Mapping the Terms of Freedom & the Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries

Isaac Javier Rivera

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Reading Committee:

Sarah Elwood, Chair

Jean Dennison

Victoria Lawson

Megan Ybarra

Program Authorized to offer Degree:

Department of Geography

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Isaac Javier Rivera

University of Washington

Abstract

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Isaac Javier Rivera

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Sarah Elwood-Faustino
Geography

Originating in Denver, Colorado in 1907 and exported as a national holiday in 1934, Columbus Day enacts the logic and institutionalization of conquest. Yet despite the seemingly totalizing imaginary of ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples continue to resist erasure. My dissertation, *Mapping the Terms of Freedom & The Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries*, traces the making and unmaking of settler imaginaries in Denver and the ways in which the city's Indigenous communities choose to represent their stories of resistance to the world. I connect the way institutions of knowledge maintain settler imaginaries in place through the entanglement of visual and digital knowledge practices in settler colonialism. Using ethnographic, archival, and participatory research methods, I trace self-determined Indigenous representations of strength through the community-curated (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit that maps Indigenous geographies and dismantles the logics implicated in the settler imaginary. Held at Denver University (DU) in 2021, the (Re)Mapping Native Art Exhibit stood as a site of public facing

education, demonstrating the liberatory power of retelling geo-history on the terms of Indigenous peoples.

For my relatives.

For Native Denver.

For my ancestors. Esta era la única manera.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a particular realization of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of the future nation it would become. In this image lie images of the Other.

- Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies

In the history of colonial invasions maps are always drawn by the victors, since maps are instruments of conquest. Geography is therefore the art of war but can also be the art of resistance if there is a counter-map and a counter-strategy.

- Edward Said, In Peace and its Discontents

1.1 Worldmaking from Native Denver

Mapping the Terms of Freedom and the Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries, is a labor of love—shaped and inspired by, and accountable to, Denver's Native community.[1] As a Chicanx scholar born and raised in Denver to immigrant Mexican parents, *Mapping the Terms of Freedom* is my own *testimonio* to Native efforts for self-determination in Denver and everywhere else. By *testimonio*, I situate myself within a tradition of Chicanx and Latinx Geographies (Pulido, 2002; Muñoz and Ybarra, 2019; Valencia, 2017, Cahuas, 2022), who foreground *testimonio* as a political methodology intent on disrupting the white heteronormative and patriarchal ways in which geographical imaginaries render the spatial matters of Black, Indigenous, and peoples of color as "un-geographic" and as *terra nullius* (empty vacant land) (McKittrick, 2016, Gregory, 2007; Pulido, 2002; Katz, 2002; Gieseking, 2016; Daigle and Ramirez, 2019; Hall 1974).[2] I

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[1] Denver's Native community is capacious in many respects, encompassing several organizations and groups, which intersect with Native nations more broadly. I would like to thank the Native Student Alliance at Denver University (DU), The Denver Indian Academy, and the Fourth World Center for the Study of Indigenous Law and Politics at the University of Colorado Denver for guiding me throughout this process.

[2] By geographical imaginaries, I draw from Katz 2002; Gregory, 2007; Gieseking, 2017, and Hall 1974, to articulate the ways and spaces in which images render, produce, and encode meaning onto landscapes, spaces, and peoples through practices of white heteronormativity. I cite Stuart Hall "Black Men, White Media," to bridge geo-imaginaries with geo-medias.

begin with *testimonio* as a way to introduce myself and to ground my commitment to honoring Indigenous political orders across scales on the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Ute, Oceti Sakowin, and over 50 Native nations that call Denver home.[3] I follow Simón Trujillo (2020), who argues that Chicanx and Latinx studies can speak alongside movements to advance Indigenous reclamations of land across the so-called Americas. I build upon Muñoz and Ybarra's (2019) epistemic and ontological intervention in Geography to insist on "world-making, world-seeing, and world-knowing" from the vantage point of a Latinx geographer on Indigenous land. As an uninvited guest on the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute nations; this dissertation is an attempt to follow in the footsteps of my Chicanx and Indigenous elders.[4] I strive to honor the path of Chicana ancestor, Rita Martinez, whose collective, El Movimiento Sigue, joined Indigenous nations in Colorado in the rejection of settler colonialism in Colorado while insisting on the self-determination of Indigenous nations everywhere.[5]

Mapping the Terms of Freedom emerges from a lifetime of worldmaking alongside Indigenous and Chicanx movements throughout the urban Denver metropolitan area. Beginning with the polluted Platte River just a few miles North from my childhood home, I learned from Native leaders that the oil spilled here had a bigger story. This story would connect the ongoing environmental injustice of North Denver, the East Side, and Commerce City, home to a majority of Black and Latinx peoples, to struggles to advance the self-determination of Indigenous peoples' everywhere. The oil I collected, tested, and mapped, was connected to several

[3] By Indigenous political orders, I refer to the governance structures of women, Elders, two-spirit peoples, and non-human kin. These political orders operate at multiple scales and multiple temporalities.
[4] Writing from the context of Abiayala, Emil Keme (2018) argues that for Abiayalya to live: the Americas must die. This riff comes from Russell Means who similarly states: "for the world to live, Columbus must die." Abiayala derives from the Guma peoples' cosmogony meaning "saved territory." The term has also arisen as a unifying decolonial spatial imaginary to unite the so-called Americas, to unite Indigenous peoples from North to South.
[5] I reference a key historical moment in the long history of Indigenous resistance in Denver, Colorado, where the Chicano movement joined the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Transform Columbus Day Alliance in the struggle to abolish Columbus Day as a state holiday.

intersecting movements including: Keystone XL, Idle No More, No DAPL, among many others. [6] I was asked by Indigenous and Chicanx leaders to map these colonial geo-economic connections, mapping the expansion of fossil fuel infrastructures and the treaty territories of Native nations.[7] I learned early on that these movements, too, were connected to longer histories of Indigenous resistance (Estes, 2019). World-making from Native Denver begins with responsibility to kin (Million, 2013; Tynan, 2021). What this looks like is shaped by Indigenous political orders from Native Denver.

Worldmaking emerges from unique place-based refusal politics that do not consent to how Indigenous lands and Indigenous political orders continue to be distorted, commodified, mapped, accumulated, and rendered conquered by state apparatuses (A. Simpson, 2014; Chang, 2016; Táíwò, 2022).[8] Where settler colonial cities institute the appearance of Indigenous absence through a range of technologies of dispossession (e.g., universities, the geoweb, maps, planning, architecture, property), social movements enact their own refusals through a range of spatial practices (Blomley, 2004; Porter & Yiftachel, 2019; Dorries et al., 2022; Harney and Moten, 2013). I draw from Black, Indigenous, and Latinx spatial practices that refuse the social-spatial political containers of urban vs. rural, or "Indian Lands" vs. Land Grants, who refuse the emplacement of colonial regimes (Goeman, 2013; Ramieriz, 2018; Roane, 2018, 2023; Cote, 2022; Deloria, 2004; Hunt and Stevenson, 2017).[9] The chapters presented in this dissertation are

[6] The data for this project was delivered to the Colorado Department of Health and Environment (CDPHE). Staff members nodded to my presentation, but pursued no action despite evidence. Suncor, despite breaking countless environmental regulations for the last 40 years, continues to stand.
[7] Treaty territory refers to the lands made under the treaties made between the U.S. and Indigenous nations. According to the U.S. constitution, treaty agreements are the law of the land. The U.S. has broken over 500 treaties with Indigenous nations. Colorado Territory was formed through the dismantling of the Fort Laramie Treaty (1851/1868) by the U.S.
[8] I learn from Audra Simpson (2014) on the necessity to articulate place-based traditions on consent and refusal. Refusal in this case is a rejection of liberal recognition regimes. There's a genealogy of Indigenous resistance from Denver. I draw from David Chang (2016) to foreground Native Denver's own world-making practices.
[9] I Draw from J.T Roane (2018) to invoke the Plot as a counter-spatial imaginary that enacts spatial bonds of freedom outside colonial capitalist relations. Mishuana Goeman's (2013), Mapping Our Stories is essential for apprehending the ways Native women's stories unsettle imperial imaginaries. My use of "Indian Lands" is intended

shaped and inspired by the ways in which Denver's Native community choose to tell their stories of resistance to the settler world. As a Chicano scholar living and doing research on the Native homelands of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Ute, and over 50 Indigenous nations that call Denver home, it is a duty to reject the tenets of settler colonialism (Pulido, 2002; Muñoz and Ybarra, 2019), insisting on the self-determination and political orders of Indigenous nations.

In March 2020, the world changed once again. SARS Covid-19 radically changed the world in ways that are still being struggled over.[10] For a moment it appeared that collective consciousness was emerging, including awareness of worker proximity to premature death, such as the viral language of "essential workers" and our collective responsibility to "bring down the curve." For a brief moment, corporate media outlets came onboard to mediate a sense of togetherness, only to quickly return to disciplining a "get back to work" discourse across scales and institutions.[11] During this time, Arundhati Roy lamented that "the pandemic is a portal," meaning that the pandemic was a pathway towards apprehending our radical codependency with each other and our responsibility to build a world anew (Roy, 2020; Spade, 2020). Indeed, I still believe that the pandemic can serve as a portal towards consciousness making, but only if there's a 'counter-discourse' and a 'counter-strategy' to the one being intentionally mediated as "normal."[12]

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to introduce the ways the U.S. rendered Indigenous presence onto topographic maps, while distinguishing so-called legitimate land seizures through the Land Grant regime. I chronicle this cartographic performance in my chapter titled, (Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver.

[10] I riff off of Edward Said's (2012) assertion that the circulation of ideas and imaginings in the form of media are also quite literally struggles over geography and consciousness.

[11] For a brief history of the pandemic see Artie Vierkant and Beatrice Aldern-Bolton (2022) https://thenewinquiry.com/the-year-the-pandemic-ended-part-1/

[12] My use of mediated and mediation draws from Gillian Rose (2017) and Agneiszka Leszczynski (2015) who argue that media are not just representations of cultural objects, but are material objects produced between people, hardware, and software. Media as geographical knowledge are performed and spatialized onto specific sites, spaces, and places through digital platforms (Sui and Goodchild, 2015).

Against this backdrop, Black, Native, and peoples of color suffered enormous losses of life, including the in-calculable losses of Elders and children. These impacts lay bare what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls, "organized abandonment," which details the geographical manner in which the roll back of state services reifies a racial ordering leading to premature death (Gilmore, 2007; 2017). On March 25, 2020, Breonna Taylor was murdered by police. On May 25, 2020, George Floyd was murdered by police. The movement for Black lives once again elevated racial consciousness to a mainstream discourse, reminding the world—again—that the U.S. was built on the enslavement, capture, and genocide of Black and Indigenous peoples (Kelley, 2002; Gilmore 2017; Taylor, 2020; Kaba, 2020; Marynard and Simpson, 2021). In Colorado, the movement to abolish the Columbus Day Holiday in its place of origin was officially won in March of 2020.[13]

1.2 The Invitation to (Re)Mapping Native Denver

It was also March 2020 when my cousin-sister Viki Eagle called.[14] She invited me to build with her on a project she was thinking of hosting at Denver University. Surrounded by mass death, a growing white lash against Black, Indigenous, and peoples of color, and a sense of responsibility towards all those we left behind to obtain a PhD, we thought, why not an installation featuring the stories of Denver's Native community? What would such a project look like? As a geographer from Denver and Viki as a photographer and visual anthropologist from Denver, we bridged our intellectual and political commitments to uplift and advance Native

[13] The holiday celebrating the genocide and dispossession of Indigenous peoples' known as Columbus Day began in 1907 in Colorado and was officially adopted as a national state holiday in 1934. The Transform Columbus Day Alliance, which includes the Four Winds American Indian Council, American Indian Movement of Colorado, Servicios de La Raza, among many allied groups labored for over three decades to abolish the holiday. https://www.transformcolumbusday.org/

[14] Viki Eagle is Sicangu Lakota. Like myself, she grew up in Denver, Colorado. I refer to her as my cousin-sister to demonstrate our kinship that spans decades in Denver. On her part, she refers to me as her cousin-brother. I am forever grateful to her for her kinship and guidance throughout our studies and organizing efforts, and the making of (Re)Mapping Native Denver.

movements throughout the Denver metro area. Having both organized in several movements throughout the years, including Keystone XL, Idle No More, NoDAPL, and more, we realized that this project could engage in much-needed chronicling and remembering of organizing efforts in Denver, Colorado, particularly as new cohorts of Native, Black, and students of color entered the university. Our roles as advancing teachers, scholars, and community members made us realize that we are not necessarily the "youth" anymore, we have a responsibility to a new generation.

After a series of consultations and interviews with select Denver Native elders, Native community leaders, Native artists, affiliated Native DU alumni, and youth, we named our project: (Re)Mapping Native Denver. This dissertation only features a fraction of the (Re)Mapping Native Denver project, which is intended to live on through a series of community curated installations, music events, organizing archives and records in both academic and non-academic settings and mediums to be published and recorded. We are committed to honoring the stories, curations, and curators within (Re)Mapping Native Denver in any way we are asked. We hope that the project will live on through preceding generations who continue to share their stories of resurgence and pride as they see fit.

1.3 Geography as The Art of Resistance

Katherine McKittrick (2016) argues that "geography is integral to social struggles." Where each of these movements (e.g., Abolish Columbus Day, Black Lives Matter, NoDAPL) are often understood as separate, I connect them within the public imaginary of the city, to show how each of their demands to life and space inform each other through their social relations, conditioning the reproduction of consciousness and the remaking of space (Herrera, 2022;

Gilmore, 2017; Summers, 2022; Massey, 1994; 2005).[15] For instance, Brandi Summers (2022) in the aftermath of the Breonna Taylor and George Floyd murders called the mural installments in honor of Taylor and Floyd across the public square in Washington DC., "an insurgent aesthetic." Insurgent aesthetics reflect the active cultural production of place through the medium of art, animating activists' demands for institutional accountability through the emplacement and physical presence of collective demands for justice (Kabadia, 2021).[16] Summers (2022) argues that the visual depictions represented through demands for racial justice against state-sanctioned violence represent a making of socio-spatial archives of resistance. Social movement activism is always in the process of collective learning and unlearning, requiring the active (re)membering of resistance through a range of mediums and politics (Nagar et al. 2019). For instance, Juan Herrera's (2022) pivotal work alongside the Chicano movement in Fruitvale, California, argues that the practice of muraling is an essential act of social movement memory and community organizing. Acts of muraling, graffiti tagging, guerrilla gardening, memorializing of unsheltered peoples who have passed, and memorializing of missing murdered Indigenous women (MMIWG2S) in the public sphere, are socio-spatial techniques in which to confront the spatialization of white supremacy oriented around racial-political capture (Ta´´ıwo, 2022; Summers, 2019; Coté, 2022; Lawson et al., 2023; Ramírez, 2021; Rosas, 2017). The co-constitution of emplaced counter-imaginaries of life and resistance against the brute force of the state demonstrates the ongoing plurality of struggles over space and public consciousness (Summers, 2022).

[15] Based on the Public Photo Reel curation featured in the (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit, the photos of these movements were literally emplaced onto a story map, demonstrating their significance and connections to the long struggle for Indigenous peoples' self-determination from Native Denver.
[16] For Ronak Kabadia (2019), insurgent aesthetics pose a challenge to the forever war installed by the U.S. security state.

Indigenous peoples' demands for liberation operate at multiple scales (Hunt, 2014; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2017). For instance, Mayeli Blackwell (2023) argues that migrant travels of Indigenous women from Mexico to the U.S. engage in "scales of resistance," demonstrating the multiplicity of ways in which Indigenous women navigate when refusing settler colonial technologies, such as borders and the colonial entanglements of settler law. The entanglements of settler colonial law are evident in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples' (UNDRIP), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the Department of Interior, which regulate the self-determination of Indigenous nations (Melamed, 2012). Within the domain of the digital, Jennifer Wemigwans (2018) engages the Indigenous spatial-temporality of the Four Directions. The Four Directions teachings centered by Wemigwans (2018) adheres to Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous protocols within an online space, demonstrating the possibility and necessity of Indigenous resurgence within an online space.[17] The where of Indigenous resistance is heterogeneous and entangled with ranging optics and sovereignties (Dennison, 2012).

Where geographers have engaged *scale* to connect social and ecological issues at local and global scales, difference and shared commonality, and spatial-temporal connections; feminist and decolonial conceptions of scale advance spatial terminology that reshapes conceptions of scale to illustrate embodied reciprocal land-life relations and responsibility (Harvey, 1994; Massey, 1994; Blackwell, 2023; Tuck and Yang, 2012). Thinking capaciously about scalar demands for freedom encourages rethinking and the undoing of liberal categories of recognition, including spatial categories such as borders and citizenship, urban and rural, and race and gender

[17] See Marisa Duarte (2017) for engagements on the legal and political geographies of internet infrastructure throughout Indian Country. See Morford and Ansloos (2021) on their rejection of cyberspace as landless. Both of these scholarly works are crucial for apprehending the importance of foregrounding Indigenous knowledge in digital geographies.

(Coulthard, 2014; Russell, 2022; Waila, 2022). *Mapping The Terms of Freedom* demonstrates the multiscalar demands for liberation enacted by Indigenous resistance movements from the perspective of Native Denver.

1.4 A Movement of Movements

Originating in Denver, Colorado in 1907 and exported as a national holiday in 1934, Columbus Day enacts the logic and institutionalization of conquest. Yet despite the seemingly totalizing imaginary of ongoing settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples continue to resist erasure. Where each movement (e.g., Black Lives Matter, NoDAPL, Idle No More) is impacted by the worlding project of Christopher Columbus in some way, so too are their geographies of refusal from the standpoint of Native Denver. *Mapping the Terms of Freedom* begins an account that traces the contours of Native Denver resurgence and its significance to the global undoing of settler colonialism.[18] Through analysis of National Historic Landmarks, Laura Pulido (2023) argues that white innocence is fundamental to the nations' cultural memory, emphasizing the role of national ideology in enabling the logic of settler colonialism to permeate unquestioned.[19] The yearly performance celebrating the conquest of Native Lands through the Columbus Day holiday is an expression of state mediated white supremacy and white innocence (Barker, 2018; Tuck and Yang, 2012). [20]

[18] Native resistance and Native resurgence intersect and differ. By Native resurgence, I refer to the everyday practices in which Indigenous peoples enact their life ways, while refusing colonial affirmation and recognition.
[19] Laura Pulido (2023) draws from Stuart Hall's framing of ideology to demonstrate the importance of apprehending how ideology operates in the everyday. Doing so creates the conditions for challenging ideological practices.
[20] Throughout the Front Range of Colorado, several mountains are named after "Indian Killers", including Evans, Custer, Sheridan, and Carson.

Denver and many major cities throughout the Summer of 2020 were active sites of resistance and consciousness raising for Black liberation. Teach-ins reminiscent of the Occupy movement, Idle No More, Keystone XL, NoDAPL, and many other movements arose throughout the metro Denver area during this time, to connect Black liberation to Indigenous decolonial desires. A key demand by the Native community, which intersected with each of the movements above was the demand to abolish not just the holiday of Christopher Columbus in its place of origin in Colorado, but the logic of domination, dominion, heteropatriarchy, and genocide that Columbus represents. For instance, during the Occupy movement, the American Indian Movement of Colorado (AIM) petitioned Occupy Denver Denver to renounce the Doctrine of Discovery, which was enshrined in U.S. law through the *Johnson vs. M'Intosh* (1823) Supreme Court case.[21] The Doctrine of Discovery (1493) was the racist worlding project that declared sovereign rule over non-Christian worlds (Miller, 2005; Newcomb, 2005; Palmer, 2021; Williams, 1992). Formally instituted by the British Crown, Chief Justice Marshall in *Johnson vs. M'Intosh* argued that the Discovery Doctrine as used by the British would supersede all forms of title or claim to land. On a global scale, *Johnson vs. M'Intosh* was cited as legal rationale to accumulate entire lands and worlds within so called Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (Moreten-Robinson, 2015). Figure 1 reveals the racist political geographies of Columbus Day and the complicity of the Denver media in advancing them, animating the project of Columbus by local clergy.

[21] In Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang's (2012) seminal article, Decolonization is not a Metaphor, Tuck and Yang demonstrate the entanglements of Occupy and Occupying on Indigenous Lands. Where the Denver Chapter of the Occupy Movement adopted the notion to rescind the Doctrine of Discovery, the New York chapter did not.

Columbus Day Sermon Pictures the Discoverer as an Evangel

COLUMBUS' AIM WAS WORLD'S CONVERSION

THE REV. THOMAS H. MALONE, at the request of Father William O'Ryan, pastor of St. Leo's church, preached a sermon in that pulpit yesterday on "The Character of Columbus." The sermon was extemporaneous and given on a half-hour's notice, but it was a beautiful description of the life of the man who discovered the Western world. Father Malone spoke in part as follows:

T. H. Malone.

"A man's character may be judged to a great extent by the motives which actuate his life. In the life of Christopher Columbus I find but one great motive—all for the love of God and the salvation of souls.

"Despite all human obstacles placed in his path, Columbus aimed only to give to the church a new field of labor and to turn over to Christianity millions of souls to be saved.

"Behold the fruits of Columbus' labors. In the United States especially we see a nation of marvelous achievements; a nation of peace-loving, orderly, lawful people, exemplifying Christianity in action. In no nation of the world is religion freer than in America. The achievements of America in the commercial, manufacturing and the inventive world have been marvelous indeed, but to Columbus appealed first of all the success of Christianity.

"The full ideal of Columbus was to see Christianity planted here in its full orb and circumference. He longed to see this country reclaimed by the Catholic church, of which he was a devoted member. I believe the ideal of Columbus will some day be realized.

"Not so many years ago it was believed in America that the Catholic religion was for the common people only. With the exception of Louisiana and a few other isolated districts Catholics were not considered in the same social rank with their neighbors. There are in America today about 15,000,000 followers of the Catholic church.

"During the centennial celebration of the founding of the New York bishopric last May I saw 20,000 men in line of march. There were bankers and laborers, rich and poor, ignorant and learned side by side in that great pageant.

"I have seen the armies of Germany, England and France in maneuvers, but what did maneuvers mean as compared with that silent, peaceful army in New York, marching on to the greater glory of God."

BUYER OF VOTE WORSE THAN THE SELLER

"THE man who would stoop to buy a vote is worse than the poor ignoramus who accepts the money," said the Rev. Christian F. Reisner in his sermon at Grace M. E. church. He said in part:

C. F. Reisner.

"Columbus made Italy great by discovering America. If our fathers had not developed the nation his honor would have been dimmed. The ridiculed 'dagoes' gave us the nation-finder. The impugned Jews gave the world David, Moses and Christ! The cultured Greeks and power-fat Romans went down to decay.

"Every man must prove his own greatness. Tomorrow's parade is commendable. We easily forget to be grateful to past benefactors, but we must not forget present tasks. Patriotism is needed now.

"Graft and office holding will tempt us. Bosses will threaten. The rubber-backboned will ridicule the possibility of success for better things. Sail on, work hard, keep up hope. Don't sell out. Be a good citizen at any cost. God's good tomorrow will some time come. Do not be afraid to couple religion and politics. Politics does not belong to the dirty ward healer. Every worthy citizen dare be no less than a politician. It is our business to be independent. Study, not party emblems, should control our ballot. It would be sinful not to bear arms when our nation's honor is at stake. The man who would stoop to buy a vote is lower than the poor ignoramus who accepts the money. Panics are not unmixed curses. They drive to the study of government. We must not leave the questions to the few. Officers should be responsible to the voters. Direct primaries will help. It is just as necessary to be intelligent voters in time of peace as it is to be good soldiers in time of war.

"Religion is not for the sky, but for the now. It is to direct men to the kind of righteousness that makes them strong. It guides the strong so that they do not waste their strength. It uncovers destructive rottenness. It cheers lonely workers. It promises rewards even though the world fail to recognize us. It raises us to the friendship of the Man of Galilee, who will never leave us unhelped. It spurs us to our best and puts a crown on every effort."

BIBLE A MORAL TEXTBOOK OF THE RACE

"THE Bible is the moral textbook of the human race," said the Rev. B. B. Tyler, pastor of the South Broadway Christian church, in his morning sermon yesterday on the subject, "The Origin of the Bible." He said in part:

B. B. Tyler

"Ours is a period of mental independence and intellectual activity. Freedom is a characteristic of our age. Men inquire as at no previous period. The interrogation point is freely used. This is, to me, a fascinating phase of life in this part of the world. That men are asking, 'Where did the Bible come from?' is an encouraging sign of the times. A companion inquiry is, 'What is the Bible?' Closely connected with these questions, and quite as full of promise, is the inquiry, 'What is the purpose of the Bible?' These and kindred inquiries call for suggestions on the part of our teachers of religion—suggestions concerning a rational and intelligently reverent use of the Bible.

"The correct and orthodox answer to the first question is, of course, this: The Bible came from God. Its origin is divine. But in what sense did the Bible come from God? The Bible is an inspired book. But in what sense, what degree, is the Bible inspired of God? Is the Bible infallible? Are there errors in the Bible? If there are errors, what is the character of these errors? Do these errors, admitting that they exist, in our Bible—in our common English Bible, to be specific—interfere with the prime purpose of this absolutely unique volume?

"Merely as literature our English Bible stands apart from that occupied by any other book, and on a far higher plane. Consider its high moral tone, its superior wisdom, its inspiration of those who study its pages to high and holy endeavor. Those things suggest, at least, that this literature is not a product of the unaided human intellect.

"Charles Reade, the English novelist, said, years ago, that 'The characters of Scripture are a literary marvel.' His judgment was that 'Jonah is the most beautiful story ever written in so small a compass.' This book contains only 1,321 words.

"The Bible is the moral textbook of the human race. This fact was recognized and declared by the late Professor Thomas H. Huxley. Viewed from this standpoint, many of the hard questions about the Bible are easily answered."

INCARNATION IS CHRISTIANITY KEYSTONE

"THE incarnation is the storm center of present religious controversy," declared Dr. J. D. Rankin in his morning sermon at the First United Presbyterian church yesterday. He said in part:

J. D. Rankin.

"The incarnation is the underlying doctrine of Christianity. Its denial leads to the denial of every other distinguishing doctrine of the Christian faith.

"By the incarnation is meant the union of the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ.

"Professor Huxley said that the mysteries of the church were child's play compared with the mysteries of science which we must accept. He said that 'virgin procreation' was an ordinary phenomenon for the naturalist.

"The incarnation is not contradictory, but the culmination of the law of creation. More than once the Creator broke in upon the process of evolution by the introduction of a new force. Matter was first created; later, we know not how long, life was introduced—incarnated in matter—first vegetable, then animal, later human life; at length the divine life in the person of Jesus Christ. Each of these was an incarnation, steps to the supreme incarnation.

"Max Muller, than whom no better authority has lived, says: 'There has been no form of religion known to man in which there was not an incarnation.' The Hindoos have 330,000,000 incarnations. Skeptics say that Christianity borrowed the idea from India and Egypt. They might as well say that we borrowed our idea of the existence of a God from them.

