

and discourses on ‘reconciliation’—it is presumed that the Canadian state is objective, nonpatriarchal, noncolonial, and legitimate, making transformative justice unlikely for colonized peoples. For Coulthard, appeals to recognition of Indigenous difference are implicated, in these different cases, in a hegemonic engendering of the neoliberal, sexist, and racist grammar of state- and settler-colonialism, further normalizing these logics. Throughout *Red Skin, White Masks*, Coulthard provides an extremely detailed examination of the historical contexts, legislative backgrounds, and theoretical concerns from which his critiques arise. His use of Fanon is fluid, and his ability to excavate the intricacies of the failings of liberal recognition politics in multiple contexts is compelling.

The final chapter of *Red Skin, White Masks* presents the theories, the minds, the movements, and the praxis needed to re-vision Indigenous politics in Canada. Coulthard’s “Five Theses on Indigenous Resurgence and Decolonization” are, perhaps, the most decisive element of the work. They operate as companions to Alfred’s *Wasáse* and Leanne Simpson’s *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back*. These texts collectively have nurtured the development of a ‘third discursive moment’ of Indigenous politics in Canada. They provide a manifesto for the post-recognition movement towards resurgence. Coulthard’s essential message can be found here: (1) the Indigenous movement needs direct action; (2) it needs to reject capitalism; (3) Indigenous dispossession is continuing in urban spaces through gentrification and needs to be fought; (4) gender equity is essential to resurgence; (5) and resurgence will be reliant on the ability to transcend the Canadian state and form institutions beyond it. These are bold goals, but they are certainly compatible with Idle No More. And for Coulthard this is much of the point: he sees Idle No More as the vehicle of change. While Coulthard is not concerned with whether these goals are practically possible, he understands Indigenous resurgence as fundamentally prefigurative. In this sense, deliberative negotiation with states, which is central to the recogni-

tion-based political model, is fundamentally incapable of mobilizing these counter-hegemonic theses.

Those familiar with recent scholarship on Indigenous political philosophy will find that *Red Skin, White Masks* provides a precise elaboration of arguments that have become well-established in the last decade or so. Coulthard is aware of the reiterative element of his work. Yet, while the book certainly follows a well-worn line of criticisms, Coulthard’s vibrant injection of Frantz Fanon into this discursive terrain provides a much needed reflexive

tool for Indigenous political struggles. Fanon’s insights, as read by Coulthard, are as relevant now as they were during the Algerian War of Independence. *Red Skin, White Masks* canonizes the claim that the recognition model of political discourse offers only further subjugation for Indigenous peoples. The book attempts to implicate itself in the minutiae of Canadian Indigenous peoples’ quotidian experiences, but extends well beyond them. It is essential reading for the idle and those Idle No More—for those who wish to understand Canada.

Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence.

By CHRISTINA B. HANHARDT. Duke UP, 2013. \$27.95 USD

REVIEWED BY RIO RODRIGUEZ

This necessary intervention and Lambda-award winning book is an incredibly systematic collection and analysis of American LGBT activist history, though it also functions as a call for contemporary activists to build critical movements; movements that refuse to define safety through a push for gay territorialization, privatization, and increased criminalization in the name of gay protection.

Hanhardt argues that various—sometimes messy, contested, diverse and overlapping—forces of multiple LGBT activist interventions, since the 1960’s, have brought us along a trajectory of claims to LGBT civil rights protection, but also to claims to gay neighbourhood protection. This territorialization of gay space was developed through various micro and macrocosmic social, political, and geographic factors in which cities have shaped our LGBT movements but those very movements have also shaped cities. Ultimately, Hanhardt puts forth that LGBT neighbourhood protection rhetoric has recently served to justify neoliberal privatization and anticrime agendas which reinforce race and class divides on a very real social and spatial level. “Neo-

liberalism has reshaped U.S cities like New York and San Francisco in ways that foster hypersegregation and exploitation: the privatization of public services, corporate tax breaks, attacks on tenant protections, the expiration of mandates for low- and middle-income housing, public subsidies for private market-value construction, and the mass expansion of security forces are but a few of its policies.” As is developed in the book, these neoliberal processes are something that LGBT activists have maintained a fraught relationship with, and not one of simply opposition, but also of complaisance.

Focusing on several neighbourhoods in San Francisco and New York City, Hanhardt effectively opens this conversation with the example of a 2002 rally in Manhattan’s Christopher Park, in which community residents, retail merchants, and politicians organized a demonstration called “Take Back Our Streets!”. In essence, this action was called to demonstrate residents’ united opposition to the presence of non-residents (comprised of LGBT youth and trans women of colour), people who frequented the neighbourhood but were considered to be outsiders and whose actions were considered to be a threat

to the quality of life, private property value, and personal security of residents. Hanhardt uses this as a starting point to fundamentally ask: how did we get here? What historical trajectories led to the overlap of anticrime rhetoric and LGBT activist rhetoric, with both groups simultaneously making exclusionary and criminalizing demands?

