

**Conducting a Publicly Engaged Archaeology: Who Participates and Why?
A Case Study from Swede Hollow Park**

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By
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family, especially my mother, who listened to me talk about Swede Hollow, archaeology, and theory non-stop for the past two years without once telling me to be quiet.

Abstract

Swede Hollow Park, located in east St. Paul, Minnesota, was the site of a public archaeology excavation in the summer of 2015. The Swede Hollow Archaeology Project, as it came to be known, was advertised across the Twin Cities metro area and was open to anyone over the age of ten. The goal of the project was to glean information regarding the composition of the public participants, specifically looking at *who* was participating and *why*. Both of these topics have been understudied in the field of public archaeology, especially in regards to how they relate to ways in which archaeological sites, and other heritage sites, can be made more meaningful to the larger public. To accomplish this, surveys and semi-structured interviews were used with participants over the age of eighteen and the data was coded and analyzed. The outcome suggests that education, particularly the education of children, was the main factor bringing people to the excavation. It also points to the importance of not only defining ‘the public’, but also of defining ‘participation’ when doing a public archaeology project. Finally, the results indicate clear paths for further research in the future.

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Chapter One:

Introduction

It has only been relatively recently that archaeologists have begun to concern themselves with public involvement at archaeological sites and even more recently still that concerns about the effectiveness of this outreach and collaboration has begun to be questioned. As a result, there is little research which explicitly analyzes how the public interacts with archaeological and/or historic sites. Therefore, Swede Hollow Park in east St. Paul was chosen as the site of an archaeological excavation, which was open to public participation, where these questions could be addressed.

In the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project, public archaeology was viewed as a way to connect the public with their community's history. The project was not meant to be strictly educational, but instead be a unique way for participants to utilize material artifacts to make connections between historic immigrant communities and contemporary ones in east St. Paul. While consultation and involvement with the public did play a role in the project, both in its initial formulation and after its completion, the goal of the project was to explicitly address the topic of demographics and motivations using multiple choice surveys and informal interviews, which have been successfully utilized by Cameron (2000), Cameron and Gatewood (2000), and Potter (1994), within a public archaeology project. By focusing on the demographics of the project – *who* participated and *why* – the goal was to understand how and why the public connected, or did not connect, with their community's history in the setting of a public archaeological excavation. This information could then be used to gain insight into how similar public

archaeological projects in the future should be defined and executed. Additionally, a demographic focus is integral to developing ways to better address issues such as inclusivity, diversity, education, and effective communication, all of which are topics that archaeologists unanimously understand to be necessary for remaining relevant in the modern world.

Choosing Swede Hollow Park

On any given weekday it is not uncommon to come across no more than a dozen people leisurely strolling through Swede Hollow Park. A few more may use the park as a thoroughfare as they run errands or walk to and from work. Although it may not be a bustling or wildly popular park, Swede Hollow was the ideal location for a public archaeology excavation for a few reasons. The most important reason is that the communities around the park, the Payne-Phalen and Dayton's Bluff neighborhoods, are very involved in caring for and promoting the park, both as a green space and a historical resource. Many of the residents in the area are at least vaguely familiar with the history of the park, and many of the events held in the Hollow make reference to the immigrant community which used to reside there. For example, the annual 'Art in the Hollow' event features a play performed by local children depicting the life of the park's Swedish immigrants. In addition, the fact that the Hollow was generally a quiet park, but connected to other, more heavily used public spaces such as the Bruce Vento Nature Sanctuary and Mounds View Park via the Bruce Vento Bike Trail, meant that the project would be accessible to the public while also ensuring that the crew would be able to excavate unhampered at least a portion of the time. Finally, Friends of Swede Hollow,

one of the current stewards of the park, was excited to see archaeology be used to make the history of the Hollow more widely known. They saw it as an opportunity to help draw more people to the park and generally help advertise what they felt was one of the more beautiful, but underutilized, locations in the area.

History of Swede Hollow Park

Swede Hollow Park is located to the northeast of downtown St. Paul, Minnesota. Its boundaries are well defined and currently include the historic Hamm's Brewery complex to the north, the Dayton's Bluff Historic District to the east, East Seventh Street to the south, and Payne Avenue to the west (Figure 1). The area was used by various groups of Native Americans prior to the establishment of Fort Snelling and the beginnings of European-American settlement (Brueggemann 1985). When Minnesota lands, west of the Mississippi River, were officially opened to white settlers in 1851, the area which would later become known as Swede Hollow Park was initially purchased by Edward Phalen before changing ownership and eventually becoming the site of a small trading post (Brueggemann 2013). This trading post marked the beginning of European-American settlement in historic Swede Hollow.

As St Paul grew and developed, the Mississippi River and numerous railroad lines became major conduits for transporting both goods and people. The Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha Railroad was one such rail line and it ran along Swede Hollow's southern boundary – East 7th Street. Searching for affordable housing and access to employment, many newly arrived immigrants to the city followed the tracks right into Swede Hollow and took up residence in the then abandoned trading post and its

associated cabins and outbuildings (Brueggemann 1985).

Swede Hollow was an ethnically diverse immigrant settlement, but its occupation can be divided into three distinct periods during which a particular ethnic group made up a majority of the population. The first period is defined by an influx of Swedish immigrants. They named the Hollow *Svenska Dalen*, or Swedish Dale. Many of these immigrants were part of widespread folk migrations taking place at the time (Rice 1981), and it was not uncommon for extended families to follow each other into Swede Hollow. In the early days, during Minnesota's logging boom, lumber was easy to come by, and if there were no unoccupied houses for newly arrived families, they would build small shanties, which, due to the steep grade of the Hollow and the presence of Phalen Creek, were often built up on stilts. The Swedish occupation lasted for about 50 years, beginning roughly in the 1850s to 1900 (Lanagan 2001; Price 1982; Shively 2010). Once the families in the Hollow became acculturated, found steady work, and saved money, most moved out of the Hollow but stayed in the surrounding neighborhoods. As the Swedish immigrants began moving out, a new wave of largely Italian immigrants entered Minnesota, and, much like their Swedish predecessors, followed the train tracks from St. Paul to the Hollow, moved into the empty houses, and renovated them when it was necessary. The Italian population in the Hollow was so prevalent that between roughly 1900-1930 the neighborhood became known as Little Italy (Price 1982). The Italians followed the same pattern as the Swedish immigrants before them, moving out of the Hollow and into the surrounding neighborhood once they had saved enough money to purchase a home. The final occupation of the Hollow saw an influx of mostly Mexican immigrants. Originally seasonal laborers for a local sugar beet farm, many families

found it easier to make the Hollow their permanent home as it became empty (Diebold 1981). Mexican immigrants were living in the Hollow from the end of the Depression until 1956. At that time, Swede Hollow was surveyed as part of an urban redevelopment project and tentative plans were made to re-zone the area for businesses. As part of the survey, health department officials found that the residents in the Hollow were still subsisting without city sewer or water, and declared the neighborhood a health hazard. The few remaining families were relocated to other parts of east St. Paul, and the St. Paul Fire Department, as part of a training exercise, individually burned the remaining structures to the ground (Lanagran 2001).

Until 1973 when Swede Hollow was designated as an official park and nature preserve, the burned remnants of the neighborhood were an unofficial dumping ground for municipal garbage. Tired of the garbage and the underutilization of the space, the St. Paul Garden Club made the clean-up of the Hollow the focus of their annual projects in the early 1970s and played an integral role in turning Swede Hollow into a park. They worked closely with the St. Paul Parks Department, Friends of Swede Hollow, and Eastside residents to plant trees and flowers and develop the walking paths. Today, they are still one of the stewards of the park and it is a popular site of many community events and a main thoroughfare for cyclists. While the entrance to Swede Hollow Park can be daunting – involving a walk down 50 or more stairs – it is connected via a paved bike and pedestrian path to other St Paul parks and is often busy during the during the weekends with people looking to get outside. Swede Hollow hosts a variety of activities and events for the Eastside neighborhood throughout the year including ‘Art in the Hollow’, ‘Watch the Glow’, annual summer operettas and fall cabaret events, as well as a seasonal

photography competition supported by local businesses. Each of these highly popular events gives Friends of Swede Hollow, the group primarily responsible for the park's promotion and care, a forum through which to advertise the history of the park as well as its natural beauty.

Given the uniqueness of Swede Hollow – its history, preservation as a park and green space, and its use and role in community events – it is no wonder that the park was an ideal location for a public archaeology event. While the history of the park is relatively well known in the neighborhoods directly surrounding Swede Hollow Park, a public archaeology project in the park provided an opportunity to engage a community of contemporary immigrants with a neighborhood history of immigration.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

The field of public archaeology has always been difficult to define. Initially it was a phrase most associated with archaeological projects overseen by the government – such as cultural resource management (CRM) and other compliance work (McGimsey 1972) – rather than with work which entailed direct public involvement (Jameson 2004). However, for many archaeologists the 1980s and 1990s introduced a paradigm shift whereby professionals began to realize that they could no longer afford to be detached from the non-archaeological public nor from explaining the importance and implications of new archaeological information (Jameson 2000). Although efforts had been made prior to this time to collaborate with historians, museum curators, and exhibit designers (South 1997), the 1980s marked the beginning of a proliferation in collaborative efforts aimed at making archaeological information available and understandable to the general public. The result was that public archaeology, which was previously seen solely as archaeology on *behalf* of the public, began to also be equated with the idea of archaeology *with* the public (Merriman 2004: 3, emphasis added). The definition of public archaeology, therefore, continues to encompass CRM compliance work as well as educational archaeology, and public interpretation projects (Stone and Molyneaux 1994; Smardz and Smith 2000; Jameson 2004).

