

WHAT THEY REALLY THINK: THE COULEE REGION'S KNOWLEDGE AND OPINIONS
OF ARCHAEOLOGY

by

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WHAT THEY REALLY THINK: THE COULEE REGION'S KNOWLEDGE AND OPINIONS OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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Archaeologists like to think of themselves as stewards of the past; protecting it for the current and future generations (McDavid 2010:36; Stottman 2010:1-3). It is hard to know, however, what the public thinks of archaeologists and their efforts. This study investigates the knowledge of the Coulee Region about their archaeological resources and their opinions of archaeology and archaeologists in general. These responses are compared with a national survey done by the Society for American Archaeology (among other professional organizations) to see how the Coulee Region compares with the rest of the United States in archaeological knowledge.

The Coulee Region is generally interested in archaeology. They also are supportive of archaeology and the archaeologist's efforts. While they are familiar with the local archaeology, there is still some confusion about what exactly archaeologists study. Adults are more informed than the youth despite more of the youth learning about archaeology in school.

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INTRODUCTION

Archaeologists like to think of themselves as stewards of the past, protecting it for the current and future generations (McDavid 2010:36; Stottman 2010:1-3; Zimmerman 2003:2). It is hard to know, however, what the public thinks of archaeology. Are the archaeologists working with the past valued by the public? How does the public perceive archaeology?.

This study attempts to correct the potentially vast differences between the investigations that archaeologists deem important and what is valued by the community itself. Specifically, this study investigates the knowledge of the Coulee Region about their archaeological resources and their opinions of archaeology/archaeologists in general. The scope of this analysis is undoubtedly very small, but hopefully it will inspire other researchers to expand the scope of their own research or compliance work to include the wishes of the local community as well.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Many of the public's early efforts to be involved in archaeology are more akin to preservation. The beginnings of preservation can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century. The United States was still a young country, but it was developing rapidly; this put some sites associated with the Revolutionary War at risk (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). In 1853, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union bought the last 550 acres of Mount Vernon, George Washington's plantation, in order to preserve the entire estate (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). This was one of the first times that the citizens of the United States can be seen developing a consciousness of a national identity (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). The fact that it was the

upper-class that was most involved in these preservation efforts created an association between archaeology and elitism that still exists today (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6).

Soon after, the citizens started using the courts to protect places of historic importance. In 1876, for example, the courts were used to save Independence Hall from destruction (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). This case introduced the idea that preservation of buildings or objects associated with nationally important events took precedent over individual interests (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). Another important case was the *US v Gettysburg Electric Railway Co.* which took place in 1896 (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). This case began when the Gettysburg Electric Railway Co. wanted to build a new railroad line that would cut through the Gettysburg Battlefield (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). The veterans of the Civil War were horrified by this prospect and took the Gettysburg Electric Railway Company to court (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6). The case passed through all of the lower courts before finally arriving before the Supreme Court (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6-7). The Supreme Court agreed with the Civil War veterans and the train track was rerouted (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6-7). Furthermore, the Court declared that the Federal Government would compensate the landowners for the land that it took to create Gettysburg National Military Park (Neumann and Sanford 2001:6-7). "The result was that the taking of privately owned lands of national historic value could be construed as valid application of the Federal Government's power of eminent domain" (Neumann and Sanford 2001:7).

Several other citizen-driven movements continued to work at local and state levels to protect historic monuments. In 1889, for example, Arizona passed the first state-level preservation legislation to defend the Casas Grande site against looting (Neumann and Sanford 2001:7). The issue of preservation was acknowledged again at the national level until 1935 with

the passage of the Historic Sites Act. This act established an official policy for working with historic sites and established a penalty for looting, but it was not as effective as one would have hoped (Neumann and Sanford 2001:7-8). Major changes came with the adoption of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 (McManamon 2000a; Neumann and Sanford 2001:47).