Indeed, the history that led to such a moment includes various activist organizations with hugely divergent goals, analyses, and tactics. Hanhardt traces the ways that over the last 50 years, neighbourhoods like San Francisco's Castro and New York's Greenwich Village came to be understood as gay enclaves, and she particularly uncovers how movements of various, sometimes disjointed, activist collectives and coalitions responding to violence effectively functioned to define various kinds of criminality within those neighbourhood enclaves. Beginning with the 1960's, Hanhardt uncovers how predominantly white homophile activists in San Francisco's impoverished Central City and Tenderloin neighbourhoods attempted to acquire support from federal anti-poverty programs throughout the era of Lyndon B. Johnson's federal War on Poverty. Homophile activist groups made attempts at building coalitions across race, and also employed comparisons of homosexual marginalization to racist oppression, in order to garner recognition on a broad social scale. Hanhardt explores these as examples of early attempts at coalition-building, and of defining homosexuality and homophobia within the growing national context of psychologizing pathologies such as poverty and vagrancy. Moving into the 1970's, Hanhardt analyzes activist responses to anti-gay violence ranging from the Lavender Panthers in San Francisco's Tenderloin, the Butterfly Brigade in the Castro, and the Society to Make America Safe for Homosexuals in New York's Chelsea neighbourhood. Each of these groups used tactics ranging from non-violent interventions and public education, to stationed street patrol teams, to armed and dramatic publicity stunts. Hanhardt believes that the publicity gained through safe street

patrols throughout the 1970's was one of the factors leading to the territorialization of gay neighbourhoods and a politic of protection. By tracing several under-researched histories of activist interventions surrounding themes of safety, Hanhardt uncovers vibrant histories that includes multi-issue organizing by Lesbians Against Police Violence and Dykes Against Racism Everywhere, and analyzes both activist groups that question, trouble, or reject the promise of protection from the state, as well as groups that helped to give rise to what Hanhardt calls "militant gay liberalism" which "combined the militancy and countercultural performativity of gay liberation with a gay-focused, reform-oriented agenda."

Hanhardt's analysis of the 1980's and 1990's argues that the atmosphere of activism was drastically changed by the emergence of Hate Crime Laws, something which was fought for in collaboration with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the Anti-Defamation League, which was interestingly a Zionist institution. By tracing this history, and the history of the National Gay Task Force's Anti-Violence Project (a multifaceted project that included research, advocacy, phone-lines, and publicity), as well as national advocacy for hate crime regulation and documentation, Hanhardt argues that a shift occurred in LGBT activism during this era, in which demands for increased criminal punishment came to be understood as tools of LGBT justice-seeking.

Lastly, Hanhardt explores the interactions between F.I.E.R.C.E (an organization of young queer people of colour whose acronym stands for Fabulous Independent Educated Radicals for Community Empowerment), Greenwich Village residents, and the Hudson River Park Trust. When renovations, closures, and curfews were implemented in preparation for renovations of the Christopher Street Piers in 1999, F.I.E.R.C.E began a campaign to resist displacement and demand planning involvement in the changes to what had become a vital and irreplaceable community site for them. The campaign included the centering of experiences of queer youth of colour. Eventually

the group gained active involvement in planning decisions and was even invited into the Hudson River Park Trust and various municipal commissions. Though the story has often been framed as a success for democratic involvement of queer youth voices in planning (regardless of their not being technically considered neighbourhood residents), Hanhardt suggests that the extent to which this will continue to be seen as a success story cannot be fully predicted, because while a temporary rejection of the proposed curfew had been won, F.I.E.R.C.E.'s planning proposals had been dismissed, and the future results of neoliberal planning on LGBT youth community remains unknown.

Fundamentally, Hanhardt calls out a traceable trajectory that has brought ironic historical turns, paradoxically leading the LGBT movement to a place where the fabric of a mainstream LGBT rights rhetoric includes a misguided support for territorialization and protection of gay neighbourhoods (as places of niche retail and private real estate). Demands for increased enforcement and punishment of quality of life laws and homophobic hate crimes support the active exclusion, targeting, and criminalization of people who face extensive systemic violence. In just one of many examples, Hanhardt argues that the Uniform Land Use Review Procedure was a method initially developed to empower low-income residents to have some control over private development in Greenwich Village, and yet these very boards were then being used to justify the displacement of low-income youth of colour. She poignantly argues, that "it is more important than ever to emphasize LGBT and queer interpretive activist modes that might not only seek affirmation—by the state or counter formations—but also learn from and act alongside those individuals against whom the mainstream LGBT movement has so systematically defined itself."