In order to put into context the initial use of public archaeology, it is necessary to define what was meant, and to some extent continues to be meant, by ‘the public’. Two general notions of ‘the public’ exist. The first is ‘the public’ as the government and this

public is not only commonly believed to represent the opinions and needs of a much larger group but is also a major financier of many archaeology projects. The second is ‘the public’ as the ‘general public’; those people who consume historical knowledge and who may choose to pursue their own, sometimes different or competing, ways of understanding the past (Merriman 2004; Jeppson 2012). Equating the public with the state and the idea of government, or public, funding can be seen as a result of New Deal archaeology which arose in the 1930s. During this time, projects launched under the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), put people to work on large-scale, labor-intensive projects around the country in the service of archaeology, and continued until the start of World War II (Anderson 1997; Jameson 2004). Smardz-Frost (2004) notes that the sheer size of the United States and the vastness of archaeological resources co-opted the non-archaeological public into protecting and responsibly investigating archaeological sites. Public archaeology therefore, was that which relied not only on public funding but also on public, often times non-professional, labor. Professionalization and the rise in cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology further entrenched the idea that in situations where the government and its agents were implementing cultural resource management strategies – such as preservation or documentation during destruction – public archaeology was taking place (Merriman 2002, 2004). For some, this is still considered public archaeology even today. However, strategies such as these continue to serve public interest in what Merriman (2004:3) calls, “a vaguely defined future time called ‘posterity’ when the resources, or the record of them, may be consulted”. This type of public archaeology indirectly serves

the citizens of today and rarely involves them in the archaeology itself.

The change to viewing ‘the public’ as a shifting set of cross-cutting interest groups, encompassing debate and opinion, who have their own ways of understanding the past was influenced by a variety of factors. These included archaeological theory and the recognition of the historical contingency of archaeological work, indigenous and minority peoples campaigns to have a voice in the study and interpretation of their pasts, as well as changes in consumerism – specifically within the realm of museums and historic sites – and accountability in the spending and distribution of public funds (Anderson 1997; McManamon 2000; Kehoe 2012). Schadla-Hall offered one of the first definitions of public archaeology as a sub-discipline separate from CRM archaeology, saying public archaeology was, “concerned with any area of archaeological activity that interacted with or had the potential to interact with the public – the vast majority of whom, for a variety of reasons, know little about archaeology as an academic subject” (Schadla-Hall 1999:147). While Schadla-Hall continues on to admit that his definition is a bit broad, more contemporary definitions of public archaeology continue to be equally broad (Moshenska 2009). Almost a decade later, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and T.J. Ferguson view public archaeology, or collaborative archaeology, as a paradigm shift from exclusivity to inclusivity and write that collaborative archaeology “is not one uniform idea or practice but a range of strategies that seek to link the archaeological enterprise with different publics by working together” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008:1). Even though public archaeology remains a discipline which is difficult to define, it is a collaborative process in any of its many iterations.

Public archaeology takes many different forms and often goes by many different

names including ‘public archaeology’, ‘public interest archaeology’, ‘community archaeology’, ‘collaborative archaeology’ and sometimes ‘archaeology from below’ or ‘grass-roots archaeology’ (Faulkner 2000; Marshall 2002; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015; Schadla-Hall 1999). Despite differences in nomenclature within the sub-discipline, public archaeology is widely accepted as differing from more traditional and academic archaeologies both in practice and in theory. As a result, it is often applied to a wide range of contexts. For example, public archaeology has been used in cultural heritage management and museums (Merriman 2000), in public outreach (Moser et. al. 2002), to understand how the past is presented in interpretation (Merriman 2002), to understand archaeology in popular culture (Holtorf 2007), and to understand both tangible and intangible aspects of heritage (Waterton and Smith 2010). These examples are by no means exhaustive, rather they highlight how public archaeology, as a theoretical concept, is malleable enough to be used in societal, social, and academic contexts (Matsuda and Okamura 2011; Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015; Skeates et. al. 2012). To further complicate matters, public archaeology is often rooted in debates around history and heritage in general, where it seeks a more nuanced treatment of identity, conflict, tourism, and economics (Skeates 2000). Rather than managing cultural resources for an unknown posterity, public archaeology, in this more recent and complicated sense, has become part of a wider public culture and most importantly makes it possible to not only discuss educational material, museum displays, or site tours, but also how meaning, both concordant and dissonant, is created from the archaeological materials presented to the public (Little 2002; McManamon 2002; Merriman 2004). In this sense, public archaeology has begun to be undertaken to meet the contemporary

public's educational, social, and cultural needs (Smardz 2004).

The rationales behind undertaking public archaeology projects are equally diverse, but they can be simplified into two main models. The first is McManamon's (2000) *the deficit model* which is education based in its attempts to 'correct' misunderstandings and misinformation about the past to counter its propagation by the 'lunatic fringe'. In this model, public archaeology is meant to build confidence in the professional work of archaeologists. Participation is encouraged and it is done so under the watchful eye of professionals and professional guidelines. However, Little (2002), McManamon (2002), and Merriman (2004) point out that oftentimes this focus on teaching a 'correct' history does not encourage alternative viewpoints outside of indigenous beliefs and can therefore act in direct opposition to the goals of a public archaeology project. While there are benefits in seeking to create a scientifically literate public, many agree that archaeology education should not focus solely on instilling facts but rather in teaching the tools needed to evaluate evidence and draw a conclusion (Lipe 2002; Moe 2002; Merriman 2004; Bartoy 2012; Franklin and Moe 2012; Jeppson 2012; Kehoe 2012). The second prevalent model in public archaeology is sometimes called *the multiple perspective model* which acknowledges that "non-archaeologists will re-appropriate, re-interpret, and re-negotiate meanings of archaeological resources to their own personal agendas" (Merriman 2004: 7) and therefore tries to engage the public with archaeology with the goal to enrich people's lives and stimulate reflection and creativity. While this model supports the purpose of "providing public enjoyment and appreciation of the rich diversity of past human experiences" (Jameson 2004: 39), it can tend to become an uncritical celebration of all positions and perspectives which can be detrimental to the

discipline (Richardson-Almansa-Sánchez 2015) and to the project if its goal is to encourage critical thinking. It is not surprising then that Schadla-Hall (2004) argues that it is time to begin distinguishing between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ public archaeologies; those who oppress others should be condemned while those who celebrate a diversity of beliefs should be recognized. However, he is quick to add the caveat that it is very important this be done while making it clear that the archaeologists have strong arguments for or against the validity of certain claims. For many, these two models exist side-by-side, in the acknowledgement that education can help combat misinformation and that diversity can be embraced through education (Little 2002; McMananmon 2002; Kehoe 2012).

Despite the fact that many see public archaeology as capable of doing more than just educating the public, Little (2002) and Merriman (2002, 2004) lament the continued lack of studies which aim to operate outside of the deficit model of analysis, where education is the goal. In an attempt to remedy this, surveys and interviews have been used on other public archaeology projects in the past (Cameron 2000; Cameron and Gatewood 2000; Potter 1994), especially on sites which deal with heritage and stewardship issues, to understand how people are interacting with the site and/or the archaeology and history. Yet this is done in a very small proportion of public archaeology studies, and for the majority, educational goals remain the focus as reflected in the list of recent MA theses and Ph.D. dissertations in public archaeology or public archaeology related topics published by the Society for American Archaeology (SAA 2014).

There have been few published studies of public understanding and attitudes to archaeology (Stone 1997; Little 2002; Merriman 2004) especially in regards to how

people interact with sites, archaeology, and history. Again, most studies have had an educational goal and have focused solely on quantifiable data. For example, some of the work which has been done has focused on ‘cult archaeology’ and creationist beliefs among students (Feder 1984, 1995), and surveys meant to understand the general attitude of the public to archaeological heritage (Pokytolo and Mason 1991; Pokytolo ad Guppy 1999). The most comprehensive undertaking to gauge public understanding and attitudes towards archaeology was completed by Ramos and Duganne (2000) for the Society of American Archaeology. They interviewed 1,016 American adults and found that there was a generally high value placed on archaeology, but also found highly variable levels of understanding what it is archaeology studies or how the discipline works. All of these studies have been critiqued by Merriman (2002) as functioning within a strict deficit model of analysis with an ultimate goal to correct misconceptions; furthermore, there is no qualitative aspect, which is important as:

“More and more people are relying to a greater extent on their feelings and emotions in their everyday lives, at the expense of the purely rational. Meaning and value will be placed on something if it satisfies an individual in different ways. Not only does this mean that providers will need to consider audio, visual, and tactile interpretation techniques, but they will also have to think about how to engage visitors’ emotions, if they are to make a lasting impression and create true value” (MORI 2000)

McDonald and Shaw’s research (2002) is unique in being one of the first attempts to model how more qualitative research in archaeology could be done. They examined all the potential audiences for Egyptian archaeology and tried to elicit what those audiences wanted to know about the subject as well as what kind of preconception they held and why. This is important to do because, “the most significant and meaningful messages are not ‘one size fits all’. Instead they are local. Different communities have

different pasts and need to know specific things about those pasts” (Potter 1990: 610). It is imperative therefore, that more efforts be put into trying to qualitatively, as well as quantitatively, analyze public interactions with archaeology in order to create a more complete picture and a deeper understanding of cultural heritage for our audiences.

With all of this in mind, the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project included a public archaeology component in order to move away from an implicit goal of *educating* the public to a goal of *understanding* the public as they interacted with the archaeology. The intention was to generate a more nuanced understanding of the public’s attitude toward public archaeology by addressing two separate, but related, questions: who chooses to participate in a public archaeology project, and why do they choose to participate? By asking who chooses to participate, the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project would be able to help identify the type(s) of audience(s) participating in the excavation. For example, did audience members have an agenda or a preconceived notion they were trying to support or understand? Did they have a working understanding of archaeology or were they trying to develop one? Was the audience interested in history or were its members looking for something to draw them in? Asking why people choose to participate is also important in that it not only speaks to personal motivation, but ideally to a sense of connection and emotion. In other words, did people participate because they grew up in or were/are from the neighborhood? Did they have family who immigrated to the community? Were they trying to feel more pride in the history of their community? Did they have a romanticized view of the area’s history or archaeology that they were trying to challenge or reinforce? Together, these two broad questions gave the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project the potential to extrapolate quantitative and qualitative results from

the data in order to gain insight into how to increase diversity and inclusivity in future public archaeology projects. Furthermore, the data could also highlight how to enhance learning opportunities but, more importantly, how to better present the types of information which may be most relevant to the participants, which in turn would generate more enhanced and meaningful connections between the site, the history, and the community.

Chapter Three:

Methodology

To collect both qualitative and quantitative data sets, multiple methods of data collection were employed. These included semi-structured interviews and on-site surveys both of which were conducted solely with project participants who were eighteen years or older. The surveys were the primary means of gathering information relating to the participants' interest in the project and site history, their reasons for attending, and how they would like to stay informed about the results of the project. The semi-structured interviews were used as a tool to expand on and enhance answers found on the surveys and as a way to question participants about their personal feelings and associations to Swede Hollow Park both as a public space and a historic site. This chapter will detail not only the methodology for collecting data but also the more general methods used to plan and complete the public archaeological excavation.

