

6

Modeling Indigenous Peoples: Unpacking Ideology in *Sid Meier's Civilization*

Rebecca Mir

New-York Historical Society

Trevor Owens

United States Library of Congress

The 2008 release of *Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization* (hereafter *Colonization*) sparked an immediate controversy due to the game's subject. Its players have the ability to colonize the Americas turn-by-turn, in the style of traditional *Civilization* games. Ben Fritz wrote in a blog post for *Variety* that in allowing the player to do "horrific things . . . or whitewash some of the worst events of human history," the game *Colonization* was offensive.¹ Firaxis Games' president Steve Martin responded to the controversy, stating, "As with all previous versions of *Civilization*, the game does not endorse any particular position or strategy—players can and should make their own moral judgments."² We disagree with both perspectives.

Colonization interprets the history of the American colonial encounter. While players can and do make their own moral judgments about the game and the history of colonial encounter, the model of the world in the game comes with a "procedural rhetoric," an argument expressed in the computational logic and design that drives the game.³ The game's model inherently suggests certain

strategies and positions and thus shapes player agency and action. We identify these positions and strategies by closely analyzing how design decisions shape players' interpretations of Native American cultures and the history of colonial encounters. Through a critical reading of the player experience and the game's art, rules, and internal encyclopedia (the "Civilopedia"), we explore tensions between potential player agency in interpretation and the boundaries placed on that agency. In short, this game (like all games) presents a particular ideological model of the world. Specifically, *Colonization's* model restricts potential readings to a limited and Americanized colonialist ideology.

The colonialist ideology represented in *Colonization* mixes the idea of glorified conquest with a range of dull, mechanical components that in turn undermine that glorification. The central activity of *Colonization* is managing the logistics of gathering, training, and putting people or "units," to work in your settlements, turning raw resources into commodities, and selling finished goods back in Europe. As we became mired in the banality of logistical shuffling, we were struck with the ennui of the bureaucratic evil at the core of the game. The game's box cover art shows men (and only men) of action ready to conquer the New World, but your "glorious" conquest is rewarded by endless project management and accounting: a spreadsheet of cultural domination.

The way in which simulations put players in control of a set of competing values in its algorithms is novel. As media scholar Alexander Galloway suggests, these kinds of games are always an "ideological interpretation of history" or the "transcoding of history into specific mathematical models."⁴ In this case, the game's model is similar to the way that states "see." Like states, these kinds of games turn people and landscapes into resources and commodities. Galloway's "allegories of control" in games are similar to what anthropologist and political scientist James C. Scott discusses in his book *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Through a series of examples of failures in governance, Scott explores the way governments make nature, cities, and people legible through categorical and numerical simplification. Games like *Colonization* allow players to see the world in the same ways a state sees the world. This is one way in which *Colonization* succeeds at representing an ideological vision of the world from a colonialist viewpoint.

Our goal is to unpack how an ideology is created and works in a historical simulation, not to chastise the designers. We firmly believe that as games mature as a medium, we will be able to appreciate the ones that ask us to explore painful parts of our history. Games can and *should* challenge our preconceived notions of the world by evoking guilt or highlighting causal relationships. While there are games that come with this kind of gravitas,

components of *Colonization* point toward the expressive potential of games as historical arguments. For example, Trevor first played a copy of the original version of *Colonization* (released in 1994) when he was in the sixth grade. He played the game repeatedly, first learning the basic rules and then trying out different play styles. At first he played as the French and the Dutch. The French get bonuses in interacting with Native peoples and the Dutch get bonuses in trade. In both cases, Trevor would try to rewrite history and coexist with Native peoples. After exploring that side of the game, Trevor eventually played as the Spanish, who receive extra gold from destroying Native cities. These bonuses remain in the 2008 version of *Colonization*, called *Civilization IV: Colonization* because it was made using the *Civilization IV* engine. Exploring the different possibilities provided by the game was always engaging for Trevor, but they were not all necessarily “fun.” The interactivity and agency that players experience in games make playing from disturbing points of view possible and thus provides the ability to provoke feelings of guilt in players. The power of this guilt suggests a potential for games that portray disturbing points of view as potent vehicles for exploring the past and understanding a more nuanced history.