"The incarnation helps man:

"First, by revealing God. It is impossible to grasp the unseen until it has been put into the terms of something with which we are acquainted. Idolatry is the result of this method of finding God. Idols were not at first objects of worship, but attempts to make visible the conception of God held by the Maker, in order that He might be grasped.

"The Old Testament was a continual approach to the incarnation in that God was continually embodying Himself in some sensible form in order to make Himself real to the people. The 'burning bush,' in which He appeared to Moses, the pillar of cloud and fire which led the Hebrews through the wilderness, the tabernacle and temple, where His presence abode, were sort of preparatory incarnations.

CHURCH MUST GO WHERE THE PEOPLE LIVE

ON SUNDAY morning Dr. Vosburgh preached at the First Baptist church on "The Problem of the City," from Luke 19:41: "He beheld the city and wept over it." The preacher said in part:

G. B. Vosburgh.

"The city's intellectual, political, moral and religious condition exerts a controlling influence upon the state. The religious life of Denver in the long run determines the religious life of Colorado. The problem of the twentieth century is practically the 'Problem of the City,' and to a large extent of the city churches.

"In view of this fact Christian men of the city must exercise a farsighted sagacity and see to it that no part of the city is neglected. They must see that churches of their denomination or mission stations are planted in every section. We have no right to neglect either the rich or the poor, either the downtown region or Capitol hill.

"Forty years ago this church had a membership of thirty-two souls. Its edifice was situated a few blocks from where it now stands. It is only two blocks nearer Capitol hill than was the old dugout. This church has lived to see nearly all the families driven out of this section of the city. Business has advanced in leaps and bounds until we find ourselves in the center of the city's commercial life. The leading churches of every other denomination in the city have gone out to where the people are. Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists and Catholics all have gone. They saw that if they were to do constructive work they must be among the homes of the city. No church can be strong if it neglects the residential districts of the city. No church can rest upon a floating population.

"Now let us take our stand on Broadway looking eastward and what do we find. From Sixteenth avenue to Sixth avenue eastward to Montclair, we will look upon one of the choicest residence districts in the world. There are few cities that can boast of such a section as that included in the limits of which I have mentioned. In this region tens of thousands of people have their homes. It is the wonder and delight of the tourist of every land. Now make a journey through this thickly populated region extending for miles, and what will you discover; four or five Presbyterian churches, three strong Methodist churches, three or four

Figure 1. The Columbus Day Sermon, Page 8 of the Rocky Mountain News, October 12, 1908.

Figure 2 captures the growing political consciousness surrounding the relationship between Black and Indigenous struggle, and the power of aesthetic depictions of political struggles to raise what Brandi Summers calls an "aesthetic insurgency."[22] One block west from the defaced capital of Denver stood two statues that have since been toppled and removed. The first was a Civil War monument to Jack Howland, a union soldier during the Civil War. The second statue represented "Indian Killer" Kit Carson, who is implicated in the genocide of Indigenous peoples' and the enslavement of Indigenous peoples and Black Africans.[23] The Kit

[22] Aesthetics as a term denote a range of sensibilities and disciplinary application. I draw from several scholars in cultural, Indigenous, and media studies, who note the experiences, relations, and intersections with both political and social technologies that mediate, distort, and capture aesthetics for capital accumulation and/or for use as a vehicle of resistance and insurgency. See Summers (2019) and Roane (2023) for the use of Black aesthetics in the making of place, Engberg-Pedersen (2023) for a history of material aesthetics and the relationship between art and war. See Michelle Rajeha (2014) and Amy Lonetree (2012) for the use of aesthetics in Indigenous studies.

[23] For a history of Kit Carson and his genocidal acts see Jerry Mander (1991) *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations.*

Carson statue is particularly revealing to the operations of settler colonialism as there stood a plaque (Figure 3) honoring Christopher Columbus and the role that Carson played in Western colonial expansion and the making of Denver as a settler colonial city. Each figure has played a role in anti-Blackness and anti-Indigenous acts throughout Colorado, making it no secret why the City of Denver chose to install and commemorate individuals implicated in genocide. [24] Tiffany King (2019:36) begins the Black Shoal by asking, “why here” in reference to the defacing of the Columbus Day statue with red paint that read “Black Lives Matter.” The question of “why here” echoes a foundational question pertaining to this dissertation: the question of why, how, and what’s next for liberatory movements from Native Denver? These questions emerge from decades of study and public political education by Denver’s Native community.[25]

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[24] In 1992, Colorado AIM demanded that the plaque honoring Christopher Columbus be removed. The City ignored their petition.

[25] Where the pursuit to undo colonial orders from Denver is centuries old, I follow the guidance of Native intellectuals at the Fourth World Center for the Study of Indigenous Law and Politics and the Denver Indian Academy who have actively organized public education campaigns on the operations of colonialism and decolonization throughout the Denver area for the last three decades.

Figure 2. Decolonize Denver, Photo by Viki Eagle, June 2020

Figure 3. In Honor of Christopher Columbus, Taken by the Colorado Sun, June 2020.

1.5 Digital Geographies on Indigenous Land

Multiple pandemics and movements for liberation surround the contents and context of this dissertation. I name these global pandemics and liberatory movements for two reasons. First, I want to argue, as many scholars have done before, that each movement and each moment of struggle is a product of labor by those who have built and struggled before (Baldwin, 1964; Kelley, 2002; Herrera 2022; Gilmore, 2017; Simpson 2017).[26] Generations of ancestors across movements and scholarly traditions have made the present possible (Estes, 2018; Duarte, 2017; Kelley, 2002; Taylor, 2017). Second, I want to argue that each event, or conjunctural moment to be more specific, can be further apprehended through anticolonial and decolonial digital geographies (Hall and Massey, 2010).[27] By digital geographies, I refer to the culmination of debates in critical GIS and cartography, critical data studies, critical media studies, and more, that span decades if not centuries of scholarship and intersect with the history of cartography and empire state craft (Ash et al., 2018; Wilson, 2017; Harley, 1991). As Ash et al. (2018) assert, geography is amidst a digital turn, reconfiguring how geographical knowledge is conducted and applied. Further, I note that this 'digital turn' is also a moment in which the digital itself is actively being reassembled and reimagined by social movements for the purposes of assembling liberatory geographies (Anti-Eviction Project, 2022; Benjamin, 2022; Russell, 2020; Browne, 2015; Elwood, 2022; Elwood and Leszczynski, 2018; Gieseking, 2017; Rose-Redwood et al., 2019).

The everywhereness of the digital and its shaping of how we apprehend our past, present, and future is mediated by digital materialities, infrastructures, and operations, with significant

[26] James Baldwin (1965:154) beautifully writes, "[h]istory is not the past. It is the present. We carry our history with us .... If we pretend otherwise ... we literally are criminals."
[27] I draw from Hall and Massey (2010) to critically apprehend how conjunctural moments are increasingly digitally mediated throughout digital platforms. I think through what an assessment of an event might look like in digital geographies in my Society and Space essay on The Dakota Access Pipeline and the Elimination of the Oceti Sakowin (Rivera, 2019).

impacts to land and peoples, and the pursuit of freedom itself (Benjamin, 2022; Jefferson, 2020; Gieseking, 2019; Noble, 2016).[28] The stakes and impacts of this 'digital turn' are still being investigated, requiring what Karen Gregory (2019) invites: "…new visions and new imaginaries of what a digital world can or should be." *Mapping the Terms of Freedom & The Ongoing Struggle of Refusal Imaginaries* engages the historical and political underpinnings of how Native geographical imaginaries and places came to be rendered as *terra nullius* through digital geographic practices and how Indigenous movements have endeavored to map their own geographies from the standpoint of Native Denver and all their relations therein. I detail the arc of my dissertation below.

1.6 Dissertation Contributions

Mapping the Terms of Freedom & The Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries, traces the making and unmaking of settler imaginaries in Denver and the ways in which the city's Indigenous communities choose to represent their stories of resistance to the world. I connect the way institutions of knowledge maintain settler imaginaries in place through the entanglement of visual and digital knowledge practices in settler colonialism. The central argument of my dissertation is that Indigenous spatial practices have always refused settler imaginaries and the colonial technologies that sustain them—forming a relational-assembly of maps that no technology can break. The formation of a relational assembly of maps in the form of Native counter-cartographies is an expression of cartographic refusals emergent from the everyday ways in which Indigenous political orders are enacted.

My dissertation traces Indigenous refusal as a framework that reshapes visual and digital knowledge politics, disrupting long-held geographic scholarship centered on damage,

[28] I draw from Jack Giesking (2019:85) who states, "the digital is everywhere as the cyborg has become everybody/every body."

accumulation, and dispossession—a product of a discipline long entangled in settler colonialism. I demonstrate the importance of epistemic justice driven by desire-based frameworks for realizing self-determination through the transformation of visual and digital pedagogies by anticolonial and decolonial movements. Where visual-digital practices render Indigenous worlds absent, anticolonial movements demonstrate the possibility of reassembly and liberation in the here and now. My dissertation brings anticolonial thought to digital geographies, redirecting the field to center Indigenous Lands and the spatial practices of Indigenous peoples on their own terms. I trace self-determined Indigenous representations of strength through the community-curated (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit that maps Indigenous geographies and dismantles the logics implicated in the settler imaginary. Held at Denver University (DU) in 2021, the (Re)Mapping Native Art Exhibit stood as a site of public-facing education, demonstrating the liberatory power of retelling geo-history on the terms of Indigenous peoples.

I argue that the entanglement of visual-digital knowledge practices in settler colonialism makes possible the ongoing spatialization of settler colonialism. Where digitally-mediated settler imaginings of the yearly celebration of Columbus Day render Indigenous worlds absent, they're never fully realized, because of generations of Indigenous peoples' resistance. I argue that the process in which Indigenous peoples choose to represent their stories of resistance, despite the everyday circulation of settler imaginaries by visual-digital knowledge regimes, constitutes a politics of refusal. This process is rooted in Indigenous protocols that make possible the self-determined archives that map Indigenous geographies. More than a community art exhibit, the exhibit was a site in which the Native community was able to grieve, celebrate, and insist on institutional accountability. Through the curations featured in the (Re)Mapping Native Denver

art exhibit, I demonstrate the possibility and necessity of accountable digital-visual knowledge practices aimed at dismantling settler imaginaries by Indigenous communities themselves.

Organized as three journal articles, *Mapping the Terms of Freedom* details the multiscalar forms of placemaking enacted through Indigenous forms of mapmaking, making visible a cartographic blueprint in which to transform both institutions of knowledge and knowledge practices themselves towards accountability and restitution. My first chapter, *(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver*, chronicles the making of the settler imaginary and its performance by cartographic mediums, such as maps and geo-visual media representations of place.[29] This chapter answers the question: how did Denver come to be?[30] By connecting cartographic practices to imaginaries of the Columbus Day Holiday in its place of origin in Denver, Colorado, I connect the foundational role that maps played to secure land titles through the survey and the grid. I detail the ways in which founder of Denver University (DU), John Evans, drew upon the settler imaginary to legitimize the dismantling of treaties between the U.S. and Native nations, and facilitated the (1864) Sand Creek Massacre, the same year DU was founded. I demonstrate how land grant maps of early Denver were deployed as an instrument to advance settler colonial imaginaries of Westward colonial expansion and Indigenous peoples' dispossession in Denver, Colorado. I conclude by arguing that despite the seemingly totalizing erasure of Indigenous political orders through settler cartographic practices, there exists a counter-map in the form of what Juan Herrera terms, *cartographic memory*, a political methodology rooted in the spatialization of place and space by social movements themselves.[31] Cartographic memory in this case illuminates the everyday forms of place making by Indigenous

[29] This paper is in review with the journal, the *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*.
[30] Where some might read the question of how did Denver come to be, as a "history of the present," to reference the Foucauldian analytic of genealogy, I riff off of David Chang (2016) to foreground the necessity of a genealogy of the present from the occupied Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Ute territories: A genealogy of the present from Native Denver.
[31] Herrera J (2022) Cartographic Memory. Durham: Duke University Press.

social movements, enacting what Edward Said calls as "a counter-strategy" to colonial domination.[32] A genealogy of Native resistance exists in Denver—a multiscalar constellation of human and more-than-human kin relations that map the way home.[33]

My second chapter, *(Re)mapping Native Denver and the Assembly of Native Counter-Cartographies*, chronicles the making of Native Counter-Cartographies through analysis of the (Re)mapping Native Denver art exhibit.[34] Co-written alongside Indigenous community member, Viki Eagle, (Re)Mapping Native Denver traces the decolonial worlding possibilities of Indigenous resurgence from within the colonial university. Housed in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Denver for three weeks in the autumn quarter of 2021, (Re)mapping Native Denver stood as a site of public facing education that laid bare the ways in which DU as an institution preceded and continues to preside in the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands. DU founder, John Evans, is implicated in the dismantling of treaties between the U.S. government and Indigenous nations throughout Colorado territory and is implicated in the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, the same year DU was founded as an institution of education. With the backdrop of the movement for Black lives, the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, and an overwhelming amount of grief and pain from mass death events within Black, Indigenous, Latinx, Asian, and communities of color, (Re)mapping Native Denver was assembled as a space to grieve, celebrate, and insist on institutional accountability. Through a series of community-assembled curations, we demonstrate the ways each curation are expressions of Indigenous mapping, including ancestral, decolonial, and anticolonial forms of

[32] Said E (2012) Culture and Imperialism. NY, USA: Vintage.
[33] I draw from David Chang (2016), The World and All the Things Upon It, to locate the breadth of Indigenous resistance as it emerges from Denver, Colorado. Indigenous resistance concerns a multiplicity of Indigenous peoples' nations and forms of Indigenous polity's at multiple scales, reflecting what Leanne Simpson (2017) terms, "constellations of co-resistance." The movement to undo colonial regimes from Native Denver continues via a coalition of groups across difference, including Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and peoples of color.
[34] This chapter is in review in the journal, *Geohumanities*.

counter-cartography.[35] Building upon Mishuana Goeman's feminist practice of (*re)mapping* and Juan Herrera's political methodology, *cartographic memory*, we show how each curation enacts a Native Denver, rejecting colonial imaginaries of Denver and the boundaries of where Indigenous geography begins and ends.[36] (Re)mapping Native Denver is an expression of Native legal political orders—forming the basis of a Native counter-cartography.

My third chapter, *Undoing Settler Imaginaries: (Re)imagining Digital Knowledge Politics*, bridges digital geographies with anticolonial and decolonial thought.[37] This chapter contributes to debates on the ways anticolonial and decolonial spatial practices redirect digital knowledge practices towards accountability and restitution. I begin by tracing the colonial entanglement of visual-digital geographic knowledge, arguing that the co-constitution of visual and digital knowledge practices requires attention into how digital knowledge practices continue to animate and sustain settler imaginaries. I chronicle a geography of Black and Indigenous spatial practices that demonstrate the active reimagining of digital geographic knowledge, insisting that digital geographical knowledge must and can proceed through practices of humility, good land relations, and accountability. I trace foundational literatures that contend with core debates and tensions in the field, including the overwhelming whiteness of the field that continues to reify Black and Indigenous absence and violent abstraction. I conclude by insisting that undoing settler imaginaries requires dismantling the whiteness of digital geographic theory.[38] Undoing settler imaginaries requires the transformational change of digital geographer and digital geographic knowledge, creating the possibility of reciprocal land-life practices. [39]

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[35] Lucchesi A (2018) "Indians don't make maps": Indigenous cartographic traditions and innovations. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 42: 11–26.
[36] Goeman, M. (2013). *Mark my words: Native women mapping our nations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
[37] This chapter is published in the journal, *Progress in Human Geography*.
[38] Elwood S (2022) Toward a fourth generation critical GIS: extraordinary politics. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 21: 436–447.
[39] Liboiron M (2021) Pollution Is Colonialism. Durham: Duke University Press

My concluding chapter, *Towards Accountable Digital Geographies*, invites collective inquiry into what an agenda on accountable digital geographies might look like.[40] Given the everywhereness of the digital and the assumption of that knowledge accessing Indigenous lands, I ask: how can digital practices be directed towards accountability, as to honor the places, spaces, and communities in which geographical knowledge arises? I suggest that decolonial and anticolonial methods redirect digital practices towards Land Back, redirecting geographical knowledge towards the affirmation of life.

I conclude by tracing the afterlife of each core chapter, detailing the significance of each chapter and their contributions to Indigenous geographies, digital geographies, and anticolonial thought. I note how each chapter fits within a particular genealogy of scholarly debates and political commitments—from Native Denver, illustrating their unique trajectory and contributions in the form of academic and non-academic mediums such as legal policy briefs for Native nations, anticolonial pedagogies pertinent to digital geographies, Native community organizing archives, digital cartographic archives, and more. I reflect on how the anticolonial move of a Chicanx scholar on the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute nations, begins with what Richa Nagar and Roozbeh Shirazi (2021: 240) term "radical vulnerability," underscoring the importance of collectivity in "reimagining the temporalities and meanings of knowledge making" on Indigenous lands and alongside the Denver Native community.

[40] Section 5.1 of this chapter is published in the journal, *Dialogues in Human Geography*.

CHAPTER 2
(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver

Traditional geography steals space just as the imperial economy steals wealth, official history steals memory, and formal culture steals the word.

- Eduardo Galeano, Upside Down

Geography—in its various formations—is integral to social struggles.

- Katherine McKittrick, Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle

2.1 Introduction

How did Denver as a settler colonial city come to be? This question emerges from the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Ute, and over 50 Indigenous nations that call Denver home and continue to live under colonial occupation. This question on how Denver came to be invokes a move to apprehend a "history of the present" from the standpoint of Native Denver (Chang, 2016; Foucault, 1970; Simpson, 2014; Trujillo, 2020). By Native Denver, I signal the multiplicity of Indigenous nations, Indigenous political orders, relatives and kinships with the human and more-than-human world, that come to assemble within the urban imaginary of Denver. [41] As Dorries et al. (2019) remind, "cities are places where Indigenous peoples have continually resisted and challenged the normalizations of settler colonial violence." Indeed, cities are sites of struggle, where the reproduction of settler colonial technologies to maintain colonial territory and capital accumulation are always in movement (Byrd, 2011; Dorries et al., 2019b; McElroy, 2020). I trace the ways in which cartography was instrumentalized to perform settler imaginaries of Denver, Colorado, from 1858-1886, detailing its significance for apprehending this history from

[41] By "Indigenous political orders," I follow Michele Daigle (2019:298) who states that Indigenous political orders reflect "principles and kinship structures such as clanship systems which center the leadership roles of women, Elders, youth, queer, trans and two-spirited peoples as wells as non-human kin, and which become the basis of Indigenous forms of authority and governance."

the perspective of Indigenous geographies (Curley, 2021; Hunt, 2014; Daigle, 2016; Smiles, 2018; Fabris, 2022).

This paper draws from archival and discourse analysis of maps used to secure land claims between the years 1858-1886 throughout Colorado territory. I follow Blomley's (2003) tracing of modalities of property, to investigate how the frontier, survey, and grid, came to produce the foundations of cartographic practice and settler claims to land. I trace the geohistorical conjunctures that conditioned white possessive and patriarchal ways of seeing Indigenous land through the forced emplacement of colonial technologies, tracing the ways in which colonial practices of cartography were deployed to advance and secure empire. Thereafter, I chronicle the urban spatialization of settler colonialism, analyzing the historical record commissioned by Northwestern University and Denver University (2014), over the role in which their founder, John Evans, drew upon the settler imaginary to justify genocidal acts towards the Arapaho and Cheyenne nations. I conclude with a call towards a cartography of refusal from Native Denver—a call to attend to the cartographic archive of mapping objects remade, created, and shaped by Denver's Native community. Cartographies of refusal are expressions of Indigenous forms of counter-mapping, enabling a reading of place and geo-history outside the ontological and epistemological capture of colonial property regimes (Luchessi, 2018; Iralu, 2021). By tracing the origins of the settler colonial imaginary in Denver, Colorado, this paper contributes to the geohistorical record on the relationship between cartography and the contemporary settler colonial city, demonstrating its geohistorical importance in the maintenance of white supremacy and its resistance by Indigenous nations.

Cartographies of Refusal are a bridge to Indigenous geographies, where the refusal of the settler colonial cartographies that write the world begin with how Indigenous geographies know

the world instead. Where I begin this paper by chronicling the ways in which cartography's entanglement in settler colonial reason shapes settler imaginaries of Colorado, I will conclude with how cartography has been deployed as a vehicle for worldmaking oriented in the affirmation of life (Chang, 2016; Lucchesi, 2018; Rose-Redwood et al., 2020; Turnbull, 2002; Roane, 2023). From an ongoing worldmaking perspective, I turn attention to Indigenous forms of mapping expression that tether together unique place-based spatial mappings, such as oral, ancestral, and Indigenous feminist counter-imaginaries that emerge from Native Denver (Iralu, 2022; Luchiesi, 2018). (Re)Mapping as a method and expression of cartographic refusal is intent on the reclamation of Indigenous cartographies in their multiple and unique place-based political expressions, making visible the everyday ways in which Indigenous resurgence rejects the colonial imaginary (Goeman, 2013; Iralu, 2021).

As Mohawk Scholar, Audra Simpson (2014:4) reminds, "settler colonialism failed at what it was supposed to do: eliminate Indigenous peoples." Despite the spatial hegemonies deployed through colonial cartographies, there exists a constellation of movements who refuse the unconsented emplacement of colonial imagining and colonial categorization (Daigle and Ramírez, 2019; Simpson, 2017b). This is a refusal of the spatial binaries and subjectivities that come from the settler category of urban vs. rural, or "Indian Lands" vs. modern city (Dorries et al., 2019a; Simpson, 2017a; Tomiak, 2023). Indigenous movements continue to refuse settler categories despite their maintenance on geographical imaginaries through maps and settler history, insisting instead on Native Land everywhere (Maynard and Simpson, 2022; Tomiak, 2023; Simpson, 2014).[42] David Chang, in *The Word and All the Things upon it* (2016), details the ways in which the Kānaka Maoli refuse colonial geographies of the U.S. empire, underscoring a

[42] "Indian Lands" are noted in quotes as to detail how U.S. surveyors and cartographers first encoded Indigenous territories onto U.S. topographic maps. Part of this practice was meant to partition existing treaty territories between the U.S. and Native nations (e.g., Fort Laramie Treaty (1851) as recorded in the text).

Native geography from the standpoint of Native Hawaii. From the classroom, Chang (2016) begins by analyzing a range of archives that detail how colonial geographic education mapped the world according to American historiography. In rejection of the colonial archive, Chang draws instead from a Hawaiian genealogy of world-knowing and working-making to make visible the world according to how the Kānaka Maoli see, live, and defend their land in the everyday. I draw inspiration from Chang (2016) on Kānaka Maoli worldmaking and from J.T. Roane (2023) on Black world-making from the plot, and Juan Herrera (2022) on the spatialization of Chicanx struggles for dignity on Native land, who chronicle the ways in which social movements enact their worlds in the face of technologies of white supremacy. This paper contributes to the geohistorical archive of Denver, suggesting its geo-historical significance for advancing the self-determination of Indigenous nations everywhere.

2.2 Cartographies, Settler Imaginaries, and Settler Colonial Cities

Cartography has long been deployed as an instrument to advance colonial state-craft and capitalist social-relations (Pickles, 2004; Mitchell, 2000; King, 2019; Wood and Krygier, 2009). Maps and mapping practices in a classical Cartesian sense are technologies of abstraction, which do the work of producing space for the logistical operations of state power (Iralu, 2020; Lefebvre, 2003). Critical geographers have chronicled the ways in which cartographic practices advance imaginaries of national territory, demonstrating the social-spatial techniques afforded to colonial cartography to impose geographical imaginaries of the colonial frontier onto Indigenous worlds (Anderson, 1991; Blomley, 2004; Cosgrove, 2012; Harley, 1992; Graham et al., 2015). Nicholas Blomley (2003) argues that the frontier, the cadastral survey, and the grid were instrumental technologies in which to advance the legal-administrative rationalities surrounding

the violent emplacement of property.[43] Violence was predicated on the colonial desire to seize and transform Indigenous land and peoples into property (Harris, 1992; 2021). State formation encodes violence through cartography via the merging of genealogy and territory (Harley, 1992; Lefebvre, 1991). This process draws upon technocratic imaginaries of civilization through the legal-spatial order of what Cheryl Harris terms, "whiteness as property," demonstrating the *white possessive* features embedded in the making of property (Harris, 1993; Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

The historical archive of how cartography and land claims co-constitute regimes of property across several geographies under Anglo Common Law is vast (Bhandar, 2018; Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Pasternak, 2017). As Diné geographer, Andrew Curley (2021: 388) argues, "to understand how colonialism works across Indigenous lands, we need to focus on the physical, legal, and political factors that are involved in the building and the expansion of national infrastructures." The spatial-temporal analysis of cartography and cartographic practices enables geographers to trace the ideological work that underpins settler colonial cartographies. Stuart Hall (1981: 102) reminds us that "ideology is a practice that is reproduced in specific settings." Investigating the spatial-temporal specificity of how cartography functions as an ideological practice offers a conceptual and material starting point to apprehend how settler colonial technologies lay claim to space. Doing so creates the conditions of possibility in which to challenge settler colonial land claims and the cartographic archive that sustains them.

Maps are instruments in the spatial-temporal visualization of empire (Cosgrove, 1998; Massey, 2005). The scientific rhetoric of maps, for instance, transforms maps as more than objects for scientific cataloging and market expansion: maps produce temporal imaginaries of place through the narratives told about them (Crampton and Elden, 2007; Livingstone, 2005;

[43] See Cosgrove (2003) and Ruben-Rosewood (2008) on genealogies of the grid.

McElroy, 2020). Doreen Massey (2005:107) asks: “how do we cope with maps as mediators of ‘ongoing stories’ in the world?” This question invites critical inquiry to reexamine the movement of maps in their multiple expressions across time and space. I draw from this question to investigate the ways in which social movements repurpose the map to enact their own worldmaking from occupied Native land. Investigating the co-constitutive ways in which historical geo-visual mapping objects spatially mediate the present is essential for envisioning how and where cartographic refusals rescript the geo-historical archive (Leszczynski, 2015). Massey’s question is critical in that it opens up space for investigating the ways in which the ‘god trick’ performs colonial claims to space-time through mapping objects, and the ways maps play in securing territory through techno-scientific discourses of modernity in the past, present, and future (Massey, 2005; Harley, 1992).