Planning the Project

Planning for the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project began in the spring of 2015 with my colleague Kelly Wolf. The project was undertaken in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree in Cultural Heritage Management at the University of Minnesota. In order to ensure that an archaeological excavation could be properly developed, completed, and analyzed, we decided to work together on the same project but to split the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project into two distinct endeavors. Kelly was responsible for the excavation itself and was interested in understanding the lifeways and

health of the historic immigrant communities in Swede Hollow (Wolf, n.d.). I was responsible for advertising and attracting public participants and for developing their role within the excavation in order to understand what types of people participated and why.

Prior to beginning the excavation we secured permits, funding, donations (of water, snacks, and some small supplies) from local businesses in east St. Paul, and a volunteer crew. Our crew members were unpaid individuals who had completed at least a field school and could provide references in regards to their abilities to work on a site. A majority of the ten crew members were current or former undergraduate or graduate students from the University of Minnesota and the rest were current or former colleagues of ours who actively worked in cultural resource management (CRM) archaeology.

Advertising the Project

Participants in the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project were individuals from the general public who had heard about the project from at least one advertising source and were interested enough in it and their ability to ‘try archaeology’ that they came to the excavation on at least one occasion during the project’s duration. Initially the project was advertised using social media sites, and once the starting date came closer, the project was also advertised using more traditional means such as newspapers and radio.

Beginning in the spring, a Facebook page and a corresponding blog were developed for the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project. Facebook was chosen as the initial avenue used to get word out about the project because of a large following on the Old St. Paul page as well as the Friends of Swede Hollow page. Additionally, Facebook is a popular venue for #throwbackthursday or #TBT, which is used by a variety of organizations as a

way to draw attention to interesting historic photographs and locations. However, Facebook's major drawback was in that fact that the platform did not easily lend itself to longer posts. As a result, the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project blog was started using WordPress. The blog was a much easier way to share more detailed accounts of the excavation as well as its planning process. Some of the entries discussed topics such as what ground penetrating radar (GPR) is and why it was being used in Swede Hollow Park, a description of the park's history, what to expect if you were interested in attending the excavation, and how artifacts are cleaned and catalogued.

Both the Facebook page and the blog were linked to each other so that they could be updated simultaneously. Additionally, both were tagged to be included in searches of key phrases such as 'St. Paul history', 'Eastside St. Paul', 'historic Eastside' and 'Swede Hollow'. The popularity of both web pages was tracked by the sites themselves, which gave daily and weekly breakdowns of views, shares, and comments. This data was used to gauge not only the best times but also the best days to post new information so that they were reaching the largest possible audience. As the webpages gathered more followers and their presence grew, the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project was shared by numerous institutions including, including, but not limited to, the University of Minnesota, the Minnesota Historical Society, the Council for Minnesota Archaeology, the St Paul Department of Parks and Recreation, and the St. Paul Ward Seven City Council, on Facebook, Twitter, and via email.

The project was also advertised in more traditional contexts, including newspapers, news websites, and radio. A short release describing the project was sent to *The Minneapolis Star Tribune*, and the *Eastside Review*, a local St. Paul neighborhood

newspaper. Once the project began there was increased interest from media outlets and as a result, the details of the project were shown on local news network KARE 11's televised news and on their website, as well as on Minnesota Public Radio, which also aired an interview with both myself and Kelly about the project.

Finally, the neighborhood group, Friends of Swede Hollow, was very excited about the excavation and were nice enough to introduce Kelly and myself to people who had family that grew up in the Hollow and to allow us to hand out information at many of the events they hosted or participated in. As a well-known community group whose mission statement is "to protect and regenerate the natural beauty and ecology of Swede Hollow and remember its past so neighbors and visitors can learn from and enjoy this historic wilderness within the City of Saint Paul" (Friends of Swede Hollow 2015), Friends of Swede Hollow played an integral part in helping make our project and intentions known throughout East St. Paul. They were excited to get new people interested and into the Hollow and were generous enough to include us in their many events. While they did not play a role in initiating the project, they are looking forward to using our work to highlight the importance of the park, especially as it faces threats of development in the upcoming months and years,

The Public at the Site

The Swede Hollow Archaeology Project took place over the course of 10 days beginning July 30, 2015 and ending August 10, 2015. From the beginning, the deleterious effects of public participation on daily excavation productivity were mitigated by organizing the excavation so that each Friday and Saturday, termed 'public days',

were the only days on which the public participants could actively partake in the excavation. Throughout the other days of the week participants were more than welcome to visit the site, ask questions, and walk around, but they could not physically join in the excavation. During the ‘public days’ two one-meter by one-meter excavation units were open in highly visible areas of the park to be assessable by the greatest number of people.

Those members of the public who came to the site on either of the Friday and Saturday ‘public days’ were asked to read and sign a waiver detailing the rules for participating (Appendix D). All of the advertised information for the project asked that participants be over the age of ten, and anyone under the age of eighteen had to be accompanied by an adult at all times. Each person was given a quick history of Swede Hollow Park, ending with an explanation of why an excavation was taking place and what the research questions were. People were then assigned to one of two open units based on where there was available space, and they were encouraged to try doing everything from paperwork to photography to screening and digging. Since the participants were encouraged to try doing everything, overcrowding was a big concern. Attempts to assign participants to a unit were only partially successful as some individuals were prone to moving when ‘boring’ tasks – photography, paperwork, and measurements- were being completed. However the number of participants at each unit was generally kept between six to eight individuals at any one time. In addition to the participants, each one meter by one meter unit had roughly four volunteer crew archaeologists – two on screens and two in the unit – to guide and watch as they explained to the participants what was being done, why it was being done, and encouraged them to ask questions.

In a few instances when there were more participants than we could handle there were three back-up plans in place. One option was to ask participants who had been on a unit for an extended period of time to step back in order to allow new people the chance to participate. This was not the preferred method since we did not want to make people feel unwelcome or as though they were in the way. The second option, which worked very well, was to use collected surface artifacts as a show-and-tell as people came to check into the site. In doing this people were more likely to not only ask questions about how we dated artifacts, what kinds of material they were made out of, etc., but it was also easy and fun to engage the younger participants in thinking critically about the artifacts we were showing them. For example, we would hand kids different examples of dishware and have them tell us which one they thought was more expensive, which side they thought was the interior or exterior, what kind of vessel they thought it was a part of, etc. The participants, especially the kids, seemed to enjoy this because they were encouraged to compare what they were looking at to things they saw or used in their own homes and it had the added benefit of slowing the influx of participants to the units. The third option was also quite successful and involved working mostly with the children to flag surface finds and draw a map. It was exciting for the kids, who sometimes had trouble containing their energy, to be able to move around a larger area of the site and place flags wherever they saw an artifact. It was an unintentionally competitive scavenger hunt. Many of the older kids enjoyed learning to draw a sketch map and placing landmarks in relation to each other and to artifact scatters.

During the other days of the week, semi-guided tours were given to those people who were either unable or uninterested in visiting during the more highly participatory

'public days'. The tours took place whenever someone stopped by to ask or see what was happening in the park. These people received the same summary of the history of Swede Hollow, but were not required to sign waivers since they were not actively participating in the excavation. These participants were free to walk around the park and ask questions about the excavation, artifacts, methodology, etc. whenever they came upon an archaeologist but they were not permitted to engage in the excavation itself.

Surveys and Semi-Structured Interviews

In order to understand what kind of demographic the project attracted as well as to get a basic idea of why people had decided to participate in the Swede Hollow Archaeology project, participants who were over the age of eighteen were asked to either fill out a multiple choice survey consisting of 25 questions or take the time to answer roughly 10 questions as part of a semi-structured interview, before leaving. Both the surveys and the interviews were anonymous and the participants did not have to complete either if they did not want to.

Surveys and interviews were chosen for this project because they have been successfully used in other public archaeology and heritage studies projects (Potter 1994; Cameron 2000; Cameron and Gatewood 2000). For example, surveys were used by Potter (1994) in the *Archaeology in Annapolis* project to try to get visitors to critically think about an archaeological site and the information they were being given (Potter 1994:205-211). At the Shiplap House tour he posed only one question to his participants: 'What did you learn about archaeology that you did not know before you visited the site?' which allowed him to gauge the tour's effectiveness. Two additional questions

were added to the survey at the Main Street Annapolis tour which asked participants to critically think about the information they were presented and draw connections between the site and the present-day. Despite the ability of the tour to educate the public, Potter found that the tour's intended message was not always getting through and that many participants relied on historic clichés instead of critical thinking. However, neither the Shiplap House nor the Main Street Annapolis tour attempted to assess visitor values, or why visitors were coming to the site.

Interviews were used by Cameron (2000) to study industrial heritage sites in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. In "Emergent Industrial Heritage: The Politics of Selection", Cameron chronicled the building of a museum of industry, supported by the Bethlehem Steel Company, and the simultaneous efforts to revitalize industrial portions of the town. She used interviews with local residents to highlight how the groups most affected by industrial changes, those who the museum was in some ways meant to honor, were those who felt most alienated by the project. Her results illustrated the widespread uncertainty felt by a town in the midst of a historic revitalization.

In a closely related second study, surveys were used in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania by Cameron and Gatewood (2000) to understand the "underlying motivations" and values held by visitors to the revitalized downtown area (2000: 109). The authors were particularly interested in understanding a phenomenon they called *numen* and defined as a spiritual or emotional experience in connection with natural and historic places and objects. Their results "clearly indicated that they [visitors] desire some sort of personal experience" when they visited historic sites (2000:118). By including questions which specifically sought to build a holistic understanding of visitors and their values, they

illustrated that what visitors want to see and learn should be coming from the opinions of the visitors themselves.

By working with the assumption that visitors to historic sites want to make a personal connection and, “seek a deeper and more meaningful connection with a place or time period” (Cameron and Gatewood 2000:109) the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project used surveys to understand why visitors were coming and how they formed connections with historic sites. Building off of these previous works, a Likert scale based survey which primarily measured participant’s motivations for visiting the project as well as how familiar they were with the park and its history was developed (see Appendix A for a complete version of the survey). Semi-structured interviews were used to capture more detailed data than could be gathered from the survey alone, and allowed interviewees to express more opinions about the project, the park, and what they learned or felt was important (see Appendix B for a full list of interview questions). Therefore, the data collected during the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project was both quantitative and qualitative and meant to assess not only what types of participants were coming to the site but their values and motivations as well.

