

Multiplying sites of sovereignty through Community and Constituent Services at the National Museum of the American Indian?

Kylie Message*

Australian National University

Abstract

My twofold aim in this article is (i) to initiate discussion about issues of governance and sovereignty in order to strengthen lateral connections between the disciplines of museum studies and citizenship studies, and (ii) to examine the National Museum of the American Indian's capacity to challenge concepts of citizenship that reflect traditional national identity discourses. The article has three parts. The first introduces the National Museum of the American Indian and outlines its aspiration to become an 'intermediary institution'. Second, I present a theoretical engagement with issues of cultural and political sovereignty and citizenship. Contextualized by this theoretical framework, the third section provides a brief case-study that questions if the incorporation of the 2007 National Powwow into the programme of annual events organized by Community and Constituent Services and Public Programs might be perceived as helping the Museum achieve its strategic goals and responsibilities to Native and non-Native visitors, and to its Native constituents. If so, can the powwow (or other outreach activities) also offer an alternative to the traditional ways in which people have understood and experienced the connections between concepts of citizenship and the influence of national government? It is my contention in the final instance that the Powwow, whilst not appealing to all audiences or constituents, does provide potential for the creation of an intermediary site that may connect people with each other, with the National Museum of the American Indian and other cultural centres, and with a range of other community and governmental services, initiatives, networks, and business opportunities that spin outwards from the Museum's connections to federal government.

Key words: National Museum of the American Indian, cultural citizenship, intermediary institutions.

Introduction

The museum is propelled by a social and moral consciousness - it is an instrument of social change addressing and reaching beyond misconceptions and stereotypes of Native American cultures and peoples. (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991: 3)

This article starts from the notion that national government is a social act, and that its actions affect people's lives in very personal ways. It encourages readers not only to consider national government as a social construct but to understand that museums are also social technologies that can use their status as 'intermediary institutions' to generate new forms of social interaction and a dynamic form of cultural politics. Museums are identified as key agents in social well-being projects when they establish themselves in the mode of cultural centre or as an intermediary institution to function as broker between community interests and government functions. In this mode, museums contribute to the meta-narratives of civic unity and a common notion of public good by adopting advocacy roles and supporting or developing strategic partnerships with local areas and community groups. A single, if not exemplary illustration of the interconnection

between museums and social well-being is the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository in Alaska, which was founded in the late 1970s when the Kodiak Area Native Association – a nonprofit organization that provides healthcare and social services to Kodiak's Native people – recognized the reawakening and preserving of Alutiiq traditions as essential to community healing' (Steffian 2006:32). Importantly, the Alutiiq Museum aimed to avoid simply 're-presenting' civil society in existing institutions and preferred to offer new ways of 'doing' cultural politics by detaching citizenship from the notion of nation and re-imagining it as something pluralistic, inclusive, and increasingly democratic according to its principle of community collaboration. It may, as such, exemplify Jürgen Habermas's (2001) emphatic call for the urgent expansion and multiplication of spaces within which citizens may shape the rules, policies and decisions that govern their lives at the local, national and supranational levels. Indeed, the Alutiiq Museum's experience demonstrates that we should not overestimate the extent of governmental reach.

It is in recognizing the limits of government that we may discover the potential for contestation and compromise to contribute to the emergence of new forms of government and altered relationships between individuals, groups and the nation-state. Establishing new relationships may also lead to the creation of new definitions of citizenship and to the recognition of new sites of sovereignty that may exist across tribal and state jurisdictions. As well as frequently positioning themselves as advocates for communities' interests and brokers between the nation-state and community groups or tribes (through providing access, for example, to and participation in museums and government services), museums also represent and play host to debates over histories, nationhood, identities and other social issues. This means that, in addition to their function as a tool of sometimes progressive public policy, museums contribute important evidence to the creation and maintenance of symbolic, national imaginaries.

My twofold aim in this article is to initiate, on the one hand, discussion about wider issues of governance and sovereignty in order to strengthen lateral connections between the framing disciplines of museum studies and citizenship studies, and to examine, on the other hand, the National Museum of the American Indian's (NMAI) capacity to challenge concepts of citizenship that reflect traditional national identity discourses.¹ The article reports the findings of a research project that involved collation and analysis of a variety of sources including draft and final policy and planning reports and documents pertaining to the NMAI, federal congressional documents and legislation,² academic texts from the fields of museum studies and citizenship studies, popular media responses to the Museum, published interviews with and papers written by the institution's founding director, W. Richard West (Southern Cheyenne) and other staff members. My data were also derived from a substantial number of qualitative interviews conducted with a wide range of staff based at the National Museum of the American Indian on the Smithsonian Mall in Washington DC and the Cultural Resource Centre in Suitland, Maryland, in the summer of 2007.³ Completed in 2008 but concerned with institutional activity conducted from 2004-2007, the research was designed to yield a snapshot of institutional self-perception at a timely moment. Having opened in 2004, the new Museum had moved into operational mode by 2007 and was about to undergo a change in leadership with West's immanent retirement. I wanted to gauge whether the staff perceived the institution's founding rhetoric to have been matched by its actions in the period it had been open, particularly in respect of West's widely quoted intention to create a 'different', increasingly democratic museum predicated on the ideal of cultural citizenship and 'shared authority' (Stern 2004:3). Interviews were directed towards aspects of the NMAI's governance, its role and its presence at the foot of the US Congress. I also covered the sometimes competing or conflicting demands which museum staff must negotiate. These included questions of how to approach citizenship and identity within the discourses of nationhood and national identity, Native American tribal nationhood and identity, pan-Indigenous identity within the US and across the Americas, and the museum's responsibilities to both Native and non-Native visitors and constituents. Data revealed that the NMAI staff were conscious of the social impact and responsibility of the institution beyond the confines of the Mall Museum, and that they recognized the Cultural Resources Center in particular as having the capacity to create a contact zone or interface that mobilized the operations, resources and skills of the NMAI for the use of community-based museums.⁴ Despite the support that they expressed for the museum's strategic goals, however, most interviewees questioned the

Museum's ability to easily achieve the dialogical contact zone ideal. The interview data point to a tension which exists between the NMAI's remit as a national museum and the sometimes contrary ideas about whether citizenship might be better constructed relative to a local or indeed, cultural authority rather than a federal agency, regardless of how dialogic it is in approach.⁵