The development of the settler-colonial city is situated in discourses of modernity, requiring historical engagements with settler colonial urbanism to contend with the past through a history of the colonial present (Dorries et al., 2019; Foucault, 1971; Mitchell, 2002). For instance, in *Algorithmic Modernity*, Ames and Mazzotti (2023), trace the long history of algorithmic logic, locating the discourses of modernity to the enlightenment era, detailing its significance for shaping the past, present and future. The algorithmically mediated city is an expression of ongoing urban settler colonialism. Here, I draw from debates in digital geographies that engage the role of spatial media as an aesthetic object used to narrate the modern city (Rose, 2016b; Summers, 2022). By spatial media, I imply the visual artifacts and visual imagery circulated across digital platforms, emphasizing the role of maps as mediators of consciousness (Elwood and Leszczynski, 2013; Rose, 2017; Massey, 2005). I draw from a range of debates to connect the co-constitution of media circulation and the production of place (Degen and Rose,

2022; Zook, 2007); the role of the GIS as a vector for spatial/mediation (Leszczynski, 2015; Sui and Goodchild, 2011); the role of spatial media as an infrastructure for empire (Aouragh and Chakravartty, 2016), and the instrumental role played by geo-visual artifacts in producing geographical imaginaries of the city (Gieseking, 2017; Katz, 2004; Gregory, 1994). With the view of the present, I follow Gillian Rose (2022) who argues that so-called smart cities are brought into existence through visual imaginaries of the city.

Settler imaginaries render Black and Indigenous presence as outside of time and space (Byrd, 2011; Rifkin, 2017; Wynter, 2008). The entanglement of geographical knowledge practices in settler colonialism and racial capitalism condition settler imaginaries in the intentional erasure of Black and Indigenous spatial orders, reifying the fiction of a-spatiality of Black and Indigenous spatial matters (Coulthard, 2014; McKittrick, 2006; Rivera, 2023).
The Doctrine of Discovery is the ultimate geo-visual expression of Indigenous dehumanization and Indigenous a-spatiality, where Black and Indigenous worlds were rendered dominion subjects (Miller, 2010; Williams Jr, 1992; Newcomb, 2008; Park, 2021). Issued by Pope Alexander VI on May 4, 1493, the Papal Bull decree formed the basis of the Doctrine of Discovery and the legal rationale to institute the so-called “discovery” of the “New World” by Christopher Columbus a year earlier as official ordained law (Park, 2023). In 1823, the U.S. Supreme Court instituted the Doctrine of Discovery into official state law through the *Johnson v. M’Intosh* case, citing the doctrine as evidence that Europeans had the sovereign right to lay claim over the “New World.”[44] The Supreme Court case endorsed centuries of colonialism that continues to be played out in courts throughout the world to this day (Palmer, 2021; Park, 2023). For Indigenous nations, the institutionalization of the Doctrine of Discovery represents the

[44] *Johnson v. M’Intosh*, 21 U.S. 543, 573 (1823)

ultimate global spatial order that must be abolished, resulting in campaigns around the world for the Vatican and colonial states to rescind the doctrine (Miller, 2010).

In Denver, the refusal of the Doctrine of Discovery from Indigenous nations is centuries old. From its earliest emplacement in the form of colonial commissioned maps of a future world-economy, mapping the so-called frontier has been chronicled in multiple arenas, including the Colombian exhibitions, which were organized by the U.S. to perform its origin story through imaginaries of 'discovery' (King, 2015; Harley, 1989; Karuka, 2019). In *Maps and The Columbian Encounter*, Brian Harley (1990) chronicles the ways in which the Columbus exhibitions were organized to inscribe American geography and institute the visual aesthetic of progress and civilization through images of maps, architecture, and planning. This echoes the merger between the propaganda of maps and history underscored by W.E.B. Du Bois (1935) and John Pickles (1994). Where there have been multiple exhibitions celebrating the life and project of Christopher Columbus, including the famous (1893) Chicago's World's Fair, this paper brings attention to the ways in which colonists reproduced discourses of Columbus through the mapping of Colorado territory. By discourses of Columbus, I refer to the logic of dominion, possession, genocide, and heteropatriarchy that Columbus represents (Tinker and Freeland, 2008). Cartography was essential for advancing the geographical imaginary and narration of the Doctrine of Discovery. The performance of settler imaginaries by cartographic reason continues.

(Re)mapping The Columbian Encounter from Native Denver is a call for unsettling imperial and colonial geographies from the vantage point of place based Indigenous geographies (Goeman, 2008; Coulthard and Simpson, 2016). My central argument in this paper is that the discourses of science and technology afforded to maps and mapping practices produce and maintain Denver as a settler colonial city. By tracing how colonists such as John Evans came to

reproduce and envision settler imaginaries of discovery in Denver, Colorado, this paper contributes to a geohistorical archive that unsettles the legal-geographical arrangements of so-called legitimate land claims in Colorado, serving as a material and conceptual reference point towards the undoing of property law that conceals the fiction of rightful possession (Nichols, 2020; Park 2023). Apprehending how imaginaries of Columbus came to shape Denver through cartography helps connect the co-constitution of maps and institutions of knowledge to the very discourses of modernity and civilization that shape the settler colonial city today, creating the conditions of possibility for an otherwise cartography from Native Denver (Curley, 2020; Hunt and Stevenson, 2017; Elwood, 2022; Palmer, 2020). Archival maps are evidenced in this paper to illustrate the ways maps secured territory for colonists, alongside a range of counter-archives in the form of cartographies of refusal that detail Indigenous relationships to land from Native Denver.

2.3 Settler Colonial Cartographies and the Making of Colorado Territory

The land is ours, by every natural right and every principle of international law recognized in relations among European powers. The land that is ours by every natural right was coveted by European powers. Seizure of our land for the use of their own people could not be justified by the law of nations or the principles of international law that regulate relations among European powers. So it became necessary to construct a theory that would justify the theft of land.
—George Manuel (Shuswap), The Fourth World: An Indian Reality

Cartography and GIS are instruments oriented toward the proliferation of whiteness. Mezzadra and Neilson (2013) draw upon the history of cartography as a vehicle for colonial expansion, tracing the ways in which border drawings inscribe state formation and labor subjectivities. The first vector for imagining state formation within the settler-technology of national territory was formed by the logic of racial capitalism and rights-based claims to land

(Blomney, 2003; Coulthard, 2014; Robinson, 2000).[45] For instance, Blomley (2003) traces Lockean modalities of property to their earliest emplacement on First Nations' homelands, tracing the ways in which the survey and the grid produced property. Through maps and mapping practices, property making became a vehicle for advancing the bureaucracies of the colonial state (Bhandar, 2018; Palmer and Rundstrom, 2013; McElroy, 2022). The relationship between cartography and the spatialization of colonial territory continues to shape the settler colonial city (Dorries et al., 2019a; Jefferson, 2020). This section details how cartography and the discourses of mapping technologies shaped Denver as a settler colonial city.

The process of land titlement relies on a historical starting point from which to prove rightful possession. This historical starting point, or conveyancing, argues that legitimate possession of land claims must have a historical origin point (Keenan, 2019). As Sarah Keenan (2019: 285) notes, the tenure system instituted by the Crown through Common Law argued that "all land is subject to the radical title of the Crown."[46] Land titlement is a practice of spatial narration and temporal dislocation, with ongoing consequences in the reproduction of property through discourses of markets and the violent abstraction of land and peoples through cartographic computation (Iralu, 2020; Ybarra, 2009; Fields, 2019). For instance, Sarah Keenan (2019) argues that title registries operate as time machines, as they emerge from imagined fictions in the historical record, reifying the past, present, and future in the image of the white male. Through the process of conveyancing, British technoscientific imaginaries were used to

[45] I merge McKenzie Wark's (2004) use of vector with cartography's role in "encoding" the world (Pickles, 2004). Vectors and the process of vectorization in this case were instituted through the mapping layers of land grant title, mineral deposits such as gold, railroads, among other cartographic layers reflected in Figure 2.

[46] This echoes *Johnson vs. M'Intosh* (1823:592), which states, "however extravagant the pretension of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into conquest may appear; if the principle has been asserted in the first instance, and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it, it becomes the law of the land and cannot be questioned."

explain how the land titlement system in an Aboriginal Australian context reproduces itself through market regimes in the present.

Within the U.S., the mapping of counties and registration of land titlement claims was foundational for "perfecting" the British technology of registry—as it made visible the spaces for which colonists to make property (Park, 2023).[47] Technoscintific imaginaries refer to the ways in which discourses of science, technology, and modernity are used to construct "objective" ways of seeing and knowing the world (Mitchell, 2002). Laura Pulido (2023) argues that National Monuments operate as settler colonial devices in which to shape culture memory oriented in white innocence and conquest denial. I argue that the Doctrine of Discovery is the historical base point in which the U.S. reproduced technoscientific imaginaries through cartography, inspiring John Evans' to envision his future properties, justifying the dispossession of Indigenous nations for the creation of Colorado territory.[48]

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[47] For a history of the survey see C.A. White, *A History of the Rectangular Survey System*. In the US, the Topographical Corps of Engineers deployed the first survey teams that would "grid" the West.
[48] See Northwestern University's (2014) John Evans report for a detailing of the noble and scientific man Evans was portrayed to be. See Denver University (2014) report for a more accurate read on the role Evans played in genocidal acts.

Figure 1. Map of Colorado Territory (1862), Library of Congress

The geographical imaginary of the Western frontier is etched in maps (Schulten, 2001). Maps of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), The Fort Laramie Treaty (1851), The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), The Pike's Peak Gold Rush (1858), and others, played an essential role in producing Colorado Territory (1861).[49] Shaped and inspired by the Doctrine of Discovery and imaginaries of Manifest Destiny, maps created the conceptual space in which to emplace settler colonial

[49] There are indeed many other historical factors that led to the creation of Denver as a settler colonial city, including Spanish colonialism.

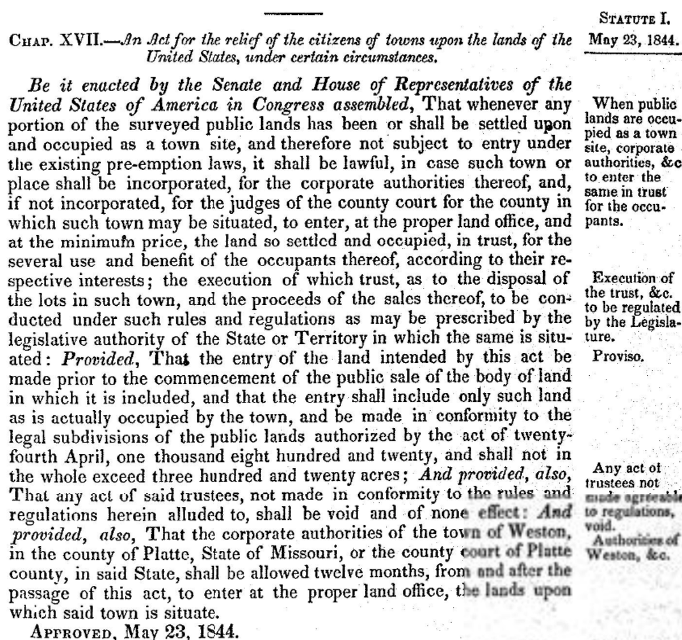
desires.[50] For instance, the first territorial governor of Colorado, William Gilpin, played an essential role in directing the first commissioned map of Colorado Territory. Composed by Frederick J. Ebert under the direction of Governor William Gilpin, the map (Figure 1) portrays a series of cartographic choices still under investigation today (Schulten, 2012). For instance, Schulten (2012) notes the various ways in which cartographers and historians have remarked upon the historical significance of the map from a range of vantage points. For example, the subtitle, "Embracing the Central Gold Region" provides an important clue to how these maps came to inscribe *future* land claims and *future* spaces for mining development. Historian David Bernstein (2018) argues that the map was a "performance" of the stability of Colorado territory given territorial "unrest." Additionally, the map inscribes the first county lines, railroad lines, and future Indian reservations. Having been produced before Colorado became an official U.S. state in 1876, the map played an essential role in producing the settler imaginary in which colonists could envision laying claim to land.

The co-constitution of colonial territorial production and geo-history are inescapably linked to the cartographic devices that draw property (Crampton and Elden, 2017; Blomley, 2003). I follow Helga Leitner and Eric Sheppard (2020) on their use of conjunctural inter-urban comparison to conceptualize the ways maps historically and geographically unfold over time. Focusing on the Louisiana Purchase (1803), The Fort Laramie Treaty (1851), The Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), and The Pike's Peak Gold Rush (1858), I argue that the maps spatially reference geohistorical events by representing objects used to convey settler teleological renderings of history and claims to space (Sheppard, 2022; Fanon, 2008). These historical events are dialectically related to the production of Denver as a settler colonial city. From the mapping

[50] Manifest Destiny is the Euro-Christian prophecy that the so-called discovery and dominion of the Americas was ordained by God. In the Book of Mormon, 1 Nephi chapter 4, verses 12-15 states that Christopher Columbus was prophesied to discover the so-called Americas, making it possible for the Mormon Church to be established.

of gold and silver, to the drawing of railroads and county lines, to the dismantling of the (1851) Fort Laramie Treaty, The (1862) Map of Colorado Territory (Figure 1) laid the groundwork for producing Colorado and Denver as a settler colonial imaginary (Fairfield, 1959).[51]

1862 was the same year that President Abraham Lincoln appointed John Evans as Governor of the Territory of Colorado, changing the course of history for Native and U.S. relations. Where the mapping of gold, railroads, and county lines played an essential role in the expansion of the colonial frontier, I argue that a crucial mediator to the construction of Denver lies with the formation and institutionalization of Denver University (DU). As many historians of Colorado have argued, John Evans, founder of DU (1864) and Northwestern University (1851), was instrumental in facilitating the critical presence and consciousness of settler conquest (Schulten, 2012, DU John Evans Report, 2014).



STATUTE I.
May 23, 1844.

CHAP. XVII.—*An Act for the relief of the citizens of towns upon the lands of the United States, under certain circumstances.*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever any portion of the surveyed public lands has been or shall be settled upon and occupied as a town site, and therefore not subject to entry under the existing pre-emption laws, it shall be lawful, in case such town or place shall be incorporated, for the corporate authorities thereof, and, if not incorporated, for the judges of the county court for the county in which such town may be situated, to enter, at the proper land office, and at the minimum price, the land so settled and occupied, in trust, for the several use and benefit of the occupants thereof, according to their respective interests; the execution of which trust, as to the disposal of the lots in such town, and the proceeds of the sales thereof, to be conducted under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the legislative authority of the State or Territory in which the same is situated: *Provided*, That the entry of the land intended by this act be made prior to the commencement of the public sale of the body of land in which it is included, and that the entry shall include only such land as is actually occupied by the town, and be made in conformity to the legal subdivisions of the public lands authorized by the act of twenty-fourth April, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and shall not in the whole exceed three hundred and twenty acres; *And provided, also*, That any act of said trustees, not made in conformity to the rules and regulations herein alluded to, shall be void and of none effect: *And provided, also*, That the corporate authorities of the town of Weston, in the county of Platte, State of Missouri, or the county court of Platte county, in said State, shall be allowed twelve months, from and after the passage of this act, to enter at the proper land office, the lands upon which said town is situate.

When public lands are occupied as a town site, corporate authorities, &c. to enter the same in trust for the occupants.

Execution of the trust, &c. to be regulated by the Legislature.

Proviso.

Any act of trustees not made agreeable to regulations, void.

Authorities of Weston, &c.

APPROVED, May 23, 1844.

Figure 2: An Act by the U.S. Congress for the Relief of Citizens (May 23, 1844)

[51] The aftermath of the Fort Laramie Treaty (1851) was dismantled through a "citizen land grab" made possible through the (1844) act noting the political technology of the survey (see Figure 1). The Fort Laramie Treaty was renegotiated through the Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861.

In 1844, the U.S. Congress declared: “That whenever any portion of the surveyed public lands has been or shall be settled upon and occupied as a town site, and therefore not subject to entry under the existing *preemption* laws, it shall be lawful, in case such town or place shall be incorporated, for the corporate authorities thereof” (Figure 2) (Rose‐Redwood, 2011).[52] In 1844, Congress instituted the legal property logic of the survey. The Lockean property modality as described by Blomley (2003) created the conditions for survey exhibitions to be deployed to form the (1862) map shown in (Figure 1). I argue that the survey process itself—the mapping of future land claims and commodities facilitated the *anticipatory* nationalism necessary for the U.S. to formally install Denver’s first land grant in May of 1864. On November 29, 1864, under the direction of Colonel John Chivington and under the enduring endorsement of John Evans, an estimated 600 Native peoples, mostly women and children, from the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations were massacred (DU John Evans Report, 2014). This act of genocide is known as the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre. Despite these acts of attempted elimination: the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations continue their efforts for restitution and self-determination.

The making of settler Colorado territory by settler colonial cartographies echoes the celebration of science and conquest at the Chicago’s World's Fair (1851). For instance, the (1851) Chicago World's Fair Exhibition marked a turning point in the annals of settler conquest that advanced visual imaginings of Christopher Columbus through a range of spatial media such as maps, newspapers, textbooks, and images on social media. These spatial media continue to circulate and perform the celebration of genocide of Indigenous peoples, reifying colonial geographies (Harley, 1992; Rose, 1997). Spatial media is used to imply the multiple scales and spatio-temporalities through which media circulate and produce cultural consciousness (Elwood

[52] “Pre-existing preemption laws” emerged in *Johnson vs. M’Intosh* (1823) as argued by the Supreme Court head Justice Marshal in reference to the Doctrine of Discovery.

and Leszczynski, 2013; Rose, 2016a; Summers, 2022). Settler imaginaries from Chicago to Denver's capital used visual imaginaries that reflect a project of modernity—the emplacement of property regimes onto lands rendered as *terra nullius* (Empty Land) to justify the spatialization of Western civilization onto Indigenous lands (Bhandar, 2018; Byrd et al., 2018). The John Evans report (2014) implicates John Evans in the settler colonial desire to eliminate Indigenous peoples' and Indigenous political orders. Where the history of the Columbian Encounter is widely understood as a historical turning point in the history of Western settler colonial expansion (Harley, 1992), the construction of Denver was produced in a similar manner (Tinker and Freeland, 2008).

2.4 The Making of Denver as a Settler Colonial City

"Both DU and Denver rose out of the Colorado Frontier and have developed in tandem ever since. We were founded in 1864 as the Colorado Seminary, only six years after the founding of Denver city in what was then the Colorado Territory. As Denver grew from a gold rush boom town with a population around 3000 into one of the largest and most cosmopolitan cities of the interior West, we too evolved from our roots as a Methodist seminary into a global intellectual center on the rise." - A Pioneer Legacy (2014)

Scholars of settler colonial urbanism view processes of imperialism and colonialism as inter-linked in the making of urban space (Coulthard, 2014; Dorries et al. 2019). Settler colonial urbanism facilitated the distortion of Indigenous relationships to land through infrastructures of abstraction, erasing the political autonomy of Indigenous nations through the ongoing violent reproduction of "colonialscapes" (Curley, 2021; Hunt, 2014:7). Curley (2021:388) argues that "national infrastructures bind communities to modernization, urbanization, and capitalist circulations of wealth." The implementation of railroads, national parks, and national monuments are expressions of national infrastructures oriented in the production of national consciousness

(Cowen, 2022; Pulido, 2023). Cities were instrumental in grounding the administrative bureaucracies of the settler colonial state, naturalizing the settler colonial technology of borders that produced the settler colonial city (Ramírez, 2020; Hugill, 2017). For instance, Manu Karuka (2019: 35) argues that North American history is "a history of the administration of control over Indigenous communities through the accumulation and valorization of corporate capital." Institutions of higher education, like DU, are not only major land holders: they are central to the maintenance of "colonialscapes" (Lee and Ahtone, 2020; De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018; Daigle, 2019) making higher education a critical cite for enacting decolonial education (lapaperson, 2017).

The mapping of railroads, mining camps, and seminaries proved essential in the territorialization of settler colonialism, as maps performed imaginaries of *terra nullius* and spaces for commodity reproduction and circulation to justify dispossession (Carter, 2010; Cowen, 2019). As Tiffany King (2019: 49) notes, "because conquest exists both within the realm of the visual and outside of it, it always needs new terms of engagement and requires new epistemic systems." Echoing King (2019) and scholars across critical cartography and GIS, I argue that cartography was essential for mediating the visual spatial imaginary necessary for colonists to envision laying claim to. This process continues into the present through the proliferation and circulation of spatial media objects, such as maps, images of pioneers and pioneering—as shown through the DU mascot, and other artifacts that have been captured and naturalized through DU and Denver's yearly celebration of Columbus Day that re-enacts the story of conquest (Táíwò, 2022). These are the media infrastructures of empire that animate the settler colonial city into the present (Aouragh and Chakravartty, 2016).

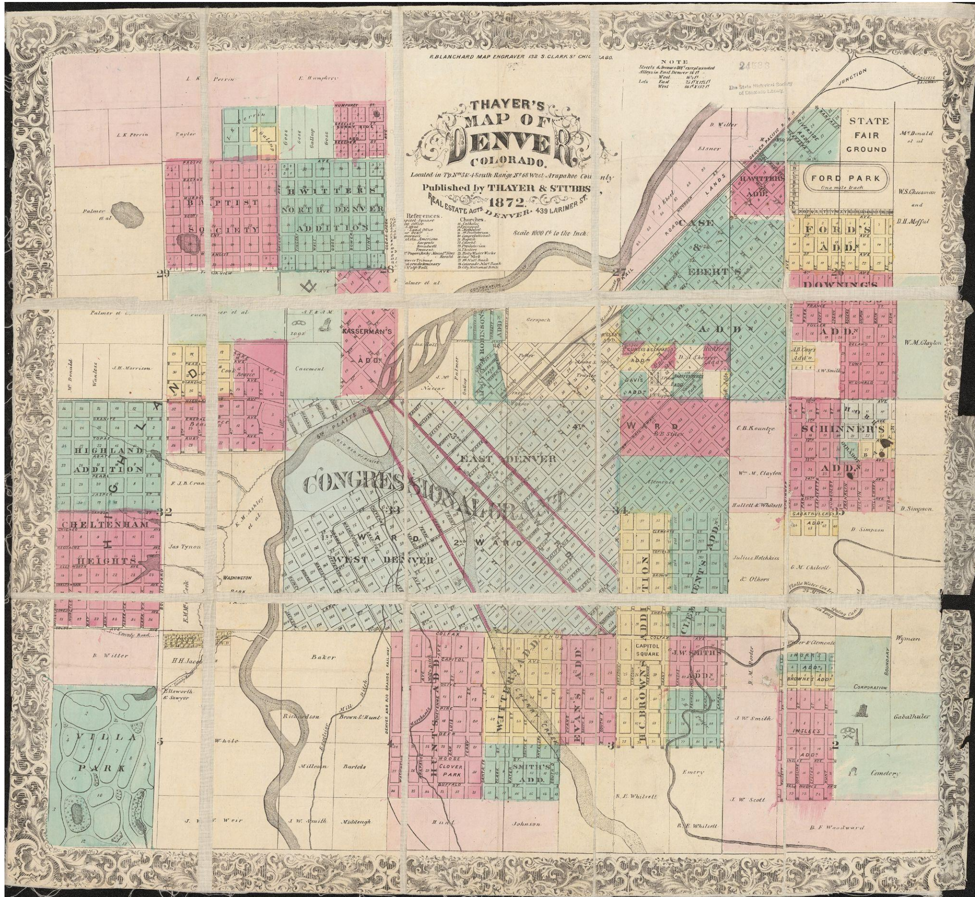


Figure 3. Congressional Land Grant, The State Historical Society of Colorado Library

The making of Denver as a settler colonial city is expressed in the exclusionary practices embodied by white settlers who defend settler imaginaries of the city through the regulation of space. The need for labor to expand railroads and develop the city for incoming settlers seeking gold increased with Denver's first land grant in 1864 (Leonard and Noel, 2016). For instance, the exclusion of Chinese workers through racist prejudice directed towards the Chinese came to a head in 1880, when white settlers organized to terrorize Chinese neighborhoods, resulting in the loss of life and damage to Chinese-owned businesses (Lew-Williams, 2018; Zhu, 2013). Where the congressional grant of 1864 was used to secure space to install a railroad, the Homestead Act of (1862) conditioned the groundwork for the spatialization of white supremacy shown in (Figure 3) of Denver's First Congressional Land Grant. Throughout Denver's history,

exclusionary practices displaced Native, Black, Latinx, Asian, and communities of color time and time again (Page and Ross, 2017). The emergence of redlining, the discriminatory practice known through the systematic denial of lending and state services to racialized communities, is encoded onto space through practices of cartography. Based upon the Homestead Act (1862) that enabled the further partitioning of Denver to individual white men, (Figure 3) visualizes the building blocks of desirable and undesirable spaces that served to shape histories of redlining still felt today. The spatial encoding of exclusion represented in maps is enacted through the ways in white which settlers see the world, regulating space through regimes of property (Morten-Robinson, 2015).

DU played a central role in the settler territorialization of Denver (Schulten, 2001). Beginning with the Colorado seminary building, DU was founded in March of 1864. DU served as an instrumental vehicle for organizing the political conditions of then, Denver City, to permeate a citywide and national consciousness of the Westward frontier. DU was crucial in mediating the economic, legal, and political conditions necessary for Denver to emerge as the 'chosen' city in which to expand the Union (Schulten, 2012; Wadsworth, 2020). Through the industry connections of John Evans, DU served a critical role in advancing the legal, political, and economic logics through the development of the social and physical sciences (DU John Evans Report, 2014). The advancement of knowledge for commodity reproduction and expansion was crucial for securing continued support from the Federal Government and commercial interests (Gibson-Graham, 1997). It was the "anticipation" of new commercial interest that enabled Denver to secure its first land title in May of 1864 (Leonard and Noel, 2016). I argue that settler colonial mapping practices, such as the cadastral survey and the grid

were essential techniques in creating future land claims for colonists to envision both Denver and the function of the settler colonial university (Rose–Redwood, 2008).

Through discourses of modernity and Manifest Destiny, John Evans instituted the foundation of urban settler colonialism in Denver. The settler colonial university was essential for normalizing the frontier, as it normalized the worlding project oriented around the reproduction of conquest and conquest denial (Harney and Moten, 2013). Conquest denial is animated by the ways institutions of knowledge choose to naturalize their presence on Native land, enshrining moves to white innocence through liberal multiculturalism, national infrastructure, and Indigenous erasure (Pulido, 2023). For instance, DU's mascot of the Pioneer embodies the spirit of the institution, naturalizing its role as a vehicle for producing the frontier that served to connect Denver to the U.S. (DU Pioneer Legacy, 2014). Though not officially part of the Land Grab University report which chronicled the legacy of Morrill Act of (1862), DU as an institution of knowledge was instrumental to the settler urbanization process of Denver through the property drawing and mappings afforded by cartographic "preemption" (e.g. *Johnston vs. M'Intosh,* 1823) and the Homestead Act (1862) (Smiley, 1901; Ahtone and Lee, 2021). The Land Grab University Report details the ways in which the Morrill Act served to dispossess Indigenous nations from their lands (Ahtone and Lee, 2021). In envisioning where the Land Grab University Report would go next, McCoy et al. (2021) argue that a focus solely on private property risks reproducing the settler colonial project, calling for a view of land that centers Indigenous relationships to land instead. To date, DU has made strides to account for their role in the Sand Creek Massacre. However, to echo McCoy et al. (2021) and Daigle (2019), DU must recognize that accountability is not the rehearsal of acknowledging an act of genocide, but recognizing the ongoing ways in which DU continues to naturalize colonial imaginaries

through its own embrace of the Pioneer mascot and history of urban settler colonialism. DU must honor the decolonial desires of the Native Denver community.

