifestyle that we have provided you.

This exchange demonstrates clearly the deep-seated racial animosity of both writers. What began as a reasoned discussion of a poll on Native mascots turned into two rants about racism, ending in racial slurs and personal insults.

Some had argued on the listservs that the Whities stereotype only perpetuated racism; many examples above would seem to support this.

Many Native contributions to the debate, as in most instances, were humorous. In the midst of the above exchange, someone posted: "No one polled me. <and thankfully, sounds painful> Seriously though, anyone else here get polled?" (alt.native Apr. 2, 2002).

Near the end of March the Fighting Whites had established a chat room and virtual store for various merchandise. While messages flew around on the Native and other lists, the Whites established their own cyberpresence at home. On the whiteboard on March 28, a week after it started, there were 1,094 email posts broken into some 150 threads, involving 176 are registered users, some posting to many threads. There were also 116 posts to an accompanying Native American Mascots discussion group.⁹⁹

The following thread seemed to sum up many of the issues latent and manifest in the Fighting White phenomenon. It had 15 contributions in a week, I include the first reply to the initial post with no editing:

DAMN CANT YOU UNDERSTAND?

so i came here trying to find some unity of MY people...the indian people, all i see here is a bunch of pricks being mean to each other..indian and white...and brown...yellow....red.....the one thing that i see in common from all these posts is that you all have your own opinion on this situation....and i do to...so is that what we are posting messages for....to express our opinions or has most of this turned into name calling and resorted to complete BS....

⁹⁹ At <http://pub18.ezboard.com/bfightingwhites>. A visit in late Nov. showed 409 subscribers, and over 1,200 new messages.

My opinion to this is: good for the Fighting Whites...bring attention to a issue that has taken a front seat in conversation at many of my family gatherings....bring the heat and make them rethink....

I doubt that the professional teams and the high schools ever wanted to upset indians by using them as mascots....and infact probably meant it in a good way...but did they ever think that it might just be insulting and wrong?

I think that most of you are missing the point.....my people (the arikara, mandan and hidatsa people) once proud and powerful...(and at one time 3 tribes..now 1).....live a miger existance...most of my family lives in White Shield North Dakota...and beleve me if you have never been there DONT GO..... its horrible.....every one is poor...the land is toxic.... and barely any one has anything.....ohhh did i mention that 80% of the indians on my reservation have diabetes...yeah even the kids.....

luckily my grandmother took her family away from the reservation before i was born.....my siblings and I have been able to live here in beautiful Denver Colorado our whole lives.....but we are only few and by far the luckiest ones from my tribes.....

the rest?!!! they have all in a way, been institutionalized....since the beginning, they took our people away from their families and sent them to catholic boarding schools...most indian mothers in the 1930's died without even knowing where their children were.....knowing only that the white men had taken them to become "civilized"....

Civilized...huh...is that what is going on here on this message board...no its not.....I think that all you people who are bashing the Fighting Whites are missing the point.... its time to walk a mile in our shoes...

im sure that they(the fighting whites) did not mean any disrespect to the whites but maybe its just a little food for thought... and why you ask dont they help them selves... stop being drunk...get jobs...

1.)its a common dream of indians to return to the old ways...live off the land, hunt and grow your own food...be close to mother earth....i know that i toy with this thought almost daily..usually on my drive to work...

well to be honest i dont knowi ask my grandparents and my mother that all the time.....they say the people on the reservations are still living in the past...upset about the things that have happened and feel powerless to fix anything.....so they fall in to depression.....

we did not ask to become civilized....we were forced.....and there are still some that oppose it...

"god only helps those who help them selves" right (i saw that in another post above)....well what if we dont believe in your "god"....just another point..

now they tell us that sticking up and saying something about a situation that offends ALL or MANY indians is just capitalizm....whatever.....

so maybe its ok for all of us to disagree at to if this is right or wrong but for me im glad that its getting some well needed attention.....

ooohhhh and dont forget most of the dream catchers that you see in cars, are owned by white people...whats up with that....

Just one little indian.....

Here is another example of a 'real place' appearing in cyberspace, some personal revelations that take us out of our living rooms to another place, in this case, not a pleasant one. But a real example of the issues at stake on the ground in the U.S. and Canada, now worked through in cyberspace:

thanks for your comments. Most people who have cited personal experience on these boards did it in an irrelevant way. Your white shield story had some actual quantitative fact to it. 80% Diabetes! That's friggin devastating!

So many people mistake technological progress for evolution. It's based on a 19th century model of

civilized
colonial
3rd World

...in that order of importance. Educated people (some of whom have posted here) refer to it as "Social Darwinism."

When did our socially stratified consumer culture, the product of so-called "civilization" make anyone a better person?

It's a question of values, I guess. Do people value the earth, the human community, peace, or do they value wealth, status, and material objects? I'm not saying we should all go back to the hunter/gatherer lifestyle. We just need to acknowledge that Western civilization and all its "progress" is a very double edged sword indeed. For all the lifestyle and conveniences, murder and pestilence are the other side of the coin.

This last argument is in accordance with the Seventh Fire Prophecy, in that interracial cooperation and understanding is necessary to restore the balance between nature and technology; as in this thesis with cyberspace, technology is the key to communication, and chaos. As I argued earlier, its use in the hands of the cyberelite, the white mainstream, points to commerce. For Natives and other marginalized people, its promise is communication.

It is also a place for the perpetuation of racism, as well. At the Fighting Whites site, the anti-Native sentiment was also there. This first email is from a Native, the reply from a non-Native:

Thanks stupid white people

Love your team name and think it fairly represents the objectification of non-whites in our society. Hate how many of the whiney majority of this country have come to this bulletin board and complained how they are the subject of reverse discrimination and affirmative action. Maybe they should have their family and heritage murdered, starved, run out of town and then small pocked to death before they continue to complain how the could not get a promotion because of some mi-nor-i-ty.

Not only are these white people whiney, but they come across as a little stupid, too. They should know their history and the effects of public policy on non-whites before they start to bitch and moan about how they could not get an audi.

And here is the reply:

Wimps!!!!!!

HAHAHAHAHAHAHAAAAA!!

CRY ME A RIVER!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

I mean....listen to this whiner!..."Maybe they should have their family and heritage murdered, starved, run out of town and then small pocked to death before they continue to complain how the could not get a promotion beacause of some mi-nor-i-ty"

bearskin and the most prized hide was the "redskin" which sold for 30 English pounds in the early 1800's.

The "redskin" hides were used for making leggings, bags, horse reins and a number of other items by the English. I had the opportunity of seeing first hand, a "redskin" bag, it was made of an ancestors scalp with the scalp lock still attached, the back side was the bag, the front the scalp hung off of it was used somewhat like a purse. I believe you would have a different view on this whole issue if it was one of your great grandparents' scalp lock bag you were holding in your hands.

It was sick and it took my breath away.

It's an issue not many people are aware of in this country, it was a time when genocide was ramped in this country. No race of people should be used as a mascot, especially when it's bastardized by using a child-like cartoon character for the insignia.

If you held your ancestors' scalp and hair in the form of a bag, would you say "get over it"?

The questions of race raised by the Fighting Whites also expanded to include class, as was ultimately inevitable:

Race is a cultural construct - Mascots Poll

Given the low level of discourse on these boards, I thought I'd point out a simple fact that every contemporary Anthropologist knows: Race is a myth. All humanity is 99.9% genetically identical. Variations of outward appearance, such as skin color and hair texture, account for an almost negligible portion of the human genome. The rhetoric of race is propagated through our society as a means to obfuscate the abuses of the upper class, and keep the masses occupied with eighth-grade-level yammering about appearances. Racism is the intellectual equivalent of a fart joke, though not half as funny, since many ignorant people are seduced to action based on its flawed tenets.

The "Fighting Whites" mascot points out, with razor-sharp irony, the ridiculousness of racial stereotyping. It also incites discussion about the appropriateness of various sports mascots.

My favorite example of an inappropriate sports mascot is the "Washington Wizards" NBA team. They changed their name to "The Wizards" from "The Bullets" so as not to glorify gun violence. However, in doing so, the team completely exempted itself from the opportunity of relocating to a city in, say, the deep South. "The

Biloxi, Mississippi Wizards” could mean something entirely different than what was originally intended in Washington. Ha ha.

Not to fly off on a tangent. Here is my question:

Is the co-opting of ANY indigenous American imagery in sports mascots unacceptable, or is it just the pejorative stereotyping that you have a problem with?

This thread went on with an extensive discussion on the roots of anthropology, its flaws and limitations as a European positivist construct, steeped in colonialism and social Darwinism, and lastly, some acknowledgement of contemporary anthropologists who are more engaged in “cultural immersion and advocacy.”

But race is the simple reason behind the Fighting Whites, and the discussion continued and expanded. I have often seen Native and non-Native arguing history and culture, and trading insults, on the Native listservs, but at the Fighting White site there were insults thrown between blacks and Natives, racial atrocities around the world were mentioned, and one of the most popular threads (48 posts in a week) had expanded to Hispanic issues, and Mexican:

It is Bothering YOU CRACKERS!!

Its seems to me you CRACKERS don't get it. Obviously you can't stand other races surpassing your ignorance as well as your dying economic status in this country. The best way you CRACKERS deal with it is go with the flow and see how far it takes you. I got news for all you EURO-AMERICANS. We Hispanics are growing in this country by enormous numbers. Especially my people from Mexico. We might be starting from scratch being landscapers, fast food workers, car washers, etc... But it's these kinds of situations that make us even more rich. So keep buying Fighting Whites products. They are being made in California by Mexicans and being sold by the beautiful Native Americans.

A PROUD MEXICAN.

P.S. Every thang is going to be all RED & BROWN. HA HA!

This thread expanded to include much on the history of Spanish colonization in the Americas, and origins of the Mexican people. As well, of course, there were some vitriolic posts by racists, which were more rabid and direct than those aimed at Indians — crass insults such as “wetback” were widely used by these people.

As well as the white racist or supremacist contingent, there were a few non-Natives who made apologies for the past, or suggested that they and others might be able to make good for things today. Surprisingly, another non-Native, a Filipino, came to their defense, and his thread gained a lot of acclaim:

WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

Whites are not great people? I'm Filipino and I'm brown but I will never deny that a lot of great white folks have made a lot of great things that you and I would not have experienced if not for white folks. Abraham Lincoln was white, Albert Einstein was white, Winston Churchill was white.

I don't think it's the fault of the present American whites that some of their ancestors practiced slavery [which other great nations did (Rome, Greece, Israel) but never been blamed by liberals]. Why will I blame my white friends for the sin of someone who existed hundreds of years ago?

C'mon, wake up!

I'm brown and I love my white friends not because of their color but because of their individuality. Are there any individual blacks, reds, yellow? Why do you have to judge people according to their ethnicity? We are individuals. You liberals are the real racists of this world!

Although I had previously heard and read email arguments that using Native names or connotations in sports and other areas was an “honour” to Natives, this argument did not surface at the Fighting White site. Perhaps the sarcasm of the Whities and excised it somehow. In the Sports Illustrated article, Michael Yellow Bird, an associate professor of social work at Arizona State said that using Native names for sports teams “is no honor” “We lost our land, we lost our languages, we lost our children. Proportionately speaking, indigenous peoples (in the U.S.) are incarcerated more than any other group, we have more racial violence perpetrated upon us, and we are forgotten. If people think this is how to honor us, then colonization has really taken hold” (in Price 2002: 69)

It is important to understand that the Fighting Whites are part of a larger movement on the part of Natives to eliminate stereotyping, one which has gained momentum on the Internet. “Though activists have made little progress at the highest level of pro sports — officials of the Atlanta Braves, Chicago Blackhawks, Cleveland Indians and Washington Redskins, for example, say they have no intention of changing their teams' names or mascots — their single-minded pursuit of the issue has literally changed the face of sports in the U.S.” (Price 2002: 70).

In 1969, Oklahoma began the trend by retiring its mascot Little Red (very much like the Fighting Red mascot from the Eaton school), since then more than 600 school teams and minor league pro clubs have dropped nicknames found offensive by Native groups.

The movement is continuing in the U.S. In Jan. the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, which represents 17 local governments in D.C., southern Maryland and northern Virginia, adopted a resolution calling the Redskins name "demeaning and dehumanizing" and asking team owner Dan Snyder to change it by next season. The word Redskin was banned was banned on custom D.C. auto plates in 1999.

The Fighting Whites stepped into the centre of a storm when they decided to take their message to the press and into cyberspace. A basketball team from a small university became known worldwide on the Web. I know I bought a jersey, so did my advisor Craig McKie.

The team went on to lose its first season in basketball. The Eaton school, however, decided in the end to drop its Fighting Red mascot, a major victory. The Fighting Whites name is no longer necessary, perhaps, but has grown beyond its original purpose to exist in cyberspace — a forum and cybershop together, something like the old corner store with the pickle barrel.

What would have been a blip on the news before the Net, the Fighting Whities phenomenon continues, and will likely remain a busy site until discussions of Native stereotyping, in sports and elsewhere, are resolved. Which gives it very healthy future indeed.

Profits from shirt sales are going toward a "Native American Scholarship Fund." The Whites have caught the ecommerce bug... their last email to me arrived in Aug., I expect there will be more:

From: "Fighting Whites" <fightinwhite@cafepress.com>
 To: <webmaster@hightechhomecoming.com>
 Subject: Back to School Sale

We're getting ready for school and the upcoming season so we decided to have a back to school sale on all Fighting Whites merchandise! All prices have been reduced \$2 for the beginning of the school year! We also added some bags...
 Good luck this year! Thanks for supporting our Fund.
 Come check us out at <http://www.fightingwhites.org>

The Fighting Whites

As of early Dec. 2002, "more than 15,000 shirts and hats (had) been sold, raising at least \$100,000" for the team and its scholarship fund, \$10,000 of which is already earmarked to be given away in 2003. A spokesperson for the American Indian Movement reinforced the importance of the Net in bringing a remote town to the mainstream: "It's actually kind of an amazing thing that happened there in Colorado. Not only did they raise the level of debate but they also turned it around and raised money for Native American scholarships," said Charlene Teters, vice president of the AIM's National Coalition on Race in Sports and Media, who also estimates that about 3,000 professional and amateur team names are offensive.¹⁰⁰

In the end, the team has dodged this debate. Team member Jeff Vanlwarden remarked that the money collected could have been used in the campaign against the use of Indian names as mascots, but that most of the team members felt more would be gained by helping Indian students.

¹⁰⁰"Whites' team spoof raises \$100,000" on MSNBC.com Dec. 2, 2002 at <http://www.msnbc.com/news/842089.asp?0dm=C2BGN&cp1=1>

6.3 SchoolNet

Over the past two decades, transfer-of-authority arrangements have given First Nations more control over education in their communities, and today over 500 schools are under First Nations management. *Gathering Strength*, the Government of Canada's action plan to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, emphasized the importance of investing in the acquisition of the education, skills and training necessary for individual self-reliance, although funding for these efforts is just a fraction of what was called for by the RCAP.¹⁰¹ The plan identifies greater access to technology for Aboriginal schools as a primary means of enhancing learning, and initiatives such as Industry Canada's Native SchoolNet and Community Access Program (CAP) represent an initial response to this challenge.

Some 98% of First Nation schools in Canada are connected through SchoolNet, a federal government initiative that was implemented in the mid-90s, and 70% of communities have a Web access point (Barnsley 2002). But that does not allow individuals in communities to have even basic email services —

¹⁰¹ *Gathering Strength* contributed \$750,000 to Native communities across Canada for various healing and education programs, some of which are documented below; RCAP called for \$1.5-2 billion yearly over 20 years to effect "social and economic recovery" among First Nations, part of a strategy to help First Nations to self-determination and sustainability. These initiatives were meant to remove Natives from government control and from financial dependency — at great savings to the government, who RCAP reckoned were losing \$7.5 billion yearly to "expenditures on remedial programs," foregone income (and taxes) from Natives out of work, and financial assistance to First Nations (RCAP(a) 1996: 138-143). So far, government efforts in this regard have amounted to little more than tokenism, and will certainly not provide the needed infrastructure for cyberspace.

the promise of SchoolNet, and broadband access for it and remote communities, has been a bust for the large part.¹⁰²

The AFN was very much involved in government plans to make cyberspace a part of the Native communities landscape; leaders are wondering what to do following the federal government's failure to support former Industry Minister Brian Tobin's broadband technology plan in the March 2002 budget. To date the effort to bring First Nations online has been a patchwork approach, slow and built on inferior technology.

SchoolNet and broadband access is essential to help First Nations deal with a long list of social and economic problems: Education and communication via the Net, and services such as telehealth and videoconferencing, are essential to remote communities. The AFN estimates that the growing Aboriginal population will create a need for 160,000 jobs for youth in the next 20 years to avoid more catastrophic unemployment numbers — already over 50% on most reserves.

Industry Canada's National Broadband Task Force presented its report in June 2001, entitled "The New National Dream: Networking the Nation for Broadband Access," calling for high-speed broadband Net services for all

¹⁰² Industry Canada's New Practices in Learning Technologies (NPLT) supports projects that focus on understanding how learning technologies can be used with adult learners. Community Learning Networks Initiative (CLNI) supports pilot projects that promote or enhance access to learning opportunities through technology. One Aboriginal CLNI project is the Kuh-ke-nah Network of SMART First Nations. The project involves the development of operational strategies for a variety of broadband telecommunications applications and services in six First Nations communities in northern Ontario. The Federal Economic Development Initiative for Northern Ontario (FedNor) has been supporting northern Ontario's First Nations communities in achieving the benefits of connectedness. In 2001, FedNor invested \$228,000 in a Keewaytinook Okimakanak Tribal Council project to deliver health career improvement programs using an

Canadian communities by 2004. Tobin asked for \$500 million to begin the project; in the budget Paul Martin set aside only \$105 million for broadband connectivity in a budget line item for 2004.¹⁰³

The AFN feels it can't wait, and attended a recent INAC tech conference looking for alternatives. Individual communities are now in search of solutions in the absence of a clear national vision, and are being approached by suppliers of various low band solutions. Infrastructure, in other words, is so much patchwork.

A host of Native enterprises are being spawned to provide solutions. Ottawa's Donna Cona Inc. has teamed with LinCsat Communications Inc. of Toronto to sell wireless high-speed Net access via satellite to remote communities. John Bernard (Abenaki/Maliseet and Italian from Edmunston, NB), majority owner and CEO of Donna Cona, is looking for ways to raise money to get the project off the ground.

In an interview on TVO's Studio 2 on November 21, 2002, Bernard ('the Chief') was asked: "Why bring the Internet to Native communities?" and he answered "education, ecommerce, and enlightenment." He described some elders' objections to the Net, including the porn that youth would be exposed to. They ask him if he can protect the kids from this; he answers no, but that the Net represents "a new economic way of life" in remote communities. "It's very

Internet-based self-education technology. Most of these programs are sorely underfunded, and are stop-gap measures.