This article has three parts. In the first section I introduce the NMAI and outline its aspiration to become an intermediary institution. Second, I present a theoretical framework concerning issues of cultural and political sovereignty and citizenship. Finally, this theoretical framework provides the basis for a brief case study that asks if the incorporation of the 'National Powwow' into the programme of annual events organized by Community and Constituent Services and Public Programs might be judged as enabling the Museum to meet its responsibilities to Native and non-Native visitors, and to its Native constituents. If so, can the powwow (or other outreach activities) also offer an alternative to the traditional ways in which people have understood and experienced the connections between concepts of citizenship and the influence of national government? Although the powwow may be criticized as providing an experience that is both different from, and challenging, to the traditional museum enterprise (it is commercial, interactive, spectacular, and a competition between individuals and groups), it is also the case that the NMAI itself aspires to be very un-museumlike. Or, indeed, as the founding director, W. Richard West described it, a 'radically different' museum (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991, West 2000:7, West 2003). This aspiration was signalled early on in the institution's planning process when a proposal was made to 'eliminate the word "museum" in order to emphasize the broader mission of NMAI and to be more culturally comfortable, and to avoid the formal use of the word "Indian" which is another culture's misnomer' (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991:3, 21). It is my contention that, in the final instance, the powwow, whilst not appealing to all audiences or constituents, does provide potential for the creation of an intermediary site that may connect people with each other, with the NMAI and other cultural centres, and with a range of other community and governmental services, initiatives, networks, and business opportunities that spin outwards from the NMAI's connections to federal government. It is, for instance, notable that the NMAI's Cultural Resources Center hosts an 'Open House' the day after the powwow has finished. This allows people who have travelled to Washington DC to visit or conduct research into their collections and cultural patrimony. Although to a degree considered problematic by the Museum, the powwow, held off-site, provides the conditions that enable a kind of visitor engagement that is unlikely to be created at the Mall Museum. In this it meets the NMAI's mandate for outreach and may create new sites of civic interaction and Native sovereignty.

The NMAI as intermediary institution

The NMAI was established by an act of Congress in 1989, as one of a suite of US federal statutes that embodied a new spirit of reconciliation and a revitalized interest in cultural politics. The aim was to reconnect collections and communities. On 21 September 2004, the institution's flagship building opened at the eastern end of the National (Smithsonian) Mall directly opposite the United States Capitol (which serves as the legislative branch of the US federal government) and nearby to other national museums, memorials and significant institutions (including the National Museum of American History, the National Museum of Natural History, the Washington Monument, the Library of Congress, the United States Supreme Court Building, and the White House). The NMAI was aligned with a federal policy preference for constitutional multiculturalism and thus it represents the liberal aim to 'provide the resources that will enable the minority culture to flourish', and to enable (if not exemplify) 'institutional structures that will enable the majority to open itself up to the minority, to accept the minority as a dialogue partner' (Tsosie 2001:218). Legal scholar Rebecca Tsosie (Yaqui) argues that the American constitutional tradition can *only* encompass the claims of Indian nations for recognition of their separate cultural and political identity by means of these kinds of provision. Despite this superficial alignment of interests, however, an ongoing challenge faced by the NMAI has been how to balance the normative ideas of mainstream American nationalism represented by its neighbouring

buildings and monuments (and largely associated with the overwhelmingly non-Native visitors to the Mall Museum) with the ideas of tribal sovereignty and independence that are embraced for the most by large sections of the Museum's Native constituents, many of whom will never visit the Mall Museum.⁶

A crucial point here is the issue of indigenous group rights. Mainstream commentators and liberal theorists often express the concern that group rights conflict with, and have the potential to undermine, the unitary political community. They are presented as violating important constitutional norms of American civil society which convey 'universal' human values as singular and as more fundamental than individual or group rights (which 'should' be relegated to the private sphere and submerged in the interests of the 'common good'). In other words, the American system tolerates cultural pluralism as long as it does not impede or contravene the fundamental liberal norms of civil society. However, in seeking to exacerbate the disjuncture of this system with their points of primary affiliation and concepts of citizenship, Native groups often resist the thought that they are merely 'equal citizens' in American democracy. According to Tsosie 'they are tribal citizens in a separate political society that must coexist with and within American democracy' (Tsosie 2001:219).

The NMAI seeks to move beyond the opposing terms of this debate. Its strategic focus on the 'contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere' (NMAI Mission Statement) offers a clear indication that the Museum aims to foreground and privilege cross-cultural engagement and the concept of *cultural* citizenship over a more traditional, and politically fraught definition of the term as tied exclusively to ideas of nationalism (where, for instance, citizens enact allegiance to the nation as an imagined singular entity that has the power to confer legitimacy but also to reject claims to membership) (Cobb 2005:489, 492). Indeed, W. Richard West's awareness of potentially conflicting loyalties and the requirement to balance multiple conceptions and indeed cultures of citizenship led the founding director to contend that the Museum must embody a paradigm shift. In a frequently-quoted statement, West (in Evelyn and Hirsch 2006:90) asserts that the NMAI 'has the capacity for becoming a larger social and civil space, a national and international forum . . . regarding Native peoples and cultures and their broad and deep experience, past and present'. This statement reiterates the spirit of the NMAI's conception as represented in the institution's central planning treatise, *The Way of the People*, which articulated that the NMAI would 'extend and change the definition of a museum within the Smithsonian Institution and in the perceptions of its visitors, through conducting traditional museum activities in new ways' (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991:103).

These 'new ways' referred, in essence, to a greater commitment to reconnecting communities with the NMAI's collections, an outcome that was to be achieved by developing stronger partnerships between the NMAI and community-based cultural centres and organizations. From the outset the Museum embraced a collaborative approach to museum making that invoked a new form of power sharing in which museum and community partners co-manage a broad range of the activities that lead to the final exhibitions, programs and experiences. This approach also illustrates the shift in museological practice that came to be known as the New Museology and which occurred in the late 1980s and 90s.⁷ Characterized by enhanced community outreach and participation programmes, the cultural centre-like new museums promoted by the new museology were seen as having potential to provide a place 'in which new forces and realities are constructed, and then mobilized in social programs by those who are empowered to act as their credible interpreters' (Bennett 2005: 525). Community leaders or spokespeople – sometimes called 'strategic brokers' (Message 2007) often take on the role of 'translator' and work with the professional museum curator or staff member whose role, according to Ruth Phillips is defined as that of a 'facilitator who puts his or her disciplinary and museological expertise at the service of community members so that their messages can be disseminated as clearly and as effectively as possible.'⁸ The desire to offer an opportunity for brokering between professional museum and community interests and knowledge means that the NMAI functions as an 'intermediary institution' (Phillips 2003:163).⁹ This charges the NMAI with the obligation of providing a clearly defined use-value or social functionality that moves beyond educational programmes to embrace public service and social development ideals so that it can both motivate and respond to action beyond its walls.