Chapter Four:

Survey Design, Results, and Discussion

The surveys completed during the project met and complied with Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval and standards (Appendix D). To maintain privacy, all surveys were kept anonymous and participants were under no obligation to complete one. Furthermore, each participant who completed a survey was made aware of their use as data in this project. No surveys were completed by individuals under the age of eighteen. This chapter will detail the results of the analysis of these surveys and then discuss the implication of these results as they relate to the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project and to public archaeology more broadly.

Survey Design

The surveys handed out at the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project were completed *after* participating in the excavation and were designed to capture four main types of information: proximity, historical knowledge, reason for attending, and potential for continued interest. Information regarding participants' general proximity to Swede Hollow Park, or east St. Paul more broadly, was captured primarily through questions such as 'I frequently use Swede Hollow Park', 'I am familiar with east St. Paul', and 'I am familiar with the historic Swede Hollow community'. As mentioned previously, a familiarity with Swede Hollow Park and its history is most often associated, based on observation, with individuals who live in the immediate neighborhood, or at least in east St. Paul and in this way the survey was able to roughly assess how many people were

attending the excavation from within the area versus from outside of it. It was also important to understand how educational participants felt the project was because it may or may not be indicative of what types of people were participating in the event. While the project did not specifically have an education goal, I was interested to see what level of knowledge people had about the park and if they did feel they learned something new. Questions such as ‘I learned something new today’, ‘I feel knowledgeable about the historic Swede Hollow community’, or simply ‘I am familiar with what archaeologists do’ were meant to gauge how confident individuals felt in their knowledge after participating. The majority of the questions on the survey were meant to collect data on possible motivations for attending the project. These motivations may have been educational (‘I believe learning about St. Paul’s immigration history is interesting’), adventure seeking (‘I have always wanted to try archaeology’) or based in curiosity (‘I believe there are many things you can learn by doing archaeology’). Finally, the survey asked questions regarding whether participants would take part in another similar project (‘I would participate in an archaeology project again’), and if/how they would like to continue to learn about Swede Hollow and the excavation (‘I would like to learn more about Swede Hollow by reading interpretive signs around the park’). Each one of these themes – proximity, historical knowledge, reason for attending, and potential for continued interest – were necessary to build the quantitative data which would be used to interpret the participant demographic. Each theme and its related research question is summarized in Table 1.

Coding the Surveys

Coding is the process of separating raw data into thematic groups for analytical purposes (Bernard 2006). Thematic groups were formed through an initial interpretation of the data which began with transcribing the survey questions into Microsoft Excel. Since the surveys used a Likert scale – strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree – to gather responses, each response was then scored on a scale of 1-5. It did not matter which end of the scale was given high or low values as long as the scoring was consistent. Once each coded response was entered into Microsoft Excel for each survey, different correlational tests could be completed using standard formulas.

THEME	RESEARCH QUESTION: What type of participant is attending the excavation?
Proximity	Are participants local? Are participants coming from outside of St. Paul or the greater metro? Why?
Historical Knowledge	Are participants learning anything at the excavation or is it simply a free excursion?
Reason for Attending	Are participants coming because they want to learn? They want to try something new? They are curious about what archaeology is?
Potential for Future Interest	Is this something participants would do again? To they want to stay informed about the project? To what extend does this indicate they have become invested in the project?

Table 1. Summary of how each of the four informational themes addressed in the survey relate to the project's research goals.

Survey Sample Size

As previously mentioned, as each participant arrived at the site they were asked to sign a liability waiver. Participants who were under the age of eighteen had to have an adult sign for them. Attendance at the ‘public days’ portion of the excavation was measured by totaling the number of names on each waiver. Since all of the surveys and

interviews were completed during these ‘public days’ it means the total number of participants is 130. There were a total of 49 surveys completed for a 38.5% completion rate.

It is difficult to assess the statistical confidence in the survey completion rate against the other projects this one was based on for a few reasons. The first is that Potter’s (1994) project took place over six years, at three different sites, and therefore the duration of the project makes it difficult to compare to the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project. Furthermore, Potter does not clearly state how many respondents he had in total and groups his survey results by site, without breaking them down by year. The projects completed by Cameron (2000) and Cameron and Gatewood (2000) are similar. Both are also multi-year projects, but in their case, the difficulty in comparing completion rates comes from the fact that neither project required surveyed individuals to have participated in anything in order to be surveyed. Therefore, even without the difficulties of comparing a multi-year project with one which lasted ten days, it also complicates success rates because the project had a drastically different definition of ‘the public’ than the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project did.

However, while the overall completion rate and the surveyed sample size are both seemingly small, it is important to remember that the completion rate is determined based on the total number of participants, regardless of if they were eligible to fill out a survey or not. Since many of the participants purposefully brought children, which will be discussed at length later in this section, the 49 completed surveys are more largely representative of the participants than it would appear.

Demographics

Proximity:

There were three questions on the surveys which pertained directly to understanding how much people used or interacted with the park and/or the community as well as how much knowledge they may have had about the park and/or the community. The answers to these questions are shown in Table 2.

These results indicate that a majority of participants in the project did not utilize the park, with 57% of respondents strongly disagreeing with the question. In regards to being familiar with the park and community's history, the majority of respondents, or 78%, could only claim to be neutral. The neutrality to these questions, as illustrated in the surveys, is also reflected in the semi-structured interviews. This will be discussed more in the upcoming chapter, but it is probably safe to say the survey respondents probably chose neutral as their answer if they, like the interviewees, were vaguely aware that at some point in time people lived in the Hollow but not of much else.

Historical Knowledge:

The next theme that the surveys were assessing were the participants' historical knowledge of the site and archaeology in general, as well as if they learned anything new from participating. There were six questions associated with this theme, although some not exclusively so. Table 3 shows the three questions exclusively associated with the theme of historical knowledge and their corresponding answers.

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I frequently use Swede Hollow Park.	2 (4.08%)	2 (4.08%)	4 (8.16%)	13 (26.53%)	28 (57.14%)
I am familiar with the historic Swede Hollow community.	2 (4.08%)	12 (24.9%)	13 (26.53%)	15 (30.61%)	6 (12.24%)
I am familiar with the history of east St. Paul.	3 (6%)	11 (22%)	21 (43%)	10 (20%)	4 (8.16%)
Totals	7 (4.7%)	25 (17.1%)	38 (26%)	38 (26%)	38 (26%)

Table 2. For each of the questions addressing the theme of proximity, totals have been given for the number of responses to each choice with percentages given in parentheses.

The results of these questions indicate that almost all of the participants (77.5%) felt that they learned something new and an even larger majority (89.8%) felt that archaeology was an important resource to use for obtaining new information. Interestingly only 22% of participants strongly agreed that they were familiar with what archaeologists do. This could be seen as a surprisingly low number given that the participants would have been engaging with the archaeology, but is made up for by the 65% of participants who agree that they are familiar with what archaeologists do. Regardless, the results do show that participants did walk away from the excavation with a high degree of historical knowledge.

Reasons for Attending:

A majority of the survey was dedicated to questions which were meant to understand why people would want to participate in the excavation. There was the

potential for a wide range of variety in why people would choose to participate, but there were five questions which addressed this theme exclusively. The results from these questions are shown in Table 4.

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am familiar with what archaeologists do.	11 (22.45%)	32 (65.31%)	5 (10.2%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)
I believe there are many things you can learn by doing archaeology.	44 (89.8%)	5 (10.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I learned something new today.	38 (77.55%)	11 (22.45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Totals	93 (63.2%)	48 (32.6%)	5 (3.4%)	1<br (<1%)<="" b=""/>	0 (0%)

Table 3. For each of the questions which only addressed the theme of historical knowledge, totals have been given for the number of responses for each choice with percentages in parentheses.

The results for this theme of questions are perhaps the most interesting because there is such a strong dichotomy between participants who strongly agree/agree and those who strongly disagree/disagree across not only the theme as a whole, but for each individual question as well. The correlation between those participants who strongly agree or agree that immigration history is important and who strongly agree or agree that immigration history is interesting is 0.91, the strongest correlation out of all the data. It is also very interesting that history and historic topics appear to have been a stronger draw than simply wanting to try archaeology, with only 45% of participants strongly agreeing

with wanting to try archaeology and the remainder, 54%, strongly agreeing with questions indicating participation based on an enjoyment of history.

Potential for Future Interest:

The final demographic theme can be analyzed based on the results from a series of questions which asked participants how they would like to learn about the results of the excavation, whether they would participate in a similar project if given the opportunity, and if they would share the information they learned with friends and family. The results of questions which address only this theme are shown in Table 5.

The results from these questions are similar to what is shown in Table 4 in that there severe divide between those who strongly agree/agree and those who strongly disagree/disagree. Yet unlike the questions from the reason for attending theme, there were many missing answers to the questions in the potential for future interest theme. This is because all of these questions were on the back side of the survey and a few participants failed to notice this. Therefore, the results of these questions should be interpreted as existing within a slightly smaller sample (N=45 rather than N=49). However, the results still indicate that participants were overwhelmingly trending towards remaining interested in the project in the future.

Discussion

The results from the surveys illustrate that they were effective tools in gathering demographic data about the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project participants. The surveys also show that there were some interesting trends occurring in regards to why

people were participating, what they were getting out of the project, and how interested they were in maintaining a relationship with the project and the park.

One of the first things to become clear when looking at the surveys is that, despite an effort to focus advertising the project mainly to the neighborhoods within east St. Paul, many of the participants did not seem to be from the area. Fifty-seven percent of participants strongly disagreed with the statement ‘I frequently use Swede Hollow Park’ and a handful of the surveys had comments written on them which made remarks about it being someone’s first time in the park or how another participant did not even know the park existed, let alone its history. Some of the comments on the surveys blatantly made references to being from outside of St. Paul and in one instance from outside of the Twin Cities entirely. The fact that some participants came from the greater metro area, rather than from St. Paul or east St. Paul, is also reflected in the surveys.

For example, the highest proportion of people, 30.61%, disagreed with the statement ‘I am familiar with the historic Swede Hollow community’ and 43% were neutral in regards to the statement ‘I am familiar with the history of east St. Paul. As mentioned before, there may be good reason for the high proportion of neutral answers, but there is no mistaking the fact that the correlation between those participants who disagreed with the statements ‘I frequently use Swede Hollow Park’ and ‘I am familiar with the historic Swede Hollow community’ was 0.625. This reinforces the observations that were made during the planning period in the spring that as people travel further from east St. Paul they are less likely to have heard of the Hollow.