¹⁰³ The "A Tribe Called Quit" website was being launched by the Aboriginal Youth Network, another Industry Canada initiative. The site was developed at the request of Health Canada, to target youth Aboriginal youth. Edmonton's AYN stop-smoking campaign in cyberspace provides a manual and a virtual medicine bag in pdf format for health resource people, teachers or counsellors, at <http://www.ayn.ca/quit>.

plausible that somebody from Old Crow Yukon, where there are no roads, could have created eBay.”¹⁰⁴

The Broadband Task Force pegged the cost of getting all Canadian communities connected to broadband technology at \$4 billion — with \$1 billion of that to connect all households and offices on all First Nations. Alternatively for \$525 million, the plan called for providing just a point of access in each community. Bernard tried to raise the \$125 million needed (25% from First Nations) to kick start the plan, by taking Donna Cona public.

Bernard points out that “the only way First Nations are going to be able to raise 25 per cent is through the private sector... Unfortunately, the private sector’s only going to invest money when there’s a return on investment, and there was no perceived return on investment... Where are First Nations possibly going to get the rest when all of the money that they get comes from the federal government?” (in Barnsley 2002).

Alternatively, Bernard is now marketing a less robust — but less expensive — solution to First Nations.

I totally support the Broadband Task Force and I totally support... the AFN national First Nations network, but the reality of the situation is, there’s no money. The Broadband Task Force, that’s a Cadillac service. They wanted 1.5 symmetrical. That’s very expensive. I’ve partnered up with a local company that allowed us to get two-way satellite. It’s not broadband through the definition of

¹⁰⁴ An ambitious businessman, Bernard also mentioned in the interview that he could see himself as the first Native minister of Indian Affairs (“I would be bringing in technology...”) or perhaps the first Aboriginal Prime Minister. INAC announced on January 16 that the firm Donna Cona was awarded a \$15 million contract to provide the ministry with help desk and computer network support services. Minister Robert Nault applauded Donna Cona as an example of the success of Aboriginal entrepreneurs in different markets and Ottawa’s contributions to developing business partnerships with the First Nations; however, First Nations are vehemently opposed to Nault and his policies, particularly the FNGA, so it will be interesting to see how this contract works out..

the Broadband Task Force, which is 1.5 up and 1.5 down. But I've got to tell you, this two-way satellite service direct way that we're selling is up to 50 times faster than dialup... It's the equivalent to what you have at your home if you have Rogers. And it's very, very affordable. (in Barnsley 2002)

It seems that the federal broadband solution is not there for First Nations, but the youth in reserve communities must have personal access to the Net. SchoolNet, slow as it is, is there for most kids on reserves, at least at school. At home, though, access is still dismal, and rural ISPs are often unreliable.

Broadband access and NativeNet are more essential to Natives than to the mainstream. Native educators see computers, and cyberspace, as keys to retention of language and oral culture. Distance education and telelearning mean that older, top-down systems of learning are giving way to more inclusive and participatory environments. When I taught at Akwesasne, exploring cyberspace was our primary activity — libraries, webpages, emails were all accessed at school and at home, it was a constant learning process for all of us:

Impact of Technology on Education and Training Delivery		
The OLD System	merges with...	the NEW System
Teacher as knowledge holder Information dissemination Standardization Classroom learning Group learning One-to-one/one-to-many	<----->	Teacher as knowledge facilitator Information exchange Flexibility Any time, any place Self-directed and collaborative learning Many-to-many

Sources: TeleLearning Network of Centres of Excellence, 1999; The Conference Board of Canada, 2000 (Greenall 2001: 15).

Cyberspace is a huge part of mainstream education today, but is even more central to the future of remote communities. Sandra Opikikew founded the

Lloydminster (Saskatchewan) Hoop Dancing Club to help Aboriginal youth experience traditional dancing, outfits and teachings. To get started, she researched “cultural websites on the Internet” to get information on the Navajo hoop dancing traditions (Sexsmith 2001: 6)

Betsy Buck, a Hodenauonee from Six Nations, says that some school children learn to use computers before they learn to read or write, and the multimedia format fits well with a learning style based on oral tradition. “Buck’s comments about the use of the web for education are fairly typical. An emphasis on the relation of the medium to oral tradition is common, and it may be this that promotes web use among many American Indian schools. It also provides a way for the tribal community to know what is going on in the classroom at the same time that it promotes key cultural practices and values” (Zimmerman 2000: 79).

Zimmerman cites a project from the Duck’s Bay School in Manitoba, a Métis community of 500. Children illustrated a story about a Métis child’s cybertrip to Australia through the text and audio and video clips. “The approach reinforces traditional visualization skills while teaching reading, using new technologies, and some cross-cultural skills” (2002: 79).^{xxv}

Another of the early tribal websites in the U.S., operated by the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Tribe of northeastern South Dakota, pioneered a Web focus on language (Dakota Language Homepage) in 1995. The portal structure works with different Web servers to cover the community newspaper and the Tiospa Zina K-12 school.^{xxvi}

Zimmerman asserts that in the U.S. at least, "...the number of American Indian (and Indian oriented) websites has more than kept pace with the general growth of the Web," and "among the first users of the web for education were the tribally controlled colleges" (2000: 78).

An innovator from Canada working in the midst of this development is Buffy Sainte-Marie, who started the Cradleboard Teaching Project in the mid-90s.^{xxvii} It was born through her own experiences as a teacher (she has degrees in Oriental Philosophy and Education, also a Ph.D. in Fine Arts), by travelling through Indian country constantly as both singer and educator. The project is aimed at Native kids and educators, but also at non-Native students, and both groups can exchange perspectives and information.

When I had a concert in New York, afterwards I would go to the Mohawk Reservation out in the country upstate. If I had a concert in Sydney, Australia, afterwards I'd spend time with Aboriginal people. This became a way of life for me, and I'm grateful for all the good people who taught me across cultural borders.

As a teacher who was also a songwriter, I had brought Indian issues to the attention of my own generation through my records. Then in the late 70s I became a semi-regular on "Sesame Street" for 5 years. I wanted little kids and their caretakers to know one thing above all: that Indians Exist. We are not all dead and stuffed in museums like the dinosaurs.

When my own son was in grade five, his teacher, Ms. Adrya Siebring, asked for my help in presenting a better Indian Studies Unit to her class. We looked at the available teaching materials and they failed! Lots of dead text about dead Indians. I wrote up a simple corrected version of the encyclopedia material. Each year I continued to upgrade and expand this little Indian Unit.

In 1984, I got my first Macintosh computer. I'd already been using computers for recording music and scoring movies for several years, so I had a bit of a head start. By the early 90s I was using my computers for online interaction and making new friends. I thought it would be interesting to connect a First Nations (Indian) school in Canada with Adrya Siebring's Island School in Hawaii.

The kids exchanged letters and boxes of local goodies and information about their communities, their schools, and most of all themselves. They also had their first experience with email and Live Chat on a computer, which was very new at the time.

Since that time, I continued to develop the Cradleboard idea at several informal sites.... we have modeled the Cradleboard Teaching Project in Mohawk, Cree, Ojibwe, Menominee, Coeur d'Alene, Navajo, Quinault, Hawaiian, and Apache communities in eleven states, each of whom have partnered with a non-Indian class of the same grade level.

We have also created accurate, enriching core curriculum units for Elementary, Middle, and High School grades in the disciplines of Geography, History, Social Studies, Music and Science... We provided curriculum and cross cultural connectivity to hundreds of children, and sponsored several face to face real world meetings between partnering classes of students in grades 5-12, together with their teachers and representatives from four foreign countries to learn Cradleboard Methods for maximizing cross cultural relations.^{xxviii}

There are plans to link to Canadian schools today, and Buffy has been recruiting Canadian people to run the project, but I have found no further links to Canadian schools — this may reflect the fact that charitable funding for the project is all U.S.-based. Private funding prevails in the U.S. for Web projects; in Canada we are still dependant on government sponsorship.

Buffy is also involved with a similar "KIDS FROM KA-NA-TA" project here, designed to work within the Canadian Studies curriculum. KIDS FROM KA-NA-TA began linking classes across Canada using long-distance calls and the Datapac service in the late 80s operated from the Faculty of Education at York University. It now takes full advantage of the growing infrastructure of the Web. With support funding from SchoolNet and in consultation with Native leaders and educators, the project's educational content is created almost entirely by the students themselves, in cyberspace. Students try to "build a picture of their

partner sites in the project. The technology is used as a tool to facilitate the communication and to bridge the vast gulf of geography and history in Canada that has kept Native communities isolated from mainstream culture for centuries.^{xxxix} There are currently eight “grassroots” school sites participating, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia.

The federal government also tied mailing lists, websites and other resources into the SchoolNet project. The 1stpeople mailing list was set up to provide Aboriginal teachers, educators, curriculum developers, school administrators and consultants with a forum where they can share their experiences., recommendations, questions, tips, tricks and almost anything else relating to Aboriginal education.^{xxx} Aboriginal Digital Collections is an Industry Canada’s pilot program to allow Natives Canadians to preserve, celebrate and communicate their heritage, languages and contemporary life by developing and accessing materials on the Web.^{xxxi} The website is largely non-Native, though, and presents a distinctly federal perspective on First Nations. The program also pays Aboriginal youth to create websites featuring material ranging from information on businesses and entrepreneurship to traditional knowledge and contemporary issues such as the preservation of Aboriginal languages. The Aboriginal Youth Network is a website designed by and for Native youth in an effort to create and maintain an online youth community nationwide.^{xxxii}

In 2001 the Conference Board of Canada released a report entitled *Aboriginal Digital Opportunities: Addressing Aboriginal Learning Needs Through the Use of Learning Technologies* (Greenall 2001). It documents federal

initiatives in ten remote Native communities across the country, designed to bring cyberspace to the bush, and to bring new learning technologies to the classroom. Some of these efforts are documented below, and although each reports a limited success, these programs do not address underlying problems of access in remote communities.

The Kativik School Board was created by the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975 to serve the people in the 14 communities of Nunavik and to empower the Inuit to take control of their own education. Youth are aware of the Internet and very interested because “they view technology as brand new, exciting, fun;” however, they don’t use the computers for homework, as most students don’t have computers at home. Access is limited to school hours — students don’t want to come after school to use the computers. Computers are still a novelty, and are used largely for games: “If I like it, I will use it.” It is a question of time in this remote northern territory before students realize that the use and potential of computers goes beyond games, along with knowledgeable teachers to convince them how best to use computers for learning and career advancement. “The older generation doesn’t know enough about technology to make a judgement” (Greenall 2001: 21).

At Kashechewan First Nations at Fort Albany (on the southwest of James Bay, above Moosonee and Moose Factory) the community wants to use the Internet and email so youth can finish high-school and post-secondary school (tele-learning). Facility in cyberspace would enable community members to reach out to the world, communicate and do business — but access to the Net is a

problem. Fibreoptic connection exists only up to Moosonee; there is need to hook up fibreoptics to Fort Albany. Today there are only six telephone lines (installed by Bell Canada since 1998), providing access to the Internet for only a few people at a given time.

In 1996, the Grade 9 communications class at Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation in Saskatchewan began learning graphic design skills and applied their expertise to building an Industry Canada Aboriginal Digital Collections website about Indian treaties.^{xxxiii} Building upon this experience, three female students began a small business called Wacky Graphics, which was housed in the school and provided local graphic design services. Over the next four years, these students designed client-contracted products such as calendars, funeral brochures and community election ballots. "This initiative helped to foster their entrepreneurial spirit and provided them with marketable skills and experience to potentially apply upon entering the workforce after graduation" (Greenall 2001: 15).

Nisichawayasihk's Otetiskiwin School at Nelson House has linked its computer network to televisions in each classroom. The computer teacher can teach while students remain at their own computer stations and watch the lesson on TV. In addition, every student has an email account, which allows teachers to send lesson plans to them in cyberspace. In 1999, the Grade 11 computer class built the school website^{xxxiv} and individual websites and integrated pictures taken with a school-bought digital camera. Having these cameras has also helped to give the school a higher profile in the local community: "Before, a reporter would

have to come into town and take pictures. Now, it is easy to use our digital camera at school events and send the file to the Meadow Lake newspaper” (in Greenall 2001: 34). Or post it in cyberspace, for the world to see.

At Musqueam First Nation in B.C., The Adult Learning Centre promotes the use of technology in the broader community by providing computer access and tutoring services to K–12 students during the evenings. Like most communities described in the report, computer penetration in the household is extremely low. The ability to type and print essays allows students to prepare professional-looking assignments that “equal those of non-Aboriginal classmates” (Greenall 2001: 39).

IT is also being used as a tool to promote the preservation of the Musqueam language. Two initiatives have been developed in coordination with the University of British Columbia to encourage sharing and learning of the language. Language classes are offered, with third-level students required to build a webpage, intended to help others learn about their language. The community has also developed a computer database to store oral recordings spoken by elders.

One program aimed at providing relevant IT experience to Native peoples is the Advanced Training and Services Technology Certification Program, offered by the federal government on many reserves, such as Tobique First Nation on the east coast. An intensive 40-week computer training course enables Aboriginal students to become Microsoft certified technicians. This enables a small number of adepts in each community to secure employment in the

information technology area, or more importantly, help their communities with the use of information and communication technologies for learning, networking and Net access.

Beyond SchoolNet and the libraries of cyberspace, Native education today depends on broadband access for communities, and personal access for youth and the community. Early efforts such as those by Buffy Sainte-Marie and Paula Geise are still viable educational resources, and cross-cultural portals. Buffy's Cradleboard Project even includes a virtual Powwow, where Natives and non-Natives can mingle in real time in cyberspace — just as on the land.

These resources and forums will only work to First Nations' advantage if the resources to bring the youth to the new territory are in place. More than the mainstream, Natives have to create their own places in cyberspace before the territory is claimed completely.

At this time, there is no clear consensus on the effectiveness of technology in the classroom, but it is essential for distance education. Native communities, like other communities, are seeking to realize the maximum potential of technology while realizing that there will be positive and negative outcomes.

Aboriginal learners have unique cultural needs, and cyberspace has the potential to significantly affect values, traditions and language. Protection of culture is a critical issue for Natives; cyberspace has shown itself to be a powerful tool for this.

How we can get there is one important issue. Each Aboriginal community is unique; there are differing stages of economic development, technology infrastructure (or lack thereof), varied locations, history, and languages, and various levels of technology adoption and community responsibility for education programming. Remote geographic location affects the ability of communities to implement technologies, as was seen in James Bay and the schools at Nunavik, and differences in provincial educational systems currently affect the ability of communities to influence how technology is used in their schools.

What we do when we get there is the next issue. I think that each community, in its own way and time, will have to decide how, and how much, to embrace cyberspace. The Trickster appears as the "self-imposed" and geographic marginalization that has worked to preserve Native cultures for hundreds of years melts away in cyberspace, where preservation of oral culture exists alongside with the abilities of Native youth to leave tradition, and the reserve, behind. Cyberspace has the potential to reinforce and strengthen culture and traditions, but it can also isolate the learner and contribute to a detachment from traditional ways of life. As we move further and further into this new territory, how much are we leaving the land behind us?

The best Indian education reminds people of who they are culturally while simultaneously taking them into the future. But some wonder whether Indian values can survive among all those hard drives and megabytes. (Simonelli 1993)

Native communities understand that the Net should serve learners and the community in general, they “want greater involvement in defining the relationship between technology and learning. They want to ensure that initiatives result in outcomes that are compatible with their reality” (Greenall 2001: 19).

6.4 Seventh Fire Revisited

Also in November 2002, I revisited the Seventh Fire prophecy in cyberspace. When I first wrote about the Seventh Fire in my MA thesis (1995), there were no references to it on the Net, and even an early inquiry I sent to the NATIVE-L list went unanswered. On Nov. 2 there were dozens of close references out of 636,000 hits on Google, my favourite search engine, and some point to the life (prana) of this prophecy in cyberspace, but most reflect māyā or Windego — misinterpretations, misappropriations.

At www.the7thfire.com, the splash page features a picture of Mount Shasta in Washington state, with a brilliant light emanating from its heart:

In the Heart of Mt. Shasta is a beacon of the Heart Chakra of the World. The Seventh Fire is an ancient Ojibwe prophecy that points toward a new way of living and being for all nations. The path is not difficult. In fact, it's probably far easier than living the way in which you are accustomed. You are already there now but you might not see it, insisting on a life of limitation rather than soaring beyond mind and imagination.

The site is maintained by a couple who seem to be blending Native and Hindu teachings. It is far removed from anything I ever heard William Commanda speak of. The host is Allen Aslan Heart:

Abenaki/Ojibwe story-teller, drummer, poet, writer, artist and teacher. Part-European in ancestry, I bridge worlds of thought and being, science and shamanism. I bring a message of the contributions of Native American culture, of the beauty of Mother Earth, and our connection to all things.

The reference to shamanism, to me, is a strong hint to me that the site is devoted to things beyond the Seventh Fire prophecy. The result is a confusion of teachings and cultures.

Another site is run by Rainbow Eagle, "an Okla-Choctaw American Indian. He is a Wisdom Keeper, honored with the responsibility of an Ancient Native American Peace Shield. Now that the Seventh Fire of the Anishinabe/Ojibwa traditions has been lit, he is responsible for teaching the traditions of the peace shield. At this time, all of the traditional wisdom and truths which he has been given are to be placed into this Peace Shield to increase its power and restore peace on our Mother Earth."^{xxxv}

This is more a case of a Native teacher taking on the mantle of the prophecy to expound on further Native teachings — the Peace Shield is an ancient teaching instrument in the southwest. And the Seventh Fire prophecy calls for sharing these teachings.

I also found a straight line to Maniwaki, and William Commanda, in cyberspace. I found a recent article by Jeremy Wright, a non-Native and federal

civil servant who has joined the rainbow of William's adherents.¹⁰⁵ This excerpted article shows that the prophecy is continuing to reach more people, of all backgrounds. There are also references to current thinking on outcome of the prophecy, and an Algonquin analogy involving a canoe:

The Seventh Fire by Jeremy Wright
 Spiritual Messages from The 6th Annual "Gathering of All Nations"
 Maniwaki, Quebec, August 2001

The Annual Gatherings of All Nations with Grandfather William Commanda are among those special occasions that shine the lights of higher understanding into our hearts, and invite renewed reflection on the nature and purpose of our human journey.

This year, over fifteen hundred representatives attended the Gathering from all walks of life, from Canada, the US, Europe, and Central and South America. We were treated to the rich tapestries of their traditions on all levels of 'being'—spiritual, environmental, emotional, social and cultural. Grandfather, as is his custom, provided an open-air banquet for all attendees, financed from his personal Old Age cheques.