Accordingly, the Museum has expressed a dedication to facilitating the development of more cultural centres across the country, and in 2006 it published a guidebook for Native communities on how to create community museums. In the book's preface co-editor, Karen Coody Cooper (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma) speaks for the NMAI when she explains, 'we anticipate that this book marks the beginning of a long-term collaboration between the National Museum of the American Indian and Native communities' (Cooper 2006:9; see also NMAI 2004).¹⁰ The Museum is particularly concerned with recognizing the value of engaging with and indeed modelling the practices employed by intermediary institutions like the Alutiiq Museum. This concern extends to the cultural centres and tribal museums that are located within and governed by one of the 562 federally recognized tribes or by the many other groups and peoples that are attempting to gain recognition of their separate political identity and respect for their tribal legal and political institutions.¹¹

Rather than producing a 'side-by-side' effect, where marginal communities are positioned as 'like', organized in relation to each other and thereby defined in opposition to the mainstream polity defined as 'national', the networks promoted by the NMAI aim to link Native communities and cultural centres to the NMAI, which is set up as a national hub that provides access to collections, information, resources and funding, as well as a direct connection to US federal government.¹² In addition, collaboration between the NMAI and cultural centres has helped the NMAI's aspiration to model the practices and focus on consultation and collaboration that it sees exemplified in some of the community-based centres. This means that networks are understood to benefit both community-based centres and the NMAI on the basis that they provide a structure and resources that allow communities to locate their own experiences within a wider framework and develop projects that go beyond the strictly local dimension. To represent its preference for exchange-based relationships, the NMAI developed a kind of 'hub and spoke' model (my term) where the Community and Constituent Services Department and its home base, the Cultural Resources Center in Maryland (known as the 'Fourth Museum') occupied the central hub, and the regional and remote cultural centres and tribal museums were represented in the position of interlocked spokes.¹³

This 'hub and spoke' model presents the NMAI as an intermediary organization that contributes to the emergence of contact zones – not *on* the Mall, but off-site, in a variety of non-national locations – which may allow it to engage in meaningful dialogue with a range of Native American actors about their experience of citizenship in a contemporary postcolonial multicultural environment. Through maintaining networks of tribal museums that are largely informal, definitely stretched, and predominantly maintained through personal relationships, the NMAI mediates more directly between communities and individuals and collections (and services/resources/skills pertaining to these collections), between geographically discrete communities and the tension between 'group rights' and 'common' interests, and between tribal museums and communities to facilitate a transfer of knowledge and skills about museum making, interpretive skills and approaches. This series of exchanges promotes the agency of local museums as intermediary institutions that can become vehicles for international and global connections through web-based exchanges and other partnerships. Perhaps indicating a degree of success in regard to its aspiration to be perceived as cultural centre-like, the NMAI was described in 2006 by at least one commentator as being 'like a tribal museum' (Jacknis 2006:532).

Citizenship contests

In the last two decades, the liberal tradition of rights where citizenship aspires to be unitary and universalist-, has been significantly influenced by ideas of universal and cosmopolitan human rights as defined by the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (adopted by the United Nations on 13 September 2007 after 143 Member States voted in favour, 11 abstained and four – Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States – voted against the text). At the same time globalization has threatened some of our received ideas that the territorial sovereign state is a unitary thing.¹⁴ For example, the notion of citizenship as being a singular and exclusive formation has been pluralized and pushed aside by theorists including Renato Rosaldo (1994), Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (1994), Aihwa Ong (1996), Marion

Iris Young (2000), Toby Miller (2001), Gerard Delanty (2007), Nick Stevenson (2003) and Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (2007), whose work has led to recognition that citizenship may be understood more broadly than as referring to the legal-formal relations between individuals and political institutions. These scholars argue that citizenship can also refer to the more inclusive concept of membership of a community whereby 'active' citizenship is realized through everyday social and civic experience as well as cultural practice. Native artists, curators, writers and scholars including Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche), Gerald McMaster (Plains Cree and member of the Siksika Nation) and Jolene Rickard (Tuscarora) have also played a key role in defining the parameters of the emerging field in context of the NMAI. They have sought to develop the interconnections between cultural and political sovereignty within the Museum's various spaces, with each providing 'a different context for political sovereignty, one rooted in autonomy for Native people as distinct cultural groups' (Coffey and Tsosie 2001:201). Such actions correspond with West's contention that 'political sovereignty and cultural sovereignty are inextricably linked, because the ultimate goal of political sovereignty is protecting a way of life' (in Coffey and Tsosie 2001:202). Thus, the artists and curators involved in the NMAI have sought to balance the institution's strategic interest in celebrating and documenting contemporary experience and in collecting and promoting contemporary art as evidence of the 'survival' of Native Americans whilst challenging the traditional role of museums as governmental institutions that contributed to colonial encounter and enterprise.

It is becoming commonplace for discussions about citizenship to rely on 'culture' as a way to redefine the term, as is the argument that cultural collectives or 'communities' may also be sites of political membership and legitimacy. Thus, Coffey and Tsosie (2001:198) argue that political action cannot be successful without equivalent attention being paid to cultural practice, tradition, and forms of identity construction. They say: 'Contemporary legal battles centre around the concept of political sovereignty as Indian nations attempt to define and defend the boundaries of their jurisdictional authority. However, these legal struggles for political sovereignty coincide with a larger battle: the battle to protect and defend tribal cultures from the multitude of forces that threaten the cultural survival of Indian nations' (Coffey and Tsosie 2001:196). This 'cultural turn' moved the debate about citizenship from political to civic and social rights and to matters of identity, gender, sexuality and race. Relatedly, there has been an interest in the potentially unifying and motivating aspects of values and habits whilst recognizing that the norms of citizenship are contested and influenced by power relations. Cultural citizenship, as we can call it, is often understood as emphasizing difference and cultural practice in order to protect the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) in respect of the norms of the dominant national community but *without* compromising one's right to belong to the larger political community (in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes). The implication here is that although the legal formation of citizenship can protect the rights of an individual, that individual will probably look to the civic sphere and to their membership in what may be a differently defined, affiliated, or articulated community to consolidate their sense of personal identity. Inspired by community-based 'bottom-up' activism, the development of cultural citizenship has tended to be aligned with a multicultural ideal and has led to the establishment of many social and cultural policy frameworks and initiatives that seek to legitimize cultural difference by integrating it within a pre-existing or otherwise normative mainstream conception of civil society. However, Aihwa Ong (1996:738) argues that far from mounting an effective challenge to the liberal principle of universal equality, cultural citizenship risks subscribing to the same old idea of civic integration. Moreover, native scholars have largely rejected claims for multicultural (or 'special') rights, arguing that these are inconsistent with claims to self-government rights on the basis that the former seek entry into a multicultural mainstream, while the latter seek the systematic political acknowledgement of difference (Coffey and Tsosie 2001:197. Also see Kymlicka and Norman 1994:375).

The NMAI's adoption of the language of cultural rights demonstrates that citizenship is to be understood in increasingly progressive terms, and that it is an increasingly contested concept in which the state cannot, single-handedly, frame or account for new nationalisms and cross-border affinities (Miller 2001:5). The Museum recognizes that a sense of community membership, along with the ability of people to reflect on their identities and everyday interpersonal interactions, contribute importantly to the way citizenship is experienced and

represented by individuals and groups. In speaking about his relationship with the NMAI, performance and installation artist, James Luna (Luiseño) (who represented the NMAI and contemporary Native American art at the 2005 Venice Biennale) commented: 'One thing that I'm proud about the museum here is that early on they said that this is our museum and we're going to speak about our issues the way we see them, [that means] Native involvement from the ground up' (Luna 2005). The NMAI's interest in supporting and being part of a network of tribal museums has also contributed to the shift towards recognizing cultural citizenship and sovereignty. The shift signals a related preference for decision-making processes that occur at the social or community level and involve, ideally, a large number of diverse actors (not only governmental, but also from the private and non-profit as well as community sectors). Consequently, the Museum has attempted to incorporate the demands of citizens and groups to be involved in decisions that affect them so that the new focus on cultures of citizenship can function as an extension of claims by minority groups for greater direct political representation, or sovereignty. Although their position differs from that of Native Americans who claim the political recognition of their rightful status as separate political entities, proponents of global democracy and cultural pluralism (Young 2000) also endorse these changes. They contend that citizenship does not need to be articulated directly through the nation-state or according to legal formations to be meaningful, but that it can be exercised in a multiplicity of sites or networks located at different levels of government and systems of governance.