Indigenous peoples according to *Colonization*

So what would the indigenous peoples of the Americas look like in *Colonization* if the game did not endorse a particular position or strategy? What would the game’s model be like? We do not know (nor are we sure it is possible!). The game is called *Colonization*, and the very premise of the game requires the player to colonize. Consider the cover of the game, which shows a group of European men wading ashore from their boats, guns and flags in hand. These men represent an idea that colonization is inevitable, and the American myth of progress in expanding the frontier, as discussed by Matthew Kapell in “*Civilization* and its Discontents.”⁵ Having dismissed the question of whether the game endorses a position, we can now take up the more interesting question: does *Civilization IV: Colonization* at least give players enough agency to make their own decisions about reenacting the history of colonial encounter?

When considering how disease affected Native populations in combination with the advanced technology of the colonial powers, it might seem to players that European domination over Natives was a foregone conclusion. However, a great benefit of simulations is the ability to explore alternate histories through a series of choices.⁶ One of the biggest strengths of other games in

the *Civilization* series is that players can create radically different pasts and play out counterfactual events. What if Africa had experienced a Renaissance, instead of Europe? What if India took over Great Britain? What if the Iroquois colonized Europe? These kinds of questions are possible to pose and play in the *Civilization* series because of the open-ended nature of the game. But *Colonization* has a strict and problematic win condition: players *must* be a colonial power, *must* rebel against their motherland, and *must* fight in a war for independence. Instead of reaching terms of peace with the homeland, or paying the homeland for freedom, players are thus compelled to reenact the colonial history of the United States of America. While players cannot avoid this win condition, can they avoid the assumption that Native Americans had to be pushed west and onto reservations? In order to answer this question, we need to explore more deeply what rules *Colonization* has used to define what both players and Native game units can and cannot do.

Making Native cultures playable

Colonization players do not have the option of playing as any of the Native American cultures in the officially published version of the game. It is relatively easy to change that, and through a slight modification to the game's source code, players can choose to be a Native American culture in the beginning of the game. After this modification of the game's code, however, Natives are not really playable in the same sense as the colonial powers because the game was designed for players to act as colonizers. (When we refer to "Europeans," "colonial powers," "Native Americans," and "indigenous peoples," we are, of course, referencing the multiple cultures represented in the game, not trying to promote the idea of monolithic cultures.) As user Androrc the Orc explains on the *Civilization* Fanatics online forum:

It is very easy to make natives playable (you just have to change the "bPlayable" field in CIV4CivilizationInfos.xml to 1), but the gameplay is uninteresting ... almost no buildings, little options for play, etc. ... That having been said, things could be done to improve them, perhaps to the point of making playing them be interesting, but a way for them to sell their goods, among other issues, would have to be thought out.⁷

For the sake of comparison, below are two images: one of the city management interface while playing as a European culture, and one of the city management interface while playing as a Native culture with bPlayable on (Figure 6.1 and 6.2).

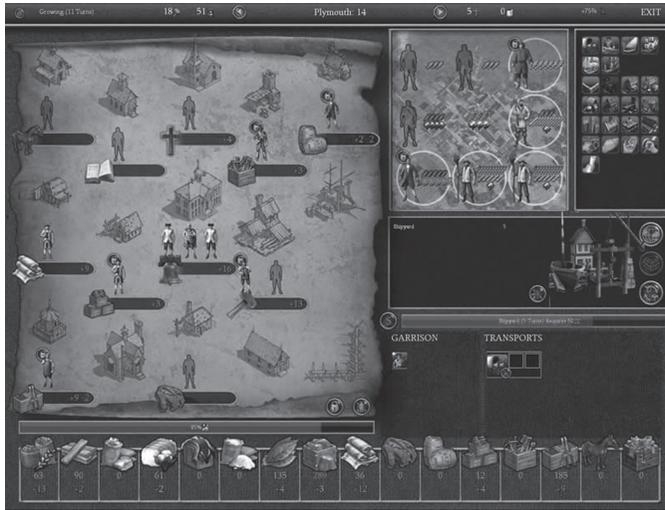


FIGURE 6.1 *A Working Settlement in the New World emphasizing European Settler's Activities*