His vision for 'A Circle of All Nations' came to him in 1961 when he was diagnosed with terminal cancer and was given weeks to live. He experienced a profound spiritual awakening. Now forty years later, a healthy and vibrant 88 year old, he tours the world teaching about the 'Red Road of forgiveness, love, compassion and reconciliation'.

According to their traditions, which are similar to those in the Old Testament, Seven Prophets came to Anishnabe in ancient times, and left seven Prophecies, known today as 'The Seven Fires'.

(He describes the first four fires)...

The Fifth and Sixth Fires, covering the period from 1600 until today, (this timeline was new to me, and probably provided by William) told of a period when their children would be removed from their families and from the teachings of their Elders. They would face the loss of their ancestral lands and burial grounds. They

¹⁰⁵ "Jeremy Wright has spent most of his working life in the Canadian Civil Service, and from 1982 as Senior Economic Advisor to the Canadian Federation of Labour. Becoming convinced that current financial and economic systems were contributing to our declining status quo, he founded the Wellness Foundation in 1992." See www.wellnessfoundation.org

The excerpts above first appeared in *New Renaissance*, 11/2, issue 37, Summer, 2002
 Bio and article posted on the Web at <http://www.ru.org/wright-112.htm>

would be forced to hide the ancient sacred scrolls and ceremonies, lest their culture be destroyed and lost forever.

Now is the time of the Seventh Fire, when Mother Earth is in trouble: It is at this time, that the 'light skinned race' will be given a choice between two roads... If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire, an eternal Fire of Peace, Love, Brotherhood and Sisterhood.

The 'wrong road' is generally interpreted as the Path of Technology. Notwithstanding the many benefits of scientific progress, this Path denotes the irresponsible harvesting of Mother Earth's resources with ever-increasing efficiency, and increasing pollution. It leads directly to the destruction of the biosphere and the extinction of humanity.

The 'right road' is interpreted as the Spiritual Path where all life, created by the Great Creator and connected and sacred, is nurtured, restored and held in sacred trust for the generations yet to come.

We sat as speakers from Canada, the US, Mexico, Guatemala, Columbia and Brazil, including Elders from Mayan, Hopi, Aztec and Amazonian traditions, told of the poisoning of their rivers, the desecration of their forests and the loss of their lands. They then expressed their visions that the 'light skinned' race would have the wisdom and foresight to choose the 'right road', creating a world with a nobler future. This includes higher and more responsible relationships with each other and with our Planet.

The Algonquin view all creation as sacred and interconnected. In secular terms, the entire bio-system is assumed to be a dynamic global system. The recent mapping of the human genome, which has shown that we share more DNA with worms and insects than we are comfortable with, supports their spiritual worldview.

Their spirituality is more proactive than this, and can be summed up in the birch bark canoe. The shape of the ribbed body of the canoe represents in its smaller manifestation, the ribcage containing the heart and lungs of life itself. It is infinitely expandable to encompass all physical and spiritual universes.

The canoe has the same shape at both ends; one pointing backward to our origins in the Universe and our roots on Mother Earth, and the other end pointing forward to our future. It floats on the water of life.

We are the present paddlers.

Grandfather notes: "Surely, when the Great Creator looks down on the Earth, He sees all of His children playing together from the Red, White, Black, and Yellow Races. He does not see the superficial differences. He sees the beauty of each one of His Children."

We should do the same...

Grandfather notes, "We have to work together, because we have to live together."

Thoughtful, I sat at the end of one of the campfires. The full moon came up over the lake. Loons were calling. And the stars were out. I looked up into the heavens. I began to compare what I had just heard with much of the material that fills the TV programs and the tens of thousands of daily advertisements.

These would have us believe that we are not good enough unless we embrace everlasting consumption as the 'be all and end all' of our civilization. 'End all' because the materialistic worldview, narrowly focused on the corporate bottom line, has difficulty seeing beyond the next quarter's financial profit....

Could it be that the growing ecological, social and financial debts — as evidenced by what has happened to North America since the first Settlers arrived; as evidenced in our treatment of The First Nations; and more generally seen today throughout the Third World — is really a result of a spiritual deficit in the First World?

Surely our children deserve better. I know mine do.

The stark choice facing the 'light skinned' race became clear:

Do we want a future driven by materialism and short term profit where our hearts are filled with greed for the riches of the land? or, Do we want a new Earth and a new future where our hearts are filled with love and compassion? Can we create a future where there is sufficiency and the good life for all?

I left The Gathering with the conviction that it is time for a Call to Action, a call for people of good will to 'swim up' to higher values.

Each one of us has our part to play—the CEOs of large corporations, stockbrokers, nurses, doctors and healers; storekeepers, farmers, and above all grandparents, parents and teachers to all our children and grandchildren.

Let us begin by lighting the Eighth Fire in our own hearts and in our own families. Then, let us heal ourselves, our communities and our Nations, and co-create a magnificent and inspirational Millennium for all generations yet to come.

This author has taken the prophecy beyond the literal, and initiated a call for the Eighth Fire, perhaps a little precipitously. I have been to the lake he describes, at other gatherings, and can see how his imagination was inspired to

expound on the prophecy. It is an example of the prophecy touching ground in Maniwaki, by a lake, extending to the mainstream, and into cyberspace.

On the Net, I also found that the Seventh Fire has been co-opted on TV. A CTV special called 'Imagination on Fire,' featuring "First Nations tales of trickster, teacher and nature told on Christmas Day" aired in 1999, "oral aboriginal stories (brought) to the small screen through a blend of live action and 2-D and 3-D animation."^{xxxvi} The pilot featured two winter tales told by an Ojibwe storyteller to a group of kids and animals gathered around a fire. The first story featured Cree trickster and teacher Whiskeyjack and the second recounted a legend from the West Coast Kitasoo — hardly central to the Seventh Fire, but central to its teaching of sharing knowledge (via stories).

The pilot opened with an introduction that long ago a prophet knew the time would come when people would again seek Native teachings and stories. "That time is now, and it's represented by the Seventh Fire." The pilot won numerous awards and aired in France, but a series never developed.

A casino in South Bend, Indiana found a unique way of tying into the Seventh Fire. The ceremony mentioned below is something I have never heard of, and sounds similar to the manufactured legends at Blue Snake's virtual lodge. It took place in summer 2002:

Keeper of the Fire Scheduled to Open Midwest Convergence for Universal Peace with Fire Ceremony

South Bend, Ind. — The opening night ceremonies for The Midwest Convergence for Universal Peace will begin with a ritual that has been used for over 10,000 years — playing a central role in family

life and religious ceremonies. It has been valued as a ceremonial tool by all cultures. Duane Hardwick will conduct the Lighting of the Seventh Fire ceremony on the island at Century Center in downtown South Bend when the Convergence is held June 30 — July 4.

The ancient ceremony of the lighting of the sacred Fire usually takes more than 90 minutes and is accompanied by prayer, song and chants. Participants will hear the Story of the Fire from Native American Hardwick who traces his roots to the Potawatomi and Ojibway people.^{xxxvii}

Even the church is getting involved. “The Seventh Fire: First Peoples and the Anglican Church — looks at the historical record of aboriginal people in the Anglican Church of Canada and the 1994 covenant drafted in a first step towards building an autonomous aboriginal church.”^{xxxviii} Casinos and churches embracing the Seventh Fire — perhaps beyond the call for mutual recognition and understanding?

“Seventh Fire” is also an album by Douglas Blue Feather, a “spiritual journey, blending modern keyboards and drums with the Native American flute,” featured in winter 2002 at Native Radio online.^{xxxix} finding this put me in mind of 7TH Fire, a band out of Ottawa, from the mid-80s to mid-90s.

7TH Fire incorporates Intertribal singing and the drum. Their sound includes elements of reggae, rap, rock and roll and Zappaesque sounds... 7TH Fire takes their sound to festivals and clubs across the country — many non-Natives have become acquainted with Native sounds at 7TH Fire concerts.

...many of their efforts involve collaboration with musicians from different places and backgrounds...

I first saw the band in September 1992 at Ottawa's Saw Gallery (the gallery features Native works, and includes a Native video co-op). It's a small place, and it was packed with some 200 fans, all of who knew the band. 7TH Fire was playing high energy, rock/punk/reggae/funk with Intertribal roots. There were 7 players

ranging in age from 22 to 78 years old in their 1992 performance at the Saw Gallery, representing Natives (and non-Natives)... from North and South America. (Patterson 1995: 201).

The band brought the Native message to the mainstream, using a mix of people to do it, so 7TH Fire was in keeping with the prophecy. The recent album by Douglas Blue Feather is another expression of the spirit of the prophecy as well.

I combed through some 30 hits on Seventh Fire on Google before losing the trail, bringing up results like this, which reminded me that there are other Seventh Fire manifestations:

Village Endures Seventh House Fire

... News, Village Endures Seventh House Fire. Fire Fighters Quickly Quell Blaze. ... This is reportedly the seventh fire in less than six months. ...

www.antonnews.com/floraparkdispatch/2002/05/17/news/fire.html

-

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST LEADER WARNS THERE IS NO HELL FIRE

... This reminds us that the Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) denomination denies many biblical ... the doctrine that the wicked dead are tormented with fire and brimstone ...

www.wayoflife.org/fbns/seventhday.htm

Despite the confusion, the Seventh Fire Prophecy continues to gain recognition, partly through cyberspace. There is also lots of room in cyberspace for sites that exploit or confuse the prophecy, and as the teaching becomes more well known, they will proliferate.

There is a rhetoric, a polemic, to the prophecy, reflected in Jeremy Wright's article above. The virtual trick is to make it real, in the sense that it bridges the gap between the races, perspectives, and peoples mentioned.

In cyberspace, perhaps this can only occur secondhand — the lake at William's place is far away — so it remains perhaps for the spirit of the prophecy to live there, as a springboard to expand Native expressions, as with the Peace Shield.

6.5 At the Mall

There are hundreds of Native-run commercial websites in cyberspace today, in various stages of development. Dozens are located in Canada. It is very early in the game to be able to see how these sites will fare commercially, or to predict how ecommerce will impact those on remote reserves.

I will take a stroll through the cybermall in Canada, ending up at the biggest mall of all, eBay.

The official launch of Canada's "first full-service Aboriginal virtual mall" took place at the Provincial Museum of Alberta on March 23, 2002. The website introduction was held at an open house in Edmonton on a big screen with a virtual tour of shopping links, business links, programs and services, "traditional sites" and international links. Entertainment featuring traditional drummers and dancers heralded the new site.

Founded by Dan Martel in partnership with CSM Systems, aboriginalmall.com was created to promote Aboriginal products and services around the world using IT. It was also meant to break the isolation of individuals and communities who are far from cities and towns.

It is an eBay-type place where crafts and artwork are sold, mostly local (Alberta). It appears quiet in winter 2003; there are few local items up for sale, and they have been there for a while. But there are some dozen arts and crafts stores from across the country represented, computer stores, entertainment and so on. It is a well designed site, with an eagle feather/maple leaf logo, and there is excellent Native work featured there. I get the feeling while there, though, that the mall is empty, or has not been visited in some time. Compared to eBay, it is quiet, understated, reserved — more Native.

GoodMinds.com is a Native-owned and operated business located on the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory in Ontario. They sell educational resources Aboriginal and Native American educational resources for schools, libraries, and the general public, for grades K to Post Secondary. They also produced and sell The Great Peace CD-ROM, which explores the history, culture and spirituality of the Haudenosaunee. This is another sleepy site, “Last updated October 31th, 2002.”

Iroqrafts, on the other hand, is a long established trading post in the heart of Six Nations. Its website is understated yet powerful, in that it reflects the wealth of traditional supplies to be found in the store, from rawhide to finished moccasin, hair comb to hatchet.^{x1} Moosehide, Elk and Deer skins are available, but in February 2003 “Beavertails are currently unavailable...” and Horsetail is “temporarily not available (does anyone know a source for these? thank you).”

I know this site is drawing orders — people drive hundreds of miles to get to Iroqrafts for supplies or finished crafts every summer, it is a hugely successful

family and community business. I get my moccasins there. Now we can visit in cyberspace, anytime.

It is a purely commercial site, in that it lacks the links that most Native websites (and sites in general) rely on. It is a final destination at the mall, not a portal to other stores.

The Turtle Island Native Network is a very comprehensive portal, with an excellent resources section, including the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples reports, an Aboriginal People's Guide to the Records of the Government of Canada, the National Aboriginal Document Database, an overview of Aboriginal history in Canada, Aboriginal rights research resources, links to historical documents such as the Jesuit Relations, legal cases relating to Aboriginal and treaty rights, the Reconciliation and Social Justice Library, and more. It is like the bookstore at the mall. It is also an Iroquois site, well known in the Native cybercommunity, also offers news and information on Native education, health and wellness, communities, business and culture.^{xli}

Aside from all this business at the mall, the kids are hanging there also, of course. The official web site of First Nations hip-hop artists WARPARTY gives access to the group's latest news, lyrics, pictures, music and video downloads. It provides "a look into the world of hip-hop culture from the reservation." From Hobbema Alberta, the group has won Aboriginal Music Awards in 2001 and 2002, with songs such as "Feeling Reserved," which is anything but. WARPARTY (which one member pronounces "Par-tay") knows that Web presence is crucial in the hip-hop world today. They rely on the website, and

email from their fans, for feedback and support.^{xlii} Allied to their site is a list of small hip-hop groups, associations and clubs dotted throughout Western Canada, in rural Saskatchewan and Manitoba, all linked in cyberspace.

As much as Natives are setting up shop at the cybermall today, they are still well behind the cyberelite, who have been hawking things Native from the first. In Canada, the federal government's Aboriginal Canada portal is largely a platform for INAC propaganda and misinformation (i.e. the assertion that the population of Akwesasne is 137). My students at Akwesasne were less than impressed by the portal — it is another example of non-Natives trying to represent Native perspectives. As we see in the newsgroup exchanges that follow, the Native community is up in arms about these Windegos at the mall.

A couple of threads regarding identity, cultural appropriations and racial ignorance on eBay appeared on the alt.native listserv in January 2003, shortly after a woman advertised an "Indian Squaw Dress" for sale. The following is from eBay:

VINTAGE NATIVE AMERICAN BUCKSKIN SQUAW DRESS

I AM LISTING BEADED NECKLACES AND MOCCASINS THAT GO WITH THIS DRESS SO PLEASE CHECK MY OTHER AUCTIONS FOR MORE ITEMS THAT CAME WITH THIS LOT. First I apologize for my lousy pictures - for some reason this dress was hard to photo. This auction is for a beautiful Authentic Native American Buckskin Squaw Dress. I got it from a lady who said it had been worn by a teacher who got it to wear for her students every year at their harvest celebration - she had it at least 30 years. It is beautifully made and the bodice and sleeves are lined with fabric. There is fringe going all the way down each side starting at the sleeves. For it's age it is very clean - no stains, no funky smells - I would have no qualms about wearing it as is...

Within days someone had notified the list of this item, and the NDN anger erupted in cyberspace, all the way back to the seller. Wolvbtch,^{xliii} a list regular and elder who lives in the Arizona desert, was one of the first to comment, calling the dress “no worse than the Chinese bead necklaces (she) has on e-bay...” and another commented that “That dress ain’t vintage... looks like some halloween costume to me... a wannabe dress...” Wolvbtch then tried to contact the seller: “I cannot figure out how to send feedback on e-bay... else I would ask this seller if she knew what she is selling?” Then the subject became more serious, and heated.

Subject: Re: S**** dress!

Date: Sat, 1 Feb 2003 11:38:01 -0600

I have a specific question for the God damn prick ass seller!!! If you care to pass it along? What the hell is a {SQUAW DRESS}??? Is it red? Do high heels come with it? And is the back of it a little worn out, from laying on the ground? Could you also ask if the disrespectful prick or ass wipe also has a few scalps hanging around that might possibly be for sale. Aloha....Clam dip....

Another member commented on the volume of Native-appropriated items for sale, replying: “Get an ebay account and you can ask all these sellers the same.” He did a search and found 212 items under ‘squaw,’ and posted this:

Date: Sat, 01 Feb 2003 14:48:25 -0800

From: Joker & Harley at Arkham <vyl@pacbe11.ent>

This just goes to show, we have to educate people. And for many years, the term squaw was thought to mean NDN female by about 85% of U.S. population. They didn't know. It's only been recently

brought to the average person's attention (that this term is insulting).

Now, the word is getting out there. And we have to make sure people hear the word and understand why they shouldn't use it.

Insulting people because they don't know won't make the message get across.

Harley

There are pages of listings for items with 'Squaw' in the name on eBay.

The group discussed notifying eBay of the connotation and ask that they refuse any further listings. Problematic, as one person pointed out:

... they probably would not stop listing named items like Squaw Valley... a 'valid' name of the location. The multilayer full skirts and dresses that Mama Lena wore in the forties and fifties were called that all over the area and around the Salt River and Gila River reservations. What we didn't know can come back to haunt us. I Met Jay Silverheels when I was about ten, wished I knew then to ask about "Kemo sabe"(sp?). Jimmie knew him as "Uncle" and he bought us RC Colas, Jimmie had a dead mouse in his!

On January 31 the seller added the following information to her eBay page:

Since listing this dress I have received over 12 emails from Native Americans bringing it to my attention that the term "Squaw" is an insult to the women of their culture. For this I apologize. I had no idea the term was a slam to women! The dress was sold to me as being called that so that's what I titled it. This has been enlightening to me and I am glad to have it brought to my attention so I can erase the term from my vocabulary because I in no way want to insult anyone of Native American descent. In the meantime Ebay does not allow me to change the title or the description of the auction because it has bids. All that is allowed is this addition to the description. To all those who have been offended I sincerely apologize.

This incident was still under discussion when another item surfaced. A restored "Museum Quality Native American Indian Buck Skin Ceremonial Shirt" appeared, "made entirely of buckskin, the back adorned with a full coyote face and ermine tails," beadwork, bells and tin cones (jingle dress cones). One listmember wrote " a sucker is suckered again.... restored? my dogs hiney..." to which Wolvbtch replied "well... didn't see your dog's hiney on that shirt... lol... but saw newer type cheap cones, and that strip of beadwork looks like the kind one buys from the trading posts premade... the coyote face is also easily purchased from the same place one can buy the bead strips and cones... well... someone will pay \$500, and then find out somewhere down the years, or even months they were ripped off." The list was less concerned of the hawking of Native tradition than with the inauthenticity of the shirt. Primitive Jim, another list regular, put it this way:

I go to eBay daily and buy things there from time to time. Anything that's hawked as "real" Indian or even better "vintage" or "old" real Indian commands a hefty premium and causes ferocious bidding. Find some worn moccasins, put some beads on them from Grey Owl Indian Crafts, label them "vintage Lakota Sioux", and you've suddenly got \$125 or more in your pocket. "Used" is important since it implies that Sioux feet were once in them.