Question	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am interested in the history of Swede Hollow.	20 (40.82%)	28 (65.31%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I am interested in the history of east St. Paul	20 (40.82%)	27 (55.1%)	2 (4.08%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I believe learning about St. Paul's immigration history is important.	32 (65.31%)	17 (34.69%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I believe that learning about St. Paul's immigration history is interesting.	34 (69.39%)	14 (28.57%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I have always wanted to archaeology.	26 (53.06%)	11 (22.45%)	9 (18.37%)	2 (4.08%)	0 (0%)
Total	132 (54%)	97 (39.7%)	13 (5.3%)	2<br (<1%)<="" b=""/>	0 (0%)

Table 4. For each of the questions which only addressed the theme of reasons for attending, totals have been given for the number of responses for each choice with percentages in parentheses.

The surveys also indicate that there may have been some unexpected reasons for why people were coming to the site. It comes as no surprise that people are often very interested in archaeology, even, and sometimes especially, if they do not fully understand what it is that archaeology is or what an archaeologist does (Ramos and Duganne 2000). However, just over half, or 53%, of participants strongly agreed with the question ‘I have always wanted to do archaeology’ while 69% and 65% strongly agreed with statements ‘I find immigration history interesting’ and ‘I find immigration history interesting’,

respectively. While neither of these questions explicitly ask if immigration history is what enticed someone to participate in the excavation, it is reasonable to assume that it was a highly motivating factor. Since the project did not have a specific focus in terms of why we wanted participants to attend or what we wanted them to take away, the fact that a majority of participants sought out the project for educational reasons has interesting implications for how public archaeology. This education trend will also be discussed with the semi-structured interviews, and the ways in which this information could be used to draw more diverse crowds to archeology will be discussed in the final chapter. It is also worth mentioning, albeit briefly, that the excavation took place in July-August of 2015 right as the Syrian refugee crisis began to be widely reported on. As a result it was not uncommon to hear or read something about immigration almost daily. It would be interesting to ask the same question again in the future and see if the responses are the same because it is not unlikely that people's perspectives were heavily influenced by world news and events.

Finally, while the surveys were not necessarily designed to elicit the values and associations of the participants, they can be hinted at from some of the results. For example, an overwhelming majority of the participants strongly agreed with all the questions associated with the potential for future interest theme. This may be suggestive of how invested participants felt about a potentially newly discovered park or historic resource. If so, it may indicate that the elusive *numen* (Cameron and Gatewood 2000) may be possible to instill in individuals in a relatively short amount of time. In addition to the survey results, the project's Facebook and blog pages still receive new comment, views, and likes, almost weekly. This is interesting because it supports the idea that

people can internalize, reinterpret, and find meaning in information that they develop on their own, rather than always having to be presented with ‘correct’ information, and as a result, may become invested for the long run when given the freedom to individualize historic sites, resources, and landscapes.

Summary

Before leaving the excavation participants were asked to fill out a Likert-scale based survey meant to capture quantitative data related to demographic information. The surveys were transcribed into Microsoft Excel and each of the five potential answers was scaled from one to five. With this completed, the surveys were then coded into four major themes – proximity, historical knowledge, reasons for attendance, and potential for future interest – each of which was able to address a specific portion of the question: *who* is participating in the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project and *why*? The results of the questions related to each theme were presented in Table 2, Table 3, Table 4, and Table 5. The surveys showed that participants tended to come to the project from outside east St. Paul and without knowledge of either the park or its history. They also illustrated that, despite the fact that the project did not have a set of knowledge we were hoping participants would learn and take away, many came to the site with educational goals, and this is reflected in much better detail in the semi-structured interviews. Finally, the answers participants gave to questions within the final theme, potential for future interest, and the continued popularity of the project’s blog and Facebook page, indicate that people may be able to form a lasting connection with historic resources when given the freedom to personalize a site. This especially will be discussed more in the final chapter.

Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I will share the things I learned today with my family and friends.	27 (55.1%)	18 (36.73%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I will participate in an archaeology project again.	23 (46.94%)	21 (42.86%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I would like to learn about Swede Hollow by reading interpretive signs around the park.	19 (38.78%)	22 (44.9%)	4 (8.16%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I would like to learn about Swede Hollow on a historic walking tour.	20 (40.82%)	19 (38.78%)	6 (12.24)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
I would like to learn about Swede Hollow on-line.	16 (32.65%)	20 (40.82%)	8 (16.33%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)
Total	105 (46.6%)	100 (44.49)	19 (8.4%)	1<br (<1%)<="" b=""/>	0 (0%)

Table 5. For each of the questions which only addressed the theme of potential for future interest, totals have been given for the number of responses for each choice with percentages in parentheses. Some participants failed to turn the survey over, leaving the questions on the back blank. As a result, the percentages for each question do not come to an even 100%

Chapter Five:

Semi-Structured Interview Design, Results, and Discussion

The semi-structured interviews completed during the project met and complied with Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval and standards (Appendix D). To maintain privacy, all interviews were kept anonymous and participants were under no obligation to complete one. Furthermore, each participant who completed an interview was made aware of their use as data in this project. No interviews were completed by individuals under the age of eighteen. This chapter will detail the results of the analysis of these interviews and then discuss the implication of these results as they relate to the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project and to public archaeology more broadly.

Semi-Structured Interview Design

Much like the surveys discussed in the previous chapter, the semi-structured interviews were designed to be completed after participants had a chance to take part in the excavation. The semi-structured interviews consisted of five open-ended questions and follow-up questions (Table 6) which to some extent mirrored the questions asked on the surveys, but also differed by attempting to obtain feedback focused more on individual opinions, thoughts and associations. The surveys adhered to protocols explained by Bernard (2006) and were set up around the core open ended questions which were asked in each interview, and the supplementary follow-up questions which could be changed or omitted with each situation. This enabled the interviews to be able

to collect good qualitative data while having the flexibility to eke out individual values and associations.

Open Ended Question	Potential Follow-Up Questions
1. Why did you choose to participate in this project?	Do you often participate in historic activities? Neighborhood activities? Free activities? Etc.
2. Prior to today, what did you know about the immigrant community that called Swede Hollow home?	Did/Do you believe the park is a historic resource? Has your opinion changed? Why/Why not?
3. Prior to today, when you heard Swede Hollow Park mentioned, what was the first thing to come to mind?	Taking into account your experience today, now what will you associate with the park? Why? Does it change your opinion on the park? Does it change how you will use the park?
4. Can you tell me something worthwhile that you learned today?	Did you learn something about the park, the community, archaeology, etc? Do you feel you have a better understanding of archaeology? What do you wish you could have learned about? Why? Is/Was anything unclear?
5. If you chose or did not choose to participate in this type of project again, what would your reasoning be?	Why? Would your experience make you more/less likely to recommend or share it with friends/family? Why/why not?

Table 6. A list of the questions asked during the semi-structured interview as well as their corresponding follow-up questions.

Coding the Semi-Structured Interviews

Before coding could begin, each interview had to be transcribed, with as much detail as possible. No special transcription symbols were used. However, grounded theory, which is an approach that identifies categories and concepts that emerge from the text and links the concepts into formal theories (Bernard 2006: 492), was used to code and analyze the interview data. This theory enabled categories which mirrored those in the survey data to be created, which allowed for an easier comparison of data. Appendix C gives a complete list of the themes and corresponding codes used for all the interviews. Once the codes had been developed and written down for reference, it was possible to

read through each interview, highlight and indicate which theme was being addressed using the coded system.

Semi-Structured Interview Sample Size

There were a total of twelve interviews completed for an $N=12$ sample size, or roughly a 1% completion rate. While this is an admittedly small sample size, there are mitigating factors for why it was a somewhat expected result. First, participants were only asked to complete either a survey *or* an interview, but not both. Second, all of the surveys and interviews were completed during the Friday/Saturday ‘public days’ because many people did not have the time or the interest during other parts of the week. Finally, the ‘public days’ were, more often than not, catering mostly to adults who were bringing their child/children. Therefore, as discussed previously, the attendance tracked via the liability waivers unintentionally inflate the number of participants who were eligible to complete a survey or interview. More importantly it also meant that few adults had the time or ability to participate in a 5-10 minute interview when they were trying to keep an eye on their kids. As a result, the number of participants who completed an interview is indeed very small, but if understood within this context, can still support much of the data collected from the surveys as well as highlight a few very personalized reactions to Swede Hollow Park and the project itself.

Demographics

Proximity:

The transcribed results of the semi-structured interviews were categorized into the same four broad themes as the survey results. The interview data supported what was shown in the surveys with eight of the twelve, or 66.6%, of the interviewed participants admitting that they had never heard of the park, never visited the park, and/or did not live in St. Paul. The other four interviewees, or 33.3%, expressed some familiarity with the park but had never visited it or did not live in St. Paul. For example, many of the questions received answers such as this:

SK: So, prior to you coming to the park today or to this project, if someone had said ‘Swede Hollow’ or ‘Swede Hollow Park’, what would have been the first thing to pop into your head?

Woman: [laughs] Well, I just found out about the park like two months ago, I had no idea it even existed! So I didn’t know much about it. I just thought it was...a park. But I thought the name was interesting, so...and I didn’t know where the name came from until I heard about your project.

One women expressed her own disbelief at not visiting the park until relatively recently despite living in the Dayton’s Bluff neighborhood where her home had a view into Swede Hollow. She said, “Oh yeah. My husband and I moved in with our kids, like, uh, 10, 11 years ago. It was, uh, really different then, like nobody talked to their neighbors, and uh, I don’t think I even realized this park was down here until my son and my husband tore down the fence in the backyard a few years ago. It took me *forever* to

figure out how to get down here [laughs] it's nice now though, now that it's not full of so much garbage."

The interview data mirrors what the surveys also showed in that there is a correlation between how familiar people are with the park – its history or location – and how nearby they reside. However, despite the fact that a few people did identify with being from east St. Paul, or St. Paul more broadly, few of these interviewees used the park regularly and a majority knew the park existed, but did not know where it was or the story behind its name other than that at one point people had lived in the park.

Historical Knowledge:

The second theme to be evaluated was historical knowledge, meaning how familiar participants were with the history of the park, what archaeology was, and whether or not participants felt they learned anything new.