The NMAI's shift away from purely political notions of citizenship may have been designed to accommodate the fact that in the United States, just as elsewhere, citizenship has become a site of competing visions of political community, as well as the recognition that this is nowhere more apparent than in forums representing relationships between the federal and state governments of the United States, Native nations, and other federally recognized and unrecognized tribes. However, disappointment has been expressed by a number of Native commentators, including former NMAI employee, Jacki Thompson Rand (Choctaw) (2007:134), who have argued that the institution's focus on cultural recognition and the representation of traditional and contemporary arts is not sufficient to motivate real change. Cultural recognition, she argues, 'will not create a working arena where Native America might engage the United States government on something resembling level ground', but will only provide a distraction from the core project of achieving social justice, political power, and economic change for Native Americans. Other commentators have similarly argued that the basis for an effective indigenous citizenship would need to strengthen the potential for participatory democracy (ideally through increased direct representation in Congress) rather than emerge exclusively from the notion of cultural autonomy or cultural citizenship (Granville Miller 2006, Sissons 2005).¹⁵ Sam Deloria (Rock Sioux) argues against a cultural conception of sovereignty on the basis that it might be interpreted to suggest that sovereignty for Indians is conditional upon cultural distinctiveness. This means that citizenship would be conditional on the provision of evidence of cultural purity or authenticity and that this evidence would be adjudicated by Congress or the United States Supreme Court (Deloria 2002:58).¹⁶ According to this argument, culture is not the contact zone or bridge claimed by the NMAI, but a rapid concession of power. Similarly, Joanne Barker (Lenape [Delaware Tribe of Indians]) and Clayton Dumont (Klamath/Umpqua) argue that the Museum is disingenuous in its stated interest in community-based cultures of citizenship. Reiterating Ruth Phillips's (2003:166) caution that contemporary museums must avoid 'transmitting a falsely harmonious representation of conflicts not yet resolved in the world outside the museum', Barker and Dumont contend that the Museum overlooks the impact of tribal politics and is inattentive to the conflicts over identity that play out at community (rather than regional or national) levels. They ask 'what kinds of intertribal politics had informed the consultation process and resulting installations? How did unrecognized tribes figure into the NMAI's mission and installations?' (Barker and Dumont 2006:112). Then, taking the first-person speaking position, Barker explains that she 'wanted to see more than a history of policy' within the museum. She did not want elaboration of the relations between tribes and the United States, but 'wanted to see the tribes' discursive struggles over self-definition laid bare' (Barker and Dumont 2006:134).

The NMAI has attracted a panoply of responses since opening, and while each of these represents diverse agendas, most are concerned with some element of the Museum's

relationship to issues of nation, identity and citizenship. There is a general recognition that citizenship is the essence of a representative democracy that is accountable to and responsive to its peoples. A correlate of this is that national museums have a key role to play in both promoting *and* challenging links between the legal notion of citizenship and the (all too often) distinctive civic notion of a citizenship that refers to the diversity of ways that people practice identity, and understand how they should act and be treated as members of a community (Rubenstein 2007). The latter 'civic' notion of citizenship relies on our recognition that a person's identity cannot be wholly determined by law. Some commentators have identified the museum as a site that advocates successfully for Native (if not tribal) concerns, while others perceive it as representing a compelling if not oppressive image of federal government authority. These responses ultimately combine to suggest that national governments continue to be perceived as powerful defenders of culture, if not the main guarantor of 'universal' human rights (certainly in the United States, where tribal governmental authority is subject to an overriding federal authority), and that museums continue to be seen as instrumental to the central role citizenship has in ongoing projects of national cultural homogenization.

The National Powwow

My most recent trip to the NMAI coincided with the 2007 National Powwow. Sponsored by the Museum and held off-site at the enormous multi-purpose Verizon Center on 601 F St NW (the heart of Chinatown), the Powwow represented a massive investment of museum resources (both labour and financial) in what is, in effect, part of its outreach programme. In the interviews I conducted in the days leading up to the Powwow, a number of staff members mentioned that the NMAI's sponsorship of this event was not fully supported by the staff nor by all constituents of the Museum, and that the Museum's sponsorship of the Powwow was going to be reviewed against the NMAI's mission and strategic plan (NMAI Board of Trustees 2005). Some expressed frustration at the time and resources that it sapped from other parts of the Museum's operations and budget, and one explained that not all Native communities are comfortable with the idea of dancing for money (this powwow offered \$125,000 in prize money). One curator suggested that the Powwow's focus on authentic cultural practice risked compromising the NMAI's commitment to encouraging contemporary artistic expression and their attempts (epitomized by their involvement in Venice Biennale for the last two years) 'to show that Native culture is more than beads and feathers'.¹⁷

Despite the 'cultural and educational' reasons for the NMAI's sponsorship of this event (Leonda Levchuk in Fekeiki 2007:B2), the distinction between the Verizon Center Powwow and the Museum was made clearer by the NMAI's programming of the Dakota Plains Dancers, a community troupe of champion powwow dancers that perform powwow songs and dances of the Northern Plains. On several occasions throughout the National Powwow, the Dakota Plains Dancers moved from the Verizon Center, where they were competing, to the Mall Museum, where they presented museum audiences with demonstrations of powwow dance categories that were accompanied by an explanation of the history, song style, and regalia. The public program was strongly narrative-driven. It employed standard Western educational and pedagogical models so that, for example, the performance took place on a raised stage. Audience members were asked to keep children quiet and the production was fully facilitated by a NMAI public programmes staff member and the dance troupe's manager, who, in sharing the roles of explainer and emcee, negotiated differences between the performance and audience. Queues of visitors wanting entry to the museum performances assembled a couple of hours before the starting time of each session, spiralling outward toward the Museum's service door. At the beginning of the performance that I attended, the NMAI Public Program Officer Linda Martin (Navajo) asked the capacity crowd filling the 300-seat Rasmuson Theatre how many people had attended a powwow before. Only a couple of hands were raised. For most audience members, this was the first time they had attended a powwow style event or demonstration, and although the NMAI operated an hourly shuttle service from the Museum to the Verizon Center, I do not know how many people took up the opportunity to go on to the Powwow. Long queues appeared at the end of each museum performance, when visitors were invited up on stage to talk to, and have their photos taken with the performers.