I then noticed that the person selling the ceremonial shirt was also selling a "Native American Indian Ghost Dance Shirt," which he had apparently made himself. The Ghost Dance was inspired by the Paiute prophet Wovoka, who said to the Plains and Basin people in the 1880s that the buffalo and old way of life would return if the people continued to dance. The sacred dance spread "from Nevada to

the northern Plains," and "promised that peaceful adjustments with the whites, faithful dancing, clean living, and hard work would restore the days of Indian prosperity" (Young 1995: 14). Out of fear and ignorance the U.S. government sought to extinguish the new Native "religion," culminating in the massacre of hundreds of people at Wounded Knee in 1890.

There was 300, mostly women and children, massacred for doing a *dance*, for *praying*, and all thrown in a grave together — one big mass grave. And it's one of the most abominable, unimaginable things to have happened to a people. I felt I had to do something in this project (*Music for The Native Americans*) to acknowledge this, to pay respect to this... I thought, "this needs to be dealt with" (Robbie Robertson in Kennedy 1994: 40).

The non-Native seller boasted: "Our Ghost Dance Shirts are typical of the items used in the dance."^{xliv} Prior to the Wounded Knee massacre in 1890, a Lakota leader told his people that the Ghost Dance Shirt was bullet proof, that circles on the shirt indicated that bullets fired at it would be repelled. It is partly this belief that led to the massacre. The imitation shirt comes complete with these circles.¹⁰⁶ I wrote to alt.native, and got these replies:

Wait a minute. This guy is selling a Ghost Dance shirt he made himself. Bad medicine.

Meanwhile, I agree w Jim, and am thinking about going into ebusiness, sure need the money. I have some used Mohawk jeans, an old workshirt, and some genuine leather Mohawk winter boots (they leak, but OK for display purposes).

Mike

Hi Mike,

¹⁰⁶ Many years ago a dream name came to me: Many Horses. Recently I found that Many Horses was a Lakota medicine man in the late 1800s, and an organizer of the Ghost Dance.

I think you're on to something. I've got a few quarts of used motor oil. From my Pontiac, a true "rez rocket".

-bill

GREAT IDEA!!! You mean used is better? Holy crap man, I just happen to have a very used snake skin jock strap. "Great." Since I used it for bagging my "native" balls, it should bring in a wad of money on e-bay, right? Hot damn, this is surely my lucky day.

-Red

Actually, Mike, no where does it say he made the shirt himself - at least, not as the ad stands now. And the ad was ended early, which I suspect means that someone reported him and eBay pulled it.

In all my 61 years, I've gone from wanting people to understand and believe the way we do (aggressively so) through being really worried about what would happen to them if they played with our sacred fires to frankly believing that if they are stupid enough not to listen to reason and to their spirits, they deserve what they get. This may be bad medicine for them, but it is bad medicine they have pulled in on themselves.

-Anuh1

I DONT LIKE EBAY. SOMETIME MY HAND USE TO SLIP OFFA THE KEY USED TO GET INFO ON CHATTERS IN AN AOL CHATRM & I WOULD FALL INTO EBAY. I NEVER NEW WHAT THE HELL WAS GOIN ON. I FELT LIKE I WAS IN THE NUTHOUSE. I THINK WE SHOULD FIND OUT WHERE EBAY GOT ITS OFFICES & BLOW IT UP.

-Bravesheart

Don't knock it 'til you try it. I'd be lost without eBay. I just bought the coolest 110 year old alarm clock on eBay last week for \$32. It has Roman numerals like all 19th century clocks. I had to take it apart and work on it a little, but now it runs 31 hours fully wound and keeps good time. I like to look at it and imagine where it's been and what it has seen.

Then there's the awesome leather fringe jacket I just bought in perfect condition for \$31.50 on eBay from a lady in Iowa. She said her cousin wore it to Woodstock, and that's the way it smelled on arrival.

But after airing out for a couple of weeks, it's much less now. A new jacket would cost 10X as much. I could have it dry cleaned, but it's fun to imagine what the lady's cousin was smoking in that

jacket to make it smell so fine. Who needs a doobie when all you have to do is take a whiff of my "new" fringe jacket.

-Jim

Lastly, while on the subject of intoxicants, Windego arrived at the mall in the guise of a beer company, selling derogatory Native stereotypes. Wolvbtch alerted the alt.native newsgroup that the Catawba Valley Brewing Company of Glen Alpine, North Carolina was promoting their beer in cyberspace with names (and attendant images) such as Indian Head Red, Firewater IPA, Brown Bear Ale and Honust (sic) Injun Stout.^{xiv} Another elder from the list wrote to the brewery:

Mr. Pyatt,

How can you be so insensitive? Your entire line of beers uses Native American culture to sell a product that has done much damage to their communities. In particular, your Fire Water and Honest Injun brands obviously deride Native Americans, however clever you think they are.

Would you consider calling your stout Good Little Darkie? Why not name your pale ale Honky Juice? Of course you wouldn't do that, so why pick on Native Americans?

You show yourself to be completely insensitive, as well as a man who had a very poor upbringing. Furthermore, you help to continue the stereotype of the bigoted Southerner. Beginning today, I will encourage my friends in North Carolina to boycott your products, as well as those who sell them.

Sincerely,

Lane Baldwin

At the mall, everything is available. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of Native websites selling arts, crafts, and artifacts — all overshadowed by the etail giant eBay. It remains to be seen how successful Native enterprises will be, and whether they will allow Natives to see some measure of independence through

ecommerce. As it stands, the tools and momentum are in the hands of the mall owners, and they are most definitely non-Native.

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter, and much of this dissertation, is an exploration of current attitudes and issues in Indian Country, which are echoed in cyberspace. We have seen that cyberspace is a place to expand upon, and expand, issues central to Native people.

Much of this, as with Frostys and the Fighting Whites, has to do with drawing attention to the plights, and risks, faced by Natives on the ground. Beck and Giddens describe a new social order of 'risk society,' as profound a shift from modernity as the latter was from traditional agrarian society, where "Internet newsgroups are new as a medium of information exchange on risk issues because they make it possible to ask other people directly, rather than consulting impersonal information sources such as the press." As with the BSE outbreak in Britain in 1996, which caused a flurry of Net activity on newsgroups; enquirers had many resources to contact, including locals, farmers and experts.

But "there is no guarantee that this approach will generate information more reliable than that available via mass media sources" as "those who reply to newsgroup enquiries themselves often rely on the mass media for their information," but those contributions may be "corrected or challenged by later contributors" (Richardson 2001: 69).

It is just this correcting and challenging, on issues of vital interest, that make cyberspace an increasingly central forum for the meeting of Two Worlds. The Aboriginal community on the Internet is growing fast, and now more Native bands, companies and organizations are using websites to reach their clients, associates and members. People who have moved away from their home communities can feel connected by accessing an online resource from the community. People can access their local news publication on the Net. And they can speak to the world, from home.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions and Implications for First Nations

Ethnography has constructed an object of knowledge ("culture") that has remained relatively constant across changes in theoretical positions and interpretive methods. This object, and the means by which it is constructed, is situated within networks of power and what Michel Foucault refers to as "regimes of truth." The ethnographic text is thus made possible only by certain historical, political, and epistemological contexts. The study of indigenous media, with its often uncritical appropriation of ethnographic discourse, must be located in reference to the historical specificity of this discourse and to the "practical politics" of colonization and domination.

The historical experience of culture contact and conflict between colonizing Europeans and the aboriginal population of North America shape the ways in which First Nations communities today have appropriated and developed the forms of mass media. This history has also shaped the way cultural differences are experienced, imagined, and represented within and between these two groups. The current struggle for access to media and the discursive frames within which this struggle is analyzed have common roots in modes of domination. (Bredin 1993)

We as a society cannot afford further divisions between the information haves and have-nots. A gap in the availability of Internet access will have a multiplier effect and create an even more significant divide in critical areas such as education, job training, literacy, public health and economic prosperity. (Tim Koogle, Chairman and CEO of Yahoo!, at the G-8 Kyushu–Okinawa Summit 2000)

Today in Canada an era of limited political autonomy has occurred and there is strong movement toward self-determination, healing, and expression of Native perspectives. The colonial policies carried out against Natives of North America for the last 500 years have not worked. In particular, Natives in Canada and elsewhere are surviving and thriving, and a strong movement toward self-

determination is in process (Frideres 2001, RCAP 1995, Mercredi 1993, Fleras and Elliott 1992).

The data in this dissertation demonstrate that cyberspace is empowering to First Nations, at this time. Pockets of communications, such as Frosty's, alt.native, thousands of websites, are establishing territory in cyberspace.

First Nations in Canada need to take a proactive approach to the use of cyberspace; this new territory-in-process is a chance to refine and redefine Native and non-Native priorities. One of the strongest of the new tools is Information Technology (IT). It enables communications from the margins to the centre, it can help with preservation of oral culture and language: "With a multimedia computer the Internet becomes a multimedia system, featuring sound and graphics and video..." Cyberspace allows remote communities to communicate and access the latest information, it can support culture, and "our Nations will be able to speak more quickly and directly than ever before" on the Internet (Morrisson 1995).

The year 2003 marks the end of the UN's Decade of Indigenous Peoples. But it is just a beginning in cyberspace, and this thought from a decade ago still applies:

I agree with Gerald McMaster that 1992 (Columbus' Quincentenary) was a year for reflection on ourselves, on who we are, and how we are all represented in the discourse of history and art and literature, feminism and resistance, land rights, treaty rights, sovereignty, and self-determination. In 1993, the International Year of Indigenous Peoples, we must recognize -- and act upon -- the intertwined past and present of our two worlds, our parallel voices. (Valaskakis 1993)

How can Natives find unique ways to use the technology based on Native values and worldviews, to reflect those voices? There is need for a national technology discussion for First Nations, because cyberspace has increasing power over the future of Native groups, and it is not yet tied to the institutions and agencies of government. Information Technology and cyberspace of themselves are the agents of change, and they are changing us.

I believe that the upcoming generation, the Native N-Geners from 15-25, and the ones that follow, will be more influential in the course of First Nations' future than any young generation before them. We will be leaving the Residential School intergenerational traumas behind as youth embrace the Net, and make it their own. Increasingly, adults can only sit by and watch. In the future, what will the youth of cyberspace, who grew up there, be like? In Native communities, how much more divorced from traditions (and the community) might they become?

7.1 Two Worlds and Tricksters

Within cyberspace, not only are the spatial and temporal barriers collapsing, so too are the inter-personal ones. Meanwhile, however, new social barriers emerge with unique issues relating to access, understanding, and meaning (Miah 2000: 223).

As has been shown, cyberspace can help and hurt Natives — it can be a Trickster. At the same time, it is the meeting of Two Worlds, Native and non-Native, and in this virtual space a dialogue is emerging.

Natives have a substantial presence in cyberspace, beyond their numbers. This is partly due to early adoption of the technology by Natives, also to the *māyā* surrounding Native presence, visited by Windegos and Wannabes, scholars and mystics, people of all types drawn to things Native. This is nothing new, but the sheer volume of exchanges, and the ability to create personas (avatars) in cyberspace, make it hard to tell what is 'real.' Could it be that in cyberspace, 'Native' is coming to mean something more (or less) than it does on the ground? How will that filter back to the 'real' communities?

There is a fragmentation of knowledge in the Native cybercommunity, as there are in the real communities, and as it is cyberspace as a whole. The 20-30,000 subscribers to almost 700 Native American newsgroups at Yahoo are at a type of virtual powwow; but unlike a real gathering, they cannot see the whole grounds, the territory, or the forest for the trees. Like Baudrillard's "fascination" at the "disappearing" of information through sheer volume ("a black hole"), there is a glut of information, misinformation, repetition and outright illusion.

A visitor could well come away with bits and pieces that don't add up — and pass them off as knowledge. Again, this is nothing new, but the stakes are higher: Never before has so much information about and from Natives, good and bad, been available to so many people.

This super-newsgroup is unmoderated, there is no guide. That is the difference that most breaks with tradition, where teachers, elders and other guides pass on the knowledge through time. In cyberspace, we see a veneer of that knowledge, all jumbled together, again we are in Borges' *Library of Babel*.

7.2 *The New Communities*

I believe there is a general issue here with worldwide loss of unequivocal clan/tribal affiliations. That which replaces it asserts individualism to the exclusion of other values, and pushes for the widest denominator (English on the Web; US\$ in the pocket, massive retaliation as an international norm of state behaviour). Has not the nation state, hand in hand with industrial capitalism, destroyed tribe and the web of family obligation and duties? Only the wealthiest make clan compatible with modern life, for instance the ruling Saudi circles, the English elite... (the state is) offering organized religion as a substitute reintegration factor... the content of which they can control (C. McKie personal correspondence, summer 2002).

...Nous vivons, à cette fin de siècle, une vague d'agréations tribales spontanées et nomades où la technologie numérique interactive a un rôle fondamental...La cyberculture... fournit une renaissance d'interactions sociales tribales (Lemos 2000: 89).

...Cyberspace represents a more ominous phase of Western colonialism, the homogenization of knowledge and, in tandem, the elimination of local knowledge systems (Lal 1999: 140).

Cyberspace is a strange place, real yet disembodied, a place that brings space and time whirling together in new ways, and Western and Native and other cultures and worldviews into sharp perspective and contrast (more than Two Worlds). It is now a largely North American middle class construction and phenomenon, but holds the promise of enabling universal access. But just as we have reproduced many mainstream values on the Net (patriarchy, capitalism), we are reproducing social problems (exclusion, monopolism, new power elite).

Like the stock markets that society once created, cyberspace is an artificial system that holds increasing power over its creators, as we head further into the digital age and the Knowledge Economy. More than the market, it also has the power to change the way we think, and think about ourselves, while

offering the techno-elite more say in how we run our lives. It is a personal and social transformative tool, one which is changing exponentially.

Cyberspace today can be seen as a “kaleidoscopic jumbling together of partial and fragmented visions of reality, where each one is hegemonic in its own domain” (Sardar and Ravetz 1997: 10); but each also visit the other as the global touches the local, and the technology changes the discourse (McLuhan et. al.).

Can cyberspace be a place on Turtle Island, or, more to the point, how will it affect what happens here? In “Earthing the Ether,” Nigel Clark explores associations between cyberspace and the ecological movement, not the least of which being the fact that early hardware developers and counter-culture minded programmers, working out of their California garages in the mid-70s, had visions of “electronic villages cradled in a natural environment,” sort of Whole Earth Catalogue meets cyberspace (still a white middle class vision), a process that continues with the “greening of cyberspace” as ecological dialogues become mediated by the technology. “Ecology is not immured from the prevailing technocultural condition In the current climate, it is no longer enough that natural beings are seen or encountered, henceforth contact must be extended into an ongoing dialogue” in cyberspace (1997: 92), this is not unlike Latour’s calling for a “parliament of things,” urging us when “half of our politics is constructed by science and technology, the other half is constructed in societies” to “patch the two together, and the political task can begin again” (1993: 144)

To make a further analogy, the plight of Peary caribou and polar bears in the Arctic is attributable to climate warming, caused largely by greenhouse

gasses. Hudson Bay-area bears are dying like “canaries in a coal mine” because ice floes melt too soon and they can’t get food (seal pups); scientists are predicting extinction for the bears within 40 years if trends continue (Boswell 2000: A10). Cyberspace puts us in the coal mine, or Gibson’s “infinite cage:” we are as much subject to it as to the real physical environment, the fear that helps us survive in the forest, in many ways, exists there too, but can we find it and use it?

In Native teachings bears are the go-between, between the bush and the village, always circling and crossing over where the forest meets the highway. They take messages back and forth between two worlds such as human/spirit (Anishnabe, Onkwehonwe) or human/machine. If cyberspace is the infohighway we are on, but we actually physically live in the forest, then these bears, like sociological “indicators” of this coexistence, reflect the human hope and frailty that is vested in cyberspace.

In summer 1998 I was at Rabbit Blanket Lake by the top of Lake Superior, travelling through. I had my laptop with me, an innovation at the time, but couldn’t get through to cyberspace because there were no cell phones, no phones, just radio phones in the area. This is the ‘lack of infrastructure’ stretching across our country, particularly in the north.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ I had been on the road across the country for two weeks. I was using a laptop powered through electrical inversion from the cigarette lighter from all through southern Saskatchewan and before that over the Great Lakes north of Superior. I was constantly looking for ranger stations, parks, campgrounds, gas stations, anyplace to plug in and do my work in cyberspace (Webmaster), but encountered lots of resistance to my machine, and the Net. I was two days west of Ottawa, north of Lake Superior, when I managed to get through to the Net. In the long stretch past Wawa and Marathon, I found a campground at Upsala that would let me plug in my laptop. “But it won’t work,” the lady in the store said, “because we ain’t got no Internet here.” The

I finally found a camp ranger who would let me try to get through to the Net on his radio phone, miles to the local transmitter, to a satellite station. People had said it wasn't possible; you had to dial and then pop the knobs on the phone, and the system was analog, not digital, but we made it work, between the digital codes and the hammering on the knobs.

His father had been a developer at Northern Telecom, he told me, but he had been taken up by the woods as a youth and followed the road of forestry, forest management, the forest. He liked my Toshiba, and the woods, and the place we were at. He had no problem making them work together. This was an early meeting of Two Worlds.

The forest and the highway form a reflexive circle just as do cyberspace and real place, but we are the indicators, not just the designers, of this place called cyberspace. The effects are as real as a truck on the highway.

We are witnessing a fragmentation in modernity and modernization, and witnessing a "sense of disconuity of time, the break with tradition" in which modern man (and each Native in Canada) "constantly tries to invent himself" in the face of "industrialization, the growth of science and technology, the modern nation state, the capitalist world market, urbanization and other infrastructural elements" (such as cyberspace) (Featherstone 1988: 199, 201).

There are further breaks with Native ways as kinship is replaced by personal relationships and interests, local community gives way to "abstract systems as a means of stabilizing relations across indefinite spans of time-

farmers coming into the café looked at me like some new kind of threatening animal. "The school is talking about getting the Internet for the kids," she later told me, "but a lot of people don't like it."

space,” and Native spirituality or worldview and traditions meet the “future-oriented, counterfactual thought” of modernity (through cyberspace) (Giddens 1990: 102). The Native awareness (‘fear’) of nature, of bears, of the land, is transformed in cyberspace to “threats and dangers emanating from the reflexivity of modernity” (ibid.).

This points to the need to be aware of the contradictory possibilities of cyberspace, its Trickster nature, such as its promotion of the English language while promising Native language retention through telelearning, or its fostering new cybercommunities based on affiliation, at the expense of locale and community. John Sherry’s 1995 study with the Navajo showed their preference for face-to-face talk was further marginalizing them in face of the “modernist predilection for discursive redemption through precise, written logic” of computers (Hakken 1999: 139).