All 12 of the interviewed participants felt that they had learned something new after the event and many expressed an interest in revisiting the park. Some of the participants also expressed the opinion that they felt their experiences had made the park a special place. For example:

SK: Right. And so taking into account what you've done today, and what you've learned, how has your opinion changed? Or what is the first thing that pops into your head now when someone says "Swede Hollow Park"?

Woman: Now, it feels kind of like, um, [pauses] um, can I even say like a sacred place? Of-Of just knowledge and curiosity and

understanding and investigation and to me those things are-are really of high value so-so now it's a place of ... to [pauses] to explore all of those ideas and-and that to me is-is pretty, pretty sacred.

SK: And why do you feel that way? Can you clarify why it's sacred to you?

Woman: Just because it's a pursuit of understanding and a-and a pursuit, it's a-it's a, um, we're um, we're following our curiosity but it's-it's, we're-we're trying to get to a point of more understanding about where we came from, where we --- the folks who lived here, what their lives were like, and-and, you know, how that led to our lives and so it's just a fuller understanding of our lives.

She continues on to discuss how the event has led her to feel a sense of connectedness saying, "I literally had my hands in it, and-and I feel like I've been in the thick of it, and I feel so much more connected to, um, you know, the-the artifacts and the-the understanding of the folks who were here and so it's-its' been uh, much more of a personal experience, I guess."

For most of the participants, the ability to connect to the site was brought about not only by their ability to touch the artifacts, but also by their ability to help interpret them and how these interpretation in turn sparked images of what life in the Hollow may have been like. One of the interviewees commented:

Man: Um [pauses] well [pauses] uh, [...] you know a-a living place okay, we found uh, some bones that you-you know probably pig I think somebody said uh, okay that's cool, uh [pauses] all of the sudden now I'm thinking about people living in Swede Hollow with uh, maybe some livestock perhaps um, lots of bottles, and uh, of course, people lived here for a long time and they broke a lot of bottles and discarded them. Uh, and umm, coal, fragments of coal, uh, part of the way people lived again, [...] umm, so, okay, I'm, you know, I'm connected with it, I've seen some of the stuff and I'm ready to uh, to learn more about it.

Similar comments were made by those participants who brought their children, and who felt that giving the children the opportunity to touch the artifacts and think about what they were used for gave them more motivation to continue digging and continue asking questions.

Just as the surveys indicated, the results of the interviews also illustrated that 58% of the event's participants did learn something about the history of the park. This result was based on the interviews where people specifically mentioned feeling more knowledgeable about this topic as a result of participating. The other 42% learned something new about archaeology – how it was done, what it could be used for, how we make interpretations, etc. However, because the responses in the surveys were not scaled, it is unknown how strongly people agreed with learning something new; in other words, did they truly walk away with completely new knowledge, or knowledge which had been clarified or somehow bolstered?

Reasons for Attending:

The third type of demographic data captured by the interviews were the reasons participants had for taking part in the excavation. Once again, the interviews largely supported what the surveys showed, but there were some slight differences, likely a result of people being able to be more detailed in their responses when interviewed versus in filling out the survey.

Unlike the surveys which showed that only a slight majority attended the event because they had always wanted to do archaeology, the interviews revealed that all but two, or 83%, had come to the event at least in part because archaeology had always been something they had wanted to try. Again, since the responses could not be scaled, there is no way of knowing the extent to which this was the compelling factor over others. One woman's response echoed many others' when she said:

SK: So, my first question for you is going to be really easy...why did you choose to participate in the excavation today?

Woman: Uh, just cause I was---I've always been fascinated with um, the idea of archaeology, and I was thrilled to have a volunteer opportunity like this and so um, what could-what could have been a better chance for me to-to pursue this interest?

However, despite the fact that so many people did make mention of how they always wanted to try archaeology or how they had always found archaeology to be fascinating, the overwhelming reason most people seemed to have come to the excavation was to learn about the history of the park. Since so many of the participants were middle aged women who came to the excavation with a child, or children, this is not a very surprising

statement, but it was a bit unexpected that so many people viewed the event as a unique learning experience rather than, as I admittedly assumed, a free way to occupy children for an hour or so. One woman, who returned with her two children on both sets of ‘public days’ as well as at other times during the week, had this to say:

Woman: I thought it would be a good learning experience for the kids and we came multiple times because I wanted them to see the progress, um, so that they didn’t just see it once and then leave, so they’d get the takeaway that this was something ongoing and, uh, like one day we came and saw this unit and they dug in it and then when we came back the next time you were several layers deeper and there was stuff there and I could say “that was under your feet and you didn’t even know it” like there were things there that you’re not even aware of like right where you’re standing there could always be cool things under your feet. You don’t know. [...] Plus, I think, you know, its inspiring...I want them to know, like all these different things, I mean the world’s a big place and they...there are so many things they can pursue or be interested in and they don’t get this at school really, as much. You know, they sort of learn, but more the book learning, so this is really good for them to see that they...that this could be their office.

Another woman felt that although “it’s not prehistoric, it’s not dinosaurs” it was important for her kids to learn that, “this stuff is everywhere, like, there’s probably stuff in our yard. I mean, deep enough down, I don’t know, but I’ve found dishes in our yard

when I dug so...I don't know I think it's really interesting for them to understand that history is everywhere it's not just something you read about and memorize and facts. And I think it will have a different effect on her than on him cause she's so much younger, and so everything she learns from now on will have this as the base, sort of."

Other people mentioned how they felt that the excavation was great for showing, their kids and the general public, that immigration was interesting and important to study and remember. One interviewee stated it best, saying: "I, uh, you know, my, uh, my mom's family was German and they spoke German in the home in Starns County and then they moved here to St. Paul on kind of a, not too far, but Rice Street area, Rice and Maryland. They went to St. Bernard's. Um, and just that idea that those immigrants they, I'm not sure that people even, if they were past immigrants understand that [laughs] the current immigrants are just following the same path. So it's interesting just, talking about like, poor Swedes, and then like poor other people as they've gone along. It was the same kind of community down here, just the class level maybe. It's interesting. And it's good, it's good for my daughter to see that, uh, you know, it's not different it's similar to grandma."

As encouraging as these results may appear, it's important to also consider how the ages of the children brought to the site could have influenced this opinion. No ages were recorded for the children, but observational data by myself and the crew, put the average age of the children at around ten, the minimum age required to participate. At such a malleable age, many of the parents talked about giving their child the opportunity to try something new, learn how to think outside the box, etc. and perhaps if the minimum age were raised, or if children were asked not to attend, the educational value

of the excavation would not have been so apparent to as many of the participants. Additionally, topics surrounding immigration and immigration history and their interest to the participants were reflected in the surveys as well as in the interviews. However, the excavation did not have this as an explicit goal and it was very interesting that so many people were actively seeking to draw similarities between themselves and the residents of the Hollow. Again, this may have been a result of the news headlines at the time, especially in regards to Syrian refugees in Europe.

Potential for Future Interest:

The final demographic metric measured by the survey was the potential for future interest. The results of the interviews, much like those of the surveys, indicate that people viewed the event positively and expressed an interest in wanting to find out what the excavation was able to tell us or how they could participate in similar events in the future.

The overwhelming majority of participants, eleven of the twelve people interviewed (or 92%) wanted to participate in an excavation again either themselves or felt it would be a worthwhile event to bring their child to again. One participant, when asked if she would come back if there were another project like this held again, responded: “Oh God yeah! Oh yeah! I want to do this in my yard! See what was where. Yeah, I love that”. The excitement expressed in her response was also reflected in others and some people even went as far as to suggest other archaeology projects like one interview who affirmed that she would like to volunteer with other projects like this one and added, “I think it’d be cool to do it in all different neighborhoods. I mean, this might

be...is this the oldest part of St. Paul? Like oldest settled part? I mean, I don't know but it might be cool to see, to know what all the different neighborhoods were like, at the same time too or I guess some of them probably didn't exist, but...like Mariane Park, where I live has [pauses] no history...I know nothing about my neighborhood. Like, I don't think anyone even cares. And I think people would love it. I mean it would just be really interesting I think."

Furthermore, many of the participants were curious about following up with the project after the field work was completed. It was because of this that the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project had an open lab night where people could come to see how artifacts were sorted and washed and help us go through some of the very material they may have found. The event was small, but was a great experience for those who attended. Subsequently, the blog has continued to be updated with posts about how artifacts are catalogued, inventoried, and labeled by undergraduate interns in the lab (Wolf 2016), as well as how and why only certain artifacts are put into a repository. The responses to these more detailed posts have been very positive and people continue to ask questions, share, and comment on the project.

Participant Values and Associations

While the interviews were a useful tool to gather comparative data for the surveys, their main purpose was to elicit the values, interpretations, and more personal associations participants were, or were not, making with the site. This was done by tracking when words such as 'meaning', 'connection', 'feelings', or phrases expressing the same ideas, were used in response to questions. While all the responses to all the

questions were analyzed, the question which asked people what associations they made with Swede Hollow Park before versus after they had participated was especially important.

Taking part in the excavation definitely did have a positive effect on participants in terms of expressing a more personal stake in the park's history. The hands-on aspect of the project was new for many, if not all of the participants, and they especially found that experience to enhance their feelings about the park's historic importance. For example, one interviewee said, "just to actually see something and touch something that someone 100 years ago or 50 years ago or 80 years ago has touched is-is really cool to me. And yeah, it seems like it resonates more with you if you discovered it yourself [...] I think people probably will find that if they're involved in this they do feel, like, more ownership of it." The artifacts, many people felt, were able to "make a bridge to the past" and "enrich the culture of Minnesota" by giving what is usually seen in a museum concrete tangibility.

A feeling of connectedness and of seeing the park as "alive" was also felt by many of the participants as a result of their participation in the project. They often commented that being introduced to the park was an "eye-opening experience" as it really highlighted that "history is everywhere" since the park, located so close to the capital and the interstate, was virtually unknown to the participants. Being able to walk through the park and interact with the current landscape as they were helping to search for the old one reiterated just how much "things change with time" and how Swede Hollow was, and is, "hidden away from civilization, you know? Just [its] own little world down here." As a result, participants seemingly found it easier to have the story of

Swede Hollow spark their curiosity and be better able to imagine themselves in the Hollow saying that the project gave them a “great perspective” on “challenges, and perseverance, and community.”