In contrast, the National Powwow was held in the central arena of the Verizon Center, surrounded by stalls selling Native arts and food. Proceedings were also conducted by joint Masters of Ceremonies, Vince Beyl (Anishinabe) and Dennis Bowen, Sr. (Seneca) but, in contrast with the Museum events, there were frequent calls for visitors and audience members, Native and non-Native to join in the powwow. Whereas the ritualized museum theatre space allowed the NMAI to easily restrict and monitor photography of the dancers, the announcers at the Verizon Center were engaged in a constant dynamic exchange with the press and other photographers interspersed throughout the arena. With increasing frustration the announcers repeatedly reminded photographers that they must not disrupt nor get in the way of the procession, that they must ask dancers for their permission before taking photographs, and that they must not publish said photographs in the press or in 'art journals'.

Integrated into the NMAI's public programs, the powwow provided an opportunity for Native and non-Native people to celebrate Native American culture. It also reinforced the pluralist notions of identity expressed by Native peoples, who frequently identify as tribal, 'Native', and as citizens of the United States. The Masters of Ceremonies juggled the tension between tribalism and pan-Indigeneity by discussing the different tribal nations and asking people where they had come from, while simultaneously celebrating the unity created by the forum. They expressed pride that different tribal nations and communities were brought together by the event. Similarly, media reports cited the Museum spokesperson, Leonda Levchuk saying 'it's a time for all the tribes to come together and represent our heritage' (in Fekeiki 2007:B2). The Powwow also included expressions of pride and gratitude for the role that Native servicemen play in America's continuing war against Iraq, and for the historical contribution that Native Americans have made to the creation of the United States of America. This was expressed most clearly in the Grand Entry, in which all tribes and communities entered the arena, following on from John Herrington, the first Native American astronaut, and veterans of the Iraq and Vietnam wars and the families of those currently on tours of duty. For the Grand Entry at least, the astronaut and veterans dressed in military uniforms rather than traditional regalia. Although there is some debate over the appropriateness of including the US flag as a central feature of the proceedings, other participants felt that,

their own or their relatives' military service in World War II, Vietnam, or the Middle East contributed to an increasing sense of connection with the United States as a whole. Such experiences provide a different perspective on the Grand Entry and related memorials at powwows even in the face of a broader history of domination and discrimination (Andrews and Olney 2007:82).

The multilateral focus embraced by the Powwow provides an indication that citizenship is increasingly routinely understood in relation to multiple and even overlapping spheres of action, agency and meaning.

Rhetoric about the NMAI as an intermediary institution was apparent at all levels of public communications surrounding the National Powwow. It promoted the Museum's sponsorship of the powwow as extending the NMAI's strategic aim to position Native ritual and performance as both a cultural product and also as historical evidence of cultural survival (Berlo 2007). A comparison of the tightly structured dance demonstration held at the NMAI with the much larger powwow suggests that it was the latter which accords with Mary Louise Pratt's (1992:6-7) original understanding of the contact zone concept as 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict'. James Clifford (1997:213) has further expanded the contact zone concept, which he applies to museums holding Native American cultural patrimony, where the works made by the artisans of one people have historically been gathered, interpreted, and displayed by the curatorial staff of another people. Picking up on Clifford's (1997:214) observation that community-based cultural centres or tribal museums have the potential to claim a locally controlled place in the broader public culture, while speaking both within particular communities and to a wider array of audiences, Patricia Pierce Erikson argues that the museum as contact zone concept 'makes possible the interpretation of tribal museums and cultural centres as more than products of post 1960s activism and government policy'

Erikson (2003:542). However, it is much more difficult for national museums to realize the possibilities associated with the contact zone concept. Subject to critiques about the shortcomings of cultural sovereignty, it is, as Ruth B. Phillips and Mark Salber Phillips surmise, most likely that 'the large questions of land and power will not, of course, be resolved within a museum. All a museum can do is to disrupt tired stereotypes and ways of thinking that lead only to dead ends and to stimulate its visitors to think critically about contemporary issues' (Phillips 2005: 702). Indeed, pragmatism about what is likely to be achieved within a museum may have contributed to the NMAI's attempts to connect with and model practices of outreach and collaboration employed by institutions like the Alutiiq Museum. These relationships represent the NMAI's interest in promoting the museum as a space of dialogue and feedback. And yet, the Powwow provided a further, if not exemplary opportunity for collaboration between participating dancers, the MCs (who were primarily responsible for 'brokering' between Native and non-Native participants and audiences) and the NMAI. The presiding Masters of Ceremonies were able to facilitate interpretations and knowledge that do not 'erase Western traditions of discourse and display, but rather intervene in them' (Phillips 2003:165). In so doing, the pluralism enacted in this forum may contribute to the NMAI's aim to expand and challenge traditional understandings of citizenship.

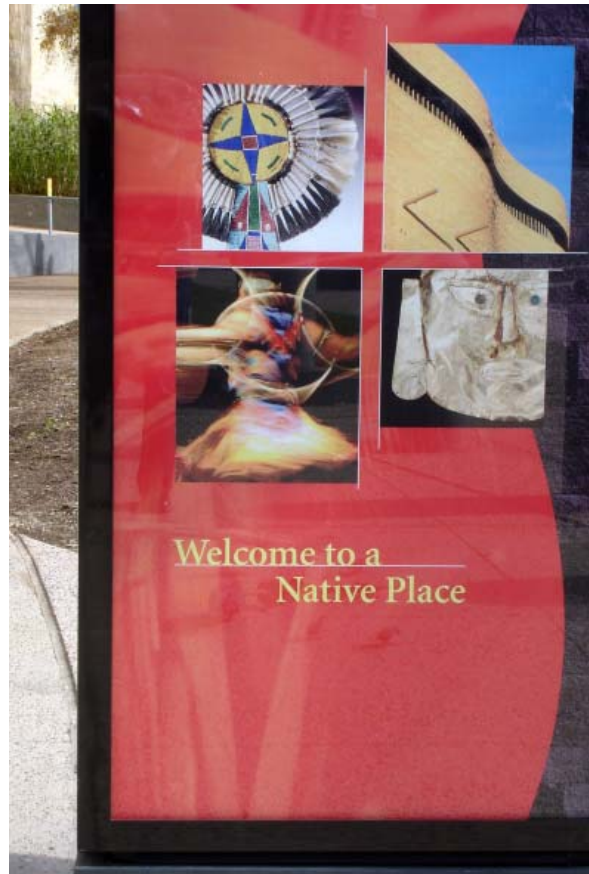


Fig. Welcome to a Native Place, (photo: author)