Toronto's quickly gentrifying Gay neighbourhood, the Church/Wellesley district, has made various attempts to erase and displace those who loiter, sleep on the streets, who embody unwanted characteristics of race and

class, or who otherwise fall outside of the definition of LGBT respectability and inclusion. These include, but are not limited to, the removal of Toronto's public meeting space known as "The Steps" in 2005, which seemed to host too many of the wrong kind of people, and the short-lived existence of the "Maitland and Homewood Safety Association" which was organized in 2008 to use policing, harassment, and traffic restrictions to prevent cars from entering Homewood Avenue at night, effectively attempting to run trans sex workers out of the neighbourhood where they had worked for years. Hanhardt further argues: "Although I assert that mainstream LGBT political discourse has substantively transformed the category of anti-LGBT violence from the social to the criminological, and that this shift was grounded in privatized claims to neighborhood, the process was neither foretold nor total." Indeed, multi-issue LGBT organizing and resistance persist, and the timeless activist call for urban justice; "Whose Streets?" remains a question under constant negotiation amongst various local forces. What is certain is that locally and abroad, we have inherited a disjointed legacy of a movement, and as people who feel connected to an LGBT movement we must understand the historical and political context in which we seek safety and belonging, or else risk calling for systemic violence in the name of gay safety.

RIO RODRIGUEZ is a queer latinx educator and health worker whose work is based in queer, trans and POC communities. Rio's Master in Environmental Studies from York University examined key moments in Toronto's gay village history, highlighting how urban planning has promoted white gay safety while displacing and criminalizing queer and trans bodies of colour. Rio currently spend their time in nursing school, working as a reproductive health educator, and leading radical walking QTBIPOC walking tours of the Church-Wellesley Village.

Contributors

Kokila Bhattacharya, 23, is a freelance visual artist/illustrator and activist. She has been involved with many issues—the Bhopal Carbide disaster being the principal one. She has kick-started quite a few campaigns and has exhibited around India. Kokila co-runs a co-working space in Bhopal and facilitates workshops around gender & alternate sexualities. She previously worked with the Remember Bhopal Museum and was featured on India's first Environmental reality show. Currently coordinating a project called 'Youth for Children,' she is also associated with a few youth organizations. Nihilism remains her unwavering muse. Music, dance, poetry, and intersectional art are vital elements in her work. She is keen on collaborating with journalists and activists to visualize socio-political/environmental issues as a part of 'Eyes Wide Shut' independently.

Kathleen Brown writes fiction, poetry, and plays. She has conducted poets' theatre works with Erin Robinsong, Oana Avasilichioaei, Greg Debicki of Woulg, and the PataGraduates. She currently lives in Alberta with her partner and their new son—who is her most amazing poem ever!

Melissa A. Dean (aka The M.A.D. Poet) is an award-winning dub poet, community arts professional, youth mentor, curator, and scholar. Through art, Dean works tirelessly to re-imagine the black experience and rebuild the black community, one mind, one heart, at a time. On November 6, 2011, Dean was honoured with the Canadian African Caribbean Unsung Heroes Award in Youth Arts and Entertainment. The Award ceremony was held at the Jamaican Canadian Association (JCA) headquarters, in tribute to Marcus Mosiah Garvey. As Education Artist-in-residence at the Art Gallery of York University (AGYU), Dean curated the award-winning group exhibition "Lost and Found: (Finding) Hidden Beauty in the 'Hood'(OAAG, Public Program Award). She also created the innovative "If We Ruled the World" Youth Mentorship Program (OAAG, Education Award), which worked to find creative ways of incorporating youth voice into the Urban Planning decision-

making process. Dean completed her Master in Environmental Studies at York University, with major research work entitled "Learning for Liberation: Critical Black Poetry Pedagogy and Transformative Education."

Erica Ann Gajewski received an M.F.A and B.F.A from the Savannah College of Art and Design, in Savannah, GA. She is presently engaged in doctoral studies at York University in Toronto, where she continues to explore the intersection of animals, art, and environmental thought. Her artwork highlights the entanglements between human lives and the lives of other animals. Each work is a testament to an animal life, created in an attempt to see, think about, consider and remember them.

Tina Garnett is 6th generation Canadian Black; her roots in Canada began at the Great Lakes Black Settlement in Collingwood, Ontario, in 1831. She has been developing equity based programs and services for two decades. As a co-founder and executive director of a northern rural aboriginal youth organization, she challenged the systemic and systematic historical and current oppression that exists for Aboriginal communities. Tina's work with sexually exploited Aboriginal women led her to clearly identify her commitment to equity and inclusion work. It was this cutting edge work that led the way for her future anti-racist and anti-oppression work for marginalized communities in Ontario. Upon returning to Ontario, she continued to work with vulnerable communities and individuals, who are further marginalized because of their converging political locations and identities. Most recently she returned to academia in pursuit of her Master in Environmental Studies; with a specialty in creating culturally safe trauma services for Indigenous and Black women. Tina balances her work by finding joy with her children, grandchildren, and her partner.

Peter Hobbs is a Toronto-based academic-artist. He is a recent graduate of the PhD program in Environmental Studies at York University.