The making of Denver as a settler colonial city is founded on the imagined fiction of legitimate land claims rooted in colonial property regimes. Where the history of the Columbian Exhibition is widely understood as a historical turning point in the history of Western settler colonial expansion, the construction of Denver was produced in a similar manner through a range of colonial infrastructures of abstraction (Curley, 2021). The mappings of gold mining, railroads, and a university that served as a foundational role in mediating the conditions for colonial expansion and the formal formation of Colorado Territory as an official Union state in 1876 (Tinker and Freeland, 2008). Settler colonial imaginaries continue to permeate the view of the city through discourses of modernity, including through efforts to create a so-called 'smart' city (Mouton and Burns, 2021). From the view of the capitol steps where statues were emplaced to celebrate and memorialize Kit Carson and Christopher Columbus, to the relentless pace of architecture development leading to violent displacement, to the constant air pollution and oil spills from the Fossil Fuel industry, to the banishment of unsheltered-propertyless Native peoples from the city, Native Denver is under constant spatial struggle. [53]

2.5 Towards A Genealogy of Cartographic Refusal from Native Denver

(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver is a call to unsettle imperial geographies from the standpoint of Native Denver. This paper draws from the colonial archive to investigate the colonial entanglements of cartographic practices in regimes of settler colonialism,

[53]Denver unsheltered Native peoples were swept from their camp by Denver Police on September 23, 2021 https://www.denvervoice.org/archive/2021/9/23/sweep-of-4-winds-1

and discusses how a genealogy of cartographic refusal from Native Denver contributes to a (re)mapping of place (Luchessi, 2018; A. Simpson, 2017). A genealogy of cartographic refusal begins with foregrounding place-based Native cartographies in their multiple expressions outside the “epistemological desires” and abstractions of academic thought (A. Simpson, 2017; Rivera, 2023 in press). Native cartographies can take multiple forms, including ancestral, decolonial, and anticolonial forms of mapping (Lucchesi, 2019; Hunt, 2022). I follow Chang (2016), who foregrounds a Kānaka Maoli archive in direct refusal to the colonial archive presented in U.S. classrooms. Chang (2016) asks: what does it mean to know the world? By foregrounding Kānaka Maoli archives, Chang makes visible a historiography from the standpoint of Hawaii. This move to challenge the colonial archive itself, including the maps that produced Hawaii as a military and vacation destination, demonstrates the making of Native resurgence. Likewise, cartographic refusal challenges settler cartographies and asks how Indigenous geographies know the world instead.

Following Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson, a “cartography of refusal” describes a move to begin with Indigenous peoples’ present-day surroundings and everyday actions that enact self-determined Indigenous political orders (A. Simpson, 2014). A cartography of refusal from Native Denver must begin with a refusal of the “epistemological desires" of institutions of knowledge, insisting on the self-determined ways in which Indigenous peoples’ choose to share their stories to the settler world—or not (A. Simpson, 2014; Smiles, 2019). A Native Counter-Cartography might not invoke the map in a Western Cartesian sense (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017). A Native Counter-Cartography insists on the ways in which Indigenous nations choose to tell their stories that run counter to the fiction of “legitimate” land claims and colonial imaginaries advanced through the merging of maps and the Doctrine of Discovery

(Palmer and Korson, 2020; Goeman, 2014). Goeman (2013) describes the power of (re)mapping imperial and colonial geographies through the stories told by Native women. Indeed, such a cartography would be oriented towards the rematriation of Indigenous land and life (Tuck and Yang, 2012; Gray, 2022).

(Re)Mapping is a call to foreground the ways Indigenous peoples know the world from Native Denver. Cartographic refusal is a practice of remembering the everyday remaking of urban space by Indigenous movements. Tiffany King (2019) argues that White cartography did not anticipate Black and Indigenous life, necessitating the techno-production of imaginaries of ‘exterior’ threats to institute the project of settling. Remapping the discourses of “exterior” threats in the earliest formation of the constructions of Colorado Territory from the vantage point of Indigenous geographies demonstrates the ways white settler cartography actively erases Black and Indigenous livingness from the archive and from the future. Such is the importance for apprehending the ways in which Indigenous movements across time choose to reclaim space and time (Simpson, 2017). For instance, Herrera’s (2022) political methodology attuned to the materiality of social movement organizing, *cartographic memory,* demonstrates the ongoing ways in which social movements remake space. *Cartographic memory* is a tool in which to apprehend the multiscalar demands for liberation by social movements, including interconnected local and international demands for self-determination and dignity (Blackwell, 2022). *Cartographic memory* is enacted through a range of archives. Where Herrera (2022) draws from ethnographic records and print media of Chicanx movement organizing, I argue that *cartographic memory* is also expressed in the mapping objects that form spatial media, making visible the ongoing narration of stories of maps across time and space (Massey, 2005). *Cartographic memory* is evident in the ways in which Denver’s capital is retaken by Indigenous

movements while the city sanctions the life and project of Columbus. A genealogy of cartographic refusal begins with remembering Indigenous movement organizing that refuses the spatial empiricism of colonial geographies and imaginaries: a cartographic genealogy oriented in the affirmation of life.

The remaking and rescripting of place across temporal-spatial boundaries is evident in the world-making practices assembled by the Black radical tradition (Eaves, 2017; Robinson, 2000). Through the repurposing of the plot, Roane (2019, 2023) traces the various ways in which Black communities forged spaces of survival, transforming a space and the language of space, once purposed for mastery and dominion, towards a space of Black collective expression. Where the plot was forged out of infrastructures of abstractions through the drawing of property, the plot as a repurposed parcel of land demonstrates "the insurgent cartography" where Black collective social life rearticulated the geographical archive outside of colonial domination (Roane, 2019; Wynter, 2008). The remaking of the plot enacts insurgent *cartographies of refusal*. The spaces in which the remaking is held, such as repurposed land, map the spatial coordinates in Roane's (2023) *Dark Agoras*. I argue that world-making from the plot is a *cartographic refusal,* a fugitive practice intent on world-knowing and world-making by Black collective social life. Where Indigenous nations have been partitioned into reservations within the U.S., the reclaiming of urban space by Black and Indigenous movements in the face of ongoing displacement demonstrates the social-political possibilities of coalitional movements refusing settler colonial cartographies together (Curley et al., 2022; Tomiak, 2023).

World-making, world-knowing, and world-seeing from the vantage point of Native Denver are collective and relational endeavors intent on the self-determination of Indigenous nations everywhere. Where Columbus Day began in Denver in 1907, its defeat as an official state

holiday in the spring of 2020 demonstrates the ongoing success of Indigenous movements throughout the Colorado area to enact their world. The city of Denver for over thirty years served as the site in which Indigenous peoples throughout the region would unite to undo the subjectification and performance of the Columbus Day holiday until its ultimate defeat. However, the logic of dominion, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and possession that Columbus represents continues. *(Re)mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver* asks: how do Indigenous geographies (re)map Denver? As Julie Tomiak (2023) asserts, “Land Back means Cities Back.” Land Back is the Indigenous demand for the return of lands and waters, including the restoration of Indigenous political orders. Urban Indigenous struggles to reclaim the city through their own political orders are spatial practices intent on transforming socio-spatial relations. Indigenous movements in Denver are implementing their own infrastructures oriented in the affirmation of life. From organizing infrastructures of care to attend to the need of the unsheltered (Denver Voice, 2023), to demanding spaces for ceremony, to undoing the settler topographies of Mountains named in honor of John Evans and other colonizers (Mestaa'ėhehe Coalition, 2023), to refusing the continued extraction and poisoning of the earth (Denver Post, 2013), Native Denver dismantles the project of the Columbian Encounter with their own practices. I argue that these claims to space are expressions of Native counter-cartographies—cartographies of refusal that negate the spatial-temporal boundaries of settler colonial cartographies of making, seeing, and knowing the world.

Conclusion

Cartographies of refusal are expressions of Indigenous forms of counter-mapping, enabling a reading of maps and mapping objects outside the ontological and epistemological boundaries begot by Cartesian science. Cartographies of refusal through Indigenous geographies enact everyday practices of Indigenous resurgence, rejecting colonial acknowledgement and recognition. The remaking of spatial archives through cartographic memory emphasizes the materiality and political autonomy of Indigenous movement organizing, demonstrating the political significance of Indigenous relationships to land outside of colonial property regimes. This process makes possible cartographies otherwise, emphasizing cartographies oriented towards the affirmation of life and topographies of hope. Cartographies of refusal reject settler moves to innocence, emphasizing the ways in which Indigenous nations choose to enact the spatialization of Land Back.

This paper contributes to a grounded geohistorical archive of the cartographic practices and maps that shaped the Columbian Encounter and its earliest emplacements on Native land. The enduring legacy of John Evans is evident in the urban settler imaginary of Denver, where the emplacement of colonial architecture and colonial monuments celebrating the genocide of Indigenous peoples continue the normalization of conquest and conquest denial (Byrd, 2014; Moten and Harney, 2013).[54] The cadastral survey and the grid were central to the making of these land grab blueprints. From the construction of DU as an institution of knowledge production that bears the pioneer mascot, to a mountain named in the honor of John Evans (Mt. Evans), to the very roads leading up to the capital door steps where Native bodies were paraded to celebrate colonial domination, the spatialization of urban settler colonialism onto the Denver imaginary is a reflection of the ongoing anti-Indigenous legacy of John Evans and the enduring project of

[54] "Jack Howland" a monument to the Civil War and known "Indian Killer" was toppled by protesters in 2020 during the Movement for Black Lives Protests in Denver, Colorado. https://denverite.com/2017/08/17/colorado-confederate-monuments-sand-creek-massacre/

settler colonialism (John Evans Report, 2014; Dorries et al. 2019). Each of these components are expressions of the everyday ways in which the Doctrine of Discovery continues to animate the present through settler colonial cartographies. Native leaders throughout the Colorado area have long demanded the State of Colorado and DU to rescind their anti-Indigenous orientation, as to create a pathway towards healing and accountability.

La paperson (2017) states in *A Third University is Possible*, that "within the colonial university, there exists a decolonizing education". *(Re)mapping the Colombian Encounter from Native Denver* begins a grounded account in tracing the imagined fiction of "legitimate claims to land" through the unconsented emplacement of regimes of property onto the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute nations (Keenan, 2017). In doing so, I demonstrate the whiteness of cartographic practices and their enduring maintenance of white supremacy and the cultivation of white innocence. Striving towards a genealogy of cartographic refusal in an attempt to follow Curley and Smiths (2020) provocation to geography to center Land Back within the field. The (re)mapping of the Columbian Encounter through Indigenous geographies is already here.

CHAPTER 3
(Re)Mapping Native Denver and the Making of Native Assembled Counter-Cartographies

By Isaac Rivera and Viki Eagle

"American Indians hold their lands— places— as having
the highest possible meaning, and all their statements
are made with this reference point in mind." - Vine Deloria Jr, God is Red, p.74-75

"This is not juxtaposition." - Natalie Diaz, Postcolonial Love Poem, p. 14

Figure 1**.** Installation of The (Re)Mapping Exhibit at Denver University, Museum of Anthropology, Photo by Viki Eagle.

3.1 Introduction

In autumn of 2021, the Native Student Alliance (NSA) at Denver University (DU) prepared for the coming year in a way they've always done, through prayer and joyful optimism in welcoming the next cohort of Native students to the university community. This welcoming and celebration of a new academic school year was different. COVID-19 had ravaged and changed the world, the Denver Native community had just celebrated the successful abolition of Columbus Day as a Colorado state holiday in its place of origin, the movement for Black Lives brought racial consciousness to the national stage. Student organizations from across campus set up their tables in preparation to receive and welcome back new and returning students to the DU campus. For the NSA, their presence was marked with hostility and harassment by the conservative student organization Turning Point. Here, Indigenous women were harassed by the openly racist group, who were asked to move their NSA table three times.[55] Staff and admin who observed the incident were largely silent. Our purpose in beginning with this story is to illustrate the ether in which the (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit was formed, to acknowledge the spatial-history and cultural memory of ongoing Indigenous resistance, to name and chronicle the ways in which settler imaginaries are defended and maintained by white supremacy through institutions of higher education, and to underscore how Indigenous peoples, despite a seemingly impossible terrain, continue to insist on Indigenous *presence*—representing their political orders to place (Vizenor, 2009).

At Denver University (DU), a private university, whose mascot of the pioneer reflects its history as a university implicated in the genocide and dispossession of Indigenous peoples' represents a contemporary site in which to investigate the operations of ongoing settler

[55]Instagram statement by DU Native Student Alliance (NSA) on September 5, 2021.

colonialism in Denver, Colorado and beyond.[56],[57] Elements of this history are chronicled in the DU John Evans Report (2014) which was commissioned by the university to provide an accurate account of the university's history. At the request of the Denver Native Community, including select DU Faculty and staff produced an account intended "to provide a model of accountability, transparency, and transformation of institutions."[58] The report traces the legal and political conditions in which DU was founded, including the role in which founder and former Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, John Evans, presided over the dismantling of treaties between the U.S. Government and the Arapaho, Chyenne, and Ute nations; his direct role in the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado; and recommendations for a series of avenues for implementing institutional accountability. The report revealed:

"*We conclude that John Evans's pattern of neglect of his treaty-negotiating duties, his leadership failures, and his reckless decisionmaking in 1864 combine to clearly demonstrate a significant level of culpability for the Sand Creek Massacre. Evans's actions and influence, more than those of any other political official in Colorado Territory, created the conditions in which the massacre was highly likely*." - John Evans Report, 2014

The enduring legacy of John Evans is evident in the urban imaginary of Denver, where the emplacement of colonial architecture and colonial monuments celebrating the genocide of Indigenous peoples' continue the normalization of conquest and conquest denial (Byrd, 2014; Moten and Harney, 2013).[59] From the construction of DU as an institution of knowledge production that bears the pioneer mascot, to a mountain named in the honor of John Evans (Mt. Evans), to the very roads leading up to the capital door steps where Native bodies were paraded to celebrate colonial domination, the spatialization of urban settler colonialism onto the Denver

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[56] John Evans, founder of Denver University and Northwestern University was instrumental in the Sand Creek Massacre and the dispossession of Indigenous nations throughout the midwest regions. This history is chronicled in the DU John Evans Report (2014).
[57] Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone. Land Grab Universities. High Country News (2020).
[58] John Evans Committee Recommendations (2014:1).
[59] "Jack Howland" a monument to the Civil War and known "Indian Killer" was toppled by protesters in 2020 during the Movement for Black Lives Protests in Denver, Colorado. https://denverite.com/2017/08/17/colorado-confederate-monuments-sand-creek-massacre/

imaginary is a reflection of the ongoing anti-Indigenous legacy of John Evans and the enduring project of settler colonialism (John Evans Report, 2014; Dorries et al. 2019). Native leaders throughout the Colorado area have long demanded the State of Colorado and DU to rescind their anti-Indigenous orientation, as to create a pathway towards healing and accountability. The (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit emerges as a response to the naturalization of settler imaginaries, underscoring Indigenous geographies from Native Denver instead.

The settler imaginary represented in imaginings of the "Western frontier" is etched onto landscapes of the Rocky Mountains. Here, the city of Denver sits as a doorway into the vastness of the 'West', a space rendered for leisure and play, a space manifested in the image of pioneers—producing a settler colonial city on the homelands of the Chyenne, Arapaho, Ute, and over 50 Indigenous nations through ongoing genocide (Bryd, 2011; Dorries et al., 2019). Settler imaginaries emplace Indigenous absence, patriarchy, heteronormativity, and dominion logics onto geography through regimes of property (Blomley, 2003; Bhandar, 2014; Morten-Robinson, 2015). Settler imaginaries are realized in material space through settler regimes of science, organized through the institutionalization and disciplining of knowledge practices to perform, mediate, and maintain settler order (Robinson, 1974; Said, 1981). In Denver and beyond, settler imaginaries are defended by white supremacy's actors through state sanctioned violence made justifiable by settler reason. Though seemingly totalizing in appearance to the registers of the settler world, Indigenous peoples' are still here and always will be.

This paper is inspired by the ways Denver's Indigenous community[60] choose to represent their stories of resistance in the face of open and emboldened white supremacy.[61] From an entangled settler colonial university (Dennison, 2012; la paperson, 2017), we show how Indigenous peoples' are mapping their homelands as they see fit, enacting their decolonial desires rooted in Indigenous lifeways, transforming the colonial order of things (Tuck, 2009). The use of 'mapping' in our sense falls outside the epistemological and ontological capture of Cartesian mapping technologies. We underscore that the curations assembled in the exhibit are expressions of Indigenous resurgence, where the everyday practice of Indigenous knowledge generation proceeds outside the acknowledgement, recognition, and permission of colonial worldviews (L. Simpson, 2016).[62] We investigate the ways in which the assembly of Indigenous art currations in the (Re)Mapping Native Denver Art exhibit map Indigenous geographies and dismantle the power relations encoded onto Native lands by settler technologies themselves.

We note the intervention to the academy by la paperson, who states in *A Third University is Possible*, that "within the colonial university, there exists a decolonizing education" (la paperson, 2017). (Re)Mapping Native Denver is an expression of decolonial education in practice, a space within the colonial university, assembled and curated by the Native DU community, to enact their own decolonial desires. (Re)Mapping Native Denver arose as a public

[60] Denver's Indigenous community is capacious in many respects. We acknowledge the multiple Indigenous community organizations that have fought for generations and inspire the making of this exhibit, including the Colorado American Indian Movement (AIM), Four Winds Indian Council, The Denver Indian Center, The Denver Indian Academy, among many others. We focus primarily with the DU Native community and respected leaders and elders in the Denver metro area.
[61] By 'open' white supremacy, we note the place-specific incidents of comfortable hostility and violence directed towards Indigenous peoples, staff, and faculty at DU and beyond by white students, staff, faculty, and administration. These incidents include, microaggressions, vandalizing of tipis, harassment of Native organizations, and more.
[62] Where Indigenous resistance tends to respond or react to settler colonialism, Indigenous resurgence proceeds to emphasize Indigenous knowledge practices.

education campaign that brings these histories to light and to make visible a 'Denver' that the Native community sees and defends everyday.

We acknowledge that we, a cisgender Chicanx male and as a Lakota wiyan, do not have authority to provide a framework for apprehending the Indigenous geographies that encompass a Native Denver. We enter efforts for Native liberation through our commitments and questioning of what it means to be a good relative and in good relations on the homelands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations. We proceed through what Richa Nagar and Rosbeth Shirazi (2019:240) term *radical vulnerability*, an embodied practice "which seeks to reimagine the temporalities and meanings of knowledge-making partnerships by surrendering to a politics of co-travelling and co-authorship, politics that are accompanied by difficult refusals." Indeed, we humbly asked for guidance to key Indigenous elders, including those who are descendants of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, contributors to the DU John Evans Report (2014), and respected Indigenous leaders, teachers, and artists throughout the Denver Metro area, surrounding the geo-history of Native resistance and what stories needed to be shared at this point in time.[63]

We acknowledge that these asks for guidance are only partial to the breadth of Native memory that exists throughout the Denver metro area and DU in particular. This guidance as well as our own histories and political commitments to Indigenous peoples' self-determination shape the exhibits' intentions and goals, including the assembly of curated artifacts by community members themselves that make visible a Native Denver for all to see. Rather than 'argue' that Indigenous stories are expressions of cartography in both material and im-material ways, we instead proceed to 'show' how Indigenous stories enact Indigenous geographies. This act is a refusal of our own, a *refusal* that intends to reject the abstractions of Western colonial thought (A. Simpson, 2014). As Natile Diaz writes in Post Colonial Love Poem; "this is not

[63] Link to John Evans Report: https://www.du.edu/equity/john-evans-report

juxtaposition;" Native stories are not meant to be abstracted for academic disciplining or settler legibility (A. Simpson, 2014). This paper is representative of our values and commitments to uplifting Indigenous communities.

(Re)Mapping Native Denver was curated as a community space in which to grieve, celebrate, and insist on institutional accountability. Held on campus grounds in the exhibit space of the DU Museum of Anthropology, (Re)Mapping Native Denver stood for three weeks as a site of public-facing political education that chronicled a visual history of Native resistance through a range of visual and digital mediums, including photography, art, cartography, and digital storytelling. Where (Re)Mapping Native Denver is shaped by a capacious ether of locally specific Indigenous histories, the exhibit itself demonstrates political avenues for public facing Native education. For instance, Amy Lonetree (2009) argues that museums can be reassembled to refuse settler colonial imaginaries and histories, to create spaces in which Native peoples' can process legacies of trauma and retell history on their own terms. Where museum exhibits have a long history of Indigenous extraction and dehumanization, Lonetree (2009) reveals the decolonial possibilities of museum practice when led by Indigenous communities. Decolonization is knowledge work oriented in the rescripting of space (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis, 2015).

In the face of generational trauma, Charlotte Coté (2022) demonstrates the reciprocal relationships afforded in creating spaces in which to collectively process histories of colonial violence. A garden, in this case, was used as a site in which to collectively envision a present and future in which Indigenous knowledge can be nourished to promote collective healing. Coté's (2022) approach to generational trauma is embodied throughout the making of the exhibit. It is this spirit of reciprocal decolonial work that shapes (Re)Mapping Native Denver. (Re)Mapping

Native Denver is a space shaped by Indigenous protocols, a space where visual curations were assembled as windows reflecting a Native Denver's past, present and future: the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute nations.

We trace the intentionality and forms of place making enacted by each community curation to demonstrate their significance to the Denver Native community, and to illustrate what the *process* of making Indigenous community curations makes visible (Goeman, 2015).[64] This practice follows what Juan Herrera (2022) terms *cartographic memory*, a method rooted in revealing how social movements produce space. Cartographic Memory is a political methodology attuned to the materiality and spatiality of resistance (Herrera, 2022).[65] We begin our contribution by underscoring the *process* in which Indigenous knowledge holders choose to share their stories of resistance and resurgence. We argue that doing so makes possible a reading of an exhibit and the curations themselves, as much more than a vehicle for political education, but a relational cartographic practice that assembles spaces of liberation, demonstrating responsibilities to kin and 'Indian Country' (Tynan, 2021).[66] We argue that the *process* itself is essential for realizing Indigenous peoples' self-determination in the here and now that rejects the spatialization and power afforded to the settler imaginary (Tuck and Yang, 2014).

We argue that the Indigenous method of *(re)mapping* is integral to the stories shared in the shaping of the (Re)Mapping Exhibit and the making of assembled curations of a Native Denver (Goeman, 2013). We will show how each featured curation participates in the consciousness raising of an Indigenous geography, one which exists outside the boundaries of

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[64] By process, we follow Mishuana Goeman (2015: 71) that the "process of meaning making signifies connections to places, spirits, and conjunctures of life that exceed genealogies of settler power."

[65] Juan Herrera's (2022) political methodology of "cartographic memory" derives from Chicanx and Latinx social movements. We use here more broadly as a methodology attuned to the spatiality of Indigenous resistance.

[66] Writing from an Aboriginal context, Tynan (2021) notes that relationality is responsibility with kin and Country. We emphasize Indian Country to express the North American context as to how Indigenous nations refer to themselves. Where Indian Country emerged as a legal term, Indigenous nations have transformed its meaning.

cartesien cartography and regulation by settler visual regimes. By knowledge holders, we imply Elders and key community leaders known and respected within the Denver Native community at DU and beyond. Lastly, we demonstrate the political significance of community assembled curations that dismantle settler imaginaries of Denver which map a NATIVE Denver—an Indigenous geography that reflects Indigenous land-life relations centered on the rematriation of land and life (Tuck and Yang, 2012; Gray, 2022).

Collectively, the curations and community artifacts assembled for the (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit form the basis of a community archive emergent from Denver's Native community (Hall, 2001).[67] Community archives enact a politics of refusal, one where claims to place are assembled as a counter to hegemonic renderings of place and geo-history (McKittrick, 2021; A. Simpson, 2017; Herrera, 2022). We argue that the curations assembled contribute to an Indigenous community archive of movement organizing, one which follows Indigenous protocols on knowledge generation that enact Native counter-cartographies. Marisa Duarte and Miranda Belarde-Lewis (2015) argue that the decolonization of colonial methods and knowledge practices that condition settler-imagining provides one way to develop alternative knowledge structures. The curations featured in the exhibit are expressions of the active ways in which Indigenous communities choose to create spaces for Indigenous ontologies (Duarte and Belarde-Lewis, 2015). These curations take multiple forms and are expressed through a range of Indigenous methods in order to demonstrate the spatial and political significance of Indigenous mapping practices.

We center the Indigenous feminist methodology of *(re)mapping*, an Indigenous spatial practice that "unsettles imperial and colonial geographies" (Goeman, 2013: 23). Mishuana

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[67] We follow scholars who argue that "community archives" present a tool in which to counter hegemonic constructions of truth and history.

Goeman (2013) foregrounds the process of remapping to disrupt settler imposed imaginaries of place and history by centering the voices of Native women to retell spatial histories rendered as absent and foreclosed of Indigenous relations and claims to space. Indigenous spatial practices disrupt the everyday entrenchment, performance, and normalization of settler imaginaries, making visible Indigenous political orders that reflect Indigenous law emergent from lands and waters, ancestors, elders, women, and two-spirit peoples (Iralu, 2022; Daigle, 2019). Native art in itself is an expression of Indigenous political orders (Stark, 2016).

(Re)Mapping Native Denver is situated within a tradition of Indigenous counter-mapping, a tradition intent on naming the historical and institutional actors, and knowledge practices implicated in the spatialization of white supremacy, underscoring the importance of knowing Denver from the vantage point of Indigenous geographies (Goeman, 2013; Iralu, 2022; Deloria Jr, 2003, Said, 1981). Vine Deloria Jr encouraged the importance of Indigenous spatiality, insisting on the ways Indigenous knowledge refuses the abstractions of Western colonial thought (Deloria Jr, 2003). Indigenous refusal is an embodied spatial stance against settler colonial abstractions of spatial knowledge, a tradition of liberatory resistance intent on spatializing Indigenous nationhood (A. Simpson, 2014). We draw upon this tradition to make visible Indigenous responsibilities to their kin within the Denver urban imaginary, a critical historiography of Indian Country and the long struggle for Indigenous peoples' self-determination of which there is little scholarship connecting Denver's historical importance to global Indigenous resistance and resurgence.