Conclusion

Ultimately, the question of who – federal government or Native nation – has the right to define the field of citizenship becomes even more difficult in light of the fact that while the American tradition of citizenship has tended to stress engagement with the local community rather than a central nation-state (Putnam 2000), citizenship has also always been a central tool in ongoing projects of (national) cultural homogenization and exclusion. Indeed, tensions between tribalism and constitutionalism appear central to debates about the NMAI, which has an international mandate, privileges images of shared, multi-tribal authority and must as such juggle the responsibilities of being a 'Native place' with those of a federal institution (see fig). This means that the NMAI is tasked with balancing its commitment to Native self-determination with its simultaneous remit to American constitutionalism, which privileges a unitary civil society and 'serves the goal of nationalism by offering a "super-identity" that trumps "all other identities"' (Lawrence Friedman in Tsosie 2003b:367).¹⁸ Although the organization, governance and activities of the NMAI do not resolve the question as to whether tribal cultural and political activity can or even should be reconciled within the larger unitary construction of civil society and

common citizenship, it is clear that institutional rhetoric attempts to position the Museum as a dialogic and intermediary institution that attempts – predominantly through the Community and Constituent Services Department and ‘Fourth Museum’ programmes – to bridge diverse political positions and to suggest a way forward that is premised on the political recognition of cultural citizenship.¹⁹ We may conclude that although properly dialogical contact zones are unlikely to occur in the Mall Museum, they may emerge in off-site venues – ideally cultural centres or tribal museums that are governed by local community interests, but really in any context in which Native interests are represented back to the nation-state (via an intermediary institution or network such as those provided by the NMAI). It did appear, for instance, that a space of dialogue and exchange was created at the Verizon Center for the National Powwow, while this same outcome did not emerge as a result of the museum-based performances.

My interest in writing this article has been to present a vignette of the NMAI. I have presented this in the light of the challenges associated with attempts to bring discussion about ideas of cultural and political sovereignty and citizenship into a national museum context. Contextualized thus, the study shows that although access to and participation in cultural activities or traditions may be represented as secondary to political participation, typically as ‘symbolic restitution for the injustices of the colonial era in lieu of more concrete forms of social, economic and political redress’ (Phillips 2004:22), debates on the politics of difference and the politics of entitlement are increasingly being staged according to the language of cultural rights. This language has become a central feature in the NMAI’s promotion of images of pan-Indigeneity (where the NMAI is a ‘Native’ rather than tribal place) to the largely non-Native audiences to the Mall museum. In this guise the museum positions itself within multicultural discourses of mainstream America. However, the language of cultural rights means something different when directed toward exchanges with the Museum’s Native constituents, many of whom continue to lobby the museum to agitate for more than the ‘special’ rights associated with pluralist democracy. Rather than being satisfied with a dualistic account of the Museum’s activities, however, my discussion aims to show the necessity of conducting further research into this multiplicity of meanings. This would examine what the pragmatic pluralism of people’s approaches to identity might mean for the NMAI and its attempts to provide an interdisciplinary institution that generates new forms of social interaction and a dynamic form of cultural politics in order to contribute to if not challenge concepts of citizenship that reflect traditional national identity discourses.

Received 29th July 2008

Finally accepted 2nd January 2008

Notes

- ¹ My aim in this article is not to analyze the Museum’s exhibitions, about which much has been written. For an emblematic range of responses see *The Public Historian*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2006, and *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 30, nos. 3 & 4, 2006. For an evaluation of the NMAI’s most recent challenges, see Editor’s Report, ‘NMAI at a crossroads’, *Indian Country Today*, 27 Sept. 2007.
- ² Most relevant to this discussion are Public Law 105-185 (National Museum of the American Indian Act) passed by Congress in 1989, Public Law 101-601 (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) passed by Congress in 1990, and Public Law 101-644 (Indian Arts and Crafts Act) passed by Congress in 1990.
- ³ I met with curators, outreach program and museum training workshop coordinators, community and constituent coordinators responsible for language programs, the community curators program, and the ‘Fourth Museum’ virtual museum training, Arts/Radio and Training project managers, project managers associated with the art collections, executive staff members, and interns working on collections management. I used a semi-structured list of qualitative, open-ended questions designed to guide the interviews toward discussion about the ways that the museum functioned as a social – rather than cultural – technology.

- ⁴ Scott and Luby's (2007) findings that although museums in the United States 'consider long-term relationships with Native communities to be important, they are not making the structural adjustments to ensure that such relationships are secure and long-lasting' were reiterated by a majority of NMAI staff interviewed for this project, although further work into programmes and what the NMAI call 'constituency impact' is required – see Note 5.
- ⁵ Rather than resolving issues, this study has led to a range of specific but more significant research questions about the NMAI's ability to function as the contact zone promoted by institutional rhetoric, and to the conclusion that although it *wants* to be such an institution, it is harder to demonstrate whether it is or is not achieving this. The scope of the current project has been expanded to move from internal institutional reflection to a wider one that includes substantial interviews with community-located collaborators, audiences, a large survey of institutional responses, and analysis of a range of NMAI and tribally-produced archival sources. Supported by the Australian Research Council Discovery Project Scheme, this next phase (DP0984602) will run from 2009 to 2012.
- ⁶ Although there is some variation, the NMAI reports that an average of 3% of visitors identify as Native (97% non-Native).
- ⁷ The new museology embraced principles associated with community ownership (encompassing representation, access and participation), collaboration and consultation between museums and communities. See, in particular, American Association of Museums 1984, Ames 2000, Mithlo 1994, Clifford 1997, 2004, Simpson 1996, Peers and Brown 2003, Kreps 2003.
- ⁸ Strategic brokers are not simply cultural interpreters who represent the communities' interests to the museum, but are conscious reflexive subjects that speak of collective creation and of individual agency (and ownership). They are not 'carriers, "transmitters", and "bearers" of traditions, terms that connote a passive medium, conduit, or vessel, without volition, intention, or subjectivity' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006:179). Ann McMullen (2008:56) adds that working with communities, 'especially where tribal approval is sought, representatives are tribally appointed, and the results face review by tribal councils', is very complex, particularly when community processes bring forward 'multiple bodies of knowledge represented by different community members'.
- ⁹ In the field of political theory, the idea of the individual as 'strategic broker' has largely been replaced by the concept of an 'intermediary institution'. The 'intermediary institution' has been deployed to represent mediating structures that 'broker between the public interest of the state and the private interests of "the people".' According to Berger and Neuhaus (in Ossewaarde 2006:208) 'the *real* interests, *real* needs and *real* values of "the people" are expressed, rather than the imaginary and abstract visions of policy makers' through these mediating structures. Collaboration between community based strategic brokers and 'intermediary institutions' are important because, as Ruth Phillips explains, 'professional museum staff can never "only" facilitate, because community-based exhibits, like multivocal exhibits, are always built on top of layers of information, interpretation, and museological conventions that have accumulated over time' (2003:164). Berger and Neuhaus go on to say that intermediary institutions exist more comfortably outside of the realm of the nation-state, in civil society, and that they tend to be 'located in between the nation-state and the individual'.
- ¹⁰ For discussion of a range of tribal museums and cultural centres see Abrams 2004, Erickson 2003, Mauzé 2003, Nesper 2005.
- ¹¹ Tsosie (2003a:234) says: 'As groups, American Indian nations within the United States are considered "domestic" sovereigns. Indian nations enjoy both political and cultural sovereignty as an aspect of their inherent status as separate governments. As individuals, Native people

in the United States possess citizenship in the larger nation that colonized their lands, with all of the rights that citizenship entails yet they also possess citizenship within their indigenous nations.'