Zimmerman argues that:

There can be little doubt that new technologies play a role in the establishment and maintenance of American Indian ethnic boundaries, but their role is not entirely clear. At some level they may simply be extensions of already extant traits and processes of boundaries maintenance. Certainly, the rapidity of their acceptance by Indian people is remarkable, but even that may be an extension of (pre)historic processes that required the development and use of synthetic communication devices. (2000: 85)

What he calls “Tribal pages” are now allowing Nations to demonstrate their “sovereignty and unique characters,” while “some pages that deal with pan-Indian issues may simply reinforce already existing boundaries (among

Nations),” and there is “an even broader issue of a further lumping of Indian people with other indigenous groups worldwide as a category of ‘indigenous,’ ‘tribal’ or ‘traditional.’” (ibid.).

Many Native websites, especially the portals, are linking Native sites and issues from offshore, such as Australian (Aborigine), New Zealand (Maori), South American or Finland (Sami).¹⁰⁸ This type of site “would simply reinforce existing categories, but at an even broader level” says Zimmerman (2000: 85), but I believe it goes beyond that. In the strong movement toward North-South indigenous dialogue, and circumpolar dialogues, and also global solidarity, cyberspace and the mega-sites will prove to be central in sharing information and agendas. For although cyberspace is growing rapidly, with its promotion of mainstream values, it is growing against a long history of resistance:

Global change is scouring the face of the planet, but we have lived with it long enough to know that it is not going to scrub away the 5,000 languages on the globe. The particular is just as tenacious and resourceful as the global. We seem to be retribalizing: the more globalism makes our consumption patterns converge, the more insistently we defend the particularities of national differences which remain. And sometimes we defend our differences and our identity with global tools on the Internet, using software provided by such avatars of globalism as Bill Gates (Ignatieff 1998: D10).

Cyberspace “is changing so rapidly that it is difficult to predict its future impacts on ethnic boundaries. Certainly some computer companies and web sites are pushing a notion of ‘one world, one culture’ (cyberculture, we suppose!).

¹⁰⁸ Bill Henderson, a non-Native lawyer from Toronto who has represented Native groups for 25 years, maintains such a pan-cultural and cross-border (Canada-U.S.) site at

That idea, however, lacks an understanding that synthetic communication has a push-pull effect that works to push groups apart at the same time it works to pull them together" (2000: 86).

I don't believe that access to information on Aboriginal groups of all types will serve to "push groups apart," the more information Native people can share, the better. Pan-Indianism may be a threat to individual Native identities (i.e. the adoption of the Plains powwow in the East, use of Dream Catcher traditions by non-Ojibwe, use of the Plains drum everywhere), but I believe it has been far more powerful in bringing different Native people together in a sharing of traditions, and issues and concerns. Mohawks did not lose the water drum when they adopted the Plains drum for powwows and other events, Natives do not necessarily lose their traditions by adopting others. Pan-Indianism may appear to be a 'generic' Indian style at powwows and gatherings, supplanting local customs, but Natives themselves know the differences between their own (Mohawk, Ojibwe, Hopi etc.) traditions and those that have spread and evolved over the Powwow Trail in the last 20-30 years.

This powwow is continuing today in cyberspace. Individuals, Nations and organizations all have their own websites, reflecting their individual culture. At the same time, they have the opportunity to visit other people, and Nations, and learn about theirs.

As the economy moves ever more clearly toward being information-based, Native communities are striving to ensure they are not once again marginalized. Information economies transcend specific

regions and can help Native peoples overcome the economic deprivation that has inflicted many communities since the inception of the reservation system... Do new forms of communication offer a way to overcome the distances associated with regional and economic isolation? New media may allow the development of shared visions without sacrificing specific ties to place, the sense of rootedness that comes not only in living in a particular location over time, but through sharing a common understanding of humans' relationship to nature and cosmological place in the universe with other community members.

Through media (video, film, computing, telecommunications), indigenous peoples can develop a sense of community in *imagiNative* new ways while still maintaining continuity with traditional communication forms and the values that these forms embody... Ultimately, issues related to the self-governance of Native communities — power, control, authority over one's own destiny — are seated in the authority to represent one's self that forms the essence of indigenous media (and communications) (Leuthold 1997: 192).

We need an MC, and a powwow committee, to help bring this powwow together. The people get lost at mega-sites such as Yahoo; there needs to be a better map to the territory. But just as it took thousands of years to develop the trade routes, territories and alliances among Natives across Turtle Island, it will take time to do so in cyberspace as well.

7.3 Native N-Geners

Native youth could be following examples set by mainstream kids today: They resisted control of the Net with shared music distributions systems (MP3s and Kazaa, a new peer-to-peer music application which has replaced Napster and Gnutella), and will work to keep cyberspace free in the future. Donald Tapscott says that "for the first time in history, children are more comfortable,

knowledgeable, and literate than their parents about an innovation central to society" (1998: 1).

N-Geners developed their own, non-exclusive approaches, such as Gnutella, where "members of a network using Gnutella software in essence form a search engine of their own that expands its search exponentially." The system has been shut down by major corporations holding copyright, through actions in the U.S. courts, as has Napster. Nonetheless, the way the system works is typical of distributive software, and its democratic intent: "When a Gnutella user has a query, the software sends it to 10 computers on the network. If the first 10 computers don't have the file, each computer sends it to 10 other computers and so on until, designers say, an estimated million computers would be looking for it in just five to 10 seconds. The program could theoretically check every site on the Web." (Cha 2000). This is networking, working together, for the good of the group. Kazaa continues in this tradition.

The very existence of these free-distributed networks is a statement about the wild nature of the Web and how impossible it seems to be for any dominant group to claim it. It is also a dramatic display of how easily the Net (and society) can be transformed or at least shaken by smart computer programmers who are in their teens.

Communities are changing as well. Children are born into cyberspace and thus assimilate it; adults can only hope to accommodate. Since the kids are the authority, family members must begin to "respect each other for what their

authorities actually are. This creates more of a peer dynamic within families” (Tapscott 1998: 37).

Innovations such as the printing press, radio and TV are “unidirectional and controlled by adults” whereas the “new media is interactive, malleable, and distributed in control... (and) children are taking control of critical elements of a communications revolution” (1998: 26). The youth-elder power relation is shifting.

This must be even more so in Native communities, and those communities built on family and extended family, where the computer has already begun to show its downside in terms of family and socialization.

There is idealism in this youthful propensity for sharing, perhaps more akin to traditional Native ways: “N-Geners... find power on the Internet because it depends on a distributed, or shared, delivery system” (unlike the media), and “this distributed, or shared power is at the heart of the culture of interaction” (Tapscott 1998: 79). Cyberspace is a place for youth to interact.

This sharing can also be individually empowering. Foucault presciently talked about the “Web of power,” stemming from the “incitement to discourse” about a subject, leading to “increased knowledge on that subject, which leads to power. Power comes from any person who starts a discussion, the discussion forms a web outward to the discussion group, weaves its way out from there to other conversations, and sometimes even returns along the same or new paths to where it started” (1998: 79). Usenet email groups, websites, and chat groups all have these qualities.

The decentralization of power through “open” and “distributed network” programs such as Freenet, Linux and Gnutella has revived the romantic dreams of many a cyberspace pioneer; a free realm where no information gatekeeper exists and where all property is commonly owned. The developers of Gnutella ranged in age from 26 to 16; they were motivated by a love of “invention, freedom and transformation.” Gnutella reached over 10,000 machines, storing perhaps two million song files. It is said that “none of the 400-plus people who subscribed to the various Gnutella developers’ email lists dared to bring up business proposals.” (Cha 2000).

This may have been true of young developers from the mainstream, but I suspect that youth in the communities are doing just that today — trying to find ways to use the Net to generate interest, and income. In remote communities, the Net may serve to provide an essential link to the mainstream, one that could help keep youth in the community. At this time, it is a long shot, given low access rates and lack of training, but it may be a way to the future that can further bridge the Two Worlds.

7.4 Freedom for the People?

What about the claim for individual freedom in cyberspace? “Of all the computer enthusiasts’ political ideas, there is none more poignant than the faith that the computer is destined to become a potent equalizer in modern society... Presumably, ordinary citizens equipped with microcomputers will be able to

counter the influence of large, computer-based organizations... (but) using a personal computer makes one no more powerful vis-à-vis, say, the National Security Agency than flying a hang glider establishes a person as a match for the U.S. Air Force" (Winner 1998: 236-37). But many computers, working together? That is the distributive nature of cyberspace as it expands.

In many ways "the online world is the freest community in American life. Its members can do things unacceptable elsewhere in our culture. They can curse freely, challenge the existence of god, explore their sexuality nearly at will, talk to radical thinkers from all over the world. They can even commit verbal treason... The hackers and geeks who founded the Internet believed that there should be no obstacles between people and information... The single dominant ethic in this community is that information wants to be free" (Katz 1998: 220). At the same time, "some network enthusiasts assert that 'information wants to be free,' but an equally vociferous band of digital pioneers contend that the real future of the global Internet lies in metering every drop of knowledge and charging for every sip" (Okerson 1998: 343).

There are arguments for restrictions in cyberspace, which will ultimately test its ability as a facilitator for groups in the margins. Currently in Canada and the U.S., regulators and cyberlibertarians are skirmishing over new laws and regulations to monitor and police cyberspace.

Calling for "selective government regulation of cyberspace," a U.S. law professor argues that "an untrammelled cyberspace would ultimately prove inimical to the ideals of liberal democracy. It would free majorities to trample

upon minorities and serve as a breeding ground for invidious status discrimination, narrowcasting and mainstreaming content selection, systematic invasions of privacy, and gross inequalities in the distribution of basic requisites for citizenship in the information age” (Netanel 2000: 395).

But cyberspace is still free territory, for those who can afford to be there. It can still be used in the interests of the margins against the mainstream. Sensitive to the issue of government censorship of Chinese media overseas, by local and home governments, Zhang and Xiaoming conclude that “as the new technology straddles the border between a mass medium and an interpersonal medium with a convergence of mail, information retrieval, message posting and broadcasting functions, an interpersonal exchange of information could easily result in a mass broadcast. The blending of personal communication and mass communication makes it hard for censors to decide where and when to strike.” It is hard to “identify and terminate the source of origin” on the Net as well: The authors point to The Tunnel, an underground e-journal published by dissidents in China, who e-mail issues to subscribers overseas, who then post them on foreign websites (1999: 25-26).

I believe that security in cyberspace cannot be achieved by individuals or marginal groups, as long as the superstructure is in the hands of the cyberelite. But this is nothing new for First Nations. Anyone can read smoke signals or trail markers; even when coded or encrypted, they are a locator, as are emails.

The freedom in cyberspace now is more the ability to promote a message, an identity, sharing, and a dialogue — in keeping with the Seventh Fire Prophecy.

7.5 First Nations in Cyberspace

Demographic pressures underscore the need of Aboriginal communities to develop skilled workers in order to meet Canada's labour market needs and to improve their employment prospects. The emergence of an economy that values technological skills and competencies has significant positive and negative implications for Aboriginal peoples. Technologically skilled Aboriginal workers will be required to meet the needs of land claim settlements and self-government arrangements. Technology provides Aboriginal teachers and students with a tool to broaden their learning experience. (Greenall 2002: 9)

The Moccasin Telegraph today is a continuation of communication and creative expression on the part of Natives. In cyberspace, Native perspectives can become louder and clearer. As mainstream society learns to understand and respect Natives for who they are, they are acting in accordance with the Seventh Fire and Seven Generations Prophecies.

First Nations people are travelling in cyberspace along with the mainstream, but again as in the Iroquoian Two-Row Wampum belt of the 1600s, picturing two canoes going parallel down the river, together but not mixing, Natives have to find unique ways to use the technology based on Native values and worldviews.

Use of cyberspace should benefit the community by promoting awareness of Native values, helping to gain mainstream respect for spiritual practices and prophecies, and through assisting in the cultural, spiritual and political process of self-determination. Throughout this country on reserves and in the cities the people still feel the extreme urgency and concern for cultural survival, for the preservation of languages and teachings and the restoration of health to the people. As much as this is happening in Akwesasne, it is happening in cyberspace.

“The broad, pan-Indian community varies widely, and the existence of multiple non-Native communities, often in conflictual relationships with one another, adds layers of complexity to the relationship between Native media and its varied audiences.” The challenge for Native producers in cyberspace is “to define their goals relative to the needs of divergent communities: their home communities, Native tribes across North America, indigenous people worldwide, and the broader non-Native population of North America and the world” (Leuthold 1997: 170).

Aboriginal communities find themselves in an interesting situation. With respect to the digital era, they are...at the starting gate with all sectors of Canadian society. (Aboriginal peoples) also perhaps stand to benefit the most from the digital era. (Shirley Serafini, Deputy Minister, Indian and Northern Affairs, 2000)

As Canada's economy becomes more knowledge based, there is “significant danger” that underskilled Natives, and First Nations, will be excluded from new economic opportunities and will be pushed further toward the margins of society. They could be left behind and disenfranchised as the pace of technology

adoption and integration in the economy increases. First Nations “face many of the same issues and challenges discussed in debates surrounding information ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’ in the developing world” (Greenall 2001: 11).

Most Native communities lack the money, technical infrastructure and human and technical resources needed to get to cyberspace, the new global territory. Getting there won’t solve the serious social and economic challenges that many Aboriginal communities face; but it is a piece of the puzzle in solving complex problems which require holistic and coordinated approaches on the part of all in the communities. Natives must prioritize the adoption IT to avoid falling deeper into the digital divide in Canada, and in cyberspace.

This new territory is just as real as space itself. Just as real as the space we inhabit, and travel through. There was a lot of pride, but also there were a lot of jokes at Akwesasne about the first American Indian astronaut (“smuggling in space!”);¹⁰⁹ there is also the warning in the “Funny Moon Message,” found on a Native listserv:

Sent: Thursday, January 09, 2003 2:48 AM
Subject: funny moon message

When NASA was preparing for the Apollo Project, it took the astronauts to the Navajo Nation in Arizona for training.

One day, a Navajo elder and his son came across the space crew walking among the rocks. The elder, who spoke only Navajo, asked a question. His son translated for the NASA people: “What are these guys in the big suits doing?”

One of the astronauts said that they were practicing for a trip to the moon. When his son relayed this comment the Navajo elder, he got all excited and asked if it would be possible to give to the astronauts a message to deliver to the moon?

¹⁰⁹ The first Native astronaut is John Herrington, he flew on the STS-113 mission in November and December 2002.

Recognizing a promotional opportunity when he saw one, a NASA official accompanying the astronauts said, "Why certainly!" and told an underling to get a tape recorder. The Navajo elder's comments into the microphone were brief. The NASA official asked the son if he would translate what his father had said.

The son listened to the recording and laughed uproariously. But he refused to translate. So the NASA people took the tape to a nearby Navajo village and played it for other members of the nation. They too laughed long and loudly but also refused to translate the elder's message to the moon.

Finally, an official government translator was summoned. After he finally stopped laughing the translator relayed the message: "Watch out for these pricks. They have come to steal your land."

Are we doomed to revisit the colonial experience in cyberspace? Yes, if access is denied to most of the Native community. No, if First Nations can make a leap forward into the digital world.

What appears to be emerging is a highly educated, mobile, internationally networked cohort of knowledge workers on the one hand and a relatively unskilled, immobile class of workers who bear most of the costs of the new global order on the other. This is not the Canadian way. (Thomas J. Courchene, *A State of Minds: Canadians in the Information Era*, working paper 10, 2000)

The challenge for Canada is to develop strategies that build its overall level of technological development and competitiveness, while creating an equitable distribution of resources and benefits among all communities.

Natives are increasingly participating in the global economy, and the knowledge economy. Building technological skills and is key to education, employment and self-sustainability. Communities need help and support to make it to cyberspace in time, before the IT revolution sweeps by. Today, many

Natives in Canada would agree with Iroquois artist William Powless: “The information highway is criss-crossing the earth, and I am roadkill by the ditch” (in Marple 1998).

A coordinated effort is needed to facilitate the process of matching needs with options and solutions by bringing government, business and Aboriginal leaders together. Doing so will help First Nations to develop the capacity to meet the skill and labour needs of the knowledge economy and continue towards economic self-sufficiency.

If cyberspace is “where your money lives,” First Nations are not rushing to the bank. *The Dual Digital Divide—The Information Highway in Canada* published by the Public Interest Advocacy Centre in 2000 suggests that it is highly unlikely that the digital divide will be overcome in the near future. It points out that in lower social classes connectivity remains low and, comparatively, the digital divide has widened since 1996.^{xlvi} Particularly in northern communities, infrastructure is almost nonexistent.¹¹⁰

But the Net is essential, particularly in the North. Like the Inuit in the Keewatin with their GPS, remote communities will find the Internet to be a place of life or death, culturally and physically.

On January 31, high-speed Internet saved the day in Salluit, Québec, as a blizzard knocked out phone lines in the community, but not cable modems. The three-day snowstorm began Jan. 29 and raged across both coasts of Hudson Bay with winds measuring up to 120 km/h before subsiding on February 1. But

though it affected many communities, tearing shacks from their foundations in Kangiqsujuaq and delaying the search for a missing hunter in Nunavut, its impact on Salluit was particularly hard felt. The storm eliminated almost all communication for 15 hours between the village of roughly 1,200 and the outside world.

The Internet allowed the village to contact the government in Kuujuaq and let it know long distance lines were not working. It provided a ready backup for the phone system. Salluit's mayor, Qalingo Angutigirk, said "This is the worst storm to hit us this winter... because of Internet access... we had nothing to worry about. We have used it in the past where phone lines failed. It's a great tool that we didn't have before and it's very beneficial" (Nelson 2003).¹¹¹

Cyberspace is rapidly becoming the central communication medium for Natives in remote communities, on the res, and in the cities. It remains to be seen how the people will fare in this new territory, but it is essential to find ways of providing access to IT, and the education to use it. As with the horse, Native peoples have to adopt this new technology, and move into this new space. It is another case of needing to adopt the White man's ways, while maintaining Native traditions — Two Worlds, and the Two-Row Wampum. As with the Seven Generations and Seventh Fire prophecies, pointing to the urgency of forging new relationships and understandings, these teachings are not new, they are finding a

¹¹⁰ In contrast, a similar report in the U.S. by the Department of Commerce called *Falling Through the Net, Toward Digital Inclusion*, 2000, suggests that groups that were traditionally digital have-nots are now making dramatic gains. At <http://www.ntia.doc.gov/ntiahome/digitaldivide>

¹¹¹ The Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau-Québec has offered high-speed Internet in Salluit and Puvirnituk since May 2002 and in Inukjuak since August. Internet access was not disturbed because it relies on the FCNQ cable lines and not Bell Canada phone lines.

new home in cyberspace. William Redhawk writes on his website (which I found while researching the Ghost Dance):

Many Horses was an Oglala Sioux medicine man, a friend of Sitting Bull, and a promoter of the Ghost Dance as the last protection against the white man's incursions. He organized the final Ghost Dance at Standing Rock Reservation in the Spring of 1890, to dance away the white soldiers camped at the foot of the hills. At dawn the white tipis of the U.S. Army were still visible, and Many Horses, with a heart full of grief, knew that the magic had failed. But the Great Spirit spoke to him. Turning his back on the rising sun, he addressed the assembled warriors:

"I will follow the white man's trail. I will make him my friend, but I will not bend my back to his burdens. I will be cunning as a coyote. I will ask him to help me understand his ways, then I will prepare the way for my children, and their children. The Great Spirit has shown me — a day will come when they will outrun the white man in his own shoes."

