

and to index lost or forgotten desires to work toward knowing the unknowable. As Tatonetti's conclusion argues, these notions together provide a queer indigenous methodology with which we can begin to see within and beyond specific American Indian and Aboriginal communities to "transnational contexts present *within* the coastlines of the land we now call North America" (178).

While I do maintain the necessity of Tatonetti's work, her central argument, that "Native American literature was always already queer," relies on the founding of Native American literature as sometime in the late 1960s (with the one, briefly alluded-to exception of Lynn Riggs). Writing prior to the time period of the so-called Native American literary renaissance is remarkably absent, which only becomes a problem in the face of that possibly over-generalizing central claim. Though the projects are notably different, this absence becomes even more significant given the 2011 release of Mark Rifkin's *When Did Indians Become Straight?*, to which Tatonetti alludes multiple times. Rifkin's broad scope includes Native writers from the early-twentieth century in his conversations about heteronormativity and queerness.

Had Tatonetti alluded to any of these authors more frequently, working with their relationships to queerness in a project quite distinct from that of Rifkin, the claim that "Native American literature was always already queer" might not appear so overly general. However, even in the face of what seems to be a slightly too-narrow selection of content, *The Queerness of Native American Literature* is a book that is unlike any other, and one that is quite necessary in the field of Native American and indigenous literary studies now. The ambition of the premise must be lauded. The combination of recovery work, textual analysis, and defining an indigenous methodology makes this an example of astutely organized, researched, and argued scholarly work that is necessary reading for any student or scholar in Native American and indigenous literary studies.

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Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition. By Glen Sean Coulthard. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 256 pages. \$67.50 cloth; \$22.50 paper; \$67.50 electronic.

Native and aboriginal peoples in western-settler states, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, are routinely made subject to insidious federal recognition policies that are ostensibly designed to extend collective rights to such groups, but too often threaten their self-determination. Either through blood-quantum laws that control access to federal services, or through land title rights rooted in treaty pacts, the politics of indigenous recognition tends to wrest control over the official criteria for identity inclusion, authenticity, and legitimacy away from indigenous peoples themselves.

In *Red Skin, White Masks*, Glen Coulthard challenges the "increasingly commonplace idea that the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the . . . state

can be adequately transformed via such a politics of recognition” (3). In particular, he focuses on the historical context of European imperial expansion and colonization in Canada. Drawing on several anti-imperialist traditions and practices, from the Red Power movement to Idle No More, Coulthard articulates an alternative politics of decolonization grounded in what he refers to as “self-recognition.”

The book is a sharply written, politically poignant, timely reflection on indigenous cultural politics. *Red Skin, White Masks* enters into the fold of hotly contested debates in contemporary political theory that orbit around recognition models of justice—as seen, for instance, in the exchanges between Nancy Fraser, Axel Honneth, and others—but draws particular attention to the high stakes of these debates for indigenous transitional justice movements. And Coulthard productively challenges the notion that “reconciliation” ought to remain the watchword for such movements seeking greater self-determination for Aboriginal groups marked by generations of dispossession, racialization, and genocidal loss. He follows Richard Day, and others, when he defines the politics of recognition in terms of the “now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to ‘reconcile’ Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state” (3). Instead of atoning for systemic historical injustice by “ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of reciprocity,” in practice, Coulthard argues, this politics of recognition promises to reproduce the “very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demand for recognition have historically sought to transcend” (3).

Drawing on Marx’s theory of primitive accumulation, which emphasizes the historical stage of territorial dispossession that marks the transition from feudal to capitalist modes of economy, Coulthard argues that the politics of recognition in the contemporary era of liberal multiculturalism furthers this violent legacy, since it foregrounds interpellative norms that continue to alienate indigenous peoples. In particular, Coulthard maps the historical transition from a structure of colonial domination that was explicitly genocidal, to settler techniques and ideologies that are seemingly more conciliatory, or even viewed as reparative, but that are no less complicit in Aboriginal erasure and exclusion. Recognition may operate through assimilation and colonial governmentality, rather than systematic destruction through disease and territorial dispossession, but both need to be actively contested by Native groups seeking to foreground pathways of freedom.

Exploring an alternative to the politics of indigenous recognition, Coulthard turns to Frantz Fanon, and especially to the famous anticolonial tract, *Black Skin, White Masks*, which diagnosed the “psycho-affective” dynamics of racial hegemony and dehumanization in the colony. For Fanon, the search for an immutable racial identity, abstracted from historical time and context, resulted in the empty celebration of an exotic “ancestralism”; that is, of a “romantic fascination with the African personality, and its decorous revolt against modernity.” The essentialism that underpins this “racialization of thought,” he wrote, derives in the first place from regimes of colonial racism. For Fanon, this racialization effaces the subjectivity of the colonized. “True

sovereignty,” by contrast, requires that the colonized recover dignity by “reinventing souls.” This dignity consists in defying the colonial status one has been assigned as a disposable, socially dead object. From this perspective, Fanon tells us, “Decolonization fundamentally alters being,” not in a “single move to absolute sovereignty . . . in one fell swoop,” but rather by virtue of a painstaking and “arduous path” to revivify identities that place the colonized back into the world.