FIGURE 6.2 *A Settlement of Natives showing the lack of activity of such settlements*

The screenshot of Tenochtitlan was taken by Robert Surcouf, who quite eloquently captures the sentiment of the situation in his comment: "There is not much in Tenochtitlan, but it belongs ... to me;"⁸ The ghost town in Surcouf's Aztec settlement explicitly shows the limitations placed on different

Native cultures in the game. Many things would have to be changed in the game to make Native cultures fully playable in a way equal to that of the European cultures in the game.

It is important to briefly explain a little about how this game was made. *Civilization IV: Colonization* is written using the *Civilization IV* engine. As a result, instead of being programmed from scratch, the 2008 version of *Colonization* was written as a series of addenda to the original game. Much of these addenda are visible by simply opening up a range of uncompiled text files that make up much of the source code of the game, which players download to their computers when they install the game. Anyone can look through the directories of their copy of the game and find *CvPlayer.app*, which includes governing rules and functions for the game. Throughout this *CvPlayer* file there are a range of statements that provide peoples in the game with particular abilities (determined elsewhere in the games code). From the perspective of the game's source code there are normal peoples (colonial units controlled by the player), Native peoples (controlled by the computer), and Europeans (also controlled by the computer). Normal peoples come with a range of abilities and characteristics that make the game playable and fun, and the game's code takes many of those abilities away from peoples who are flagged as "isNative". Native peoples are defined within the game's procedural rhetoric, *at the functional level of the code*, to be the "Other."

What should we make of the fact that what defines Native peoples in *Colonization* is a limitation of abilities? We can "read" the model of the game from our own gameplay experience but we can also open the game's files and start looking at how the game's model was actually written to function. In modifying and editing the game's code and playing an altered version of the game, we learn how those rules are enacted in gameplay and how the game models the world. While it is easy to turn *bPlayable* to 1, the game resists our ability to make Natives playable in a robust sense, and thus the process of trying to make Native peoples playable exposes the game's logic. There is no way around it: at the level of the scripts the game systematically and explicitly restricts things like civic development from Native cultures. In this sense we could say that the ideology of colonialism of the game is represented in the code. To what extent does it matter how the rules of colonialism are enacted in the scripts? It is clear that this is a relatively efficient way to write code (i.e. make the game work) and what we interpret in the code is a result of functionality in enacting game design decisions. Therefore, we can understand how restrictive certain design decisions are by analyzing the code and by understanding how the game functions. In this case, it is clear that despite our best wishes to modify *Colonization* to play as a Native American culture, the model of society represented in the code itself resists our actions.

Even though developers at Firaxis encourage players to modify *Civilization* games, there are still limitations on how drastically fans can alter games. Any player can make Natives playable somewhat easily, but then the player is faced with a range of rules that make the game problematic. If we overwrite basic rules for trade and settlement building, we discover that the game cannot be won unless we can trade goods with Europe. The models in the game's code, while rewritable, carry with them extensive inertia. This inertia, powered by rules for winning the game and the exceptions placed on Natives in the code, resists our desire for a revisionist experience of *Colonization* in which Natives are robust playable people. Attempting to modify the game further thus exposes the game designers' intentions and the underlying colonialist ideology that resulted from the game's design.

How Natives and Europeans interact in *Colonization*

Cultural exchange plays a major role in understanding the history of interactions between Europeans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. In works like Richard White's *The Middle Ground* or Karen Kupperman's *Indians and English*, historians have developed rich discussions about the interactions between Native peoples and colonials. The functional and visual modes through which *Sid Meier's Colonization* models exchange and interaction between cultures offer an interesting place to further interpret the game.