All other recorded prophecies of Many Horses have come to pass. The nations of the People see the beginnings of this final prophecy today. We have the white man's shoes. ^{xlvii}

Appendix A — Kahswenhtha, or Two Row Wampum

The political relationship between the Iroquois Confederacy and the European colonists was negotiated through a Covenant Chain, an ongoing set of councils and treaties covering matters such as trade, settlement and alliances, from the late 1600s until the middle of the 1750s. The Covenant Chain is also seen as a silver chain, uniting the Iroquois and Europeans.

Wampum belts, made from the purple and white shells gathered by the Iroquois visiting the Atlantic coast, were used during this period to record and authenticate events and agreements. Most important of these is the Two Row Wampum, (Guswenta, or Kahswenhtha), which laid the foundation for all treaties and agreements that were made with Europeans during the colonial history of North America, and defines the meaning of the Covenant Chain.

These are comments by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake:

The concept of the Two Row was developed by our ancestors so they could peacefully co-exist, conduct trade and share resources with the European Nations. The Two Row embodies the principles of sharing, mutual recognition, respect and partnership and is based on a nation to nation relationship which respects the autonomy, authority and jurisdiction of each nation.

The treaty was first concluded with the Dutch in 1645 and extended to the British when they conquered the Dutch in 1664. Thereafter, it became known as the Silver Covenant Chain but retained the original spirit and intent of the Two Row. In metaphorical terms, the two rows symbolize two paths or two vessels traveling down the same river of life together. One, a birch bark canoe, represents the Aboriginal peoples, their laws, their customs and their ways. The other, a ship, is for the European peoples, their laws, their customs and their ways. They travel down the river together, side by side, each in their own boat; neither trying to steer the others vessel.

The parties to the Silver Covenant Chain agreed to come together regularly to polish the chain so as to restore their original friendship. They also promised to pass the treaty down from generation to generation so that its intent would never be forgotten. The Mohawks of Kahnawake have carried the idea of the Two Row and the Covenant Chain through history and use it to guide them in their contemporary relationships. Most Canadians however, are unaware of the nature, intent and purpose of the peaceful and co-operative relationship that was originally formed and agreed to by their predecessors.

The Covenant Chain broke down when representatives of the different colonies could not agree among themselves on a common position to take when meeting with representatives of the Iroquois Confederacy. After the breakdown in the Covenant Chain, the English Government stopped allowing local officials to negotiate state matters with the Iroquois and took a much more active role; dealing with the Confederacy as a sovereign Nation.

The Mohawks of Kahnawake honor the legacy left by their ancestors and will continue to advocate renewing the historic relationship with Canada based on the respect and recognition of the principles embodied within the Two Row Wampum.^{xlviii}

A recital of the Two Row Treaty held in Washington in 1952 elaborated that with the wampum belt, "the Onkwehónwe ('the people') reminded their brother (the white man) that the Creator did not give him a way to write; but he was given the wampum to symbolize and record this treaty." The white wampum background means purity, "good minds," and peace; and the two purple wampum rows signify differences between Native and white beliefs and laws... "and (mean) that they shall never interfere with one another's way as long as Mother Earth is still in motion... this agreement will exist for generations to come and everyone shall remember and never forget the way it shall be. From time to time, the Onkwehónwe will read the two row wampum belt to his people so that generations to come will never forget."^{xlix}

Cayuga Chief Jacob Thomas holding a replica of the Two Row Wampum Belt.¹

Kahn-Tineta Horn is a Mohawk activist, educator and model from Kahnawake. She gained national prominence at Oka in 1990, and has long been a spokesperson for Native self-determination based on Native traditions, on mutual recognition and the need for honouring the original treaties. She is also an expert on Iroquois tradition, including the concept of the Two-Row Wampum.

An activist since the '60s, was one of 52 Mohawks charged with participating in a riot and obstructing the Canadian army and the Québec provincial police at Oka.

I include her address to McGill in November 2002 here, in its entirety. It is the best recent summary of the Iroquois position I have found. Although the Two-Row Wampum was made with the Iroquois, principles supporting the following

argument apply to all First Nations.

YOU ARE ON NATIVE LAND

Conference McGill University

Speech by Kahn-Tineta Horn

Nov. 10th 2002

HOW CANADA VIOLATED THE BNA ACT TO STEAL NATIVE LAND: THE FORGOTTEN ARGUMENTS OF DESKAHEH

Canada's Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples now admits that the relationship between the First Nations and the European colonizers began with the Two Row Wampum Treaty. We agreed to live side by side with each other - with us in our canoe and they in their ships. This is an agreement that allowed our peoples to share the river.

The Two Row recognized that the Indigenous Peoples and the newcomers belonged to different families with different languages, culture, laws and ways of life. Back in the days of first contact, Europe's monarchs recognized that we were not their subjects and they agreed to leave us alone to live according to our laws and customs. We agreed to share the land as separate social groups, not as one political entity.

As time went on the colonizers started to look at things differently. They forgot about the Two Row Wampum and adopted a geographic description of themselves. They had battles with their European cousins over who could come to North America. Then they started to impose their laws and ways on everyone over here based on the treaties they made to end their wars with each other. They never consulted the Indigenous nations who had been taking care of the land since time immemorial.

Instead of staying in their own ship they decided to take over the whole river.

Some of Britain's North American colonies confederated in 1867 to form Canada. The new political organization was called a 'dominion' because the colonial visitors started thinking they had a right to dominate the land and all the people on it. They changed the way they defined their political identity. Instead of basing it on the allegiance they owed to their king or queen, they based it on the land they claimed. They changed from sharing to dominating.

There was no legal basis for this change. Canada was a British colony and Britain could not give her subjects here more than she had to give. All the British had was an agreement to share. Maybe Canadians forgot about the Two Row Wampum, but Britain could not give Canada the right to make laws for our people because we were never British subjects.

The Indigenous peoples never agreed to change the terms of the Two Row Wampum treaty. Our ancestors were not consulted. They would never agree to such a serious change because that takes the land away from our future generations. And they had no right to do that. The whole concept violates our law. We are the caretakers. We hold the land for the future generations. Britain's Canadian subjects had no right to force Indigenous peoples into their territorial concepts of nationality and property. They have no right to continue to disregard the original agreements by imposing their new geographic definition retroactively.

When Europeans first came to Turtle Island everybody knew they were subjects to their kings, and that Indigenous people were not. The way of life of the Indigenous peoples was a revelation to Europeans. We were free. We treated everyone equally. We were all citizens of our own nations.

The European peoples were influenced by the freedom we had. They didn't want to be subjects anymore and so there has been a change in the colonizer's way of thinking about law and international relations.

Europeans have formally embraced equality along with the rest of the world. Britain does not have subject status anymore. Canadians define "nationality" in territorial terms now. They have citizenship based on place of birth. But they have not fully grasped the meaning of equality. Their institutions don't give their citizens much of a voice.

And their new First Nations Governance Act shows that they don't respect our voice at all. They are ignoring their obligations under the Two Row Wampum.

As far as we are concerned, the colonizers are free to change the way they think of themselves....but this does not give them the right to define our identity and appropriate our resources. They made many changes in themselves during the 19th and 20th centuries. But, especially since Confederation, Britain's Canadian subjects have been violating Britain's agreements with the Indigenous nations.

Confederation and the British North America Act did not give Britain the right to let Canadians violate the Two Row Wampum. Britain recognized that its people could only come onto our land as a separate social group that would share the river with us. But Britain's Canadian subjects fell into the erroneous habit of thinking that they owned the land.

This lie is taught in your education system. Canada draws its maps to perpetuate the propaganda that justifies the theft of our resources.

The Six Nations Confederacy knew this back in 1920. In desperation they sent Levi General Deskaheh to ask the Supreme Court of Canada to stop the Department of Indian Affairs from

violating the British North America Act. That piece of British legislation only gave Canada the right to negotiate with us in place of Britain. It did not give Canadians the right to impose their laws on us. But Canadian officials would not let Deskaheh have his day in court. Maybe they were afraid of losing their jobs. After all, if Deskaheh had proven that what they were doing was illegal, these bureaucrats would have been out of a job.

So they sent troops, the RCMP, to invade the small piece of the Six Nations-Grand River territory that was left after a century of theft and fraud. In the end they deposed the traditional government, one of the oldest governments in North America. This is the model the Americans copied rather poorly for their constitution. Since that time Canada has refused to recognize or deal with our real leaders. They will only deal with councils imposed under Canadian laws.

Six Nations diplomats had been honoured guests in Britain's courts. But by the 1920's Britain was refusing to deal with the problems that had befallen her old allies. This is why Deskaheh went to the League of Nations to appeal for justice. The Six Nations wanted membership in this new international organization so they could present our arguments and protect our legal rights. The Netherlands, Persia, Estonia, Panama and Ireland all agreed that the Six Nations complaints should be examined by the international court.

But Deskaheh was ambushed again by Canadian officials skulking behind the scenes to make sure the case never got a formal public hearing.

Today, whether Canada wants to admit it or not, our people still maintain our right to independence. We were allies, not subjects of Britain and so we are not part of Canada - the colony that became a successor state. Canada imposed Canadian laws on us unlawfully, in violation of both the Two Row Wampum and modern International law. This is outrageous. As Deskaheh put it in his last address before he died in 1924, it's as if Mexico tried to apply its laws in the United States.

Canadians know how it feels when the United States tries to impose its laws on them. So why are they doing this to us?

The root of this problem is the failure of European colonists to fully understand the meaning of equal rights. Besides, they refuse to look at their own history and acknowledge that they have changed the way they define themselves. When we made the Two Row Wampum Treaty with Britain we both defined ourselves in terms of personal relationships. Our nations were based on our clans. The European nations were based on subject status and the allegiance they owed to their sovereigns. Their decision to shift to a territorial definition of themselves does not give them the right to impose their laws on us or to take our resources.

As a successor state, Canada is still bound by Britain's treaty

obligations. The settlers and their descendants are still a guests on our land...even though Canada has presumed to take over our whole house.

Canada has not worked out fair and valid agreements with the First Peoples. When the colonizers celebrate "Canada Day" they forget that Canada was not an independent nation at Confederation. In 1867 there was no such thing as Canadian nationality. Nationality is tied to idea of having shared ancestry and culture. Being Canadian is not a nationality. The settlers and their ancestors have only the shared experience of fleeing oppressive regimes and immigrating onto someone else's land.

Canada is a 'dominion' that was produced by Britain's will to dominate. The concept of a "dominion" has its origin in feudal customs carried to Britain by foreign lords who conquered the land and the people on it. It is based in deeply rooted cultural habits that violate the egalitarian respect represented by the Two Row Wampum concept.

As a consequence, the whole existence of Canada is illegal. There is no legal foundation for the present territorial description of Canada - even by the European's own rules which say that treaties continue to bind successor states. Canada's self-definition that appropriates both our political identity and our resources violates the initial treaties made by Britain with the Indigenous peoples. It violates both the European version of international law and our Indigenous law. It violates the principle of human equality that Canadians finally recognized in a formal way in the middle of the twentieth century - after the atrocities of World War II - when they signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Deskaheh tried to present this argument way back in the 1920's but Canadians didn't get the message. Even today Canadians and their institutions continue to close their ears to our demands for political and economic equality.

They have not thought things through. When Americans had their revolution they threw off their subject status. But they went crazy, grabbing land, killing people and destroying resources. They called the people of the First Nations "Indians" and treated us as vermin. In Canada people accepted this idea of the Americans that might makes right and that Europeans had a god-given right to grab lands, possessions, resources and lives. Canada thinks it was more honourable, but they bought into the sleazy American dream.

What happened was unthinkable. In the subsequent treaties on the prairies there was no meeting of the minds of the people who signed. The Anglo-Canadians imagined those people agreed to give up everything they had. The First Nations thought there was just an agreement to co-exist.

It was not like the time of the Two Row Wampum treaty when there was a real meeting of minds. Back then the British knew they were British and recognized that Indians had nations. There was mutual agreement to live side by side.

The anglo-Canadian decision to shift to a territorial definition of themselves does not give them the right to take over our land and resources. All this has to be done through treaties and agreements.

Canada needs our consent and we do not have to consent just because they lust after our resources and crave the right to ransack the land. If Canada believes that all people are equal, Canada has no right to impose its laws and beliefs on us. We are the original caretakers of the land and resources. As a successor state Canada is still bound by the limitations of Britain's treaty obligations, which were agreements to live as a separate social group on our land. This is according to international law which Canada has agreed to. The colonizers are obliged to share the land. They do not own it. They have no legal right to claim dominion over us, or to take our lands and possessions.

They are visitors still. They have not worked out fair and valid agreements with us that consider the needs of seven generations to come among our people or among their own. Canada's current attempts to force Aboriginal peoples to prove to their courts that we have a claim to our own lands is ridiculously backwards. They are the ones who are robbing us and their own future generations. They are the ones who must prove to us and to their descendants what right they have to be on this land, to ransack our resources and to leave a trail of pollution behind.

If Canadians own this land, where is their receipt?

Send your comments to kahntineta@hotmail.com

Appendix B — The Evolution of Fourth World Societies

Anthropologist Nelson Graburn describes Natives in Canada as Fourth World citizens (see Table 1): “The Fourth World comprises those indigenous peoples whose lands and culture have been overrun by the modern techno-bureaucratic nations of the First, Second and Third Worlds.” He has devised a 7-stage colonization cycle, which he describes as: 1) Early contacts, either warlike or peaceful, leading to 2) the dominant group taking over the land for “economic or political purposes” and exploiting resources, labour and skills (as in missionization and the fur trade), then 3) these economic relationships become institutionalized and the “indigenous society” becomes “structurally incorporated into the national and world system” and labour is divided by race (relegation to the lower stratum of a complex society) until 4) “Sooner or later (sometimes after many generations) the initial economic relationship ceases; fashion may deflate the price of pelts” (for example) and loss of resources and skills can lead to extinction. Stage 5), a “(slipping) into benign neglect - also known as Welfare Colonialism” (the early 20th century) leads to a time when 6) the “pathology of neglect may cease with the introduction of another special role” such as the production of arts and crafts (or musical and dance displays; powwows in the later 20th century, now cybercommunications in the 21st). The cycle then returns to 3) with some old skills lost and new ones gained, from where it goes to either stage four (which can lead again to extinction or assimilation) or on to 7) at which point a — assimilation is achieved (very rare at this stage) or b — self-determination, including “pluralism,

perception of separateness and parallel education and occupation structures” emerges (1993: 3-6).

Cyberspace, and the Seventh Fire, both point toward Graburn’s stage six in the colonization cycle, the “introduction of another special role for the encapsulated Fourth World society.” That role would be the use of cyberspace as a key tool for autonomy.

Natives must stake their claim to cyberspace before “the danger of a cessation of demand and a return to the horrors of (Welfare Colonialism)” can occur, and move on to stage seven: “structural assimilation” (in this case an ability to move comfortably through cyberspace and the mainstream) and “self-determination” (Graburn 1993: 5-6).

The Evolution of Fourth World Societies

Process or stage	Relationships Between Groups	Consequences for Minority Society
1. Early contacts	Warlike or peaceful	Military grouping, withdrawal, extinction. To stage 2.
2. Initial economic relationships	A. Resource exploitation B. Labour exploitation or C. Use of Native products	Extinction, withdrawal or stage 4. Loss of skills; social reorganization for labour (possible mutual gain); to stage 3. Mutual gain, loss of some skills; to stage 3 social organization for trading etc.
3. Structural incorporation	Division of labour by "race."	Loss of economic and political independence to lower stratum of complex society; further social reorientation and some cultural assimilation. Relative stability; to stage 4 or 7.
4. Loss of initial economic relationship	2B and 2C cease; no longer useful or competitive.	Move to stage 5 or extinction (further withdrawal rare).
5. Benign neglect	Relief, subsidy, reservations.	Complete dependence, frustration due to uselessness and segregation; conspicuous deviance; apathy, aggression, and social movements, to stage 6 or 7.
6. Second special economic relationship	Division of labour by "race."	Back to stage 3. New skills and loss of some old ones.
7A. Assimilation	General education, non-racial division of labour.	As a group - very rare; loss of ethnicity; as individuals - by mobility and "passing."
7B. Self-determination	Pluralism; perception of separateness.	Parallel education and occupational structures; bilingualism or language shift.

Source: Graburn 1993: 4

Appendix C — An Anishnabek Medicine Wheel

Source: Patterson 1995

Teachings of the Wheel and Circle, and circular concepts of life, thought and spirituality, are universal to Natives in North America. The Anishnabek Medicine Wheel is used to teach a way of life and understanding, emphasizing the need for balance and harmony. Medicine wheels and the circle operate on many levels, incorporating many different elements. They also move in a spiral fashion, expanding with time. Simon Brascoupé talks about the arrow as the spiral aspect of the circle. When in use, it is time and space together. At rest, you can look at it, draw it, or touch it. When it is fulfilling its purpose, flying through the air, you can't

see it. The Wheel shown here is used by an Ojibwe elder from Birch Island, Ontario. The Rainbow colors are: Yellow, Red, Black, White, Blue, Green and Purple. Yellow is in the East, Red in the South, Black in the West and White in the North.

These four colours are not fixed. They depend on the teaching being given, on the personal colours of the wheel's carrier, or on traditional colours of a group. Another medicine wheel from Le Pas, Manitoba has the colours (from the East) red, green, blue and white, while the wheel from the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre is yellow, blue, white and red - surrounded by green.

The four colours and four directions in each wheel are the basis of its teachings. If one of the four elements of the wheel is too strong or weak, the wheel is thrown out of balance.