Archaeology and the Government

One event that changed archaeology forever was the Works Progress Administration (WPA) (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16). The WPA was one of the New Deal programs founded during the 1930s to help curb the high unemployment caused by the Great Depression (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16). Archaeology was particularly well suited to this purpose as it could employ large numbers of people with minimal training (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9). The WPA was the first large-scale partnership between archaeology and the government (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9). While this turned out to be a complicated arrangement, it led to several positive developments in archaeology (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16). For example, working with the federal government as a regulator and sponsor required that archaeological results were processed, collections were analyzed and final reports completed (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16). While these processes may have been more of a reaction to rather than the results of the WPA, they remain a hallmark of archaeology today (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16). Problem-orientated research, improvement of archaeological techniques, and a huge advancement of over-all knowledge also came from the WPA (Neumann and Sanford 2001:5, 8-16).

Despite these positive results, archaeology's relationship with the government was not without conflict. Right from the beginning, it was clear that the government had very different methods from the archaeologists (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9-12). The government's major

concern, for example, was to employ as many people as possible, thus its method of site selection included the local unemployment rate first with the site's research potential as a distant second (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9). This allowed, possibly for the first time, a great amount of public participation in archaeology. Archaeologists, on the other hand, disliked choosing a site for excavation on any criteria other than to answer a research question. They were even less fond of deadlines, which they related with sloppy and imprecise work (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9-12). To this day, the collected material from many of these sites remains unanalyzed and unpublished (Neumann and Sanford 2001:13). Part of the incomplete analysis dissemination may be due to the fact that graduate students are encouraged to excavate a new site rather than work with potentially flawed data (Neumann and Sanford 2001:13-14). It was archaeology's disgust at the poor analysis and dissemination record that inspired the new practices such as: the recovered archaeological material must be analyzed and that the final report must be peer reviewed by state and federal archaeologists (Neumann and Sanford 2001:13-14). Interestingly, these same requirements were later applied to CRM.

Another important event in the relationship between archaeology and the government was the Missouri Basin Project, which took place from 1945 until 1969 (Neumann and Sanford 2001:14). This project involved cooperation between non-governmental organizations and contracted archaeologists as well as the government and academic advising committees, including; the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, the Society for American Archaeology, the American Anthropological Association, The Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation and several Native American groups whose land would be effected by the project (Neumann and Sanford 2001:14-15). All of these people met to draft the Memorandum of Agreement and the Memorandum of Understanding. These two documents, as

well as the entire process, would later become an important part of CRM (Neumann and Sanford 2001:14-16).

The result of both the WPA and the Missouri Basin Project was to ensure that archaeology was involved in the planning of industrial expansion, and that it was managed and supervised properly (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16). It also became standard practice to use history to complete the understanding of the area (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16). Finally, the WPA and the Missouri Basin Project used legislation to ensure the protection of prehistoric and historic sites (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16). All of these developments, as well as the business management skills acquired from the organization of large-scale archaeological products, would transform into the modern CRM industry (Neumann and Sanford 2001:9-17).

The Role of the National Science Foundation

Finally, the establishment of the National Science Foundation (NSF) ensured that government funding would be used for scientific investigation, including basic archaeological research (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16). Founded in 1950, the National Science Foundation allowed for the expansion of higher education, thus more people were aware of archaeology and concerned for its future (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16). In general, the 1950s was a decade of science. This was when science entered into a social contract with the general population: "...in exchange for research support, science would try to provide benefits for society" (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16-17). The NSF provided more research opportunities for all of the sciences, as well as more training, and new approaches to field work and analysis (Neumann and Sanford 2001:16-17). Specifically for archaeology, this led to the precedent of having research question before beginning field work (Neumann and Sanford 2001:17).