(Re)Mapping in our context builds upon Goeman (2013), Iralu (2021) and Deloria Jr (2003) to reject all settler imaginings of Denver, to insist on Indigenous knowledge practices on their own terms and according to their unique place-based formations. In this sense, we bridge

scholarship in Indigenous studies with urban geography and critical cartography, demonstrating the ways Indigenous curations map Indigenous geographies through the power of stories. Following Trujillo's conception of Native story power (2019:1), "stories precede and outlive their arrest and parchments of paper. Stories subvert the documents that certify the impulse to destroy. Stories disintegrate the pages written in defense of land." Indeed, Native story power in the context of (Re)Mapping Native Denver is grounded in the insurgent lifeways of the Denver Native community (Trujillo, 2019). The mapping practices represented in (Re)Mapping Native Denver tether between visual projections of Denver Indigenous history and spatial expressions of Indigenous relations through image, art, and digital cartography. Together, the curations form a constellation of Cheyenne and Arapaho counter-cartographies.

We organize this paper into three sections. The introduction section details the political context in which (Re)Mapping Native Denver first emerged, detailing the political context and historical context in which the exhibit emerged. In section two, (Re)Mapping Native Denver as Spatial Truth Telling, we introduce the exhibits' aims, intentions, and methods. We detail our process in following Indigenous Protocols and Indigenous methodologies to describe the assembly of each curation and their significance to consciousness raising through *cartographic memory*, a *(re)mapping* of Denver that emphasizes the ways in which Native spatial-imaginaries are deployed and inscribed with meaning. Thereafter, we demonstrate how each of the exhibits' curations map a Native Denver on the terms of Indigenous peoples', the mapping of an Indigenous urban geography. Lastly, we conclude with how we envision the political possibilities of Native spatial-imaginaries in the face of emboldened white supremacy, and how this exhibit contributes to the making of Indigenous assembled counter-cartographies.

3.2 (Re)Mapping as Spatial Truth Telling

(Re)Mapping Native Denver began with consulting elders and community members. We asked: How can we honor the inter-generational struggle for Indigenous peoples' at DU? How can we uplift and celebrate the Native community amidst ongoing struggle, Indigenous erasure, and rampant white supremacy? In what way can we honor Native elders and the Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples whose lands DU and this exhibit sit on? Will this exhibit bring a sense of community and reciprocity to the DU student community? Are the relations that are being made in the process being cared for? Our intent with the exhibit is to honor the DU Native community and beyond, both past, present, and future. We do so to continue the tradition of Denver Native resistance and resurgence that Indigenous elders and youth live everyday (Simpson, 2017; Nagar, 2013).

Indigenous Protocols as Method

We follow Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang's (2014) approach to Indigenous methodologies that foreground respect, reciprocity, relationality, and responsibility. The 'Four R's' guide our approach to honoring the stories that are shared, including through oral consulting on the meaning of each curation with respected elders, to the physical mounting and presentation of each curation, to how this work strives to remain in a spirit of reciprocity with the DU Native Community and the broader Denver Indigenous community. We strive to practice the anticolonial lifeway of humility, good relations, and reciprocity within the making of the exhibit and the afterlife of *cartographic memory* the exhibit holds for the generations to come. We strive to honor what Michelle Rahjea (2015) terms, *visual sovereignty*, a political demand intent on honoring the visual politics that arise in the visual circulation of Indigenous representations.

Visual sovereignty derives from an insistence on Indigenous self-determined representations across visual mediums, such as film and the image, that express the importance of curator and participant participation and negotiation. We draw upon the term to underscore the importance between visual image negotiation by those represented in the curations as to honor their self-determination and to refuse the white liberal gaze which violently abstracts Indigenous visual representations outside their consent (Rivera et al. 2022; Ta´´ıwo, 2022).

Under the consultation and guidance of Native elders, DU-Native students, and respected Native community members, we approached the formation of the exhibit in the ongoing shadow of the COVID-19 pandemic, a white lash given the consciousness raising moment by the movement for Black lives, and the aftermath of the successful abolition of Columbus Day. There is a tremendous amount of history that shapes Denver and Denver Native resistance and resurgence more broadly. Amidst so much history, trauma, and resistance, we strived to assemble an exhibit that would honor the DU-Native community with what they needed most. We follow Eve Tuck (2009), who reminds scholars to center the desires of Native communities and to refuse damage-centered narratives that so often pathologize and essentialize Native history.[68] With the assistance of the DU Anthropology Museum staff and Native community members, (Re)Mapping Native Denver was co-assembled alongside community members to host a range of Indigenous curations and through a range of visual and digital mediums. We present each curation below, including the methods used to shape them.

[68] We note that Tuck (2009) has been misused in academic settings by white academics. At the heart of Tuck (2009) in our view is a move to insist on actually *listening* to what Native communities are demanding.

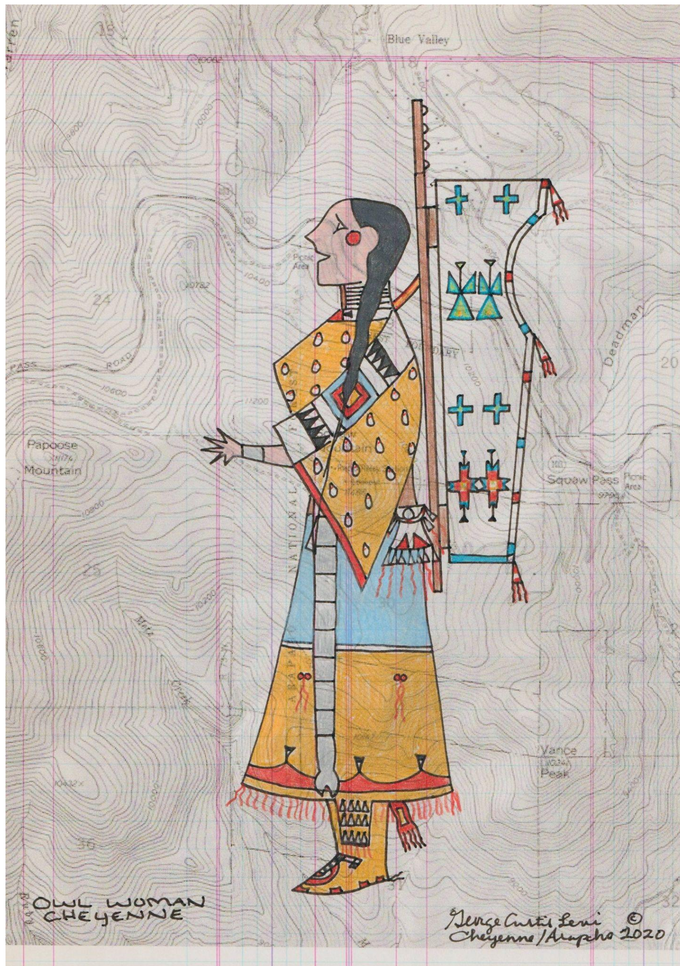

Figure 2, Owl Woman by George Levi

Figure 3, The Cheyenne Chief by George Levi

George Levi is of the Southern Band of the Cheyenne people, Southern Arapaho, Oglala Lakota, and a descendant of the Sand Creek Massacre. Levi's leger art is commonly overlaid over cartographic topo maps of Colorado, including the Owl Woman painting (Figure 2) that centers the Cheyenne women to all spaces representing the Cheyenne nation.[69] Each color and design hold their own stories in the Cheyenne worldview. With permission, we underscore the importance of centering Native Women when we discuss Cheyenne landscapes and lifeways. Here, Native Women show the way forward at the front of their families. Where the coordinates behind the Native woman have been renamed by colonial techniques that honor genocide, such Mountains named in honor of John Evans (Mt. Evans), this curation by Levi makes visible the stories at the heart of the Cheyenne people. In centering the Native woman, Levi (re)maps the

[69] Leger Art is a common practice among Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples, who repurposed it from settlers to tell their own stories in their own way. Leger art is very common among Plains Indians.

coordinates of settler colonial imaginaries of Colorado. This process is expressed by Robin Gray (2022) who writes, "in rematriation, you use the laws of the source nation. It's the source nations call." When we think of Denver, Levi invites viewers' to (re)imagine Denver the way the Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples see it, to see the Native Denver that he and his ancestors see and who continue to practice their culture and lifeways. Levi centers the Cheyenne Woman as "they show us the way."[70]

The Cheyenne are Sun peoples who continue to live and defend the stories and lifeways that surround 'Denver'. Figure three represents the enduring strength of the Cheyenne peoples despite acts of genocide directed towards them during the 1864 Sandcreek Masacare and ongoing technologies of removal, such as colonial histories and colonial property regimes that script the settler imaginary onto Denver's geography, rendering Indigenous worlds as out of place (Deloria, 2014). Overlaid over the Platte River and the city of Denver, Levi illustrates the ongoing history of Indigenous resistance in Denver, Colorado. Levi emphasizes the importance of intergenerational storytelling and the role that the youth and elders play in mappings of place. Levi engages leger art as a medium to teach both settlers and other Native peoples' surrounding the history of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. We argue that Levi's art is a practice of Indigenous mapping, a practice rooted in Indigenous forms of storytelling that express Native spatial imaginings. In this case: Cheyenne and Arapaho spatial imaginaries of Denver.

[70] Oral interview with George Levi on October 10, 2022.

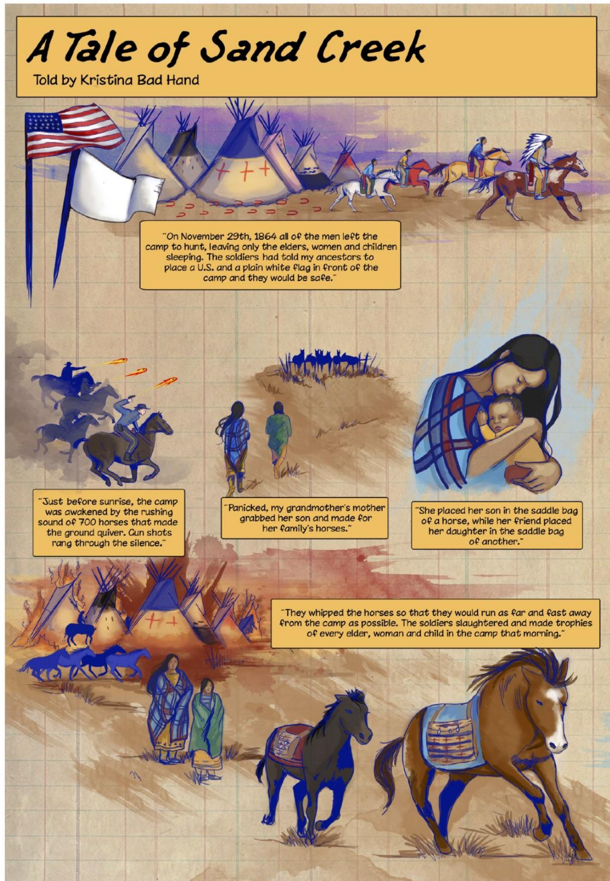

Figure 4, A Tale of Sand Creek by Kristina Bad Hand

A Tale of Sand Creek was a story directly shared from Denver elder Virginia All Runner, a direct descendant of the Sand Creek Massacre to Kristina Bad Hand. This piece is intended to be used as a teaching medium to invite viewers to focus on hope, reminding the settler world they are still here. All Runner wanted to emphasize the lessons of hope that she learned through stories from her Cheyenne and Arapaho elders. Further, as chronicled in the John Evans Report (2014), DU as an institution is directly implicated in the genocide of her peoples. The story of DU as a "pioneering" institution of higher education continues to animate and sustain colonial histories and imaginaries, continuing a legacy that Bad Hand and All Runner are attempting to make visible through their own stories in the form of art. Kristina Bad Hand and Virginia All

Runner demonstrate the power of retelling spatial histories on the terms of Indigenous peoples'. Here, two generations of Indigenous women retell the history of the Sand Creek Massacre through art that illustrates the enduring strength and resilience of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people.

More than a medium for advancing political education in a space built and implicated in Indigenous genocide, "A Tale of Sand Creek" demonstates a politics of Indigenous refusal. From illustrating intergenerational imaginaries of Native peoples' love for their children and homelands, to naming those responsible, Bad Hand maps her ancestors' story to demand that this history is never forgotten and to bring those responsible to account for their acts. We argue that this map echoes Luchessi (2022), who traces Indigenous cartographic practices, such as ancestral, decolonial, and anticolonial mapping. We show how Bad Hand is participating in a practice of Indigenous ancestral mapping, a decolonial practice made for raising consciousness and demonstrating the active making of Indigenous futurity. This lesson plan has been adopted in the Denver Indian Academy curriculum, where Native youth can see and hear this story, continuing their ancestors' calls for restitution and accountability.

Figure 5, Community Photo Reel, Photo by DU Communications

The community photo reel chronicles the history of Indigenous resistance and resurgence through community submitted photography from 2010-present. Photos were submitted by Native community members and non-Native supporters and projected onto the South facing wall of the exhibit. The photos encompass a range of significant moments for the Denver Native community and the broader interconnected struggle for Indigenous peoples' self-determination everywhere. Photographs from the Four Directions March, Columbus Day protests, NoDAPL (Dakota Access Pipeline), Idle No More, MMIWG2S (Missing Murdered Indigenous Women), Keystone XL, and more were submitted.[71] Each of these events hold tremendous amounts of Denver Indigenous history that we do not detail. We reference these geo-historic events because they shape the

[71] Denver Native Organizations such as Four Winds American Indian Council, American Indian Movement (AIM) of Colorado, Denver Indian Center, The Transform Columbus Day Alliance, Servicios De La Raza, and others were instrumental at every step in enacting Denver Native Resistance throughout this period. This tradition continues to this day.

conditions that surround the exhibit and making of Native Denver itself. We also reference these events to honor the contributors themselves, as many are long time community members of the Native community who continue to lead their communities with humility and strength. These events also shape our own experiences, as these events played a profound role in our growth as community members, students, and relatives, dedicated to Indigenous liberation. We situate each of the images within an Indigenous geographical context to demonstrate the social relations of Indigenous movements' and their socio-political significance to the Denver Native community.

We show that the photos submitted by community members represent an Indigenous politics of refusal rooted in the spatialization of Indigenous nationhood that settler technologies render as urban, settled, and non-Indigenous (A. Simpson, 2017). Not 'nationhood' in the form of Western conceptions of bordered communities, but 'nationhood' through an Indigenous framework that reads the non-human, land, water, as relative (Maynard and Simpson, 2022). Each of the images submitted capture moments of Indigenous resistance and resurgence long shaped by generations of struggle. Each image reveals Indigenous demands including, honoring the earth, honoring elders and ancestors, demanding that Indigenous rights and treaties be honored, and demanding that colonial infrastructures, such as pipelines and prisons be dismantled. Each act of reclaiming space is an act of ceremony, a material process intent on consciousness raising and the remaking of space (Wilson, 2009; Gilmore, 2017). Indigenous ceremonial practices and Indigenous knowledge in the broadest sense, has long been criminalized by the settler state, making these events of struggle and the way Native peoples choose to proceed as unapologetically Native, as acts of Indigenous refusal (Barker, 2021; L.Simpson, 2014). We argue that the photos submitted by community members form the basis of

community assembled archives that illustrate everyday forms of placemaking by the Denver Native community.

Katherine McKittrick (2016) poetically reminds us that "geography—in its various formations is integral to social struggles." By geography, we emphasize the unique spatial relationships between Indigenous communities across generations of struggle, youth and Elder, a practice committed to honoring Indigenous protocols that rejects Western conceptions of temporality and place (Fanon, 1964; Dagle, 2019; Deloria and Lyttle, 1998). Each photo in (Figure 5) captures particular moments in space-time, where Indigenous movements actively reclaim space through their own ceremonial practices. Where Indigenous ceremonial practices continue to be criminalized, Indigenous resurgence insists on proceeding in a manner that honors Indigenous protocols anyway—where Native communities enact Indigenous geographies. Indigenous geography helps us apprehend the social struggles over space and memory, enabling a reading of Indigenous resurgence outside the epistemological and ontological capture of settler imaginaries.

We draw upon a range of visual methods in order to apprehend their material and conceptual claims to space. For instance, photo-documentation is used to chronicle material reality, where photos are used to apprehend significant cultural and political moments across space-time (Rose, 2016). In this case, photo-documentation is captured by community members across a period of ten years. Additionally, we note that the use of submitted photographs in the exhibit echoes scholarship on the social life of images, as these photos take new cultural and political meaning when featured within a university exhibit (Cosgrove, 2008; Lonetree, 2012). As a visual-cartographic archive of collective activism, Juan Herrera (2022) argues that social movements are active participants in the production of place.

We foreground *cartographic memory* and *(re)mapping* as a methodology intended to reveal the ways activists' produce cartographies through their social relations of which exist at multiple spatial-temporal scales. This relational process of placemaking geo-graphs Indigenous geographies onto space through a range of Indigenous mapping practices. We draw upon these methods to demonstrate the multiple forms of place making enacted in moments of struggle and to demonstrate the social political life of images on the terms of Indigenous peoples. Where some of the images shared have been published in newspapers and local media outlets that chronicled the specific event, often without consent, (Re)Mapping Native Denver served as a venue to retell that history on the terms of Indigenous peoples. As an archive of Denver Native community resurgence, we hope that younger generations will see themselves as active participants in the making of history, to see the strength and courage of their aunties, Native leaders, and the proud tradition of Indigenous resistance in Denver, Colorado and beyond.

Portraits of Native Strength

Figure 5. Portraits of Native Student Alliance by Viki Eagle

As a DU Native Alumni, former director of community outreach, and ongoing mentor to Native students, Viki Eagle uses photography as a medium to tell the stories of Native People.[72] At DU, Native students, staff, and faculty are actively creating spaces that affirm Indigenous communities through practices of care. Curated by Viki Eagle, Portraits of Native Voices captures the pride, joy, and the strength of radical honesty from Native students (Nagar and Shirazi, 2019). Located in front of the portraits lies a booklet that documents the journey's of each of the students' portraits through photo-voice. Each portrait had a paragraph written by Native Student's that would be read by incoming Native students, non-Native students, staff,

[72] https://www.vikieagle.com/

faculty, and administrators that shared the honest experiences of Native students in a textual format. The portraits represent a counter spatial-imaginary, one where Native spatial imaginaries centered on joy and pride disrupt the settler gaze (Tuck, 2009).

Where settler imaginaries expressed through institutions of education play a constant reminder of colonial domination, DU Native students, staff, and faculty, are actively assembling spaces in which to celebrate each other, and nurture each other through kinship that extends beyond graduation and the university. The portraits of the Native Student Alliance (NSA) served as a key contribution to the (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit. Rather than be subjected to institutional violence, Eagle centered the lifeways of Native students through photography, to demonstrate the ways in which Native students make the Native community proud, and to make their presence felt across campus and Denver surroundings. This follows Tuck (2009), where the desires of Native students set on institutional accountability and restitution are done on their own terms. Viki's portraits of Native youth captures the pride and joy of Native students.

We present this curation featuring the portraits of Native students, who are now alumni and leaders in their community as an expression of Indigenous refusal. Indigenous refusal in this case is demonstrated through a rejection of settler imaginaries, emphasizing instead a deep commitment to relationality and reciprocity between students, staff, faculty, and the Denver Native community at large (Tynan, 2021). These relational bonds are made evident with time, as students turned alumni come back to tell their stories of making community, inviting new students into a proud tradition. (Re)Mapping Native Denver stood as a site where Native students could express their thoughts, aspirations, and see themselves within the proud tradition of Indigenous resistance at DU.

Digital Cartography

Figure 6, Native Denver Story Map by Isaac Rivera

We utilize digital cartography as a medium in which to spatially weave the vast geo-history of Indigenous resistance in Denver.[73] By spatial weavings, we draw upon Simpson's framing of *constellations of co-resistance*, to conceptualize the history of relationships over the span of generations in order to realize decolonization (L. Simpson, 2017, p. 215). This process is expressed in the emplaced images of Indigenous movement organizing, where Indigenous responsibilities to their human and non-human kin are made evident. We highlight historical conjunctures of Indigenous resistance, honoring Native ancestors and nonhuman and human kin who made the contemporary moment possible, including NoDAPL (Dakota Access Pipeline), Keystone XL, Idle No More, Abolish the Camps, MMIW, Four Directions March, and more. Decolonial struggle in (Re)Mapping Native Denver intersects with Black, Latinx, and other

[73] Link to Story Map

racialized groups in their fights against settler colonial rule (Daigle and Ramierez, 2019; Tynan, 2021). Through the digital story map, we illustrate the multiscalar political demands for Indigenous self-determination, connecting local and international struggles for honoring Indigenous self-determination everywhere.

Digital cartography in our case was enrolled to chronicle the history of Indigenous peoples' resistance in Denver, Colorado. Hosted on the platform known as Story Map, the map highlights key curations centered in the exhibit, such as Native art and the Community Photo Reel. The digital map was built to provide an interactive experience of the exhibit through the use of iPads, providing additional details surrounding the construction of settler imaginaries and resistance by Denver's Indigenous community. Through the interactive story map, viewers experience a new found appreciation of various spaces in Denver that they may have taken for granted. Featured images of Indigenous resistance were emplaced onto the cartographic canvas, revealing how the capitol steps and colonial architecture at the Denver capital are contested sites where Native resistance and resurgence continues. As an assembly of curations that span generations and mediums, we demonstrate how (Re)Mapping Native Denver is an example of a Native Assembled Counter-Cartography.

3.3 Native Assembled Counter-Cartographies

Counter-Cartography has long been deployed as a vehicle for realizing self-determined futures by social movements across place and difference (Anti-Eviction Project, 2021).
Counter-mapping as a practice arose as a project to refuse hegemonic settler-colonial imaginings of place. From decentering colonial state bordering apparatuses and institutional knowledge authorities, to disrupting capitalist social relations such as extractive and carceral economies on

Indigenous lands, counter-mapping practices have transformed the boundaries of cartographic expression, reconfiguring cartographic expertise and hegemonic renderings of place (Walia, 2021; Elwood, 2006; De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018; Rose-Redwood et al., 2021). Critical geographers have argued that 'maps' are more than static artifacts that exist as spatial-temporal containers of 'truth', arguing that mapping practices outside institutional authority enact a politics of refusal, a worlding of space and place that makes visible epistemologies and ontologies marked as 'other' (Harley, 1992; Daigle and Rameriz, 2019; McKittrick, 2014; Elwood 2006). For Indigenous self-determination movements, counter-mapping practices configured a tool for embarking in public facing education on the enduring impacts of ongoing settler colonialism on Indigenous lands and peoples. This includes the public campaign to address the violent abstractions of settler-colonial imaginaries and their erasures of Indigenous political orders, to (re)assembling mapping practices that spatialize Indigenous nationhood outside and inside cartesien modes of representation (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017; King, 2019). The reassembly of colonial instruments is a product of the long history of resistance that continues to reimagine the anticolonial potentials of maps and mapping technologies for realizing liberatory geographies (Fanon, 1964; LaDuke and Cowen, 2021).

Counter-mapping practices, however, have faced limitations in where its potentials can succeed given ever moving liberal multicultural regimes that co-opt, discipline, and rearrange colonial-state governance for Indigenous nations seeking self-determination on their own terms (Coulthard, 2014; Hunt and Stevenson, 2017; Wainwright and Bryan, 2012). Elspeth Iralu (2021) argues that counter-mapping practices always risk co-optation, as counter-mapping itself engages in colonial cartographic practices and platforms such as Google and ESRI who have a monopoly on cartographic applications. The reinscription of colonial imaginaries by colonial devices serves

as a contradiction and paradox that decolonial movements navigate, yet the work of cartographic reassembly and mapping continues (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017). For instance, the Mestaa'ehehe Coalition, a coalition of respected leaders from the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations and allied groups have lobbied the State of Colorado to remove place names bearing the name of John Evans', such as Mt. Evans (Mestaa'ehehe Coalition, 2022). This process of reassessing the role and power of place naming has inspired conversations and consciousness raising on the enduring legacy of colonialism, while also revealing the limits of Indigenous 'spatial inclusion' within a colonial apparatus of Western topography (Coulthard, 2014). Where counter-mapping efforts have inspired Indigenous nations and global anticolonial self-determination movements, maps are powerless without grounded reciprocal relations and the social movements that inspire their making.

Despite the limitations and contradictions of counter-mapping practices that use Western modes of representation to emplace counter-hegemonic imaginaries, we acknowledge their history and utility for advancing critical consciousness through public facing education. We underscore that Native mapping practices predate Western modes of cartography, which offer lessons for apprehending the role of Native assembled curations in the (Re)Mapping Native Exhibit. Native mapping practices are assembled on the terms of Indigenous peoples' and expressed through a range of cartographic mediums, such as wood carvings, stone graphings, songs, paintings, and ceremonies, representing Native spatial imaginings (Luchcesi, 2018; Cruz, 2021). Annita Lucchesi (2018) disrupts the colonial myth that Indigenous cartographic knowledge needed Western science to become legible, arguing that the chronicling of Indigenous nationhood by Indigenous peoples' exists outside the regime of colonial-state borders. Indigenous cartographers attentive to space, territory, and cultural memory, have long engaged in

mapping practices that reflect and honor practices centered on Indigenous knowledge generation. For instance, the mapping practice of ancestral mapping demonstrates the "deployment of cartographic mediums gifted by ancestors in order to continue Indigenous relationships to land" (Lucchesi, 2018: 13). Lucchesi (2018) argues that ancestral mapping, in its many mediums and cartographic expressions across distinct Indigenous nations are intended to serve as teaching devices that reflect reciprocal engagements with lands, and as navigation devices that situate Indigenous geographies.

3.4 Mapping Otherwise and The Assembly of Native Spatial Imaginaries

Feminist Indigenous mapping practices move beyond the limits and entanglements of counter-mapping (Iralu, 2021), (re)generating Indigenous spatial grammars that remake mapping mediums and the spatialities they express on the terms of Indigenous peoples' (Goeman, 2014). We follow Lucchesi (2018) and Librion (2021) among other Indigenous geographers who argue that Indigenous spatial practices must be situated within the broader lexicon of Indigenous knowledge resurgence, insisting on Indigenous modes of knowledge generation outside performative measures of institutional inclusion.[74] Where settler colonial grammars render Indigenous political orders out of place, Indigenous spatial grammars demonstrate the plurality of Indigenous knowledge generation that are unique to Indigenous nations through processes that honor Indigenous place specific land-life relations. Indigenous spatial grammars are rooted in Native Story Power intent on insurgent forms of transforming space according to how Indigenous geographies know Land.[75]

[74] We follow Max Librion (2021) who argues that decolonization requires much more than equity and inclusion of Indigenous methods or Indigenous peoples' within curricular or institutional efforts for ongoing harms.
[75] Land is intentionally capitalized to signal its own spatial order outside of colonial possession (Librion, 2021).

Mapping otherwise Indigenous spatial imaginaries is necessarily relational and rooted in the practice of kinship with human and non-human relatives, demanding that Indigenous protocols are honored in the making of Indigenous curtations (Mayamard and Simpson, 2021; Kimmmer, 2015; Lonetree, 2012). We contend that the curations assembled in the (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit enact a rescripting of place—a rescripting of Denver that rejects settler-colonial imaginaries of place and the colonial knowledge practices that sustain them (Coulthard, 2012). We show how (Re)Mapping Native Denver engages in the spatialization Indigenous political orders through the practice of Indigenous mapping, which are represented through a range of cartographic and non-cartographic mediums.