- ¹² The Museum's aim to create a 'long-term collaboration between the National Museum of the American Indian and Native communities' (Cooper 2006:9) also responds to the *Tribal Museums in America* report that presented results of a survey that aimed to determine 'the present overall status, current situation, needs, and expectations of a wide range of tribal museums and cultural centres throughout the United States' (Abrams 2004:3). According to the report's author, George H.J. Abrams (Seneca) (2004:24), 'one of the major conclusions to emerge from this survey is the almost universal expression of need for the creation of a national American Indian tribal museum association; a freestanding organization unaffiliated with any existing organization'. The NMAI's role in the network may be important on the basis that it seeks to provide a lobbying organization to press for legislation favourable to the Indian museum movement in the United States. According to Abrams (2004:24), 'Advocacy ranks relatively high by respondents, and they picture an organization representing tribal museums at the national level'. Similarly, McMullen (2008) says that tribal participation in the NMAI's exhibitions and programmes may be 'strategically aimed at increasing community visibility and contributing toward federal recognition as a tribe with their own cultural traditions'.
- ¹³ Known as 'the museum without walls', the Community and Constituent Services Department is located just outside Washington DC, at the Cultural Resources Center at Suitland, Maryland. Primarily a research facility, the Cultural Resources Center contains information, paper and photo archives, a library and information resource centre, repatriation services, conservation labs, and the museum's collections (of over 800,000 objects). It also has interior and exterior spaces and areas where the ritual and ceremonial care of Native objects by Native people can take place, where smoke from smudging is welcome and where there are rooms available for people who need to change from street clothes to conduct ceremonies. Curatorial, cultural resources, repatriation, community services, and administrative staff work from the Cultural Resources Center. The NMAI's website promotes Community and Constituent Services as the 'cornerstone of the museum's commitment to outreach, providing a vital link between museum staff and collections and Native communities' (<http://www.nmai.si.edu.au>). It hosts museum training and internship programs, travelling exhibition workshops, community exhibitions programs, virtual museum workshops, community arts development schemes, and other programs which are frequently held in regional cultural centres and tribal museums rather than at the NMAI.
- ¹⁴ The UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (adopted unanimously at the 31st UNESCO General Conference, November 2006) has also influenced these changes. Also see Message 2005 and Message 2009.
- ¹⁵ Some scholars have argued that the museum would need to recognize and inspire Native Americans to engage in activism and community leadership in order to really function as an intermediary institution. For example, Thompson Rand (2007), argues that it would aspire to more than cultural recognition and celebrate examples that include 'the successes of the Chickasaw Nation', who have used casino proceeds to benefit the people in the form of a wellness centre, counselling centre, library, scholarships, an aviation and science summer academy, and rebuilt stomp grounds (for an annual green corn dance), 'the devoted activism and scholarship of Andrea Smith, and the ongoing work of community-based activists'.
- ¹⁶ Although, in theory, only Congress has the power to 'disestablish' a reservation, the United States Supreme Court has jurisprudence to find that a tribe can 'lose its governmental authority if the tribe's lands are perceived to have lost their "Indian character"' (Tsosie 2003b:375).

- ¹⁷ It is beyond the scope of this article to provide detailed examination of the powwow. See Andrews and Olney 2007.
- ¹⁸ U.S. CONST. Amend. XIV, § 1. All Persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.
- ¹⁹ This strategy provides an effective response to the common constitutional complaint that the claims for self-determination expressed by indigenous peoples represent an absence (or rejection) of identification with civil society. Common to exhibition narratives in the NMAI are statements about Native peoples feeling a dual allegiance to their tribal nation and the United States. Indeed, this is the topic of the Smithsonian Institution travelling exhibition, *Native Words, Native Warriors* (2006-2011) that tells the story of American Indian Code Talkers. According to Smithsonian publicity, 'The U.S. military first enlisted American Indians to relay messages in their Native languages during World War I, even though the United States did not consider American Indians citizens until 1924. These encoded messages proved undecipherable by the enemy and helped the United States achieve victory' (<http://www.nmai.si.edu/education/codetalkers/>).

References

- Abrams, G. H. J. (2004) *Tribal Museums in America*, Nashville TN: The American Association for State and Local History.
- American Association of Museums (1984) *Museums for a New Century: A Report of the Commission on Museums for a New Century*, Washington, DC: American Association of Museums.
- Ames, M. M. (2000) 'Are Changing Representations of First Peoples in Canadian Museums and Galleries Challenging the Curatorial Prerogative?' in National Museum of the American Indian (ed), *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian*, 73–88. Seattle WA: University of Washington Press.
- Andrews, T. J. and J. Olney (2007) 'Potlatch and Powwow: Dynamics of Culture through Lives Lived Dancing', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 31(1) 63-108.
- Barker, J. and C. Dumont (2006) 'Contested Conversations: Presentations, Expectations, and Responsibility at the National Museum of the American Indian', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 30 (2) 111-40.
- Bennett, T. (2005) 'Civic Laboratories: Museums, Cultural Objecthood and the Governance of the Social', *Cultural Studies*, 19 (5) 521-47.
- Berlo, J. C. (2007) 'Creativity and Cosmopolitanism: Women's Enduring Traditions', in Smithsonian Institution, *Identity By Design: Tradition, Change, and Celebration in Native Women's Dresses*, 97-148. Washington DC and New York: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.
- Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*,. Cambridge:Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, J. (2004) 'Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska', *Current Anthropology*, 45 (1) 5-30.
- Cobb, A. (2005) 'The National Museum of the American Indian as Cultural Sovereignty', *American Quarterly*, 57(2) 485-506.

Coffey, W. and R. Tsosie (2001) 'Rethinking the Tribal Sovereignty Doctrine: Cultural Sovereignty and the Collective Future of Indian Nations', *Stanford Law and Policy Review*, 12 (2) 191-221.

Cooper, K. C. (2006) 'Preface', in K. C. Cooper and N. I. Sandoval (eds), *Living Homes for Cultural Expression*, 8-10. Washington DC and New York: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Delanty, G. (2007) 'European Citizenship: A Critical Assessment', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1) 63-72.

Deloria, S. (2002) 'Commentary on Nation-Building: The Future of Indian Nations' *Arizona State Law Journal*, 34(1) 55-61.

Erickson, P. P. (2003) 'Welcome to This House: A Century of Makah People Honoring Identity and Negotiating Cultural Tourism', *Ethnohistory*, 50 (3) 523-47.

Evelyn, D. E. and M. G. Hirsch (2006) 'At the Threshold: A Response to Comments of the National Museum of the American Indian's Inaugural Exhibitions', *The Public Historian*, 28 (2) 85-90.

Fekeiki, O. (2007) 'Symbol of Home in Wartime on Center Stage at Indian Event', *The Washington Post*, Aug 11:B2.