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA)

The National Historic Preservation Act was an extensive piece of legislation; this is the one that began implemented the system of cultural resource management (CRM) as we know it today. While it was heavily based on the earlier Historic Sites Act of 1939, it was much more comprehensive (McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). The NHPA (revised) would be amended a few times and augmented by Executive Orders and related legislation to reach the final form that guides all of our actions today (King 2008:18, 24-31; McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). The NHPA established the National Register of Historic Places (the "National Register"), the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) and the office of the State Preservation Officer/Tribal Preservation Officer (SHPO/THPO) (King 2008:18, 24-31; McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). The National Register, in its simplest form, is a list of sites, districts, structures, and other objects that have been declared "significant" to the cultural or environmental heritage of the United States (King 2008:18, 24-31; McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). Structures, sites, and buildings are often nominated for inclusion on the National Register by the SHPO/THPO (King 2008:18, 24-31; McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). This person is a (tribal)government employee who is designated to coordinate all of the preservation activities that take place in their particular state (reservation) (King 2008:18, 24-31;McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52). The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is the mediating body between the lead federal agency and the SHPO, if the later two cannot agree (King 2008:18, 24-31;McManamon 2000b; Neumann and Sanford 2001:52).

It is important to note that just because historic or cultural resources have been identified does not mean that they have to be left alone. Neumann and Sanford state this point perfectly when they say:

One last item: Neither the Section 106 Process nor its local counterparts is intended to stop construction. A site or building eligible for or even listed on the National Register can still be utterly destroyed. Rather the Process is intended to allow governments, federal or local, time to evaluate the importance of cultural resources and plan for handling them. If the resource will be lost, the Process provides a way in which that resource can be recorded so that the loss for its disappearance can be kept at a minimum. The idea is not to stop construction. Rather, the idea is, to use a metaphor, to give us as a nation a chance to see if we want to make a note of what is going to get tossed out from the national attic or even if we all might be served by holding on to it. [Neumann and Sanford 2001:54]

Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)

The purpose of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act, passed in 1990, was to foster greater respect and protection for Native American cultural material (King 260-266; Newman and Sanford 2001: 47). NAGPRA was particularly concerned with human remains, sacred items, and funerary items; thus federally recognized tribes may request that these items be returned from federally-funded institutions (King 260-266; Newman and Sanford 2001: 47). This has offered many opportunities for the tribes to participate in the archaeological process, even more so because tribes must be contacted to ensure that such artifacts are treated according to the descendent population's wishes (King 260-266; Newman and Sanford 2001: 47; Whitley 1999:301-303).

Public Participation in the Section 106 Process

The National Historic Preservation Act states, more than once, the idea that the preservation of the historic heritage is to the benefit of the American people (ACHP 2006). In Section 1.7, the NHPA states: "although the major burdens of historic preservation have been borne and major

efforts initiated by private agencies and individuals, and both should continue to play a vital role, it is nevertheless necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to accelerate its historic preservation programs and activities..." (ACHP 2006). This seems to encourage the continued participation of individuals in the preservation process, informing them that the government would be doing more such work in the future. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation publishes a pamphlet called "Protecting Historic Properties: A Citizen's Guide to Section 106 Review" which attempts to inform the public about the Section 106 process. In the Introduction, the Citizens Guide states: "By law, you have a voice when a project involving federal action, approval, or funding may affect properties that qualify for the National Register of Historic Places, the nation's official list of historic properties" (ACHP 2002:2). It offers suggestions to get involved such as learning about the history of your area, learning about local federal projects, educating oneself in local preservation laws, letting the SHPO/THPO know of your concerns, and finding out about notices for federally-reviewed projects.

Part of the leading federal agency's responsibilities under Section 106 is "scoping" or research (King 2008:75). This should include the identification of historical and cultural resources as well as contemporary sociocultural issues that exist in the community surrounding the project (King 2008:75). If a Native American community is to be effected, it is best to consult with them before consulting with the general public because they may have concerns that cannot be discussed in public (King 2008:75). Interaction with diverse elements of the community help the agency discover "real-life" uses of the project area that need to be considered (King 2008:75). The scoping process will probably involve public meetings that the concerned citizen can attend to voice their opinions. Such meetings would probably be

announced in local newspapers, and potentially in government buildings such as libraries and post offices.