More than a community art exhibit that stood as a site of public facing education, (Re)Mapping Native Denver demonstrates the relational politics that arise in the assembly of Indigenous curations and always in the *process* of 'mapping' otherwise (Goeman, 2015). The curations by George Levi and Kristina Badhand demonstrate the Indigenous practice of ancestral mapping, which honors generational knowledge sharing that reflects Cheyene and Arapaho epistemologies and ontologies of place.[76] This process transforms spaces once rendered as conquered or massacard, towards spaces of healing and liberation through the active reclamation of land and history by Indigenous nations (Coté, 2022). Each of Levi's pieces center Cheyenne women, representing Cheyenne protocols that map the (re)matriation of Land and Life (Tuck and Yang, 2012; Gray, 2022).

Each of the Native curators reject the settler gaze that commodifies and renders their artistic mediums as "folklore" or "cultural artifacts" of a past world that settlers argue no longer exists. The portraits of Native youth by Viki Eagle demonstrate the political necessity of representing images of Indigenous strength and Indigenous joy. The community photo reel of

[76] We draw from Lucchesi (2018) on ancestral mapping practices that enact decolonial cartographies.

submitted photographs by the Denver Native community over the past ten years chronicles the numerous sites and spaces of Indigenous resistance across time and space. We emplaced these photos onto a digital interactive map of Denver to make visible the spatio-temporalities of Indigenous resistance. Together, each curation reflects a Native spatial imaginary—forming an assembly of Indigenous maps that no technology can break.

Indigenous resurgence begins with a refusal of colonial regimes of acknowledgement and recognition (Coulthard, 2014). The formation of Indigenous cartographies outside the epistemological and ontological boundaries of settler colonial cartographies and imaginaries is not a response to ongoing settler colonialism. Indigenous geographies have always been and always will be. As Goeman (2015:71) reminds us, "Native storytellers make land become alive by imparting an anticolonial knowledge that travels and connects to other knowledge systems." (Re)Mapping Native Denver is an expression of Native storytelling.

We show how Native Denver makes Indigenous geographies visible through their everyday practice of Indigenous political orders. The (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit is an expression of Indigenous political orders, one where the relational assembly of Native assembled curations honors Indigenous protocols. We argue that each curation featured in the (Re)Mapping Native Denver Exhibit enacts a **counterpoint** in which Denver's Native community chooses to share their stories on their own terms (Anti-Eviction Project, 2021). These **counterpoints** rooted in the *cartographic memory* of Denver's Indigenous communities make visible Native-counter-cartographies.

3.5 Conclusion

On September 16, 2021 community members gathered for the formal launch of (Re)Mapping Native Denver. There was joyous laughter in the hallways at the entrance of the exhibit. Current students, alumni, elders, university admin, and community members gathered for the launch event. It had been 18 months before the pandemic changed the world and for many guests the first time they had seen each other for several years. After the opening ceremony, we overheard Native elders discussing their memories of the occupation at the Denver Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in 1972 with other elders who were also present for this historic moment in Indigenous resurgence. We overheard chatter surrounding memories of NoDAPL, Idle No More, Keystone XL, the Abolition of Columbus Day, and more. In seeing elders light up with excitement and seeing Native student alumni remark on their accomplishments as a collective to insist on the unapologetic presence of Native peoples' on campus, we felt a sense of relief and newfound energy in seeing Native peoples' coming together. Towards the end of the evening in front of the Community Photo Reel, Sicangu Lakota Elder and Indigenous community leader, Sid Whiting Jr., remarked, "Wow, we've been through a lot haven't we?" We learned on this day that this exhibit was much more than a gallery of Indigenous artifacts, curations, and stories of resistance. (Re)mapping Native Denver was a site of *cartographic memory* where Native stories (re)mapped settler cartographies. Through a range of visual mediums, transforming not just visual imaginings of Denver through Indigenous mapping practices, but a transformation in our collective consciousness.

Tessa McLean (Pinaymootang First Nation & Lake St. Martin First Nation), a Native Denver Community member, reminded us of the long struggle for Indigenous peoples' self-determination. McLean reminds us that the work to undo settler colonialism is a lifetime

endeavor, sometimes it takes a lifetime or longer to realize structural change.[77] Where the exhibit has run its course, the efforts to hold institutions of knowledge accountable for their ongoing role in Indigenous peoples' dispossession continues. Indigenous staff, students, and faculty continue on with renewed hope, reminding us that there's a new generation ready to continue the work. Upon learning from elders and youth about the impact of the exhibit, we felt an immense weight lifting from our shoulders. Part of being in community and understanding the long road to liberation is understanding that we are not alone. We are thankful to the youth who reminded us of the need to take breaks while we continue on in collective struggle.

The (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit is a project rooted in relationality, one where the process of assembling Indigenous curations invokes a spirit of reciprocity and responsibility alongside curators and Indigenous community leaders. We illustrate how (Re)Mapping Native Denver is much more than an art exhibit and site of public facing education. (Re)Mapping Native Denver serves as an active expression of Indigenous assembled counter-cartography. We reject the binary of classical cartography vs. Indigenous mappings in the form of art: Indigenous curations are expressions of Indigenous legal geographies, one which follows Indigenous political orders led by women, elders, and two spirit peoples.

This exhibit follows la paperson (2017), who states "within the colonizing university also exists a decolonization education." In our case, (Re)Mapping Native Denver is an expression of a decolonial education, where we demonstrate the active spatialization of Indigenous geographies in Denver, Colorado by Denver's Indigenous communities themselves, underscoring the decolonial process of public curations as vehicles of Indigenous mapping. Where these mappings are only 'partial' to the vast history of Denver's Indigenous resistance, we strive to honor the generations of Indigenous community members, students, and alumni, who shape and defend

[77] Interview September 2021.

Native Denver through everyday practices of resurgence. We intend to continue to serve in ways we are asked by the Denver Native community.

CHAPTER 4
UNDOING SETTLER IMAGINARIES: (RE)IMAGINING DIGITAL KNOWLEDGE POLITICS

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If we are committed to anticolonial thought, our starting point must be one of disobedient relationality that always questions, and thus is not beholden to, normative academic logics.
 - Katherine McKittrick (2021:45)

Science happens on Land.
-Max Liboiron (2021:46)

4.1 Introduction

In this paper, I bridge scholars who engage with the construction of geographical imaginaries through scholarship in digital geographies and anticolonialism (Bergmann and Lally, 2021; Maynard and Simpson, 2022; Gieseking, 2019). I do so to trace how the entanglement of digital-visual knowledge practices in settler colonialism condition geographical imaginaries, yet never wholly determine them due to ongoing resistance by decolonial and anticolonial movements. I will argue that anticolonial and decolonial spatial practices *undo* settler imaginaries through the transformation of the digital and digital geographer, which in turn redirects the practice of digital geography towards life affirming ends. Doing so follows Max Liboiron's (2021) call that anticolonialism stands against colonial knowledge that reifies colonial land relations, a spatial *refusal* that redirects disciplinary knowledge towards accountability and restitution. I illustrate how the visual and digital intersect to animate and maintain settler imaginaries given the entanglement of the geographical imaginary in settler colonialism, and how Indigenous refusal as an anticolonial spatial practice rejects colonial knowledge practices enrolled in the unconsented emplacement of settler imaginaries. Settler colonialism's ongoing

contemporary impacts require attention to the ways digital and visual knowledge regimes reinforce each other.

As I will argue, anticolonial *refusal* politics encompass numerous embodied spatial stances against ongoing settler colonialism and racial capitalism, which Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson describes through 'constellations of coresistance' across multiple place-based struggles (L. Simpson, 2017). Daigle and Ramírez (2019) contend that *refusal* enacts liberation, a process that requires a relational praxis for making freedom (Daigle and Ramírez, 2019; Tynan, 2021; Herrera, 2022). Indigenous refusal as a spatial stance arises from unique place-based Indigenous political orders[78] and relations emergent from place (Coulthard and Simpson, 2016; Coulthard, 2010). For Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson, Indigenous refusal involves the everyday insistence by Indigenous peoples' that Indigenous nationhood remains in direct opposition to the operations of the settler state that relies on the removal and dispossession of Indigenous lands and bodies (A. Simpson, 2014). Not 'nationhood' in the form of Western conceptions of bordered territories, but 'nationhood' through an Indigenous framework that reads the non-human, land, water, as relative (Maynard and Simpson, 2022). Robyn Maynard and Leanne Simpson (2022) argue that the refusal of settler colonialism must foreground relational imaginings of Black and Indigenous reclamations to lands and futures. This paper foregrounds Indigenous refusal as a spatial practice that follows Eve Tuck and Marcia McKenzie's call to action that "refusal is not just 'no,' but a redirection to ideas otherwise" (Tuck and McKenzie, 2014).

[78] By 'political orders,' I follow Michele Daigle (2019b:298) who states that political orders reflect "principles and kinship structures such as clanship systems which center the leadership roles of women, Elders, youth, queer, trans and two-spirited peoples as wells as non-human kin, and which become the basis of Indigenous forms of authority and governance.

The plurality of anticolonial spatial practices requires geographic heterogeneity that acknowledges the vast anticolonial and decolonial geographies deployed by liberatory movements across time and space (Escobar, 2018; Lowe, 2015; Maynard and Simpson, 2022; Fanon, 2008). This task is planetary, necessitating that institutions of knowledge account for the afterlives of colonial practices long held intact by Western knowledge systems (Said, 2012; Gopal, 2021). By anticolonialism, I follow Anita Lucchesi's Indigenous cartographic practice that emerges from Indigenous cartographers who "actively respond and resist colonialism" by "mapping the way home" (Lucchesi, 2018: 16-19). Lucchesi (2018) makes clear that Indigenous cartographers have long mapped their homelands. Indigenous cartographic practices are unique to the political orders of Indigenous nations. Anticolonial and decolonial cartographic practices enact counter-spatializations of settler imaginings through Indigenous modes of resurgence, such as language regeneration and ancestral mapping (Lucchesi, 2018; Hunt and Stevenson, 2017). By decolonization, I again follow Lucchesi and other decolonial scholars who make clear the material ways in which decolonial mapping practices move 'beyond' colonial fixtures of violence, dispossession, and trauma, to insist instead on the spatialization of Indigenous land-life relations (Lucchesi, 2018; De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018).

Despite the breadth of debates in digital geographies, the field continues to be dominated by white scholars. This gap threatens to reproduce epistemic and ontological violence that fails to contend with the unconsented emplacement of colonial knowledge on Indigenous lands. I organize this paper with the intent of bridging anticolonial scholarship in digital geographies that forms "place-based constellations in theory and practice," as to insist that Black and Indigenous spatial imaginaries and practices are essential for envisioning liberatory geographies (Roane, 2023; Simpson, 2017b; Gilmore, 2017). As Andrew Curley et al. (2022) argue, "Black and

Indigenous scholarship and struggles are not antagonistic," necessitating the spatial refusals of white academic structures that strip Blackness from indigeneity and Black liberation from Land (Maynard and Simpson, 2022). The foregrounding of Black and Indigenous spatial practices in digital geographies is not an ask for inclusion. Black, Indigenous, and people of color do not need the academy; institutional authorities need them for their legitimacy (Coulthard, 2014; Peña, 2022). Liboiron (2021a) argues that colonial practices "require access to Indigenous lands and the replacement of Indigenous ways of knowing and living," demanding that colonial knowledge practices be apprehended for their multiscalar impacts on land and peoples. This follows what philosopher Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò (2022) calls *elite capture*, where the core demands of self-determination movements are stripped of their political demands and liberatory potentials. As Geography works to account for its whiteness, it must refuse what Michelle Daigle (2019a) calls "the spectacle of reconciliation," where white liberal calls for justice fall on performative gestures towards inclusion without material-emancipatory commitment, depoliticizing Indigenous-settler relations that again relegate Indigenous peoples' to the past.

Settler imaginaries concern the judicial and political technologies that organize 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' expressions of social life through regimes of property, which script white supremacy and colonial social relations onto geography (Bhandar, 2018; Dorries et al., 2019b; Harris, 1993; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Settler imaginaries emplace settler sociospatial relations via practices and discourses of exclusion that regulate the geographical imaginary (King, 2019; Rifkin, 2017; Byrd, 2011). Settler imaginaries are realized in material space through settler science regimes, organized through the institutionalization and disciplining of knowledge practices to perform, mediate, and maintain colonial order (Robinson, 2000). From constructing the dominion logics behind the enclosure of worlds (Newcomb, 2008;

Moreton-Robinson, 2015), to designing the architectural blueprints of settler colonial cities to reify and entrench property relations (Dorries et al., 2019a; Blomley, 2004; Porter and Yiftachel, 2019), the entangled practice of geography in settler colonialism continues to condition the boundaries of geographical practice and destroy reciprocal land-life relations (Curley and Smith, 2020).

The entangled colonial practice of geographical knowledge in settler colonialism is evident in the influential report on Land Grab Universities, which demonstrates the multiscalar politics in which institutions of higher education are implicated in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands (Lee and Ahtone, 2020). Following Fred Moten and Stefano Harney's foundational call to understand the function of the neoliberal university and the practice of Black fugitivity, I trace the role of visual and digital knowledge practices that facilitate institutions of knowledge in the reproduction of conquest denial and Indigenous peoples' dispossession (Moten and Harney, 2013:41). For geographers, the Bowman Exhibitions demonstrates a historical case, among many others, in which institutions of knowledge have actively produced and enrolled geographical knowledge for U.S. statecraft (Wainwright, 2012). More recently, the development and mass interest of Indigenous language platforms by non-Native peoples and their resulting misuse of data demonstrates the ongoing possessionary logic that settler knowledge instills, renewing calls for Indigenous data sovereignty on the terms of Indigenous communities (Morten-Robinson, 2015; Lee Brewer, 2022). As many have labored in geography to make visible the ongoing weaponization of geographical knowledge to facilitate settler social relations and dispossession (Liboiron, 2021b; Lucchesi, 2019; Bryan and Wood, 2015), I argue that settler imaginaries are maintained by digital and visual knowledge regimes. Against this backdrop, I will argue that the anticolonial spatial practice of *Indigenous refusal* dismantles settler

imaginaries, redirecting all scholarship to contend with the emplacement of its practices on Indigenous lands (see, Liboiron, 2021b).

Within geography, scholarship in tracing the politics, operations, and impacts of the geographical imagination have long directed geography's engagement with the production of space and place to consider the implications of space-time, scale, and the sociotechnical on the geoimagination (Gregory, 1994; Gieseking, 2017a; Harvey, 2010). Such engagement has expanded into the sites and spaces in which technology shapes sociospatial relations and the production of geoimaginaries (Ash et al., 2018; Kitchin and Dodge, 2011; Elwood and Leszczynski, 2013; Elwood and Leszczynski, 2018; Rose, 2016a). This includes the multiscaler impacts in which the visual aesthetics of anticolonial movements' demands for self-determination have been co-opted, criminalized, and depoliticized by the mediated ways in which visual and digital artifacts are circulated, accumulated, and regulated by state apparatuses (Barker, 2022; Summers, 2019; Mattern, 2021).

Digital geographies' have generated language for apprehending myriad implications of digital technologies on society, including multiscaler and heterogeneous impacts on spatialities, geopolitics, subjectivities, cultures, economies, and knowledge politics (Ash et al., 2018). Digital geographers have traced the epistemological and ontological underpinnings that shape the relationship between technology and space, including its colonial and carceral features that continue to shape digital-visual regimes and sociospatial relations (Ash, 2017; Jefferson, 2020; Schuurman, 2006; Rose-Redwood et al., 2020; Harley, 1992). This includes the vast terrain of scholarship in which space and technology coalesce to assemble meaning, ideology, place, and the boundaries of the geographic itself (León and Rosen, 2020; Zook and Graham, 2007a; McElroy, 2020; McKittrick and Woods, 2007; McKittrick, 2006).

GIScience and digital geographies has long investigated technology's role in the production of space and sociospatial relations (Sheppard, 2005; Cope and Elwood, 2009; Palmer and Rundstrom, 2013). From its cartographic expressions in the form of critical cartography and GIS, to its circulations in the form of GIS as media, to critical data and media studies, the intersection of the digital and geovisual has deepened the disciplinary breadth of human geography (Wilson, 2017; Zook and Graham, 2007b; Sui and Zhao, 2015; Gieseking, 2017b). For instance, human geography's engagement with how digitality facilitates spatial hegemony is of urgent concern for understanding the role of the digital in the regulation and production of space (Thatcher et al., 2016; McElroy, 2020). This includes scholarship on the 'localness of search results', the regulation of borders and knowledge, to scholarship in critical cartography long engaged in the ways cartesian representations situated in political economy render space-time for empire (Amoore, 2006; Ballatore et al., 2017; González, 2019; Leszczynski, 2015; Safransky, 2019; Zook, 2007). And yet, as feminist scholars have shown, "hegemonies are not totalities" (Lawson and Elwood, 2017; Massey, 2005).

I organize this paper into three core themes including, colonial entanglements of visual and digital geographic knowledge, reimagining digital knowledge politics, and undoing settler imaginaries. In section two, I trace scholarship on how settler-colonial imaginaries are woven into digital-visual knowledge practices that express the ways in which geographical imaginaries are rendered in material space. In section three, I demonstrate how anticolonial movements engage in a politics of *refusal* that reflects the active reimagining and disassembling of colonial knowledge on their own terms. Section three discusses the implications of *refusal* politics in dismantling colonial knowledge regimes. A focus on geographies of Indigenous refusal and resurgence enables apprehending how global efforts for Indigenous peoples' self-determination

refuse spatial hegemonies at multiple scales (Daigle, 2016; Goeman, 2014; Simpson, 2017a). Section four, Undoing Settler Imaginaries, traces the ongoing disassembly and dismantling of settler imaginaries by anticolonial and decolonial movements themselves. I will show how the undoing of colonial entanglements is evident in the place-based relationalities made visible by anticolonial world-making movements led by Black and Indigenous women (Iralu, 2021; McKittrick, 2021; TallBear, 2016). As Eve Tuck & Wayne Yang contend: “decolonization is not a metaphor,” but a political project that requires the rematriation of Indigenous land and life (Gray, 2022; Tuck and Yang, 2012).

4.2 The Colonial Entanglement of Visual-Digital Geographic Knowledge

Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle of geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, and forms, about images and imaginings.
- Edward Said (2012:7)

Digital geographies’ is a product of the culmination of debates in critical cartography and GIS, visual culture, media studies, critical data studies, and other shared fields that engage the ways in which the digital shapes the conditions under which geographical knowledge is produced (Ash et al., 2018: 27). I focus on the co-constitution of visual and digital knowledge practices in mediating geographical imaginaries. I argue that geographical imaginaries are entangled in regimes of settler colonialism, which in turn shape the spatial practices, discourses, and visual-digital knowledge regimes that assemble settler imaginaries and shape sociospatial relations. Settler imaginaries emplace Indigenous absence, patriarchy, and dominion-property logics onto lands and peoples through settler practices of exclusion and dispossession (Byrd, 2011). Settler colonialism, as Audra Simpson asserts operates as “an analytic, as a social

formation, as an attitude, as an imaginary, as something that names and helps others to name what happened and is still happening in spaces seized away from people, in ongoing projects to mask that seizure while attending to capital accumulation under another name"(Simpson, 2016: 440). I situate digital geographic knowledge in settler colonialism and follow anti/de-colonial scholars of Indigenous, Black, and Latinx traditions who demonstrate the necessity of apprehending the spatial implications of colonial power in the pursuit of freedom. Where settler regimes condition geographical imaginaries, they do not determine them (Rivera et al., 2022). Anticolonial movements have long reassembled colonial technologies for their own use (Fanon, 1994; Benjamin, 2019).

The destruction of Indigenous political orders is a central feature of settler knowledge regimes (Deloria and Lytle, 1998; Coulthard and Simpson, 2016). For instance, Cole Harris's influential article, "How did Colonialism Dispossess," chronicles the intersecting role of maps, law, and property that English colonial forces used to rationalize and scale dispossession (Harris, 2004). Digital practices proliferate under the same colonial regimes that echo enlightenment era techniques of conquest. Settler colonialism is evident in the ways cartography and digital geography have encoded spaces that reify the imaginings of settler colonialism onto geography through the continued violent abstraction of the world by cartesian science (Harley, 1992; King, 2019; Kitchin and Dodge, 2011). Such encodings continue to proceed through the circulation of visual media by monopoly platforms that animate racist and sexist representations in the form of spatial media across digital platforms and devices (Rose, 2016b; Noble, 2016; Lucchesi, 2020). Through the rise of algorithmic digital platforms, settler enclosures facilitate coloniality through the encoding of settler toponyms, filtered place-based geocoded content on search engine results that erase Indigenous presence through the regulation of cartographic space, the surveillance and

distortion of liberation movements' digital communication devices, and more (Palmer and Korson, 2020; Luque-Ayala and Neves Maia, 2019). Settler colonialism as a system built to eliminate Native presence continues through multiple co-constituted and intersecting visual and digital mediums, including the GIS, geoweb, and photovisual platforms such as social media and information platforms.

The entanglement of digital practices in the form of cartography is demonstrated in Western modes of surveying and classifying the world, including through instruments such as the cadastral survey and the grid (Harris, 2004; Blomley, 2003; Jefferson, 2020). The enlightenment era that forged cartographic reason produced the rationale behind the subjectification of entire lands and peoples under European epistemologies and ontologies (Duarte, 2016; Pickles, 1994). European cartography produced the conditions for judicial rationale for conquest and ongoing dispossession (Pickles, 2004; Palmer, 2020). Digital geographers informed by debates in critical cartography and GIS have raised urgent questions that hit at the origins of geographic knowledge production, including scholarship that investigates the ways technology shapes sociospatial relations and impacts for how geography is shaped, imagined, and experienced (Ash et al., 2018). This includes the development of language for apprehending the political economic logics of digital artifacts and devices (Zook, 2007); the racialized and sexualized images and spaces on search engines (Noble, 2016); the role of techno monopoly platforms in shaping urban inequality (McElroy, 2019); to regulating urban space through the enrollment of digital technologies for speculative finance that automates housing and policing through algorithmic practices (Safransky, 2019; Jefferson, 2018; Fields, 2019); and more.

Scholars in Indigenous, Black, Latinx, feminist, and settler-colonial studies have long chronicled the ways in which surveillance, mapping, media, and computational technologies are

implicated in the capture, distortion, and criminalization of liberation movements (Browne, 2015; Fanon, 1994; González, 2019; Hall, 1981; Crosby and Monaghan, 2018). These practices take many forms, including through the regulation of Black liberation movements' in Attica, Ferguson, Minneapolis, and Denver, among other global sites of resistance, to surveillance regimes deployed onto Indigenous lands rendering water and land protectors as criminals at the NoDAPL and Line 3 resistance camps, to the deputizing of white property bearing citizens to regulate Black, Latinx, and Asian neighborhoods through state sanctioned surveillance apps (Camp, 2016; Estes, 2019; Jefferson, 2017). The regulation of liberation movements and minoritized spaces rendered as capital frontier zones reflects the colonial entanglement of geographical knowledge. News media are a form of geographical knowledge that reflect colonial state craft, including border regulation that enrolls digital technologies to proliferate and perform border imaginaries, and subjectivities (Amoore, 2018; Jones, 2014; Sui and Zhao, 2015). Cedric J Robinson calls this logic of regulating the social relations of Black liberation movements in the name of state security "the terms of order" (Robinson, 1980). Indeed, the pursuit for knowledge through the development of technology and digitality did not evolve into its current instituted, networked, and racialized form for knowledge's sake but rather was always oriented to crush liberation movements across difference and geography (R. Gilmore and C. Gilmore, 2013; Jefferson, 2020).

Geography's contributions to language built for apprehending the appendages of power/knowledge that shape and perform geographical imaginaries of settler colonialism demonstrates the importance of visuality in producing geographical knowledge (Gregory, 1994; Rose, 2003; Crampton, 2009; McKittrick and Woods, 2007). This includes scholarship on the politics of representation and the production of racialization used to secure and maintain

geographic imaginaries of heteronormativity and white supremacy (Hall, 1981; Summers, 2019). In visual form, settler imaginaries represent the normative 'common sense' of seeing and possessing the world through what Aileen Morton-Robinson terms the 'the white possessive,' which illustrates the enclosing-material operations of settler imaginaries through visual property regimes (Moreton-Robinson, 2007). Visual property regimes condition possessive ways of seeing, including through what Elspeth Iralu (2020) calls the 'aerial perspective', which organizes a militarized viewpoint of space and sociospatial relations. Settler imaginaries condition the visual and ways of seeing to solicit imaginaries of discovery that foster the enclosure of Indigenous worlds through what Cheryl Harris terms 'whiteness as property' (Harris, 1993). George Lipsitz argues that white spatial imaginaries shape the production of space, demonstrating the ways racial capitalism underpins spatial subjectivities through race and racism (Lipsitz, 2011). The controlling and possessing of the visual along lines of representation has contributed to language for apprehending the ways in which the whiteness of disciplinary practice facilitates in the intentional misrecognition of sovereignty and self-determination for Black, Indigenous, and peoples of color (Coulthard, 2014; Raheja, 2015; Táíwò, 2022; Melamed, 2011). For instance, the settler colonial imaginary of *terra nullius* demonstrates the white possessive features of visual regimes enrolled in the spatialization of white supremacy, capturing through the violent abstraction of land and non-human worlds (Moreton-Robinson, 2007).

Tracing the impacts of ongoing settler colonialism requires examining both visual and digital knowledge regimes in tandem. Settler imaginaries emerge from the whiteness of disciplinary frameworks that shape knowledge production, including their epistemic silences and violence's (Byrd, 2014; Pulido, 2002; Bruno and Faiver-Serna, 2022). Sarah Elwood and Agnieska Leszczynski document how the whiteness of digital studies threatens to reproduce

epistemic violence, demanding theorization grounded in emancipatory politics from the communities that shape them (Elwood and Leszczynski, 2018). Yaqui scholar, Marrisa Duarte in *Network Sovereignty* traces the multiscalar politics of technology and their impacts for Indigenous communities, demanding inquiry to understand "the conditions in which technology first emerged" (2017: 28). Duarte (2017) locates the production of racial science within the enlightenment project as to locate and apprehend how the emergence of the categorization of lands and peoples under colonial frameworks of science first encoded racial differentiation onto peoples and spaces as information attributes that form the basis of data. The inputs for spatial data shaped by racial science continue to be felt and scaled for new regimes of accumulation. The digital knowledge regime operates across multiple scales of computation, shaping the artifacts and spaces rendered as geo-visual representations of place (Rose and Willis, 2019; Zook and Graham, 2007; Graham and Dittus, 2022). For instance, the mass mediated spectacle of sexist and racist visual images of Black and Indigenous resistance throughout digital information and social media platforms demonstrates the white patriarchal logics implicated in digital knowledge practices (Noble, 2016; Barker, 2022). The violent hyper abstraction represented through forms of digitally mediated spectacle reflects the situatedness of settler colonialism in digital-visual knowledge practices.