Granville Miller, B. (2006) 'Bringing Culture in: Community Responses to Apology, Reconciliation, and Reparations', *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 30(4) 1-17.

Habermas, J. (2001) *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Isin, E. F. and B. S. Turner (2007) 'Investigating Citizenship: An Agenda for Citizenship Studies', *Citizenship Studies*, 11(1) 5-17.

Jacknis, I. (2006) 'A New Thing? The NMAI in Historical and Institutional Perspective', *American Indian Quarterly*, 30 (3-4) 511-42.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (2006) 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics' in I. Karp, C. A. Kratz, L. Szwaja, and T. Ybarra-Frausto (eds), *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, 161-203, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Kreps, C. F. (2003) 'Liberating Cultures: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums', *Curation and Heritage Preservation*, London: Routledge.

Kymlicka, W. and W. Norman (1994) 'Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory', *Ethics*, 104 (2) 352-81.

Luna, J. (2005) *James Luna: A Performance Rehearsal at the National Museum of the American Indian*, (DVD) Washington: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Mauzé, M. (2003) 'Two Kwakwaka'waka Museums: Heritage and Politics', *Ethnohistory*, 50 (3) 503-22.

McMullen, A. (2008) 'The Currency of Consultation and Collaboration', *Museum Anthropology Review*, 2 (2) 54-87.

- Message, K. (2005) 'Representing Cultural diversity in a Global Context: The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the National Museum of Australia', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8 (4) 465-85.
- Message, K. (2007) 'Museums and the Utility of Culture: The Politics of Liberal Democracy and Cultural Well-Being', *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 13 (2) 235-56.
- Message, K. (2009) 'New Directions for Civil Renewal in Britain: Social capital and Culture for All?' *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 12 (3) 257-78.
- Miller, T. (2001) 'Introducing ... Cultural Citizenship', *Social Text*, 19 (4) 1-5.
- Mithlo, N. M. (2004) 'Red Man's Burden: The Politics of Inclusion in Museum Settings', *American Indian Quarterly*, 28 (3-4) 743-63.
- National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) (2004) 'People and Place: Celebrating Native Cultures and Communities', in special commemorative issue of *American Indian*, Fall, 17- 20.
- Nesper, L. (2005) 'Historical Ambivalence in a Tribal Museum', *Museum Anthropology*, 28 (2) 1-16.
- NMAI Board of Trustees (2005) *National Museum of the American Indian Strategic Plan 2006-2008*. Washington DC and New York: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.
- Ong, A. (1996) 'Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States', *Current Anthropology*, 37 (5) 737-62.
- Ossewaarde, M. R. R. (2006) 'Citizenship in Civil Society?', *Journal of Civil Society*, 2 (3) 199-215.
- Phillips, R. B. (2003) 'Community Collaboration in Exhibitions: Introduction', in L. Peers and A. K. Brown (eds), *Museums and Source Communities*, 157-70, New York: Routledge.
- Phillips, R. B. (Comment) in Clifford, J. et al. (2004) 'Looking Several Ways: Anthropology and Native Heritage in Alaska [and Comments and Reply]', *Current Anthropology*, 45 (1) 5-30.
- Phillips, R. B. and M. S. Phillips (2005) 'Double Take: Contesting Time, Place, and Nation in the First Peoples Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization', *American Anthropologist*, 107(4) 694-704.
- Pratt, M. L. (1992) *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London: Routledge.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rosaldo, R. (1994) 'Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California'. *PoLAR*, 17 (2) 57-63.
- Rubenstein, K. (2007) 'Advancing Citizenship: The Legal Armory and Its Limits', *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, 8 (2) 509-35.
- Scott, E. and E. M. Luby (2007) 'Maintaining Relationships with Native Communities: The Role of Museum Management and Governance', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 22 (3) 265-85.

Simpson, M. (1996) *Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era*. London: Routledge.

Sissons, J. (2005) *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and their Futures*. London: Reaktion Books.

Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction (1991) *The Way of the People: National Museum of the American Indian, Master Facilities Programming, Phase 1 Revised Draft Report*. Philadelphia: Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates, Inc.

Steffian, A. F. (2006) 'Teaching Traditions: Public Programming at the Alutiiq Museum' in K. C. Cooper and N. I. Sandoval (eds), *Living Homes for Cultural Expression*, 27-42. Washington DC and New York: National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution.

Stern, L. (2004) *Building a Museum Without Walls: Native Worldviews Reshape Mission* (The Business of the Arts Monograph Series). New York: Nonprofit Finance Fund and Ford Foundation (New Directions New Donors for the Arts).

Stevenson, N. (2003) *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Sullivan, L. E. and A. Edwards (eds), *Stewards of the Sacred*, Washington DC: American Association of Museums, in cooperation with the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University.

Thompson Rand, J. (2007) 'Why I Can't Visit the National Museum of the American Indian: Reflections of an Accidental Privileged Insider, 1989-1994', *Common-place: The Interactive Journal of Early American Life*, 7(4), <http://www.common-place.org>

Tsosie, R. (2001) 'Indigenous Groups and American Democracy: Substantive Approaches to Cultural Pluralism', in C. Sistare, L. May and L. Francis, *Groups and Group Rights*, 215-34. Kansas: Kansas University Press.

Tsosie, R. (2003a) 'The Challenge of "Differentiated Citizenship": Can State Constitutions Protect Tribal Rights?', *Montana Law Review*, 64 (1) 199-244.

Tsosie, R. (2003b) 'Tribalism, Constitutionalism, and Cultural Pluralism: Where do Indigenous Peoples Fit Within Civil Society?' *Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5 (2) 357-404.

West, W. R. (2000) 'A New Idea of Ourselves: The Changing Presentation of the American Indian', in National Museum of the American Indian (ed), *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian*, 7-13. Seattle WA: University of Washington Press.

West, W. R. (2003) 'Museums and Native America: The New Collaboration. Speech presented to ICOM-Germany', National Museum of American History, 14 Nov.

Young, M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank staff members and interns from the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian (Mall Museum) and Cultural Resource Center (Suitland, Maryland) for sharing their time and expertise with me. I am grateful to Ruth Phillips and Kim Rubenstein for conversations that have helped direct my thinking on this topic. I thank the anonymous referees for their astute and helpful comments. The views expressed, however, are those of the author.

* **Kylie Message** is senior lecturer, convenor of the Museums and Collections Program, and Graduate Coursework Coordinator for the Research School of Humanities at the Australian National University. She is author of *New Museums and the Making of Culture* (Berg, 2006) and has articles published in journals including *Theory, Culture, Society, Space and Culture*, *Third Text*, *Social Identities*, and *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. Her current research is concerned with examining relationships between museums and cultures of citizenship in multicultural postcolonial societies and she has recently been awarded a large Australian Research Council grant to undertake a 3 year Discovery Project entitled *Assessing collaborative, communitybased museum practice and changing cultures of citizenship at the National Museum of the American Indian*.

Address

Research School of Humanities
The Australian National University
Canberra, ACT, 0200,
Australia

Email: kylie.message@anu.edu.au