Discussion

The results of the surveys indicate that it may, in fact, be easier to create a sense of connection, or *numen* (Cameron and Gatewood 2000) to a site than it would seem. Despite the fact that few, if any, of the interviewed participant were from the neighborhood, almost all of them expressed some interest in either returning to the park, which many referred to as a “hidden gem”, or as a “lush little park” or in feeling more attached to the story of Swede Hollow. The key to evoking this feeling was apparently in the tangible aspects of archaeology. One woman said, “you can feel very far removed from it but I think now it’s ---you can touch it, feel it, imagine it a little bit more and it-it just makes it [pauses] real.” Unlike other history oriented events and opportunities, this one was the only one where the participants were allowed to “touch stuff” and this alone was viewed as why the excavation triggered a different set of emotions than when they went to a museum or history tour. For example, when comparing her time at the park with her time at a history museum, one woman commented, “I think it’s important to like, you know, this is how they’re doing it instead of the abstract: looking at a picture in a book, or seeing something in a museum it seems kind of abstract and sanitized versus when you actually have your hands on, like, you know, [laughs] it’s an actual connection! I mean, you’re touching it [laughter]! What’s a better way to connect with something old?”

The connection participants felt for the site may also have stemmed from their desire to view the site as an example of the American melting pot, especially when it came to helping their kids discover that people, in this case the Swedish, Italian, and Mexican immigrants who lived in the Hollow, were not very different from each other. This also evoked some interesting comments from the interviewees, many of whom felt that the site's most important contribution was to show that everyone was an immigrant. This is made especially clear by one participant who stated, "I mean, where do you think all of you came from? You know, like originally the city was settled by people who came here from elsewhere. It's like at some point everyone decided that they were originally from here but...they're not, like, you know, you had to come from somewhere else to become American." She continues on to say that it was especially important that her child, who was ten, get to learn that by "looking at everyone's stuff" because so much of it probably didn't come from German immigrants, like her family, but some of the ceramics looked "just like Grandma's", proving that people were indeed all the same. This was an especially fascinating sentiment which was repeated in various iterations again and again by almost all interviewees at some point. This is a problem with archaeological heritage, that individualization or individualized stories are sometime subsumed by a story or theme that is applicable to a wider range of people since heritage is meant to be for everybody (Gable 2009). Yet unknowingly creating this feeling of heritage around Swede Hollow and the immigrants who once called it home, may have served as part of the reason why others did not feel welcomed and why the participants in both race and age were rather homogenous. While this is difficult to prove, it is an

interesting perspective which should be kept in mind moving forward as it may have had unforeseen consequences on the project's ability to be more inclusive.

Finally, it is worth noting that although the participants found the project to have educational value and even though they did feel as though they had learned something, many people made repeated references to dinosaurs, geology, in the sense that archaeologists “dig up rocks”, and Indiana Jones, which highlights just how limited of an educational scope participants were willing to give the project. Many seemed to have educated themselves about the history of the park on-line and to have decided what they were going to get out of the excavation or specifically why they were bringing their child/children. As a result, it is perhaps no wonder that so many people, unprompted, brought up the ‘everyone is an immigrant’ idea and seemed to have stressed that focus when it came to taking away new information as a result of their experience.

Summary

Before leaving the excavation participants were asked to take the time to participate in a semi-structured interview if they had not already completed a survey. The interviews were meant to provide supplementary data to the surveys and also to assess the associations and/or values that participants found and made with the site. Each interview was transcribed into Microsoft Word and then divided into themes using the standards of Grounded Theory (Bernard 2006). These themes were then coded with an arbitrary abbreviation which eased notetaking as the interviews were re-read and analyzed. The interviews supported all of the results found with the surveys, with some slight variances. These were due in part to an unusually small sample size and also to the

inability for responses to be scaled, which made it impossible to understand the degree to which participants agreed or disagreed with the questions they were asked. The interviews highlighted the fact that participants did come to the excavation to learn something, felt immigration history was a worthwhile topic of study, and were able to make a personal connection with the site easier than expected. However, the participants' potential preconceived notions of what they were going to learn may have inhibited their ability to think more critically and to absorb some of the other learning opportunities that the site afforded.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

It should come as no surprise that the public, those individuals who do not practice archaeology as a profession, are generally fascinated by archaeology, and, by extension, with archaeologists. Yet despite this, Swede Hollow, as a case study in public archaeology, illustrates just how difficult it can be to understand the public who attended this event. It also raises many questions about how to address inclusion, diversity, and education now and in the future.

In the case of Swede Hollow, the public was broadly defined as anyone who came to the excavation. Initially, because of the way the project was advertised as well as who it was advertised to, it was assumed that the public would consist mostly of young adults from the east St. Paul neighborhood. This did not turn out to be true. While there is no doubt that care needs to be taken when defining who the public is (Pyburn 2011; Richardson and Sánchez 2015), the Swede Hollow Project drew attention to this conundrum. The public, if defined as anyone who participated in the project, included not only those individuals over the age of eighteen who were able to contribute to the data collecting, but also the children, the people who only had an on-line presence, and the park's current homeless population. If the goal of the project was to understand the public, then it only sampled a small section of who the public really was. When these other groups are considered, there are numerous questions raised. For example, did the children at the excavation feel the same way about the site as their parents? Did they learn the things their parents were hoping they did? How did the people who followed

and commented on the project's social media sites participate? Why did they choose to follow the project and what did they take away from it?

The Hollow's current homeless population is a bit more of a challenging task to take on for two reasons: they are well known to east St. Paul-ites but not spoken about and are a protected population under the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and would require special permissions to study. However, their insight could be fascinating. They are currently using the park as a refuge, much as historic immigrant populations once did, and like their predecessors were forcibly dispossessed of their homes and many of their belongings when the project began. How were they affected by the excavation? How do they see themselves relating to the history of Swede Hollow? Some stopped by to ask questions or to tell us where we could find remnants of foundations, but, after the municipal police began patrolling the park more regularly during the excavations, many presumably went elsewhere, at least temporarily. While studies examining the archaeology of homelessness exist (Kiddey and Schofield 2011; Zimmerman et.al. 2010) I know of none which look at homeless individuals and their intentional interaction with and consumption of heritage, history, or archaeology. In the future, this avenue of study could open entirely new directions for how both public archaeology and the archaeology of homelessness are conducted and for how research questions in these fields are framed.

The ability of something so seemingly simple as defining who the public is can have consequences on the outcome of any project. How would the results have been different if the public had been defined as only those participants from east St. Paul? How would they have been different if 'participation' had been more broadly defined to include those individuals who followed the project on-line? Carol McDavid (2002)

showed that incorporating multi-media into her excavation did allow for a much more diverse public, but had to be shut down as it was too difficult to manage the influx of politically incorrect comments, racially biased opinions, and the propagation of incorrect ‘facts’. However, the internet is now even more ubiquitous and serious thought should be put into how it can be better incorporated into projects as a platform for active participation rather than for passive commenting.

The Swede Hollow Archaeology Project also highlighted some of the common difficulties of trying to attract a more diverse pool of participants. The details for the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project were widely disseminated, and, especially in the beginning, focused almost exclusively on social media. However, 18 to 25 years olds were the least represented age group followed by 26 to 30 year olds even though they are necessary to develop and maintain long-lasting publically engaged projects. While it is not uncommon for younger generations to shy away from history and heritage until they are old enough to appreciate it, it should not be something left unchallenged. It is the millennial and the post-millennial generations who will be determining what sites are given funds, how sites are preserved, and what sites are/are not worthy of saving in the future and therefore creating ways to involve them are crucial. This problem is also well documented in other heritage sites (Cameron and Gatewood 2000; Ramos and Duganne 2000; Stanton 2006) and highlights the ongoing need for more work in this area. Once again, perhaps the integration of interactive technology on site (Meskell 2005) or via multimedia investigations (McDavid 2002) can help increase the number of millennials in future public archaeology projects.

A lack of diversity was also illustrated in the racial makeup of the participants. East St. Paul has been home to some of the most racially and ethnically diverse immigrant neighborhoods in the greater Minneapolis-St. Paul area since the 1930s (Metropolitan Council 2014). Although information pertaining to racial and ethnic diversity was not collected at the site, observational data made it very clear that almost all of the participants in the project, on any day, were white and, presumably, middle class. While many of these individuals were at the site because they agreed that immigration history was both important and interesting, this did not appear to be a impetus for attracting more ethnically diverse participants. Yet, located right above Swede Hollow, the Eastside Freedom Library and the Hmong Charter School not only advertised our event, but invited Kelly and I to participate in community events they were hosting. There was a lot of interest shown by members of these ethnic communities but no presence at the site. How do we reconcile this disconnect? Is there a point at which the past becomes distant enough for people to be comfortable re-imagining it? How are archaeology and its value viewed across the different ethnic and cultural groups in east St. Paul? Or could it be reflective of a move to keep a community's history within the community and not subject it to the "melting pot" where all immigrant stories are seen as similar? If this is the case is there a way to celebrate a multi-vocality of experiences at a site like Swede Hollow when the current political climate is emphasizing difference to detrimental effect? These too, then, are questions which not only need to be kept in mind when trying to diversify participation in a public excavation, but should also be on the forefront of trying to understand why only certain portions of the socioeconomic ladder seem to attend these types of events.

Finally, the results of the Swede Hollow Archaeology Project validate other findings (Cameron 2000; Cameron and Gatewood 2000), and show that an overwhelming majority of the participants in the project were seeking to learn something by coming, and this places public archaeology excavations at a distinct advantage. Even though it's once again necessary to consider how the age minimums at the excavation may have influenced the educational value of the excavation, it does indicate that, at least when children are involved, parents will go out of their way to help their child think critically about what is in front of them. Because so many of the participants were able to hold and handle artifacts, it encouraged them to think about "things that grandma had" or how "fancy" or "pretty" an object was, and therefore how expensive or special it may have been to its owner. The materiality of archaeology can be a useful tool if utilized correctly, and archaeologists need to become better versed in using it to present the past in meaningful ways.

Directions for Future Research

The Swede Hollow Archaeology Project was able to illustrate that educational motivations, especially for children, were the largest driving factor for bringing people to the site. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to undertake the project again raising the minimum age for participation or allowing children at the site only on specific days. By making this change, it would be possible to assess reasons parents were coming to the site beyond desires to educate their children, if they were to come at all. Raising the minimum age may encourage more adults and young adults, who are not parents, to

participate in the project. This could help to gather information on one of the missing age groups at the project, those individuals 30 to 40 years old.