Together, the entanglement of visual and digital knowledge politics in ongoing settler colonialism operate to define and regulate 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' expressions of social political life. Legitimate expressions of social political life are represented through notions of property personhood, which are organized to ensure white comfortability and continued circulation of property relations (Lawson et. al, 2023). Illegitimate expressions of social political life are rendered as threats to security, such as the presence of unsheltered peoples, anticolonial

movements for freedom and self-determination, and peoples who express themselves outside of white heteronormativity (Russell, 2020; Rivera et al., 2022). Such definitions and regulations continue to shape the frameworks in which the digital and visual co-constitute geographic imaginaries implicated in shaping disciplinary GIScience programs and institutional geographic knowledge production (Wilson, 2017; Wainwright, 2016; Sheppard and Tyner, 2016; Jefferson, 2020). For instance, Brian Jordan Jefferson's chronicling of the history of GIScience demonstrates the ongoing impacts of geospatial programs enrolled in facilitating state sanctioned violence, one that implicates institutions of education in the reification of technological instruments geared towards racial governance (Jefferson, 2020). Jefferson (2020) argues that the entanglement of institutions of knowledge enrolled in racial state craft require a multi-scalar approach to abolition attendant to the multiple spaces in which digital geographic information takes place.

This section traced the instrumental role that visual and digital knowledge regimes have in shaping geographical imaginaries that maintain and privilege settler imaginaries in geographic thought. By chronicling scholarship on how settler imaginaries are realized in material space through settler knowledge regimes, I echo calls from decolonial and anticolonial scholars to remain steadfast to the ways geographical knowledge is used and applied. Scholarship in anticolonial and decolonial thought redirects digital geographies towards accountable knowledge practices, tracing the extractive practices and discourses embedded in digital-visual knowledge practices, which serve as a site in which to apprehend geography's entanglements and emancipatory potentials.

4.3 (Re)Imagining Digital Knowledge Politics

How do our disciplines, pedagogical norms and research methods benefit from access to Indigenous land, life and knowledge? Max Liboiron (2021:876)

Anticolonial frameworks arise from place-based relationships across heterogeneous landscapes, requiring humility across research and pedagogical approaches to geographic knowledge generation. Anticolonial movements continue to refuse Eurocentric framings of humanness and the settler imaginaries of colonial abstraction and possession that drive them (Fanon, 2008; Coulthard, 2010). Black and Indigenous spatial practices disrupt the algorithmic practice of racial science and its enclosures at multiple scales, beginning with the configuration of place (Coulthard and Simpson, 2016; McKittrick, 2014; Gilmore, 2002). The process of envisioning liberatory worlds begins with place, a 'place' that Glen Coulthard (2010) states as the site of knowing and resistance for Indigenous peoples'. As Max Liboiron argues, "science always happens within land relations and those relations are specific to place" (Liboiron, 2021b: 46). What would it mean to approach the practice of mapping and data science, both qualitative, quantitative, and mixed, through the anticolonial stance of *humility*?[79]

As many decolonial and anticolonial scholars have stated, there can be no liberation without epistemic justice (Tuck and Yang, 2012; Fanon, 2008). Foregrounding Indigenous modes of refusal in digital geographies directs the field to contend with its whiteness and ongoing colonial entanglements. Both methodology and ethics are crucial in digital geographic research. The ethics of questions of who can ask and from where concern foundational questions in digital geographies (Elwood and Leszczynski, 2018). Liboiron (2021b) contends that sometimes the anticolonial move is a "direct stop" and saying no to the institutional demand for more knowledge. Mathew Wilson argues towards this magnitude in responsibility by underscoring that

[79] See clearlab.org for examples of anticolonial geo-science research.

“digital geographies demand more from us, to provoke new understandings, new collectives, and there are risks involved” (Wilson, 2018: 15). Indeed, what does it mean for the ‘earth writing’ discipline to seriously contend with its emplacement on Indigenous Lands (Curley and Smith, 2020); how might Indigenous refusal redirect digital knowledge practices, and ‘where’ might this process begin? I follow Sarah de Leeuw and Sarah Hunt (2019) who argue that decolonization ought to begin by foregrounding Indigenous spatial practices on the terms of Indigenous peoples’, a relational process rooted in practices of accountability and restitution.

Scholarship in Indigenous data sovereignty offers important lessons for digital geographers. Native scholars in Indigenous data sovereignty demonstrate the necessity to read and understand data practices outside Cartesian genealogies that reproduce inequality and erase Indigenous political orders (Duarte et al., 2019). For instance, the decolonial methodology of storywork as a data practice enables apprehending the geo-imaginary of place-based story outside the violent abstraction of digital practices (Smith, 2021; Archibald, 2008). Where data as Duarte et al. (2019) argue “of course data cannot represent all reality,” decolonial feminist methodologies centering on relationality open the possibility for imagining data outside property, objects, and possessionary artifacts for capital accumulation. Indigenous data sovereignty insists on Indigenous modes of knowledge that adhere to Indigenous protocols (Duarte, 2021). A geography of Indigenous data sovereignty offers a multiscalar approach to reimagining, redirecting the practice of digital geographies towards desire centered futures shaped by Indigenous nations.

The Indigenous methodology of Storywork is an anticolonial spatial practice (Archibald, 2008). Storywork through oral practices exists outside the violence of unconsented visual-digital abstractions. For example, Zapotec geographer, Kiado Cruz (2020) argues that mapping is an

oral practice, one which derives from Elders and ancestors, who teach their peoples geo-histories of place that form the land-life bonds of *comunidades* (community). Cruz (2020) describes oral mapping as another form to record a moment that accompanies multiple Zapotec mapping practices, both oral and otherwise. For digital geographers, the questions and methods insisted upon by Indigenous cartographies (re)direct digital knowledge politics by refusing Western epistemologies and ontologies. This includes urgent attention to the ways digital and geo-visual theorizations and practices approach and participate in the mass digitization of Black and Indigenous cultural artifacts (Rose, 2016). Their becomings into spatial media, digital artifacts, and objects, through the mass digitization of the world, culture, and place, often without formal or prior consent require anticolonial modes of doing digital geographies.

Despite the entanglement of digital technologies in regimes of settler colonialism, Indigenous communities are building frameworks dedicated to Indigenous resurgence. For instance, the works by Jennifer Wemigwans (2018) on building a "digital bundle" demonstrate the possibility of Indigenous led initiatives that actively reassemble the digital for Indigenous nation building and reciprocal land-life relations. The digital bundle is a site of digital Indigenous knowledge, one in which is exemplary of Indigenous teachings hosted in a digital space.[80] Wemigwans (2018) demonstrates how Indigenous digital curations can elevate cultural protocols and cultural responsibilities that honor Indigenous nationhood. This process reflects the making of digital Indigenous epistemologies, a framework of geographical knowledge that advances Indigenous knowledge resurgence the medium of the digital. Wemigwans' conception of the "digital bundle" assembles Native spatial imaginaries through the medium of the geoweb, reimagining political avenues for Indigenous knowledge generation.

[80] As part of Wemigwans (2018) study, Wemigwans developed the website FourDirectionsTeachings.com as an example of a digital bundle.

Anticolonial refusal frameworks redirect digital knowledge politics by foregrounding their own sociopolitical grammars, deploying both digital-visual and non-digital-visual Black and Indigenous spatial practices (Browne, 2012; Goeman, 2011; Wynter, 2013). Refusing the regime of the visual has been essential to anticolonial movements, demanding visual-digital knowledge practices shaped by liberation movements' themselves (Hunt and Stevenson, 2017; Tazzioli, 2015). Migrant pathways for freedom, for instance, have long refused the visual practice of cartography, insisting instead on non-cartographic mappings in the form of oral, sonic, and celestial mappings (Casas-Cortés and Cobarrubias, 2007; Tazzioli, 2014). Indigenous protocols make it clear that Indigenous knowledge is not intended for academic disciplining, including the spaces and sites where such knowledge emerges from (Tuck and Yang, 2014; Daigle and Sundberg, 2017). This means that not all spaces, sites, and knowledges ought to be digitized or transformed into a datafied attribute or visual artifact or made visible to the academy or broader public as an object of study (De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018; Lucchesi, 2019). Indigenous nations must decide for themselves, requiring that their methods and protocols be respected. Institutions of knowledge ought to affirm such practices of research and conduct. Anticolonial refusal frameworks therefore demand new genealogies of digital knowledge practices, such as genealogies that begin with land-life relations and protocols built on accountability (Fujikane, 2021).

From Native feminist spatial practices to Black methodologies insistent on affirming Black joy and Black livingness, Black and Indigenous refusal frameworks redirect digital knowledge politics towards methodologies curated for liberatory and life affirming ends (King, 2019; McKittrick, 2021; Iralu, 2021; Goeman, 2011). Legacy Russell argues that *refusal* politics generate digital ruptures between the "recognized and recognizable", assembling "fantastic

landscapes of possibility" (Russell, 2020: 28). Russell (2020) demonstrates the political possibilities of Black queer trans politics that refuse to conform to digital systems that read Black transness as error. Eve Tuck in writing to scholars and researchers doing work alongside Native communities urges the centering of 'desire centered frameworks' and a refusal of damage centered frameworks, placing the questions of research and representation on the terms of Indigenous communities themselves (Tuck, 2009). Such a turn in digital geographies through a 'desire centered framework' conditions the undoing of settler imaginaries at multiple scales, including institutional questioning of the production of digital geographic knowledge that faces and reckons with settler colonialism as an ongoing structure of power and knowledge (De Leeuw & Hunt, 2018). For instance, Goeman (2009) demonstrates the importance of foregrounding 'desire-based maps' that reflect the terms, values, and protocols of Indigenous peoples' in mapping their lands, relations, and knowledges. Desire based frameworks emerge from placed based Indigenous political orders that map Indigenous geographies. Desire based digital practices redirect the values, norms, discourses, and onto-politics of digital knowledge outside of settler colonialism's abstractions and distortions. This process insists on land-life curations that form the foundation of community-derived archives that map presence, social relations, memory, and freedom in the here and now.

The mass accumulation of Black and Indigenous cultural artifacts through practices of digitization and visualization raises urgent ethical questions for digital geographers, particularly given the ongoing racial violence and dispossession facilitated through digital technologies (Luccessi, 2019; Byrd et al., 2018; Rose, 2018). For instance, Brandi Summers traces the spatial aesthetics of blackness in Washington, DC that coalesces with capital to emplace visualizations of Black culture on urban landscapes, while dispossessing Black peoples from place (Summers,

2019). The accumulation of Black aesthetics purposed for depoliticizing and distorting demands for liberation demonstrates the multiscalar operations of settler colonialism and racial capitalism, and the necessity for communities to define their own terms of representation and liberation (Táíwò, 2022; Summers, 2019). Within Indigenous communities, Lucchesi (2019) traces the mass interest in Indigenous knowledge within GIScience that assumes data collection to be a neutral process, particularly geographical imaginaries centered on Indigenous trauma. The assumptions of knowledge accumulation as a natural, neutral, and needed process outside of Indigenous protocols continue to foster research frontiers dedicated to the reproduction and reification of Indigenous brokenness (Lucchesi, 2019). This follows the long history of knowledge accumulation and weaponization that rejects the terms of representation and demands for freedom by the communities themselves (Bryan and Wood, 2015).

(Re)imagining Digital Knowledge Politics requires the active *undoing* of settler imaginaries on the terms of Black, Indigenous, and peoples of color. From questions of methodology to research practices, to calls to un-settle institutional authorities and entangled knowledge creation, anticolonial spatial practices (re)direct research and theorization in digital geographies towards a life affirming practice (King, 2018; De Leeuw & Hunt, 2018). These political possibilities have long been in the making, particularly through demands for decolonization of the map and shifts from accounting for deficit and violence to insisting on research practices centered on thrivance, abundance, and desire (Fujikane, 2021; Elwood, 2021; Rose-Redwood et al., 2021; Tuck, 2009). This turn to acknowledging the limits of academic theorization and from where must not end with questions of the co-constitution of digital material methods and the multiscaler impacts of digitality on land and peoples. The demand for materials to sustain digital infrastructures of all forms fall on Indigenous land (Valdivia, 2022).

This process must insist on accountable relationships to the communities and lands from where knowledge emerges. For instance, decolonial feminism centered on relationality demands accountable and responsive research methods and pedagogies to digital and visual methodologies (Duarte et al. 2020). Anticolonial frameworks (re)direct digital knowledge politics by shifting disciplinary frameworks towards relationship building within the spaces and communities where knowledge creation takes place.

4.4 Undoing Settler Imaginaries

Undoing the physical and conceptual orderings of border imperialism requires a fundamental reorientation of ourselves, our movements, and our communities to think and act with intentionality, creativity, militancy, humility, and above all, a deep sense of responsibility and reciprocity. Harsha Walia (2013:118)

Undoing settler imaginaries requires the dismantling of whiteness in digital geographic theory. By *undoing* settler imaginaries, I draw from Harsha Waila's *Undoing Border Imperialism* as an analytical framework for envisioning and enacting the end of colonial occupation, one where global anti-colonial movements across difference coalesce to refuse knowledge regimes that maintain settler imaginaries in place and destroy the possibility of good land relations. Given the expansiveness with which visual and digital axes intersect to animate settler imaginaries and their knowledge politics, anticolonial interdisciplinarity that foregrounds Black and Indigenous geographies alongside critiques of racial capitalism and settler colonialism charts a diasporic and relational pathway towards liberatory geographies. Scholarly works on method and praxis from Black and Indigenous geographies illustrate the multiple heterogeneous movements and places in which emancipatory knowledge emerges from to refuse the spatialization of white supremacy.

Undoing settler imaginaries is more than a call to redirect geographic thought to the capacious geo-history of anticolonial and decolonial movements. Sarah Elwood (2022) argues that theorizing in critical GIS must "un-do the prevailing whiteness of our theory." *Undoing* is a *process* that transforms knowledge generation and application, beginning with the researcher (Kelley, 2002).

Anticolonial and decolonial movements undo settler imaginaries through the active reassembly and repurposing of colonial infrastructures by liberation movements themselves (LaDuke and Cowen, 2020). Winona LaDuke and Deborah Cowen (2020) center the making of *alimentary infrastructures*, which are designed for life-giving purposes that exist outside the logics of racial capitalism and settler colonialism. This practice follows the Algerian revolution, where radio infrastructures were repurposed for liberatory ends (Fanon, 1994). For digital geographers, the remaking of digital infrastructures offers important insights to counter the normalization of mass surveillance, digital hegemonies, and importantly to apprehend the materiality of digitally mediated refusals by liberation movements themselves (Swanlund and Schuurman, 2018; Elwood, 2021). The repurposing and reimagining of digital infrastructure through an anticolonial framework serves to redirect sociospatial relations, making visible a reconfiguration of space and place outside of the vantage point of settler colonial reason.

Counter-Cartography has long been deployed as a vehicle for realizing self-determined futures by social movements across place and difference (Anti-Eviction Project, 2021). Counter-mapping, a process rooted in the reassembly of maps, has been instrumental as a practice for envisioning liberatory geographies. Counter-mapping arose as a project to refuse hegemonic settler-colonial imaginings of place. For Indigenous self-determination movements, counter-mapping practices configured a tool for embarking in public facing education on the

enduring impacts of ongoing settler colonialism on Indigenous lands and peoples. From decentering colonial state bordering apparatuses and institutional knowledge authorities, to disrupting capitalist social relations such as extractive and carceral economies on Indigenous lands, counter-mapping practices have transformed the boundaries of cartographic expression, reconfiguring cartographic expertise and hegemonic renderings of place (Elwood, 2006; Rose-Redwood et al., 2020).

The reconfiguration of sociospatial relations is evident in counter-mapping efforts across place and difference. For instance, the Anti-Eviction Project, *Counterpoints*, demonstrates a capacious blueprint for spatializing what Ruth Wilson Gilmore terms, 'Freedom is a place' (Anti-Eviction Project, 2021; Gilmore, 2017). The decolonial collective, *GeoBrujas*, demonstrate the necessity of anti-patriarchal imaginaries for realizing liberation. The process of making place-based freedom begins by foregrounding relational and place-based conceptions of body-territory, housing, data, and land. As such, contributors of the Anti-Eviction Project and GeoBrujas make 'Freedom as a Place' imaginable and visible through a range of artistic and participatory cartographic mediums. These sites are centered on public facing political education that redirect the discourses and practices of a geographical imaginary entangled in settler-colonial regimes. From mapping Indigenous resurgence onto landscapes scripted by speculative finance regimes, to mapping Black and migrant solidarities, to mapping anti-patriarchal futures, and more; mapping collectives such as the Anti-Eviction project and GeoBrujas make place-based freedom on the terms of communities across difference.

Indigenous refusal politics reject settler colonial logics and technologies that coalesce to eliminate Indigenous political orders (A. Simpson, 2017; Coulthard, 2016). Mishuana Goeman writes, "a Native feminist spatial practice critically examines its own positioning and moves us

toward destroying Western schemas that hold patriarchy in place" (2009:296). Native feminism disrupts settler visual grammars that displace and render Indigenous peoples' social relations out of place (Goeman and Denetdale, 2009; Goeman, 2011). By centering the stories of Indigenous women, Goeman (2014) demonstrates the curations of 'desire centered maps' that spatialize Indigenous geographies, reminding Native and non-Native peoples' that this has always been and will always be Indigenous land. This process is exemplified through the poetry of Joy Harjo, who maps Indigenous conceptions of temporality through textual images, such as the Dené conception of the Fourth World, which displaces Western frameworks of time and space (Goeman, 2012). By centering Indigenous curations of time and space, Goeman (2012) argues that Harjo is embarking in a politics of refusal that rejects the settler Cartesian impulse to transform Indigenous peoples, lands, and knowledges into visual objects.

Elspeth Iralu centers Indigenous feminist spatial practices as a mode to disrupt the violence of colonial cartography and the entanglement of the counter-mapping process itself (Iralu, 2021). Indigenous feminist spatial practices begin with reframing settler notions of space, race and gender, which disrupt colonial imaginaries such as the reservation and the urban, to insist instead on the spatialization of Indigenous political orders everywhere (Goeman 2009; Iralu, 2021). For Michelle Raheja, disruption of settler colonial imaginaries sits at the heart of debates in Native studies on 'visual sovereignty,' which have long asserted the self-determination of Indigenous peoples' to define and shape the visual politics that arise from mediated Indigenous representations (Raheja, 2015). Visual sovereignty is a framework that concerns the legal, cultural, and political dimensions of Indigenous representations through film, photography, popular media, and increasingly the internet (Hokowhitu, 2013; Raheja, 2015). Visual sovereignty as a framework refuses the settler enrollment of digital-knowledge regimes

that render Indigenous worlds outside their consent (Raheja, 2015; Wemgiwans, 2018). This includes the spaces of Indigenous resistance which continue to be surveilled and demonized by settler-states, including pipeline and mineral development sites, and urban spaces rendered as non-Indigenous (Barker, 2022).

The dismantling of Western science regimes continues to be a core demand by anticolonial and decolonial scholars committed to chronicling and tracing collective consciousness emergent from anticolonial movements engaged in abolishing systems that maintain settler colonial and racial capitalist spatial orders (Coulthard, 2016; Estes, 2018; Walia, 2021; Fanon, 1967; McKittrick, 2021; Gilmore, 2007; Kelley, 2002). Spatializations of white supremacy through settler geographical imaginaries operate at multiple heterogeneous scales, with ongoing material impacts for regulating the way peoples, places, and temporalities are rendered visible or invisible (Lipsitz, 2011; Ybarra, 2021; Byrd, 2014). For instance, Philip Deloria in *Indians in Unexpected Places* refuses the spatial-temporal regimes emplaced onto Indigenous peoples that render Indigeneity outside of modernity and make Indigenous peoples invisible outside the boundaries of the reservation (Deloria, 2004). Deloria (2004) points to photography's aesthetics that depict Indigenous peoples in traditional dress in a modern motor vehicle, which raise suspicion and confusion to a white settler gaze conditioned to see and imagine Indigenous presence as antithetical to modernity. Deloria (2004) rejects the settler-imposed boundaries of where Indigenous peoples' can be unapologetically Native. At the scale of the body, Dian Million underscores the importance of collective cultural memory surrounding lived histories through 'felt theory,' which illustrates how Indigenous relationality as an embodied spatial practice transcends settler sociospatial regimes of the past, present, and future (Million, 2008). Million argues that the affective embodiment and reclaiming of history by

Native peoples offers a lesson outside of the confines of liberal conceptions of recognition, a relational process that refuses settler history through collective forms of grieving. For Franz Fanon, the refusal of colonial imaginaries necessitates the dismantling of the fiction of Eurocentric constructions of space time, temporality, and teleology that render Blackness outside of time and place (Fanon, 2008).

Scholarship on anticolonialism and decolonization emerge from an insistence of curating relational methodologies in the affirmation of Indigenous peoples' self-determination (Pulido, 2002; Hunt, 2016; Curley and Smith, 2020; Roane, 2023). Methodology and the ways geographers 'do' geography has been a core site in which decolonial and anticolonial scholarship push against settler colonial framings of spatial knowledge (Smiles, 2018; McKittrick, 2021; Woods, 1998). For instance, Katherine McKittrick (2021) traces how empire shapes disciplinary thought, demanding the necessity for "disobedient relationality that always questions, and thus is not beholden to academic logics" (McKittrick, 2021:45). From geographic methods such as the *Blues Epistemology* to *Indigenous Data Sovereignty* shaped and accountable to place and community, the making of 'decolonial geographies' dismantles settler colonial and racial capitalist spatial orders (Duarte, 2017; Daigle and Ramírez, 2019; Woods, 1998). In doing so, decolonial and anticolonial scholars demonstrate the life affirming possibilities of geographic methods emergent from Black and Indigenous spatial stances insistent on "disobedient relationality" oriented towards the defense and affirmation of life (King, 2019; McKittrick, 2016; Daigle, 2016; Woods, 1998). "Disobedient relationality" emerges from solidarities, relations, and spaces across human and non-human worlds where settler colonial regimes animate and entrench anti-relationality through the visual-digital terrain (McKittrick, 2021; Gilmore, 2017).

Black feminism is an anticolonial spatial stance that asserts Black relations to land alongside Indigenous peoples' that demonstrates the necessity of forging method aimed at dismantling spatial imaginaries imprinted through empiricism and racial science (McKittrick, 2016, 2021; Gilmore, 2017, King, 2019). This includes the necessity for interdisciplinarity in methods that affirm the spatial knowledge in Black modalities of place making (McKittrick, 2021). For instance, Tiffany King (2019) maps "Black and Indigenous livingness" as a way to read Black geographies onto cartography, rejecting White cartography that could not see Black and Indigenous life together (King, 2019). By centering Black and Indigenous modes of livingness, King (2019) disrupts both settler colonial technologies and the whiteness of settler colonial studies that objectify and reify Black and Indigenous peoples as victims. Leanne Simpson (2017) in *As We Have Always Done* concludes by underscoring the importance of Black and Indigenous modalities of refusal and how such modes engender liberatory geographies. Black, Indigenous, and Latinx spatial imaginaries in their multiple expressions undo settler imaginaries of place by making clear that liberation is a relational practice, a practice where envisioning and reimagining futures requires the dismantling of colonial thought and the project of whiteness that enables it (Maynard and Simpson, 2022; Herrera, 2022).

4.5 Conclusion

Without new visions we don't know what to build, only what to knock down. We not only end up confused, rudderless, and cynical, but we forget that making a revolution is not a series of clever maneuvers and tactics but a process that can and must transform us.
- Robin Kelley (2002:12)

The history of anticolonial movements teaches us that resistance to settler colonial structures requires relational practices—forming the basis of an anticolonial digital geography that no

technology can break. In this paper, I chronicled a brief genealogy of anticolonial and decolonial scholarship centered on the refusal of Western schemas that shape and maintain settler imaginaries in place, and how Indigenous refusal redirects digital knowledge practices towards liberatory ends. I trace the entanglements of digital-visual knowledge regimes in settler colonialism that animates and shapes the geographical imaginary. I demonstrate how settler imaginaries are realized in material space through visual-digital regimes and how anticolonial frameworks work towards *undoing* settler imaginaries by reimagining our collective responsibility as scholars, to transform digital infrastructures, methods, mapping practices, institutions, disciplines, and most importantly ourselves. From tracing the emancipatory methods and curations by anticolonial movements, to tracing the ways in which Indigenous and Black freedom movements map liberatory geographies together, the (re)imagining of digital knowledge politics demonstrates a politics of refusal towards 'ideas otherwise' that spatialize Indigenous political orders in the here and now (Tuck and McKenzie, 2014). In demonstrating how entangled digital-visual knowledge regimes reinforce each other to reify settler framings of knowing and experiencing the world, I illustrate the importance of accountable and reciprocal digital knowledge pedagogies.

Our contemporary moment demands that digital and visual knowledge practices be investigated in tandem, and that digital geographers revisit the entanglement of the geographical imaginary through an anticolonial framework. Colonial entanglements shape our contemporary moment, and shape how digital geographies as a forum of geographic scholarship sees itself, including its past, present, and future. Anticolonial and decolonial movements continue to refuse the terms and categories imposed upon lands and peoples, insisting instead on knowledge practices outside of Western epistemologies and ontologies that affirm and sustain relationality

and reciprocity with human and non-human worlds (McKittrick, 2021; Liboiron, 2021a). Transformation is necessarily a relational process, one which maps what Maynard and Simpson (2022) call, *Rehearsals for Living*, an anticolonial stance that refuses spatial empiricism, a product of a discipline long enveloped in the reproduction of whiteness and conquest denial. Anticolonial and decolonial movements demonstrate the ongoing efforts in which the Indigenous refusal of settler knowledge practices dismantles settler imaginaries through the spatialization of Indigenous nationhood, (re)mapping the rematriation of land and life onto digital knowledge practices itself (Tuck and Yang, 2012; Gray, 2022).

Notes

1. By "political orders," I follow Michele Daigle (2019b:298) who states that political orders reflect "principles and kinship structures such as clanship systems which center the leadership roles of women, Elders, youth, queer, trans and two-spirited peoples as wells as non-human kin, and which become the basis of Indigenous forms of authority and governance.
2. See clearlab.org (Directed by Max Liboiron) for examples of applied anticolonial protocols. See https://www.collaborativeindigenousresearch.com/ (Directed by Eve Tuck) for examples of ethical research alongside Indigenous communities.
3. As part of Wemigwans (2018) study, Wemigwans developed the website FourDirectionsTeachings.com as an example of a digital bundle.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

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5.1 Radical Vulnerability as Refusal

Even as we are often swept along with contemporary political currents, we are faced with the difficult work of grappling with, and translating (imperfectly) the place-specific vernaculars for analyzing and undoing oppression. - Richa Nagar and Roosbeh Shirazi (2019:243)

This dissertation is a labor of love committed to Indigenous political orders. As a cisgender, Chicanx male, born and raised on the homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute territories to Mexican immigrant parents, conducting research requires what Richa Nagar et al. (2019) calls radical vulnerability. Radical vulnerability requires collectivity and grappling with the messiness of contradiction, such as organizing without knowing where this will all go (Nagar, 2023). Writing from the colonial university, while simultaneously rejecting the colonial university is a tension that is always there (Harney and Moten, 2013; la paperson, 2017). The messiness of navigating the in-between of worlds is evident in this dissertation. To follow Indigenous political orders is to honor the Native women who lead their peoples. This process requires rethinking what it means to be humble, what it means to truly be in community, and accountable to community (Spade, 2021; Tuck and Yang, 2014). This process required the unlearning of machismo and the assimilation of whiteness begot by evangelical and Mormon parents and colonial education. Radical vulnerability is a necessary refusal politic for undertaking any endeavor with an unknown end, requiring surrender (Nagar et al. 2019).