In order to win a game of *Colonization*, you must successfully manage relationships with other colonial powers and Natives. Some player strategies and game reviews suggest keeping amicable relations with as many Native cultures as possible because raising a rebel army is difficult enough without waging wars with your neighbors.⁹ Other strategies suggest raiding Aztec and Incan settlements for gold, since they have an assigned trait that increases gold yielded from captured settlements by 300 per cent.¹⁰ At first players may think managing peaceful economic relationships with Natives is easy; they are a good source of trade and give gifts to the player upon first contact. Trading with Natives seems straightforward, but most of their settlements consistently request guns and horses, and once the player trades these items with Native settlements, the items will be used to upgrade Native military units.

Of course the player can use this trade mechanic to his or her advantage by selling guns and horses to Natives with whom he or she is allied or with Natives at war with other colonial powers. Once the player (or another colonial power controlled by the computer) starts trading these items with Natives, it

is clear that their cultures have been directly influenced by these European technologies. This is not historically off base; the horse made its way back to its continent of origin and into Native cultures thanks to Spanish colonization efforts. Horses used by the Spaniards were taken and subsequently moved through a series of Native trade routes and undeniably shaped Native cultures, most famously the semi-nomadic cultures of the Great Plains.¹¹ Guns, along with many other material goods, similarly traveled between and within Euro-American and Native American groups. It is refreshing to see an example of direct cultural influence in a core (but subtle) mechanic of a Sid Meier game. *Civilization* games have previously been critiqued because trading supplies and technologies with other cultures for centuries produces no messy hybridized identities or beliefs.¹²

Absent from *Colonization* is the exchange of germs between Natives and colonials. Native Americans had no previous contact with, and therefore no immunological defenses against, European diseases. And while diseases are not artifacts that can be traded, or a set of beliefs that can be learned, they were transmitted between, and had a huge impact on, both colonists and Native Americans. Smallpox, measles, chickenpox, influenza, typhus, typhoid, cholera, bubonic plague, scarlet fever, and malaria were all unstoppable post-contact. What would a game of *Colonization* be like where over the course of a few turns, 80–90 per cent of the Native American units were wiped out, or where entire villages the player meant to trade with simply no longer existed? What if players could sabotage villages with smallpox-ridden blankets, or if colonial units started to weaken and die from contracting syphilis after sleeping with Native Americans?¹³ The inclusion of disease in *Colonization* would certainly be more “accurate” historically speaking, but such a mechanic would limit a player’s control and possible choices and might worsen player experience. We also understand that coding for the exchange of diseases might overly complicate an already complex game and that it would be a natural decision on the part of designers to avoid another controversial issue in a game about colonization. However, a game that depicts the offensive history of colonial encounter and a colonialist ideology *should* include disease.

Cultural cross-dressing, education, and assimilation on the frontier

Another benefit in maintaining good relationships with Natives in *Colonization* is the ability to establish missions and generate “Converted Native” units, pictured here in the game’s Civlopedia (Figure 6.3). He (and all Natives in the



FIGURE 6.3 *Various Stages of “Conversion” of “Natives”*

game, whether converted or not, are male—another problematic issue) wears a waistcoat, breeches, stockings, and pilgrim buckle shoes, while the feather in his hair signifies his Indian-ness. Wearing certain clothing was, as Ann M. Little explains, “central to the discourse of status, power, and identity on the frontier.”¹⁴ As a cultural cross-dresser, the Converted Native represents the messy hybridization that the Sid Meier games typically avoid. However, there is no Euro-American equivalent to the Converted Native, even though exchange and cultural cross-dressing were not limited to Natives. Euro-Americans were inevitably influenced by their neighbors both ideologically and in the production and use of their material goods.¹⁵ While Free and Indentured Servant Colonist units can be educated in Native settlements and learn master trades (e.g. farming, cotton planting, etc.), they emerge from those settlements in colonial clothing, their cultural identity unaltered by their contact with Natives. The Converted Native, in contrast, will change into a Free Colonist unit if he graduates from a school within one of the player’s settlements. Essentially, assimilation occurs through Western education, which removes all visual identifiers that this unit used to be Native, and this is true for his skin color as much as his clothing. In *Colonization*, culture is transmitted in one direction: Natives can actually *become* European, but Europeans do not take on *any* Native cultural traits (Figure 6.4).