It would also be helpful in the future for participants to fill out a pre- and post-participation survey. By having the participants at Swede Hollow fill out a survey or take part in an interview only after they had participated in the project, it is difficult to gauge to what extent their answers were influenced by their experiences and conversations on the site. If the surveys, since they were easier to complete, were to be distributed and answered before *and* after people came to the project, it would enable future research to be able to better analyze how, why, and to what extent people's knowledge and associations regarding the site may have changed.

One of the goals of the Swede Hollow Project was to have a diverse public participate in order to highlight the different ways the site may be interpreted or remembered. However, the results of the project do show that diversity was a difficult issue for the project to tackle. If the Swede Hollow Project, or a similar project, were to be done in the future, special attention should be paid to ways to increase diversity. One of the potential ways this could be done would be to have a more diverse crew, which may only be possible to a certain extent. A diverse crew would ensure that the archaeologists interacting with the public would perhaps be more comfortable and knowledgeable about different interpretations for artifacts or patterns of artifacts that could be more readily shared. Having members from different communities present at the site to interpret artifacts and the landscape would also help solve this problem.

The excavations in Swede Hollow Park were hopefully just the beginning of a new focus in studies on public archaeology. If more time and effort can be spent on

trying to understand the motivations of the participants and the non-participants, as well as how and why archaeological sites consistently lack a variety in age and racial make-up, then perhaps we will be well on our way to creating a more inclusive, open, and democratic archaeology which is what public archaeology is genuinely trying to accomplish.

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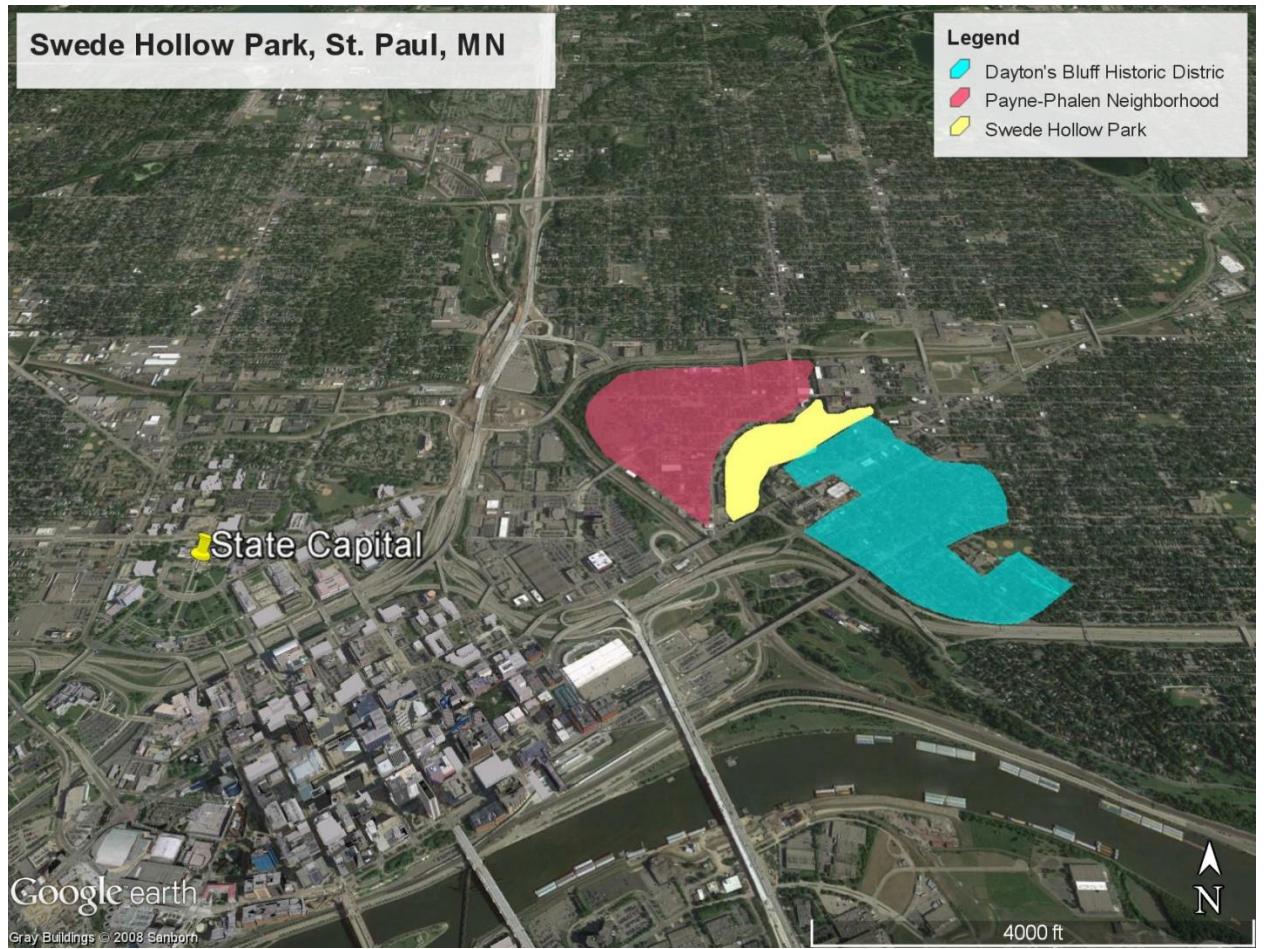


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Swede Hollow Park in relation to the city of St. Paul and the Payne-Phalen and Dayton's Bluff neighborhoods.

Appendix A: Sample Survey

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I frequently use Swede Hollow Park.					
I am familiar with the history of East St. Paul.					
I am familiar with the historic Swede Hollow community.					
I am familiar with the National Register of Historic Places.					
I am familiar with what archaeologists do.					
<hr/>					
I am interested in the history of Swede Hollow.					
I am interested in the history of East St. Paul.					
I believe learning about St. Paul's immigration history is important.					
I believe learning about St. Paul's immigration history is interesting.					
I believe archaeology is important for studying history.					
I believe there are many things you can learn by doing archaeology.					
I have always wanted to do archaeology.					

I learned something new today.					
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I will share the things I learned with my friends and family.					
I will participate in an archaeology project again.					
I feel knowledgeable about the historic Swede Hollow community.					
<hr/>					
I would like more people to know about the historic Swede Hollow community.					
It is important to me that the natural environment of Swede Hollow stay the same.					
I would like to learn about Swede Hollow by reading interpretive signs around the park.					
I would like to see Swede Hollow on the National Register of Historic Places.					
I would like learning about Swede Hollow on a historic walking tour.					
I would like learning about Swede Hollow in a museum exhibit.					

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would like learning about Swede Hollow on-line.					
I would like learning about Swede Hollow in a public presentation.					
I would like learning about Swede Hollow by reading a report.					

Appendix B

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

- 1) Why did you choose to participate in this project today?
 - Do you often participate in historic activities? Neighborhood activities? Free activities?

- 2) Prior to today, what did you know about the immigrant community that called Swede Hollow home?
 - Did/Do you believe the park has historic value? Why/Why not?
 - Has your opinion changed after today? Why/Why not?

- 3) Prior to today, when you heard Swede Hollow Park mentioned, what was the first thing to come to mind?
 - Taking into account what you have experienced today, what do you now associate with Swede Hollow Park? Why?
 - Do today's events change your opinion on park/its value?
 - Why do you think that did/did not change?
 - Do today's events change how you will use the park?

- 4) Can you tell me something worthwhile that you learned today?
 - Did you learn something about the park's history, the historic neighborhood, archaeology, etc?
 - Do you feel you have a better understanding of archaeology?
 - Did you come here hoping to learn something?
 - Was there anything that you wish you could have learned more about?
 - Was/is anything unclear?

- 5) Would you participate in this type of project again?
 - Why/why not?
 - Would your experiences make you more/less likely to recommend or share it with your friends or family? Why/why not?

Appendix C
Coding Scheme for Semi-Structured Interviews

First Order Category	Second Order Category	Color/Code
Proximity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical location to the park Physical location in relation to the community Physical location in relation to the city 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Green/1.1 Green/1.2 Green/1.3
Historical Knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Understanding of immigration history\ Understanding of local history Understanding of social history (esp. historic and contemporary categorizations of ethnic and racial groups) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Orange/2.1 Orange/2.2 Orange/2.3
Reason For Attending	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Integration into the community or metro area Sense of comfort with one's ethnic or racial identity Desire to have new opportunities personally Desire to have new opportunities for another Knowledge formation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yellow/3.1 Yellow/3.2 Yellow/3.3 Yellow/3.4 Yellow/3.5
Potential for Future Interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Searching for a sense of community Searching for a sense of connectedness Desire to teach social awareness to others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pink/4.1 Pink/4.2 Pink/4.3

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire to continue participation in an entertaining event 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pink/4.4
Values and Associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social consciousness • Sense of interpersonal connectedness with same ethnicity or race of others • Sense of interpersonal connectedness with different ethnic or racial minorities • Sense of global ethnic or racial community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blue/5.1 • Blue/5.2 • Blue/5.3 • Blue/5.4

Appendix D **Participation/Liability Waiver**

In choosing to participate in the Public Archaeology project in Swede Hollow Park in east St. Paul, Minnesota, I release and waive the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, its officers, representatives, agents, and employees (the “releasees”) from all liability, claims, demands, actions, and causes of action whatsoever which arise out of, or relate to, any loss, damage, or injury which may be sustained by me, or property belonging to me, whether caused by the negligence of the releasees or otherwise, while participating in this project.

I, (print full name) _____, acknowledge that:

1. I am in a satisfactory state of health to undertake physical activity and acknowledge that physical activity carries a risk of injury;
2. I will follow the safety instructions, rules, and directions given to me by the staff on this project and that failure to do so will result in being asked to leave the excavation site;
3. I will act in a safe and responsible manner and that failure to do so will result in being asked to leave the excavation site;
4. I voluntarily assume full responsibility for any and all personal injury that may be sustained by me;
5. I voluntarily assume full responsibility for any and all damage or loss of property owned by me.

By signing this document I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years of age and that I have read and understand the waiver and sign it voluntarily.

Signature (if over 18)

If under 18 years of age, signature of legal guardian

Date _____

Appendix E
IRB Approval

Study Number: 1507E75781

Study Title: Conducting a Publicly Engaged Archaeology: Who Participates and Why?

Principal Investigator: Stefanie Kowalczyk

Approval Dates: July 30, 2015 to August 10, 2015