This dissertation charts a starting point for thinking and imagining Latinx geographies on Indigenous land through digital geographies. Though the Latinx geography component was not

explored, I named it to endeavor into the tensions, imagined and imposed, on what it means to be what my Lakota kin asks of me: what does it mean to be a good relative? Being in reciprocity is not a transaction or an expectation for something in return. Being in reciprocity in the face of open white supremacy requires radical vulnerability with those you are building alongside with. One small example of this process is expressed in the intentional co-assembled and co-written format of the (Re)Mapping Native Denver project. Co-writing on the spatial matters of Indigenous resurgence in Native Denver exemplifies radical vulnerability, acknowledging and re-acknowledging again on the possibilities of unlearning and relearning as we attempt to undo systems of oppression. I thank Viki Eagle for pushing me on this front. Radical vulnerability is a lifetime affair.

5.2 Arguments , Contributions, and Significance

Mapping the Terms of Freedom & the Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries is an invitation to collectively challenge the foundations of geographical knowledge that assume access to Native land and life. This research examines the ways in which cartographic practices function as a technology of settler colonialism that scripts the world and the ways Indigenous geographies from Native Denver (re)map the world instead. I connect modalities of property to cartographic practices, revealing the ideological foundations that underpin settler imaginaries to the Doctrine of Discovery. Doing so enables a place-based analysis that apprehends the ways cartographic practices produced the conditions in which colonists could envision making property on Native land. Using the formation of Colorado Territory and Denver City as cases, I chronicle the ways in which cartographic practices produced these ideological spaces into being, drawing from debates in digital geographies and settler colonial studies to apprehend its ongoing maintenance. I organize my key arguments into three papers, summarized below.

The first paper, *(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver* chronicles the role of cartography in performing settler geographical imaginaries of Denver, Colorado (1858-1886) and its ongoing impacts for shaping the colonial present. Through archival and discourse analysis, this paper traces the ways former Lieutenant Governor of Colorado, John Evans' drew upon techno-scientific imaginaries to advance the Western frontier and preside over genocidal acts. Evans' role in founding Denver University (DU) and facilitating the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre to practices of cartography reveals the co-constitutive role of maps in proliferating colonial imaginaries. I contribute a grounded historical understanding of how the city of Denver came to dispossess Indigenous nations through the pretext of the Doctrine of Discovery by analyzing the role in which cartography was deployed to secure land title. This paper concludes with a call for cartographies of refusal from the occupied homelands of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Ute territories: a genealogy of cartographic refusal from Native Denver. Cartographies of refusal enact spaces of possibility, making visible the everyday world-making by Indigenous movements.

(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver is a call for unsettling imperial and colonial geographies from the vantage point of Indigenous geographies. By connecting practices of cartography to modalities of property and Anglo property law, I trace the ideological foundations of "legitimate" claims to land to their legal rationale in the Doctrine of Discovery (Blomley, 2003; Hall, 1981; Williams Jr, 1992). By connecting the ideological underpinnings of cartography as a practice of settler colonial regimes, I show the taken for granted ways in which everyday settler colonialism operates to perform Indigenous erasure. By tracing the ways in which cartographic practices draw and produce land claims; animate and maintain settler imaginaries in place; abstract and distort past, present, and future Indigenous

relationships to land, I locate a material and conceptual starting point in which to challenge settler technologies.

Where settler cartographies script and perform geographical imaginaries of Denver in the everyday, Indigenous geographies enact their own cartographies. Cartographies of refusal are expressions of Indigenous forms of counter-mapping, enabling a reading of place and geo-history outside the ontological and epistemological capture of colonial property regimes. Cartographies of refusal from Native Denver begin with Indigenous relationships to land through the practice of Indigenous political orders, rendering the entanglement of the counter-map obsolete. Cartographies of refusal from Native Denver unsettles imperial and settler geographical imaginaries of Denver. Cartographies of Refusal are a bridge to Indigenous geographies, where the refusal of the settler colonial cartographies that write the world begin with how Indigenous geographies know the world instead.

Following Curley (2022) and Dorries et al. (2019), I trace how Denver University (DU) facilitated the political, legal, and economic conditions that shaped Denver as a settler colonial city. Using DU as a geo-historical example, I connect the ways in which institutions of knowledge advance knowledge practices oriented in conquest denial and ongoing settler colonialism. Through analysis of the (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit, I unpack the radical potential for enacting decolonial education. Where settler imaginaries are made to appear totalizing through discourses of Columbus, there exists a constellation of movements that refuse settler imaginaries. I argue that digital geographers have a central role to play in the undoing of settler imaginaries at multiple scales, (re)directing digital knowledge practices towards Land Back.

(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver provides a material and conceptual framework for apprehending the ways in which settler colonial cartographies perform geographical imaginaries of the settler colonial city. By tracing the techniques and discourses of settler colonial claims to Native land, I show the power afforded to cartographic practices in the contemporary moment. This tracing enables a material and conceptual space in which to challenge not just settler imaginaries that cartographic practices maintain in the everyday, but to challenge the very foundations of settler-colonial title to Indigenous land. *(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver* bridges debates in critical cartography and digital geographies with Indigenous geography, transforming the ontological and epistemological potentialities of Native cartographies of refusal. This chapter suggests that a genealogy of cartographic refusal from Native Denver has the radical potential to reclaim the colonial archive that justified colonial dispossession and the colonial desire to eliminate Indigenous political orders—(re)mapping the Columbian Encounter as *felt* and lived by Native Denver (Million, 2009; Hunt, 2014; Lonetree, 2012).

This chapter contributes significantly to Indigenous geographies by nesting a conceptual and material path in which to challenge settler colonial cartographies and practices at multiple scales. From an infrastructural, political, and legal challenge (Duarte, 2018; Curely, 2021; Fabris, 2021); to an epistemological and ontological challenge (Hunt, 2014; Daigle 2019); to challenging the very foundations of cartography and GIS (Luchessi, 2018; Iralu, 2021). *(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver* (re)maps the colonial archive from Native Denver, contributing to scholarship on worldmaking, worlding seeing, and world knowing after empire in the here and now.

The second paper, *(Re)Mapping Native Denver and the Assembly of Native-Counter Cartographies* is a decolonial worlding project envisioned and co-written alongside Viki Eagle. In this chapter, we trace the making and unmaking of settler imaginaries in Denver, Colorado, and how Denver's Native community refuses otherwise. We situate the ether that surrounds the making of the (Re)Mapping Native Denver art exhibit, including generations of resistance by Denver's Indigenous communities, the spatialization of urban settler colonialism by settler science regimes, and our commitment to honoring Indigenous protocols. In doing so, we show that the curations assembled in the exhibit enact an Indigenous politics of refusal, one where each curation (re)maps a Native Denver. More than an art exhibit featuring the stories by Denver's Native community that stood as a site of public facing education, (Re)mapping Native Denver dismantles the logic and power that sustains the settler imaginary. We demonstrate the potential and necessity of Native assembled counter-cartographies—forming a relational assembly of maps that no technology can break.

The formation of a relational assembly of maps in the form of Native counter-cartographies is an expression of cartographic refusal, where the assembly of curations honor Indigenous protocols. As Tynan (2021:598) makes clear, "relationality is not a metaphor, but a responsibility with kin and Country."[81] The *process* through which (Re)Mapping Native Denver came to be emerges from Indigenous political orders that continue on beyond the exhibit and chapter, emphasizing the ongoing care taking and visual sovereignty of Native assembled curations (Goeman, 2015). The practice of insisting on Indigenous political orders and Indigenous ways of knowing the world is a refusal of the ways settler science regimes are deployed to abstract and capture Indigenous demands for restitution and accountability into

[81] Lauren Tynan (2021) argues that relationality is a living practice; a practice that holds responsibilities to Country and kin. Country in this case refers to Tynan's ancestral homeland named, tebrakunna.

modes of settler legibility (A. Simpson, 2014; De Leeuw and Hunt, 2018). The maps assembled by Native community members within the colonial institution are expressions of the Indigenous feminist practice of *(re)mapping*. Despite the entanglements of counter-mapping in regimes of settler colonialism, the assembly and reclamation of *cartographic memory* by Denver's Native community fosters relational bonds that remind community members of all they've accomplished and been through as a community. From retelling the history of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre through the visual stories shared by elders and youth, to the mapping of Portraits of Native Strength of Native students, to the mapping of Native Denver through ledger art, each curation is an expression of how Indigenous geographies from Native Denver knows the world.

(Re)Mapping Native Denver and Assembly of Native Counter-Cartographies provides a place-based account in which to enact decolonial world building within the colonial university (la paperson, 2017). This chapter contributes to scholarly debates on the ethical practice of curating an art exhibit featuring the sacred stories of Denver's Native community. In doing so, the chapter underscores the importance of Indigenous protocols to all things featured in the exhibit. The (Re)Mapping Native Denver exhibit was formed as a space to grieve, celebrate, and insist on institutional accountability. This act of creating space, or spacing, transformed a space within the colonial university in which viewers across difference and power-relations could see the ways in which Denver's Native community chooses to tell their stories. Though only a 'partial' history, this chapter contributes to the archival memory of Indigenous resurgence on the terms of Indigenous peoples'.

This chapter contributes to Indigenous geographies, critical cartography and the geo-humanities, cultural memory studies, decolonial worlding, and more. *(Re)Mapping Native* Denver demonstrates the radical possibilities made visible by attending to the materiality of

social movements across time and space (Herrera, 2022). (Re)Mapping Native Denver extends both Mishuana Goeman's (2013) *(re)mapping* analytic and Juan Herrera's (2022) *cartographic memory*. The spatial weavings of the two political frameworks foster conceptual and material **counterpoints** in which Indigenous movement organizing rescripts spatial-hegemonies through the assembly of their own spatial archives. This chapter begins an assessment that demonstrates what being accountable to kin looks like, transforming the relational bonds between the broader Native community and the academy through the active caretaking of Indigenous cultural artifacts.

The third paper, *Undoing Settler Imaginaries: (Re)Imagining Digital Knowledge Politics*, traces the construction of settler imaginaries in geographic thought through scholarship and digital geographies and anticolonialism. By bridging anticolonial scholarship and digital geographies, this chapter contributes to debates on anticolonial and decolonial refusal politics and its role in realizing reciprocal land-life relations. The (re)imagining of digital knowledge politics begins with accountable digital geographic practices on the terms of Indigenous peoples'. I argue that geography as a discipline is entangled in settler colonial regimes that continue to shape geographic practices and the boundaries of geographical knowledge. I argue that digital technologies play an instrumental role in shaping the view of geography and sociospatial relations.

Undoing Settler Imaginaries underscores the necessity of apprehending *Indigenous refusal* politics "not just as a 'no' but a (re)direction to ideas otherwise" (Tuck and McKenzie, 2014). Following Max Liborion (2021), I argue that digital knowledge practices must proceed in a way that proceeds with *humility*, *good land relations*, and *accountability*. Anticolonial and decolonial spatial practices (re)direct and (re)orient digital knowledge practices towards life

affirming ends: or rather digital geographical practices oriented towards Land Back for Indigenous nations. This process begins with what Harsha Walia (2013:118) states as "a fundamental reorientation of ourselves, our movements, and our communities to think and act with intentionality, creativity, militancy, humility, and above all, a deep sense of responsibility and reciprocity." Digital geographical practices can be so much more.

Undoing Settler Imaginaries: (Re)Imagining Digital Knowledge politics contributes to scholarly debates on the necessity of relational practices to envision anticolonial and decolonial digital geographies. This chapter organizes a brief genealogy of anticolonial and decolonial scholarship centered on the refusal of Western schemas that shape and maintain settler imaginaries in place. By focusing on Indigenous refusal politics, I demonstrate how digital knowledge practices can be redirected in the affirmation of life. This chapter makes visible a geo-history of anticolonial and decolonial movements that continue to (re)assemble colonial infrastructures for life affirming ends, making visible a path in which to undo settler imaginaries at multiple levels. The paper bridges digital geographies with anticolonial and decolonial scholarship, suggesting the necessity of dismantling the whiteness of digital geographic thought through a radical commitment to relational praxis.

Mapping the terms of Freedom & the Ongoing Refusal of Settler Imaginaries contributes to a grounded geo-historical archive of cultural memory that examines the material and conceptual emplacement of settler colonial technologies on Indigenous lands, emphasizing the role of (re)mapping the settler archive through Indigenous geographies. I trace the making and unmaking of settler imaginaries in Denver, Colorado, and how Denver's Native community chooses to tell their stories to the settler world. Together, these papers constitute a grounded geohistorical archive of cultural memory.

5.3 Next Steps and Future Directions of Research

Each chapter is situated within a particular genealogy of scholarly debates, contributing to multiple fields across geography and Indigenous studies, and community efforts oriented in the self-determination of Indigenous peoples. I detail the next steps and future directions of each core chapter below.

(Re)Mapping the Columbian Encounter from Native Denver will be submitted to the *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*. The future directions for this project are two fold. First, the investigation of genealogy and cartographic refusals from Native Denver will continue. With ongoing permission of the Denver Native Community, I will continue to investigate the relationship between archival movement archives and their claims to space. Additionally, I plan to begin investigating the coalitional politics and potentialities at play when social movements across difference choose to unite under a common cause. In this case, I will use the resistance of Columbus Day as a settler worlding holiday to investigate the making of kinship across Indigenous, Black, and Chicano movements. I will investigate the role of public facing education in creating the conditions for coalitional spatial imaginaries in Denver. Second, alongside local Native community leaders and Native institutes of law, the afterlife of this paper will be used to guide an investigation into how much the U.S. owes the Ute, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations given the looting of gold and silver by colonists. This paper will guide legal efforts in which to challenge U.S. title to land from Denver, Colorado, providing Native nations with a spatial analysis on an estimate as to how much the U.S. government owes them given a series of broken treaties between the U.S. and Native nations.

(Re)Mapping Native Denver and the Assembly of Native-Counter Cartographies will be submitted to the journal, *Geohumanities*. The afterlife of this chapter will move forward in two

directions. First, Viki and I are planning at least two articles on this project, where we will alternate first author given the particular focus. The first article will focus on the politics of accountability within the contents of the exhibit. We will draw from survey data collected from the exhibit that asked: 1) What does accountability look like? And 2) What does Indigenous representation at DU make visible? These two questions will be used to investigate both institutional accountability and explore our own roles as scholars and members of the community. The second journal article will explore the visual politics of the curations themselves, focusing on the ways in which Indigenous curations refuse the violence of the colonial university museum. This article will draw upon scholarly debates in visual anthropology and Indigenous museum studies to demonstrate the healing potential of Indigenous currations when following Indigenous protocols (Lonetree, 2012).

Outside the realm of journal articles, we plan to keep building an archive of movement organizing, delivering it to the Native Student Alliance at DU for their records. This archive will include photos in digital form; the exhibit story map featuring the spatial memory of Indigenous movement organizing in Denver, and the Sand Creek Massacre lesson plans that accompanied the artists' curations. We plan to continue supporting local efforts in which to hold DU accountable for their ongoing role in facilitating conquest denial, emphasizing our commitment to the NSA who continue to demand spaces for Indigenous students, faculty, staff, and community members to conduct ceremony; demand the replacement of the Pioneer mascot; and demand retention support for Indigenous students, staff, and faculty.

Undoing Settler Imaginaries: (Re)Imagining Digital Knowledge Politics has been submitted and published in the journal, *Progress in Human Geography*. The ideas explored in this chapter were meant to invite scholarship on assembling anticolonial digital geographies. I

intend to continue on with this goal, connecting conceptual and material avenues that challenge settler imaginaries. Conceptually, building off of Leszczynski's (2020) piece *On Being Genealogical in Digital Geographies*, I plan to explore what a genealogy from the perspective of "Black and Indigenous Livingnous" makes visible (McKittrick, 2016; King, 2019). Materially, I seek to extend the ideas in this chapter to consider more grounded approaches that investigate environmental justice and digital geographies in tandem. In drawing from the conceptual idea of the **counterpoint** by the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project, I wish to investigate its relational and collective capacities to envision coalitional digital mapping projects oriented towards Land Back.

Grounding these pursuits in place from Native Denver holds promise in exploring the tensions, possibilities, and responsibilities of pursuing relational mapping projects that refuse what Olúfémi Táíwò (2021) calls *elite capture*. By using the Suncor Oil refinery as a spatial example of environmental injustice, I will investigate how social movements choose to take on the fossil fuel industry in Colorado through a range of practices, focusing on Indigenous and Latinx kinships and their mappings of the world. The **counterpoint** in this case will be explored as a space of memory in which coalitions across difference unite across the common cause of Land Back, where envisioning the end of the fossil fuel industry transforms not just the space, but our collective futures and commitments to each other.

5.4: Towards accountable digital geographies

> How do our disciplines, pedagogical norms and research methods benefit from access to Indigenous land, life, and knowledge?
> – Max Liboiron (2021a: 876)
>
> How will the Earth recognize us?
>
> – Candice Fujikane (2021:45)

I pose the above questions by Liboiron (2021a) and Fujikane (2021) at a moment of growing fascism, climate breakdown, ongoing pandemics, relentless attacks on Black and Indigenous peoples and communities of color, and the criminalization of women, the LGBTQ+ community, the unsheltered, and more. Geographers have contributed tremendously to understanding the material and political significance of state-sanctioned violence directed towards freedom movements and Land (Gilmore, 2017; Liboiron, 2021b). This includes scholarship on the rise of geo-computation and its relationship to racial governance (Jefferson, 2020) as well as investigating the co-optation of Black visual aesthetics and the regulation of place (Summers, 2019). Geographers have long investigated the structural underpinnings of colonial knowledge within institutions of education, organizing pathways to decolonize the discipline (de Leeuw and Hunt, 2018; Rose-Redwood et al., 2020). Despite the entanglement of geographical knowledge in settler colonialism and racial capitalism, decolonial movements continue to deploy their own spatial grammars and practices that make visible an otherwise world in the here-and-now (Maynard and Simpson, 2022). Against this backdrop, I suggest that digital geographers follow Curley and Smith's (2020) invitation to contend with the question of Land Back and centering Indigenous Land in geography. I direct this question of Land Back to digital geographers in part because of the instrumental role of the digital in shaping socio-spatial relations and geographical

imaginaries of place, but also to underscore the history of 'extraordinary knowledge politics' (Elwood, 2022) by anticolonial and decolonial movements already doing that work.

The proliferation and everywhereness of the digital has resulted in mass interest and a need to apprehend the impact of technology on socio-spatial relations, resulting in new research frontiers that expands the archive of disciplinary inquiry to the digital as an object and subject of study (Ash et al., 2018). As a scholar of digital geographies and anticolonialism, I enter the question of accountability in geography through scholarship in Indigenous geographies and decolonial thought. The situatedness of digital technologies in racial capitalism and settler colonialism continues to animate imaginaries of Black and Indigenous dehumanization, including digitally mediated spectacles of police violence, trauma, climate and ecological apocalypse, and more. Following McKittrick's (2016) insistence on centering Black and Indigenous livingness, King (2019) argues that white cartography did not anticipate Black and Indigenous life, necessitating the techno-production of imaginaries of violence and 'exterior' threats to institute the project of 'settling'. For instance, the celebration of science and technology through imaginaries of the Columbus Exhibition was instrumental in shaping the ongoing geographic rationale for conquest, producing colonial territory through the performance of civilization (Harley, 1992). The failure to see relational expressions of Black and Indigenous livingness is a feature of the whiteness of Western colonial knowledge structures (King, 2019).

Writing to researchers eager to study and do scholarship alongside Black and Indigenous communities, Tuck (2009) calls on researchers to reconsider 'damage centered' research used to document legacies of dispossession. Rather than chronicle damage, Tuck (2009) insists on centering the desires of Indigenous communities. This is not to say that tracing the operations and impacts of racial capitalism and settler colonialism are not important, particularly given

ongoing genocide through the accumulation of Indigenous lands and the mass expansion of new surveillance regimes and technologies of dispossession, such as the 'automated landlord' and the 'logistical borderland' (Gonzalez, 2019; Fields, 2019). Rather, it is to invite collective inquiry on digital geography's pedagogical practices in a moment of mass death and the expansion of state securitization, asking the question: how does reading for Black and Indigenous livingness reshape genealogies of the digital?

Reimagining digital geography requires attention to pedagogical practices, demanding inquiry into the ways in which the 'ontics, aesthetics, logics, and discourses' of the digital are theorized, applied, and inscribed with meaning (Ash et al., 2018). Within the classroom, pedagogical practices are shaped by colonial economic forces, informing institutional programing and geographical imaginaries. For instance, inquiry into the pedagogical practice of digital technologies such as GIS have long considered the limits and potentials of ethical engagement with geospatial technologies, imploring the epistemological and ontological tensions of data production and application (Elwood and Wilson, 2017; Lucchesi, 2022). GIS programs in the U.S., however, continue to emphasize content in the service of commodity reproduction, driven and funded by real estate, policing, military, and fossil fuel interests (Henderson and Montage, 2022). The knowledge assumptions of digitizing for digitizing's sake expose the white possessive logics of digital pedagogies and their long histories in racial-colonial governance (Moreton-Robinson, 2015), demanding genealogies of the digital outside of racial capitalist and settler colonial orders. Pedagogies emergent from Black, Indigenous, Latinx, Trans, and queer of color communities open up doorways towards accountable digital geographies beyond simplistic binary critiques of research (e.g. abundance vs. deficit), emphasizing decolonial desires instead (Russell, 2020).

The re-emergent turn to unsettle the spatial practices of a white supremacist-heternormative geography is not new, but an ongoing response to centuries of resistance by anticolonial movements (Simpson, 2017). I argue that the turn to (re)imagine the futures of geographical praxis ought to begin with assembling a geography accountable to communities, places, Indigenous nations, and the Earth itself from which geographical knowledge arises. Accountable digital geographies must refuse the metaphorization of decolonial demands for liberatory praxis (Tuck and Yang, 2012). Accountable digital geographies must refuse the spectacle of reconciliation, demanding humility in how 'we' ask and do geography (Daigle, 2019). Geography's entanglements in settler colonialism and racial capitalism shape the view of geography, ensuring the continuation of knowledge practices ordered to reify the reproduction of conquest and white comfortability (Curley and Smith, 2020). As geographers endeavor to (re)imagine the discipline, I ask: what might an accountable digital geographical pedagogy look like?

Leszczynski (2018) argues that digital methodologies enact 'wicked tensions' towards ways of knowing in geography, offering methodological accounts that engage directly with the epistemological, ontological, and genealogical tensions that arise in digital geographical knowledge production. These challenges echo larger epistemological tensions surrounding the whiteness of digital thought. For instance, Elwood and Leszczynski (2018) argue that how and from where 'we' theorize must recognize more than our positionalities. Emphasizing good relations with the communities and spaces/places where knowledge arises is foundational to feminist and anticolonial politics (Tuck and Yang, 2014). The 'we', of course, is not universal, as geography continues to reproduce whiteness through pedagogical frameworks that privilege white comfort, where demands for Land Back and reparations are rendered unthinkable.

There have been repeated calls to decolonize the field of geography, prompting a session at AAG 2023 titled, 'All this decolonizing but nothing decolonized'. Geographers have raised the necessity of 'an other geography' that addresses calls to imagine anew for decades (Oswin, 2020). From building a discipline centered on care and responsibility (Lawson, 2009; Daigle, 2019), to calling for a geography that honors its decolonial mandate given its legacy as a discipline of empire and unbearable whiteness (Daigle and Ramirez, 2019; Pulido, 2002; Bruno and Faivier-Serna, 2020), to investigating the making of liberatory geographies by social movements (Gilmore, 2017), geographers have assembled a path that (re)imagines geographical thought and praxis. These efforts, I argue, can be directed to digital practices as well. For instance, Shannon Mattern's (2018) call for maintenance and repair demonstrates a multiscalar approach to apprehending geographies of accountability.

Demands for #LandBack are also demands for Data Back. Scholars of Indigenous Data Sovereignty have traced the ways in which colonial data practices threaten the self-determination of Indigenous nations and how the latter are endeavoring to advance their own legal political orders amidst ongoing regimes of data accumulation (Duarte, 2017). From advancing Indigenous-assembled data infrastructures, data governance, and more, scholarship on Indigenous data sovereignty offers conceptual, ethical, and political avenues for advancing accountable digital geographies on Indigenous lands (Duarte et al., 2019). Beginning with #Databack offers an immediate point in which to reimagine data practices, digital ethics, and digital geographies itself. Geographies of accountability must be shaped on the terms of Indigenous peoples. Efforts to advance #Landback echo a multitude of ongoing geographical imaginaries of what is possible and already here.

Conducting research is about being in good relations with those whom you work alongside with and love (Wilson, 2020). I believe that Indigenous protocols of knowledge generation offer lessons for geographers, including apprehending the materiality of data and maps as more than abstracted forms of observable or 'neutral' information that connect to political, social, and ecological processes. Genealogies of the digital through anticolonial methods engender worlds that teach 'us' about ways of being in good relations with the Earth and with each other. Genealogies of the digital from the standpoint of Black and Indigenous livingness produce the conditions for dignity, good land relations, and reciprocity (Safrinsky, 2022; Grossmann and Trubina, 2022; Luchessi, 2022). For instance, Liboiron's anticolonial CLEAR LAB emphasizes humility, good land relations, and accountability to all things geographical science.[82] I believe that GIS, cartography, and data practices can be redirected to do the same.

Maynard and Simpson's *Rehearsals for Living* (2022) reminds us that the 'end of this world' is a chance to build a new world together. Land Back is a material necessity for Indigenous nations, and calls for accountability are moments to (re)imagine our roles as a scholarly community, uneven as they are across difference and power (Peña, 2022), while acknowledging, as Stuart Hall argues, that 'learning is a personal, political, and collective task'.[83] This task will be uncomfortable but necessary for confronting the logic of settler colonialism. Let's (re)imagine digital geography and praxis together.

[82] See https://civiclaboratory.nl/ for more examples of anticolonial research.
[83] Excerpt taken from interview, Meeting Stuart Hall. https://mediadiversified.org/2014/02/14/meeting-stuart-hall/.

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