The fact that Converted Natives become white after being educated in a colonial settlement might be excused as a technical detail; it was probably easier to make Converted Natives become white Colonists instead of creating



FIGURE 6.4 A “Native” in *Civilization* after conversion to the status of “Free Colonist”

another specialized unit (i.e. The Educated Converted Native). However, this detail is particularly problematic in the historical context of colonial powers’ attempts to educate Native Americans. The process of cultural assimilation in the game is deeply resonant with the educational theories of Captain Richard H. Pratt, founder and longtime superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, who often mentioned that Native American education should “Kill the Indian, and save the Man.”¹⁶ His attempts to systematically eradicate any traces of native culture in requiring individuals to stop using their Native American names, forbidding anyone from speaking Native languages, and explicitly forcing individuals to look more like “Whites” by cutting off their long hair, represent a similar model of cultural assimilation via education enacted in *Colonization*. This is not to suggest that the functionality of the game condones this educational pedagogy, but education in *Colonization* does function in a way that fits this troubling ideology.

There is no option for the player to keep Converted Natives from becoming European once they have graduated from school. If this makes the player uncomfortable, then his or her only option is to keep the penalties (and rewards) inherent to the Converted Native and refuse to “educate” them. But since Converted Natives are easier to get than any other unit, and since many units are needed to generate rebel sentiment, to amass an army, and to sell manufactured goods, the game’s design encourages players to educate these Converted Natives in order to win the game.

Do the Natives exist to be used as a means to an end?

The various traits that Native American leaders possess assume that the player would only play as a colonial power. There is less variation in the Native cultures' traits, and all of their traits intentionally benefit the player. Natives are described primarily not by internal characteristics but by characteristics by which a colonial power could use or manipulate them.¹⁷ For example, one of the traits Native American leaders possess is "Impressionable," meaning that missionaries can convert Natives at an increased rate. Compare with one of the European leader traits, "Tolerant," which causes immigrants to come to the colonies at a faster rate. Other traits follow this pattern: Native leader traits help the colonial powers and the player and European leader traits help the player and colonial powers. The exception to this general rule is that Natives can promote their mounted, melee, or gunpowder units to a specific status for "free" (i.e. they do not need gold to "purchase" the upgrade as the player normally does) (Figure. 6.5).

The Sioux, for example, have a free promotion called "Grenadier I" that allows mounted, melee, and gunpowder units to have increased power when attacking settlements. As previously mentioned, however, Natives must first acquire guns and horses through trade with the player or other colonial powers. These militaristic bonuses could still be beneficial to the player if he or she were allied with the Natives possessing guns and horses. If players