In this way, writes Coulthard, “Fanon’s work . . . redirects our attention to the host of *self-affirmative* cultural practices that colonized peoples often critically engage in to *empower themselves*” (23). Thus, Fanon points in the direction of a politics of empowerment that viably replaces a politics of recognition, “through cultural practices of individual and collective self-fashioning that seek to prefigure radical alternatives to the structural and subjective dimensions of colonial power . . . I call this a *resurgent politics of recognition*” (18).

Indigenous resurgence, for Coulthard, fundamentally consists in a “turning away” from the “assimilative reformism of the liberal recognition approach,” and instead, revitalizes traditional indigenous values and traditions. In this sense, Coulthard echoes Taiaiake Alfred, who has argued that “We have a responsibility to recover, understand, and preserve these values, not only because they represent a unique contribution to the history of ideas, but because renewal of respect for traditional values is the only lasting solution to the political, economic, and social problems that beseech our people” (*Peace, Power, Righteousness*, 5). Thus, for Alfred, as for Coulthard, empowerment comes from renewing roots, and returning to ancestral aboriginal lifeworlds.

Coulthard is right to suggest that we need alternatives to recognition. *Red Skin, White Masks* is at its best when it describes colonial recognition politics as serving “the imperatives of capitalist accumulation by *appearing* to address its colonial history through symbolic acts of redress while in actuality further entrenching in law and practice the real bases of its control” (155). Indeed, we need points of departure that lead us away from models of indigenous reconciliation brought about through the “sanction, permission or engagement” of the colonial capitalist state.

But what remains unclear is how far “*self-recognition*” gets us in that direction. The thinly veiled Nietzschean undertones of Fanon’s self-affirmation ideal may betray the empowerment it seeks to enact, in ways that are similar to the problems Coulthard rightly associates with recognition. At best, empowerment is about the vitalization associated with locating the resources for agency. But, when considered a product of self-recognition, empowerment is often cast as sovereign self-mastery, and linked to neoliberal individualism. A doctrine rooted in eschewing one’s relationship of dependency on others, neoliberalism stresses personal responsibility, self-help, and self-affirmation through possessive individualism. And yet, the fabrication of identity is always the product of relation. Identities are artifacts of a process of becoming established through borders and oppositions that maintain a direct relationship to a constitutive outside. To recognize oneself, solipsistically, and to locate in that self-recognition the source of empowerment is, strictly speaking, to forget that recognition is always already routed through exposure to an other whose exteriority contextualizes one’s identity.

Crucially, this is not to say that this fundamental dependency on a relation to an other means that aboriginal groups seeking greater self-determination in the wake of settler catastrophe must enter into a politics of recognition with the settler state. Quite the contrary, it means that empowerment struggles that seek to undermine oppressive regimes must be careful not to unwittingly reproduce the norms and mores that enable and sustain those regimes in the first place. Indeed, this is the very argument Coulthard makes about the politics of indigenous recognition. But the troubles associated with liberal transitional models of justice for indigenous peoples may also haunt neoliberal models of self-reliance. As such, it is important that the ancestral homecomings that Alfred talks about—the return to traditional indigenous values he and Coulthard advocate for—fundamentally challenge the presuppositions of colonial governmentality.

In the end, *Red Skin, White Masks* remains an important book, a welcome intervention that advances decolonization scholarship in useful ways. It is a profound meditation on the complex ways historical structures of settler colonialism continue to plague indigenous peoples. In particular, the book's impact stems from the graceful way that it seamlessly weaves together anti-capitalist, feminist, and indigenous sovereignty narratives. And Coulthard's message is vital: undermining colonialism requires that indigenous peoples "find more effective ways of participating in the Canadian legal and political practices that determine the meaning of Aboriginal rights" (178).

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Restorying Indigenous Leadership: Wise Practices in Community Development. Edited by Cora Voyageur, Laura Brearley, and Brian Calliou. Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2014. 345 pages. \$24.95 CND paper.

Restorying Indigenous Leadership is a refreshing take on storytelling as a mechanism to emphasize leadership. In re-spelling "restoring" as "restorying," the book's title captures the intent of the collection. This is not about restoration so much as it is about reminding readers about what is already in place: multifaceted and holistic indigenous leadership. This work begins with the oft taken-for-granted "deep listening," a reminder that is needed given our rapidly moving world. In today's compartmentalized set of spaces, many cannot fathom a holistic world with leadership at the heart. We have evidence of concerted efforts to move away from non-indigenous leadership roles within the frame of anticolonial or precolonial mindsets despite a lack of non-western publications on leadership. There is great optimism as many strive to re-indigenize themselves today. Still, the role of learning both western and indigenous leadership practices remains a constant obligation.

Ultimately good leaders must work to develop their communities. This work looks at best practices carried out in indigenous communities today. Some examples include deep listening and community building in Australia; the role of indigenous women in