Much of the imbalance in the world today stems from the inability of the four colours or races of the Medicine Wheel to recognize each other and cooperate in the circle. The mainstream perceives that Natives have wisdom when it comes to living with and preserving the land, which is true; but the Medicine Wheel, in the age of the Seventh Fire, also shows that all peoples have their own wisdom, and that the circle that is earth cannot survive unless each group shares its knowledge with the others. These ideas have been with the Anishnabek since long before the time of contact, but they shared them with white visitors early on. Kohl remarked, on visiting a Midewiwin lodge in 1854:

The four human figures at the sides of the sanctuary are the four great spirits sitting to the north, south, east and west... they (the

Anishnabe) recognize four quarters of the world, and place a great and powerful spirit in each of them (1985: 152).

Mike Dashner is a teacher and dancer. In *Sound of the Drum*, he gives this teaching of the Medicine Wheel:

The medicine wheel (represents) basically the message that I try to get across when I do educational outreach programs. There are four sacred colours of mankind on the planet. And... the medicine wheel is out of balance, because there's input from all three of the other races; and the Indians are just now starting to come into their responsibility to get their message out - about the environment, the greenhouse effect. But also I think that a humane kind of life is missing (in the non-Native world)... When you're there in full dance regalia, you have all these young minds just locked into everything you say - so I feel there's a real responsibility, you have to take care in the message you get across (in Cronk 1990: 21).

"The Ripple in a Pond" is a teaching from Linda Smith, at the Odawa Native Friendship Centre:

As the name implies, this circle is a series of concentric circles. The purpose of this circle is very basic. Healing is accomplished by helping the individual understand the universe and his place in it. This understanding promotes a sense of belonging. Each of the ripples is distinct and complete. However, at no time, do any of the ripples cease to be water, nor do they cease to be part of the greater picture in the pond. The circles radiate from the center in the following order: spirit, self, partner (spouse), family, extended family, community, nation, world, world views, universe/environment, spirit.

Appendix D — Differences Between Native and White Values

The world is nearing the brink of ecological destruction, propelled by the same materialistic forces that allowed the colonial powers to view the indigenous people and their lands as objects for exploitation. We have to change the larger society's views of its material needs, especially when these seem to be at the expense of our lands and resources and our ways of life. Our peoples' teachings of harmony and balance with nature must be adopted if humanity is to expand beyond its current destructive thinking and survive the environmental crisis (Mercredi 1993: 194).

In his book *Stone Age Economics*, Marshall Sahlins examines the economic and social systems of Aboriginal peoples. He shows that in hunting societies ("The Original Affluent Society"), "economy" is a relation between means and ends, but without "this entrepreneurial and individualistic conception of the economic object" brought by the colonizers. He lists economy as an object of shared culture and religion in "primitive" society; rather than the "need-serving activity of individuals" (1972: xi-xiii).

Through examples of systems of reciprocity, he shows that people such as the Plains Cree, Blackfoot and Comanche were governed by the impulse to give, rather than take. "Influence rested on generous dispositions of horses, of loot, of meat, of help to the poor and the widowed;" so chiefs would remain poor, as any property acquired would be given away to rich and poor alike, until a time of need arose and wealthier families might be called upon (1972: 254-255). Sahlins bases his observations on the work of anthropologists, dating from the mid-1800s to the 1940s. Some further differences between Native and European or Western values are outlined in Table 1; they are still relevant today although "both value systems

are in a state of flux and neither is as straightforward as it appears" (Frideres 2001: 268).

Natives traditionally do things in a circular fashion, and see the universe as a circular and inclusive entity. The European construct (at least from the development of the printing press in the mid-1500s) is linear, and Europeans see the universe as progressing in a line from beginning to end. Inclusive vs. exclusive.

The Native way of doing things is circular because the "power of the universe acts according to circles and all things tend to be round," the Native symbol of life and understanding is the circle, "wherein all beings, material and immaterial, are equal and interdependent" (Sioui 1992: 8). The European symbol, the cross, signifies a disassociation of people from the God and the spirit world (which can be regained through salvation), and also a beginning and end to the universe. This divided view of existence is contrasted by the statement attributed to Chief Seattle:

Whatever befalls the Earth befalls the sons of the Earth. Man did not weave the web of life. He is merely a strand in it, and whatever he does to the web, he does to himself. The Earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the Earth. This we know: (for) all things are connected, like the blood that unites one family.

Cyberspace is both linear (English and text-based) and limitless (the "infinite cage") at the same time, technologically determined but reflexive, circular. In cyberspace, we are "telling the world in to being:"

Wilf Peltier explained that "each thing before being done was sung by a power song: fishing, hunting certain dangerous animals, travelling, fighting,

canoeing. Ones with power which came through songs and dreams were the ones to lead the group, because as “they sing and dance and talk about their celebrations of knowledge, they are essentially telling the world into being... An unsung land is dead, and if the songs are forgotten the land itself will die.” He explains that through songs and stories such as “The People of the Deer” and “Nanabozho” (which refers to a stone known as the Sleeping Giant in Thunder Bay) we “shape the world we live in” (1990: 11-12, 29).

Differences Between Native and White Values, also a possible continuum of cultural hegemony, reading left to right.

<i>Native values</i>	<i>Mainstream (White) Values</i>	<i>Cyberspace attributes</i>
Group emphasis	Individual emphasis	Individuals and groups
Cooperation (concern with group)	Competition (self-concern)	Cooperation and Competition
Time and place together	Awareness of time predominates	Time becomes disassociated from space
Present oriented	Future oriented	Future oriented
Age (respect for Elders)	Youth	Youth
Harmony with nature	Conquest of nature	Nature synthesized
Giving, sharing (barter system)	Saving (capitalist system)	Consumerism, eBay
More Practical	More Theoretical	Practical, Rhetorical
Patience	Impatience	Immediate gratification
Extended family, space designed for group activities, youth and adults together.	Immediate family, space designed for separation and privacy, youth and adults apart.	Extended Web community, space is virtual cyberspace, generations are divided even more.
Non-materialistic (goods produced for use, subsistence)	Materialistic (goods produced for sale, profit, growth)	Goods (knowledge) reflexively produced for Knowledge Economy
Modest	Overstates (over-confident)	Postmodern angst
Quiet	Loud	Quiet
Respect for other religions	Converts others to own religion	Discourse on religions, new Cybercults?
Matriarchy or patriarchy	Patriarchy	Patriarchy, anarchy
Religion (spirituality) a way of life	Religion a segment of life	Virtual spirituality
(The drum a way of life)	(Music a segment of "culture")	Music a digital accessory
Land, water, forests and other resources belong to all, and to be used reasonably	Land, water, forests and other resources belong to the private domain, and to be consumed	Land not necessary, resources are knowledge, access restricted to those with technology. Rise of Cybernations (Republic of Lomar)
Distribution of resources	Accumulation of wealth	Wealth of knowledge
Consensus, face-to-face government (one person one voice in consensual process)	Representative democracy (one person one vote in hierarchical system)	No consensus, no representation in anarchistic cyberspace, no system but WWW
Decentralized, local power	Centralized authority	Decentralized, extralocal power

Sources for first 2 columns: Frideres 2001, Mander 1991: 215-219, Tanner 1983: 296-297; notes in brackets and 3rd column are mine.

Appendix E — An Early Intertribal Internet List

The following is an early list of bulletin boards (bbs), worldwide Web homepages (www) and ftp sites, gathered from bulletin boards, individuals and the Native-L mailing list in the early 90s. They represent the seed of what has become an enormous Native presence in cyberspace.

Bulletin Boards via telnet

First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres

telnet: culturalcentres.fnccec.ca-----

FTP sites

Fourth World Documentation Project

ftp://ftp.halcyon.com/pub/FWDP/

IndianNet

pin.es.hsu.edu 198.16.16.10

KANO HEDA ANIYVWIYA (NATIVE AMERICAN NEWS) It is archived at the Native American FTP site

ftp.cit.cornell.edu in the directory

/pub/special/NativeProfs/newsletters.

Native Professors

ftp.cit.cornell.edu /pub/special/NativeProfs/usenet

Gopher sites

American Indian Science and Engineering Gopher

alpha1.csd.uwm.edu

Berkeley Library Gopher (UC) (See URL's)

infolib.lib.berkeley.edu

Dene Cultural Institute

direct your gopher to gopher.ucalgary.ca

Select < University Library >

then select < Polar Information Sources >

then select < Polar Research Institutes >

Extension Indian Reservation Program cru1.cahe.wsu.edu

csd4.csd.uwm.edu

Fourth World Documentation Project

gopher://locust.cic.net/11/Politics/Fourth.World

(Gopher mirror is a bit behind -- Not all new docs will be available).

Intertribal Network (Ken Hunt)

CSCNS.COM Gopher menu: /ITN
The National Indian Policy Center - George Washington University
 NIPC@gwuvm.gwu.edu
Native American Net
 bioc02.uthscsa.edu 129.111.1.229
Native American Net Server (Michael Wilson)
 ALPHA1.CSD.UWM.EDU Gopher menu: /UWM Information,
 /NANS
Native Food Info
 gopher.cahe.wsu.edu

Jacob Eagle Eyes bbs network: Covers most of North
 America and has 4 nodes in Europe. They are:
Amazing_Grace_Bbs,Sodertalje_Sweden,Mats_Ryskasen
 46-8-550-617-21
Europe_Mail_Hub_NativeNet,Hagersten_Sweden,Diana_Lindholm
 46-8-7440044
*FRAME*MUNICH,Germany,Rainer_Heun* 49-89-535065
Dada_&Surrealismus,Malmo,Dag_Dao 46-40-9521540

----- **LISTSERVS and Mailing Lists**

AISESnet

To subscribe, send your e-mail address to:
 aisesnet@selway.umn.edu
 with a request to be added to the distribution list.

IndianNet

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@spruce.hsu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe INDIANnet-L "your full
 name"

IndKnow

To access, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@uwavm.u.washington.edu

Iroquois Language

To access, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@vm.utcc.utoronto.edu

Native Food-L

To access, send an e-mail message to:
 listproc@listproc.wsu.edu
 In the body of the text type: subscribe natfood-l <your real
 name>

Tribal Law (N.A. legal history, court decisions)

To subscribe send a message to: listserv@thecity.sfsu.edu
 In the body, write: subscribe triballaw <yourname>

National Indian Policy Center Mailing Lists (Cornell University)

Native 1492

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NAT-1492 "your full name"

Native American Literature

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@cornell.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NativeLit-L "your full name"

Native Education

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@indycms.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NAT-EDU "your full name"

Native Health

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NAT-HLTH "your full name"

Native Language

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NAT-LANG "your full name"

NatChat

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NATCHAT "your full name"

NativeL

To subscribe, send an e-mail message to:
 listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu
 in the message area write: subscribe NATIVE-L "your full name"

Native-L Archives and list of Native student organizations.

STUDENT ORG-LIST 354 94/06/20 Am. Indian Student Organizations

to get a copy of this file, just send a message containing:
 get student org-list native-l
 to the address "listserv@tamvm1.tamu.edu"
 (that's the numeral "1" in "tamvm1" and the letter "l" in "native-l").

Anyone wanting a complete index of what's in the archives can get a list by sending:

index native-l
to that same LISTSERV address.

Telnet sites

telnet ux1.cso.uiuc.edu
telnet panda.uiowa.edu
telnet gopher.msu.edu
telnet history.cc.ukans.edu login: history

URL's (Uniform Resource Locaters for use on the World Wide Web) and WWW sites.

AISES homepage: American Indian Science and Engineering Society

<http://bioc02.uthscsa.edu/aisesnet.html> AISESnet homepage

AICAP hompage: American Indian Computer Art Project

<http://www.mit.edu:8001/activities/aises/aicap/archive/aicap.html>

(Our Home), The Atlas of Canadian Communities National Atlas Information Service.

<http://ellesmere.ccm.emr.ca/ourhome/communit/ourhome/introduc.html>

This web site contains a subset (10) of over 100 communities from the MapInfo based CD-ROM version of this digital atlas.

Canadian Museum of Civilization

<http://www.cmcc.muse.digital.ca>

Center For World Indigenous Studies

<http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/cwisinfo.html>

The First Perspective News homepage

<http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/firstper>

Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College

<http://www.fdl.cc.mn.us/>

Fourth World Documentation Project.

<http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/fwdp.html>

*Lisa Mittens Home Page **

<http://info.pitt.edu/~lmitten/>

(She has done an excellent job and has many links to these other sites).

MIT AISES/NASA

<http://www.mit.edu:8001/activities/aises/aises.html> Native

American Net Server:

<http://www.uwm.edu/UWM>

Native Americans at Princeton.

<http://www.princeton.edu/~naap>

Native-Lit. (Uof Kansas).

http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/natlit/native_lit_main.htm
NativeNet WWW Home Page
http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/native_main.html
Native News Journal Archive
<http://ukanaix.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/journals/nanews/>
Oneida Indian Nation of NY
<http://nysernet.org/oneida/>
Ojibwe Language and Culture, by Nancy Vogt.
<http://www.willamette.edu/~tjones/languages/ojibwe-main.htm>
Prehistoric Archeology of the North East
<http://spirit.lib.uconn.edu/HTMLarchnet.html>
UoK Native Network 1 Homepage
<http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/glenn.html>
UoK Native Network 2 Homepage
<http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/~marc/glenn2.html>
United Nations Index Page (from Fourth World Doc. Proj.)
<http://www.halcyon.com/FWDP/un.html>
Wabimeguil is a Cree artist who lives in northern Ontario, Canada.
 Her art
 is now accessible on a WWW site. The URL is:
<http://www.worldlinx.com/wabimeguil>
World Heritage Materials 1
<http://hpb.hwc.ca:72world.heritage.html>
World Heritage Materials 2
<http://hpb.hwc.ca:72heritage.list.html>

Usenet News

alt.native
 soc.culture.indian.american
 soc.culture.native
 soc.culture.native.american

Appendix F — Indianists Here They Come

From Salon Magazine, Dec. 2002.

Sitting Bull über alles

Bush-hating Germans might not sing "Hail to the Chief," but they're infatuated with the first Americans.

German engineer Alex Biber poses as his alter ego "Beaver." Alex and his wife, Kathleen, outside their home in Oberriffingen, Germany, show off some Indian artifacts they created using traditional Native American techniques.

By James Hagengruber

Nov. 27, 2002 | OBERRIFFINGEN, Germany -- Alex Biber's day job is designing semiconductor technology. Away from work, he becomes Beaver, a Cheyenne warrior.

Biber the engineer drives on the autobahn and wears blue jeans. Beaver the brave wears hand-tanned buckskin and rides a horse, commanding the steed in an ancient language once used by Plains Indians. Biber, his wife and two daughters live in a 91-year-old farmhouse, but the family vacations in tepee villages in humid Central European forests.

While Germans may scoff at George Bush, they have an abiding fascination with the first Americans. In fact, if beadwork, horsemanship, tepee building and traditional dancing were Olympic sports, the German team would be medal contenders. Biber would likely be one of the team captains. The soft-spoken, blue-eyed man is one of Germany's weekend warriors, a tribe that numbers some 40,000 strong, according to hobbyist organizations.

By dressing up and living like an Indian, Biber and his compatriots are able to travel to a simpler time, far away from Germany, where 80 million people are crammed into a space the size of Montana. During summertime Indian camps, men wearing breechcloths have contests of strength, women prepare meals from dried meat, and bonfires crackle long into the damp night.

"I feel at home there," Biber said. "It is exactly the way it once was."

German Indian enthusiasts, known as "hobbyists," are so dedicated to authenticity that some real American Indians have approached them seeking information about their own culture. In fact, some dying Indian languages may end up being preserved by German hobbyists. But not everything is peaceful under the ersatz tepees. Some hobbyists have gone beyond the mere trappings of Indian life and have copied sacred ceremonies, angering Indians. And in a ludicrous twist, some literal-minded hobbyists have criticized actual Indians for not living up to their idealized image as ecologically aware noble savages.

At a recent powwow in Germany, for example, make-believe Indians shouted complaints about the visiting American Indian dancers' use of microphones and brightly colored feathers. The hobbyists were also annoyed that the dancers wore underwear beneath their breechcloths. The dumbfounded guest dancers protested the protests. The hobbyists lost the battle. They were kicked out and told not to return without open minds and underwear, said Carmen Kwasny, a full-blooded German and the press secretary for the Native American Association of Germany, which hosts dance gatherings near a large U.S. military base in Kaiserslautern.

"As long as [the hobbyists] stay in their little camps, we don't worry about them, but the problem is, they go into schools and get interviewed on television and they show up at our powwows and create trouble," Kwasny said.

The Native American Association's Web site now includes a list of powwow protocol. "Native Americans do not appreciate you or your children showing up in fake Indian outfits," state the guidelines. "Toy guns, plastic spears, and tomahawks should also be left at home."

"During a powwow, you will have opportunities to participate in the dancing. Please watch out for the other dancers. Do not touch their regalia."

If hobbyists insist on appearing in breechcloths, they are asked to wear shorts or cycling pants underneath.

The sizable German new-age movement has adopted aspects from traditional Lakota spirituality, Kwasny said. There are weekend vision quests with people searching for their power

animals. When the animal is revealed, its image is drawn on a drum or a rattle for use in meditation. "Of course, the power animals are always wolves, buffalos, eagles, which are not very common here. They never use an ant or something like that," Kwasny said.

The Native American Association of Germany was started nearly 10 years ago to provide fellowship for American Indian soldiers stationed in Germany and to facilitate cultural exchanges. The group is spending more and more time, however, trying to help hobbyists separate fact from fiction, Kwasny said.

"People are overdoing it," she said. "They are acting like Native American people have solutions for all our problems. They need to learn to accept Indians as human beings."

Many Germans dream of traveling to the American frontier to see "real Indians," but their romantic notions are often far from the reality of life on a modern reservation, Kwasny said, recalling her first encounter with an American Indian. The free-flowing humor and jokes were especially uncomfortable for her, she said. "They were teasing me and they had a big party with plastic forks and knives. I was so shocked. I thought they were all so environmentally conscious."

American Indians can be equally surprised when they encounter blue-eyed Germans wearing war bonnets.

Ben Cloud, a Crow sun-dance leader and a member of the Montana-based tribal legislature, was skeptical the first time he was invited to visit hobbyists in Germany. He was particularly concerned when he spotted a sweat lodge in one member's yard. Sweat lodges are central places of worship for many in the Crow Nation and their construction and maintenance are guided by sacred tradition. Though Cloud was dismayed at first, he learned the lodge had been properly built by another American Indian and was being used in a manner Cloud considered acceptable.

"It was unbelievable," he said. "I was so impressed by them, the way they took care of the lodge. It was good to see that. They really respect the Native way."

German fascination with the first Americans stretches back decades, and generations of children have grown up playing cowboys and Indians.