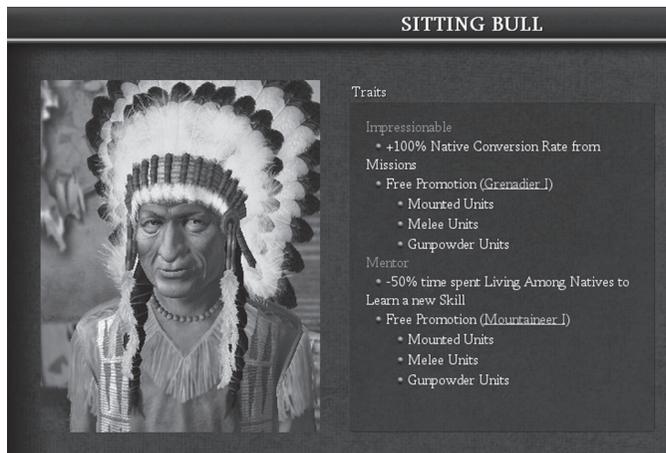


FIGURE 6.5 *Leader Traits for Sitting Bull in the Civildopedia*

tried to play a game of *Colonization* as the Sioux (or Apache, Arawak, Aztecs, Cherokee, Incas, Iroquois, or Tupi), they would quickly realize how much the Native cultural traits benefit colonial powers. Not only would players have to wait for the colonizers to trade guns and horses to make use of the one helpful bonus Natives possess, but the Sioux players would also lose units to religious conversions more quickly than other Native cultures!

Authentic or beautiful *Colonization*?

There are many things that could be done to create a game that more accurately models the history of colonial encounter. Interestingly, members in the “modding” community are trying to do exactly that.¹⁸ These “modders” alter the game in order to include various features that they believe would improve gameplay. Modders discuss the inclusion of controversial features in their own modifications (“mods”) of *Colonization*, such as disease or the slave trade. A particularly large mod claimed to represent the “authentic colonization” while refusing to include disease or the slave trade due to the heated disagreements between modders on the creation team.¹⁹ Player Tigranes questioned this decision, stating:

Why is it so hard to include Slave unit? Why is it so hard to include a Plague mechanics [sic] which would wipe up entire (and very useful) villages of Natives? If the mod would call itself—Beautiful Colonization—I would agree. But Authentic? Make things ugly, please ... or change the name.²⁰

If unpleasant and difficult mechanics such as the exchange of germs or slaves have been sterilized out of gameplay, should there not at least be more winning options available to the player than starting a revolution? In forcing the player to relive the American colonial experience, *Colonization* systematically denies the player a series of interesting choices and opportunities to create a radically different past. Removing the players’ ability to dramatically change the past locks them into the ideological model of the game and limits their interpretations. With this said, features like misrepresenting acculturation and assimilation and representing Native peoples in terms of how they can be manipulated are actually in keeping with the idea that a game called *Colonization* should be offensive.²¹ If we think about the purpose of *Colonization* as modeling a disturbing moment in history, then the most problematic point is that the game does not include the devastating role that disease played during colonization and nearly avoids the history of slavery altogether.

Wrongs and rights in *Colonization*

In *Colonization*, Native peoples are simply a resource to be managed in the spreadsheet of cultural domination. At the level of code they are the “Other,” limited in actions and cultural traits that specifically benefit their colonizers.²² Aside from acquiring things from the West, Native peoples are trapped in time, unable to advance by their own means. If players chose to educate Native peoples, the game eradicates any sense that they were once indigenous. Even if players chose to simply leave Native peoples alone, they stagnate, failing to develop any technologies, to change, to adapt, or to do any of the things that peoples do. Although they can be powerful allies and/or resources in earning money, declaring independence, and fighting the mother country for freedom, Native Americans are not directly relevant to winning the game.

The game is undoubtedly offensive, but it would be impossible to create a value-free simulation of the colonial encounter. The redeeming qualities of the game are found within the notion of the banality of evil and the feelings of guilt that come from thinking about what histories have been whitewashed and what evils have been wrought throughout the course of each game. In the end, if there is something regrettable about the game in its current state, *it is that it is not offensive enough*. While the game lets you do some rather evil things, those evil things are nevertheless sanitized versions of the events that actually took place in reality. We would love to see a Eurocentric, colonialist representation of colonialism in which Native Americans are robust, playable peoples, because it would allow players to experience the ugly, authentic colonization that so radically changed and shaped our world.

Notes

- 1 Ben Fritz, “Civilization IV: Colonization . . . Wow That Looks Offensive,” *The Cut Scene - Video Game Blog on Variety.com*, 25 June 2008.
- 2 Ben Fritz, “Firaxis Responds to my Colonization Post,” *The Cut Scene - Video Game Blog on Variety.com*, 27 June 2008.
- 3 Ian Bogost, *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Video games*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- 4 Alexander R. Galloway, *Gaming: Essays On Algorithmic Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, 102–103.
- 5 Matthew Kapell, “Civilization and its Discontents: American Monomythic Structure as Historical Simulacrum,” *Popular Culture Review*, 13, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 129–136.
- 6 For more on this, see Holdenried with Trépanier’s argument in Chapter 7.

- 7 Androrc the Orc, 13 December 2011 (2:26 a.m.), comment on malcolm01234's "Native Mods?," *Civilization Fanatics' Center*, 1 December 2011, <http://forums.civfanatics.com/showpost.php?p=11117645&postcount=6>.
- 8 Robert Surcouf, 12 December 2011 (11:21 p.m.), comment on malcolm01234's "Natives Mods?," *Civilization Fanatics' Center*, 1 December 2011, <http://forums.civfanatics.com/showpost.php?p=11117478&postcount=5>.
- 9 Allen 'Delsyn' Rausch, "Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization," *GameSpy*, 21 August 2008, <http://pc.gamespy.com/pc/civilization-game-untitled/901363p1.html>; David Craddock, "Hands-on: Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization," *Big Download*, 3 July 2008, <http://news.bigdownload.com/2008/07/03/hands-on-sid-meiers-civilization-iv-colonization/>.
- 10 Acornoil, "Trading with Natives," *Civilization Fanatics' Center*, 27 December 2008, <http://www.civfanatics.com/civ4/colonization/strategy/nativetrade/>, accessed 14 February 2013.
- 11 Pekka Hämäläinen, "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," *The Journal of American History*, 90, no. 3 (December 2003): 833–862.
- 12 Ted Friedman, "Civilization and Its Discontents: Simulation, Subjectivity, and Space," in Ed. Greg Smith, *On a Silver Platter: CD-ROMS and the Promises of a New Technology*. New York: New York University Press, 1999, 132–150.
- 13 Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian, "The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 24, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 163–188: 2.
- 14 Ann M. Little, "'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620–1760," *The New England Quarterly*, 74, no. 2 (June 2001): 238–273: 269.
- 15 James Hanson, "Laced Coats and Leather Jackets: The Great Plains Intercultural Clothing Exchange," in Eds. Douglas H. Ubelaker and Herman J. Viola, *Plains Indian Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honor of John C. Ewers and Waldo R. Wedel*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1982, 105–117: 116.
- 16 Richard Pratt, "The Advantages of Mingling Indians and Whites," in Ed. Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1990*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, 260–271.
- 17 PolyCast, "Focus: 'Civilization IV: Colonization' with Firaxis Games," [Podcast] Season 2, 15 August 2008, 32:00–36:40, http://civcomm.weplayciv.com/polycast/polycast/season2.php#focus_civ4col.
- 18 See chapters 12 and 13 for more on modding and its effects on historical representation.
- 19 Ronnar, 26 January 2012 (1:15 a.m.), comment on Writing Bull's "[Mod] The Authentic Colonization," *Civilization Fanatics' Center*, 18 September 2011, <http://forums.civfanatics.com/showpost.php?p=11217076&postcount=124>.
- 20 Tigranes, 25 January 2012 (4:19 p.m.), comment on Writing Bull's "[Mod] The Authentic Colonization," *Civilization Fanatics' Center*, 18 September 2011, <http://forums.civfanatics.com/showpost.php?p=11216316&postcount=123M>.

- 21 Initially approached by Trevor in a blog post on playthepast.org, this idea was consequently developed in a series of posts written by both of us. We sincerely appreciate the conversations the posts generated, all of which contributed to this book chapter: Trevor Owens, "Colonization: Is It Offensive Enough?" *Play the Past*, 23 November 2010; Trevor Owens and Rebecca Mir, "If (!isNative()){return false;}: De-People-ing Native Peoples in Sid Meier's *Colonization*," *Play the Past*, 1 March 2012; Rebecca Mir and Trevor Owens, "Guns, Germs, and Horses: Cultural Exchange in Sid Meier's *Colonization*," *Play the Past*, 13 March 2012; "Playing at Slavery: Modding *Colonization* for Authenticity," *Play the Past*, 24 May 2012.
- 22 See Chapter 5 for a full discussion of the creation of the Self and Other through foreignness.