Steven Remy, an author and assistant professor of German history at the City University of New York in Brooklyn, attributes the fascination with Indians in part to German obsession with all things American. "Historically, many Germans have been captivated by American culture, from the lore of the West to jazz to modern methods of production," said Remy. "But there's also a more ominous explanation. I think it represents the long-standing German fascination with and fear of frontiers. There may be a parallel between the conquest of the West and its sometimes

violent clash of cultures and Germany's drive for expansion and a 'new order' in the first half of the 20th century."

German obsession with the American frontier exploded in 1896 when huge crowds were drawn to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which toured Europe. At about the same time, an eccentric German schoolteacher wrote a series of pulp novels about the exploits of Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. The Apache warrior and his German frontiersman blood-brother roamed the Great Plains fighting bears, rattlesnakes and the injustices of land-hungry pioneers. The author, Karl May, penned some of his work while in prison for fraud and never visited the West. Although the details are often comical (Apaches living in pueblos?), more than 100 million copies of his books have been sold, according to the Karl May Museum. His fans included Adolf Hitler, Herman Hesse and Albert Einstein. The characters are still so popular that some Germans name their children Winnetou.

Indian hobbyist groups began forming in Germany during the 1920s. They copied Indian dancers in German circuses and studied museums well stocked with artifacts from Montana and Dakota tribes. Many of the items date back to the 1830s, when Prince Maximilian of Wied explored the High Plains.

Biber represents a particular faction of Germans who love Indians. On a recent afternoon at his home in the south German countryside, he agreed to talk about his passion. But first, he wanted to make some things clear. Not all hobbyists are alike. Some dress up in garish war bonnets once a year to dance around tom-toms and whoop like Hollywood clichés. Others seek enlightenment through chanting, sweating and chasing visions. The serious hobbyists, himself included, take great pains to be sensitive to the cultures they copy, which is a sign of respect, he said. Serious hobbyists also know better than to conduct traditional spiritual ceremonies, Biber added.

Not all Indians interest the Germans. Most hobbyists focus on the American Indian culture of pre-1880, when the last tribes were forced onto reservations. Biber rejects the criticism that hobbyists need to be more concerned with contemporary Indian issues, such as widespread poverty or the fight to protect wild bison in Yellowstone National Park.

"What we do has nothing to do with the Indians today," he said. "What we do has to do with a culture that is already gone, like the Romans. It's not necessary for me to go to Rome and get permission to study the Romans."

Gothic monasteries and crumbling castles dot the hills surrounding Biber's home. But a slice of Indian country exists inside Biber's front gate. Among the lettuce, radishes and gladioluses in his garden grow sweetgrass and sage. Two horses bearing Lakota

names -- Itampi and Sapaska -- munch grass in a stable behind Biber's home. In his barn sit stacks of hand-peeled tepee poles and a wooden travois.

Biber's daughters -- Buffalo Robe, 4, and 6-year-old Winona -- play nearby. The girls are known to their friends as Anna and Maria. These "civilian" names were given in case they outgrow the hobby, Biber said. "Many children do when they hit the awkward teenage years."

In his kitchen, Biber proudly placed a pair of moccasins and a beaded pouch atop the wooden dining table. The leather was tanned by hand with traditional brain-tanning techniques, he explained. Deer tendons were transformed into sinew to join the leather. The beads adorning the pouch are antique glass. The moccasins are covered by an ancient porcupine-quill pattern. The quills themselves were dyed by Biber's wife, Kathleen, who uses plants to make her own dyes. The pouch holds a flint and steel -- during Biber's annual Buffalo Days Camp, matches are strictly verboten.

"We also do not eat chips and drink Coca-Cola. We drink water and eat dried meat and foods," he said.

Biber, who perfected his obsessive search for authenticity over 30 years, now believes his work could fool a modern-day ethnographer, not to mention Sitting Bull or Crazy Horse.

Apart from a short phase with the Crow Nation, most of Biber's focus has been on the Lakota. This is true for a majority of German hobbyists, he said. The Lakota are the Indians most often portrayed in the German western films from the 1950s and '60s. Germans also associate the Lakota with vast grasslands, dangerous buffalo hunts, sun dances, smoke-filled tepees, eagle-feather war bonnets and midnight horse raids. And like the German language, Lakota is filled with hissing and throat-clearing sounds. "It's not so hard for us to speak it," he said.

In recent years, Biber's interest has shifted toward the Northern Cheyenne. They are natural allies to the Lakota, he explained, and their beadwork patterns and traditional handicrafts are dictated by strict family traditions. The patterns today are similar to those of 200 years ago. The Crow, Lakota and Northern Cheyenne now live on reservations in present-day Montana and South Dakota.

"The Cheyenne stuff is even nicer than the Lakota stuff," Biber said. "Excellent workmanship is something very close to Germany."

Stories like this amuse and flatter Dick Littlebear, a member of the Northern Cheyenne Nation and the president of Chief Dull Knife College in Lane Deer, Mont. So long as the hobbyists avoid copying the sacred ceremonies of his tribe, Littlebear said he doesn't worry about Germans fixating on his culture.

The hobbyists might not know it, he said, but their attention to detail could help the tribe someday. As Indian elders die off and ancient languages fade, so, too, dies unrecorded knowledge. Littlebear, who holds a doctoral degree in linguistics, said he once met a group of German hobbyists who were able to teach him lost Northern Cheyenne stitching methods from the 1850s. "They know more than we do about some of these things," he said.

If anything, Littlebear would like the Germans to spend even more time on their interest -- by attending one of the Northern Cheyenne's annual language-instruction camps, for example. Young people no longer seem to care about learning the original tongue, Littlebear said.

"Maybe 50 years from now, if things change, a Cheyenne could go over to Germany and relearn our own language," Littlebear said.

Why has the German fascination with Native Americans endured?

"It's impossible for me to answer that," Biber said. "For me, I guess, it's mostly because of their art. For many others, they have the dream of riding a horse on the prairie with the wind in their hair.

"Indians are really cool, I guess."

Kathleen Biber shares her husband's enthusiasm for the old culture, but concedes that the Indian way can be hard and sleeping on the ground during the family's annual outings is no picnic.

"I really love my bed when I come home," she said. "But I miss my refrigerator the most. You have no idea how hard life is without a refrigerator."ⁱⁱ

Appendix G — Reactions to the First Nations Governance Act

If cyberspace is an indicator, and I think it is, there is very little support in the Native community for the First Nations Governance Act (FNGA), a patronizing and dangerous series of bills which threatens to have Natives administering their own colonization, and eventually, assimilation.

The package of bills associated with the strongly contested First Nations Governance Act continues to advance. The Specific Claims Act (Bill C-6) will effectively remove the First Nations of input from any claims and give complete decision-making authority to Ottawa. Indian Affairs Minister Robert Nault has hurried his "suite" of new Indian laws through the House of Commons with little or no consultation from the First Nations.

A mere six-and-a-half hours were allotted for testimony before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs on November 28, 2002. National Chief of the AFN Matthew Coon Come was one of 11 First Nations leaders who were given only five minutes to make their presentation. Twenty-eight other First Nations that had petitioned to speak on the bills were turned away.

Opposition parties did what they could to delay the legislation December 3 before the Christmas recess. They introduced 40 amendments to C-6 in order to make the bill more reflective of findings of a Joint Task Force between Ottawa and the AFN that included considerably more input from the First Nations. The AFN accuse Nault and Chrétien of reneging on their agreement to abide by the findings of the task force and proceeding with the Specific Claims Act, the First

Nations Governance Act (C-7), and the First Nations Fiscal and Statistical Management Act (C-8).

Indian Affairs ministers are never very popular with Natives, but Robert Nault is one of the most ridiculed, largely because of his introduction of the Act. The following is in reaction to a discussion of the FNGA (or FNG) on APTN:

Posted by James Sakej Ward on Tuesday November 19, @03:47PM from
Burnt Church of the Mi'kmaq Nation:

I had the opportunity to watch the segment on the FNG and I was very concerned with the lack of deeper and wider criticism of the act. It seemed to only touch on the "softer" criticism of the FNG. Had I not known more about the FNG. I would have had the impression, after the show, that the FNG only had a few flaws but was overall beneficial. I think the FNG was analysed only through a small window of contemporary politics and law. The historical foundations of the campaign of colonialism and the politics of assimilation seemed to only be of minor concern in the critique. In the limited analysis provided there are some very critical issues left untouched.

Here are some of my concerns. First and foremost is that the government's imposition of the FNG is a direct violation of our inherent right to self-determination. We, as a people, have the right to determine our own political, social and economic destinies not to have a paternalistic foreign occupying power force one on us. This is an attack on the core freedoms that all people should enjoy in the process of constructing their way of life.

The inherent right to self government is also being denied. We have to have to inherent right to legislate over all aspect of our way of life. The inability to legislate or truly govern means that only self administration (of colonial policies) is being imposed on us by the government. The criticisms of the lack of consultation process should have been more harsher. It is apparent that only a very small fraction of our people attended the governments' information sessions. This does not constitute true meaningful consultations.

Probably because the government had already formulated their policy ahead of time without consultation and was just looking to "check the box" for the governments "legal" requirement for

consultation with Indigenous people. It is also important to note that some of the 10,000 "people" consulted were actually just hits on their website. Who knows who these "hits" were, we don't know if they were even Indigenous or why that should be considered consultation.

There should be a lot of concern for the FNG sections that deal with turning the bands into "natural persons" so they can sue and be sued in court. All it takes is a little analysis to realize that bands are being set up for financial failure. Bands will be allowed to borrow more money by providing financial security. This means that underfunding from the government will ensure that bands have to borrow more money from financial institutions in order to get by. The chronic underfunding will guarantee that bands cannot pay back their loans and will have to default and therefore be sued. The community will have to suffer because of the ability to be sued when stuck in this relationship of economic dependency.

The imposition of "election procedures" is a problem. It continues the forcing of a western liberal form of democracy on our people, not an Indigenous form of democracy. Traditionally some of our nations practiced "selection" instead of "election" and proved that form of political leadership to be more representative (of) the people. The formal administrative procedures of the FNG creates a bureaucratic environment that is designed more for the managing of a business/company not for leading and governing of a people. We live in communities not corporations and we are people with a way of life to be governed not laborers with a job to be managed.

The FNG disempowers our nations by limiting the powers of legislation. In the government's attempts to fractionalize and weaken us by reducing our nations to municipalities the government marginalizes the ability to legislate over our own life. As Robert Nault had said First Nations will be able to create by-laws for such things as "leash laws". This is the governments version of Indigenous inherent right to self government to reduce our control over our lives to the point where we are only "allowed" to create by-laws about our pets' lives, not our own. Ultimate authority still lies in the hands of the minister of Indian affairs. They still have absolute control of our lives.

The "modernization" of the governing and administering process is being sold as creating "economic certainty". However, one has to ask who is this "certainty" for? It is for the non-native investor, financial institution, multi-national corporations, logging companies, etc. If this is taken into context with the governments move to "privatize" our communally owned reserve lands then it becomes clear that these companies will gain access to that before restricted or hard to access indigenous lands and resources. They have always wanted the ability to sue bands and now they have it.

It creates a condition where the doors have been opened for these corporations to gain "ownership" over land, natural resources, assets, etc.

This ties in with the globalization efforts of the nation-states, including Canada. We are in an economic agreement/treaty with US and Mexico, the Free Trade of the Americas Act (FTAA), formerly NAFTA. This agreement seeks to open all lands and resources (including Indigenous) to exploitation from multinational corporations. All we have to do is look at the legislative efforts of the Mexicans concerning the Mayan Indians to see how Mexico "privatized" Indian lands down there for economic development and to pave the way for NAFTA. The Mayans lost their communally owned lands to the non-natives and became extremely poor. This led to the Zapatista uprising of 1994.

To satisfy the conditions in the FTAA agreement Canada has been pursuing a parallel path of legislation to Mexico when concerning Indigenous peoples, lands and resources to cause more dispossession in order for the corporations to gain access and exploit what little we have left.

What we are witnessing is an imposition of a neo-colonial governing system through the FNG that further erodes our way of life. When a colonized people have been assimilated long enough by a colonizer they adopt and enforce the practices (social values, governance, economic practices, etc.) of the colonizing power.

This is the last stage of colonialism. We have learned that colonial governing system such as that imposed in the Indian Act have been extremely harmful to us. An "updated" version of the colonial Indian Act is needed if the government wants to continue the process of colonization and assimilation. We should not be fooled to think that the government is going out of its way to protect our best interest. Have we not learned by now that just because they look friendly and smile at us when they oppress us that anything imposed by the government has not been in our best interest, it has always been for theirs.

The government has been smart enough to play on our true concerns about accountability, transparency, corruption, nepotism, political patronage and impoverishment by packaging and marketing the FNG as the solution for all that but we have to carefully analyze what is really being forced on us and why. Having said all that, I have to make it clear that I am not in favor of the status quo of governance with the Indian Act. To me the FNG and the Indian Act are one and the same, tools of Indigenous oppression and disempowerment.

We as a people need to exercise self determination and determine our own political future by creating our own forms and practice of governance. We don't need the colonizer's

(governments) permission for that, they will never give up control over us so they will always deny us our freedoms. We have to seize control over our futures in order to look out for the best interest of the next 7 generations. All my relations.
James Sakej Wardⁱⁱⁱ

Appendix H — Comments on the Sports Illustrated Mascot Poll

Posted by a member of the alt.native listserv:

I read this statement about the Peter Harris Research Group poll on Indian mascots conducted for Sports Illustrated:

"The pollsters interviewed 351 Native Americans (217 living on reservations and 134 living off) and 743 fans. Their responses were weighted according to U.S. Census figures for age, race and gender, and for distribution of Native American on and off reservations."

The statement raises a number of questions:

- * Given that federally enrolled Indians are scattered among some 560 recognized tribes, how did Harris select the tribes and people within tribes at random? Are the tribal membership rolls publicly available somewhere, or did the tribes provide them? What did Harris do if tribes declined to provide their membership rolls?
- * Did these membership rolls include addresses and phone numbers for the Indians living off-reservation, or did Harris identify these people another way? How, exactly?
- * Given the logistics of visiting 560 tribes in person, I imagine Harris contacted people by phone. What did Harris do to compensate for the known conservative bias in phone-polling? The poorest Native people are unlikely to have phone service even in this modern era.
- * According to 1990 Census figures, only 22% of Indians live on reservations or trust lands. (Source: "We the...First Americans" from the Census Bureau.) I don't think the Census Bureau has released data on where the population lives in 2000, but I doubt the proportion has risen from 22% to 61% (217 of 351) in only ten years. What did Harris base its on/off-reservation breakdown on?
- * The US Census now provides a range for the number of Native Americans (2.1 to 4.1 million) because there's no precise way of defining them. How did Harris define "Native American"?
- * At least half the people who are Indian or part-Indian aren't enrolled in a tribe. Did Harris include these people? How did it identify them?
- * Is a sample of 351 people large enough to estimate the opinions of the 4.1 million Americans who identify themselves as Indian or part-Indian? Are the subsamples of 217 and 134 large enough to

estimate the opinions of the on- and off-reservation groups that are 1.5-2.5 million in size?

* Many people think the Census Bureau missed large numbers of Indians because of the aforementioned problems in visiting or contacting people in remote locations. At best Harris used Census data secondhand. How did Harris compensate for the known shortcomings in the Census data?

* On its website the Harris Field Center touts its expertise in doing business studies" and interviewing "business executives and managers." What is its expertise in dealing with the skeptical, hard-to-reach Native American population?

* Native people are known for not trusting Anglos and not speaking openly to them in initial encounters. What steps did Harris take to overcome this propensity? Can Harris assure us the Native people questioned said what they really think? That they didn't say mascots are okay to avoid "making waves"?

Because of these methodological problems, I don't think I've ever seen a survey purporting to present the Native American opinion on any subject. The problem of developing a truly random sample of an amorphous group is a huge one by itself. It's hard to believe Harris had more resources than the US government to accomplish this task. But if its sample wasn't random, the results are probably biased.

Until Sports Illustrated provides information on this poll's methodology, I'd say the Native community should take these results with a large grain of salt. They appear to confirm nothing more than the fact that Native opinion on the mascot issue isn't unanimous--which Native people already knew.

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Endnotes

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- ⁱ <http://www.albany.net/~printup>
 - ⁱⁱ Source: Internet Software Consortium (<http://www.isc.org/>)
 - ⁱⁱⁱ At NUA's "How Many Online?" page: http://www.nua.ie/surveys/how_many_online/index.html
 - ^{iv} <http://www.seeingisbelieving.ca/forum/discussion1/>
 - ^v <http://www.archive.org>
 - ^{vi} http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Canada
 - ^{vii} <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/lang/canada.cfm#aboriginal>
 - ^{viii} <http://cs.fdl.cc.mn.us/natnet/>
 - ^{ix} These mailing lists' archives are accessible at <http://niikaan.fdl.cc.mn.us/natnet/mlist.html>.
 - ^x <http://library.thinkquest.org/27979/html/animals.htm#windigo>
 - ^{xi} The "wannabe" thread on NATCHAT:
<http://bioc09.uthcsa.edu/natnet/archive/nc/9406/0014.html>
 - ^{xii} The NAAoG website is at http://www.naaog.de/englisch/index_engl.html. Links to these other organizations can be found at http://www.naaog.de/englisch/Organizations_in_Europe.html.
 - ^{xiii} <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~tierim/wanabi.html>
 - ^{xiv} <http://www.tribal.com>
 - ^{xv} <http://indy4.fdl.cc.mn.us/~isk/editorial.html>
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 - ^{xvii} <http://www.kahonwes.com/onelist.htm>
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 - ^{xix} <http://gatheringplacefn.tripod.ca/contacts.htm>
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 - ^{xxv} <http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/~dfalk/title.html> and <http://www.mbnet.mb.ca/~dfalk/lmetis.html>
 - ^{xxvi} <http://swcc.cc.sd.us/homepage.html>, <http://www.geocities.com/Paris/9463/index.html> and <http://www.wambdi.bia.edu/>
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 - ^{xxviii} <http://www.cradleboard.org/2000/history.html>
 - ^{xxix} <http://www.kidsfromkanata.org/~KFK/files/schools.html>
 - ^{xxx} http://www.schoolnet.ca/aboriginal/educators_circle-e.html
 - ^{xxxi} <http://aboriginalcollections.ic.gc.ca>
 - ^{xxxii} <http://www.ayn.ca>
 - ^{xxxiii} <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/treaties/code/>
 - ^{xxxiv} <http://www.sasked.gov.sk.ca/~makwa/msfns.html>
 - ^{xxxv} <http://www.rainboweagle.com/>
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- ^{xlviii} http://www.kahnawake.com/ckr/two_row.htm
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ⁱ http://tuscaroras.com/jtlc/Wampum/The_Two_Row_Wampum.html
ⁱⁱ <http://www.salon.com/mwt/feature/2002/11/27/indians/?x>
ⁱⁱⁱ http://www.aptn.ca/en/Community/1037742450/index_html