Works cited

- Bogost, Ian. *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Video games*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
- Civilization Fanatics' Center*, <http://www.civfanatics.com/>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Craddock, David. "Hands-on: Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization," *Big Download*, 3 July 2008, <http://news.bigdownload.com/2008/07/03/hands-on-sid-meiers-civilization-iv-colonization/>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Friedman, Ted. "Civilization and Its Discontents: Simulation, Subjectivity, and Space," in Ed. Greg Smith, *On a Silver Platter: CD-ROMS and the Promises of a New Technology*. New York: New York University Press, 1999, 132–150.
- Fritz, Ben. "Civilization IV: Colonization . . . Wow That Looks Offensive," *The Cut Scene—Video Game Blog on Variety.com*, 25 June 2008, http://web.archive.org/web/20110501080422/http://weblogs.variety.com/the_cut_scene/2008/06/civilization-iv.html, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Fritz, Ben. "Firaxis Responds to my Colonization Post," *The Cut Scene—Video Game Blog on Variety.com*, 27 June 2008, http://web.archive.org/web/20080729211300/http://weblogs.variety.com/the_cut_scene/2008/06/firaxis-respond.html, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Galloway, Alexander R. *Gaming: Essays On Algorithmic Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006.
- Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures," *The Journal of American History*, 90, no. 3 (December 2003): 833–862.
- Hanson, James. "Laced Coats and Leather Jackets: The Great Plains Intercultural Clothing Exchange," in Eds. Douglas H. Ubelaker and Herman J. Viola, *Plains Indian Studies: A Collection of Essays in Honor of John C. Ewers and Waldo R. Wedel*. Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institution, 1982, 105–117.
- Kapell, Matthew. "Civilization and its Discontents: American Monomythic Structure as Historical Simulacrum," *Popular Culture Review*, 13, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 129–136.

- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Little, Ann M. " 'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On! ': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620–1760," *The New England Quarterly*, 74, no. 2 (June 2001): 238–273.
- Mir, Rebecca and Trevor Owens, "Guns, Germs, and Horses: Cultural Exchange in Sid Meier's *Colonization*," *Play the Past*, 13 March 2012, <http://www.playthepast.org/?p=2531>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Mir, Rebecca and Trevor Owens. "Playing at Slavery: Modding *Colonization* for Authenticity," *Play the Past*, 24 May 2012, <http://www.playthepast.org/?p=2856>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Nunn, Nathan and Nancy Qian. "The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 24, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 163–188.
- Owens, Trevor. " *Colonization*: Is It Offensive Enough?" *Play the Past*, 23 November 2010, <http://www.playthepast.org/?p=278>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Owens, Trevor and Rebecca Mir. "If (!isNative()){return false;}: De-People-ing Native Peoples in Sid Meier's *Colonization*," *Play the Past*, 1 March 2012, <http://www.playthepast.org/?p=2509>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Pratt, Richard H. "The Advantages of Mingling Indians and Whites," in Ed. Francis Paul Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1990*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973, 260–271.
- Quick, Daniel "DanQ," Locutus, and Impaler [WrG]. "Focus: 'Civilization IV: Colonization' with Firaxis Games," *PolyCast* [Podcast], 15 August 2008, http://civcomm.weplayciv.com/polycast/polycast/season2.php#focus_civ4col, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Rausch, Allen. "Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization," *GameSpy*, 21 August 2008, <http://pc.gamespy.com/pc/civilization-game-untitled/901363p1.html>, accessed 3 December 2012.
- Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Games cited

- Sid Meier's Civilization IV: Colonization*. Novato, CA: Firaxis Games, 2K Games, 2008.