In his book on cultural resource management, King (2008:115) advises the reader to "consult broadly under section 106, the regulations give special attention to the state historic preservation officer (SHPO) and the tribal historic preservation officer (THPO)." Other parties directly mentioned in section 106 regulations include: Native American groups whose land might be affected (even if the project outside the reservation), Native American groups that might have cultural or religious significance to the property (no matter where the group is currently located), local governments and applicants for federal assistance, the state highway department, for example (King 2008:115). According to King (2008:115-116), agencies are also supposed to discuss the project with: "other individuals and organizations with a demonstrated interest in the undertaking...due to the nature of their legal or economic relation to the undertaking or affected properties, or their concern with the undertaking's effects on historic properties" (36 CFR 800.2(c)(5)). Theoretically, this could include everyone. King (2008:116) recommends tailoring each consultation to the specific community "You consult for as long as it takes, using whatever methods are necessary to address people's concerns." While the motivated citizen will find a way to make their voice heard, they are still dependent on discovering the notices for public meetings or public hearings.

Most properties nominated for the National Register are done so by SHPO/THPO rather than private citizens. In fact, it is very hard for the average citizen to be proactive in the Section 106 process. It was justified outrage at this disparity that gave birth to the public archaeology movement.

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Introduction

Public Archaeology has had a different meaning in every article that I read, but they all had to do with archaeology done for the benefit of the public (Atalay 2012:1-7; Childester 2010:80-89; Christensen 2010:19-35; Gadsby and Barnes 2010:48-61; Hantman 2004:19-32; Matsuda and Okamura 2011: 1-13;; McDavid 2004:35-53; Reeves 2004:71-80; Sabloff 2008: 11-110; Shackel 2004:1-14). The word itself was coined in 1972 by McGimsey to describe archaeological work for the benefit of the public with their support (Matsuda and Okamura 2011:2). The point of this type of archaeology is to get the public involved in a past that they find important (Atalay 2012:1-7; Childester 2010:80-89; Christensen 2010:19-35; Gadsby and Barnes 2010:48-61; Hantman 2004:19-32; Matsuda and Okamura 2011: 1-13;; McDavid 2004:35-53; Reeves 2004:71-80; Sabloff 2008: 11-110; Shackel 2004:1-14). Public archaeology can be particularly useful as a way to include traditionally marginalized groups and their history into the comprehensive history of the nation (Reeves 2004:72). This involves a lot of discussions between and among groups of people, but it also involves a great deal of trust (Reeves 2004: 74).

Public Archaeology can trace its origins back to all of the social movements of the 1960s, especially the Red Power movement (Atalay 2012:30-32; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010:144-145). This was not the first time that Native Americans had opposed being studied by the scientific community, but it was the first time that the scientists had to listen to their justifications (Atalay 2012:30-32; Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010:144-145; Denetale 2004:131-146; Demallie 2006:932-934). That being said, there have and continue to be many excellent, cooperative projects between social scientists and groups of Native Americans, just not all groups wanted to work with outside scientists.

The approaches to public archaeology are as varied as the projects themselves. In fact, many authors mention the fact that one cannot apply "cookie-cutter" methods to public archaeology; each approach must be tailored to the specific community (Atalay 2012:1-7; Childester 2010:80-89; Christensen 2010:19-35; Gadsby and Barnes 2010:48-61; Hantman 2004:19-32; Matsuda and Okamura 2011: 1-13;; McDavid 2004:35-53; Reeves 2004:71-80; Sabloff 2008: 11-110; Shackel 2004:1-14).

Examples of Public Archaeology

The length of the parenthetical citation above offers a very brief example of the number of articles published on public archaeology. This number is increasing as public archaeology becomes more common-place in the United States as well as around the world. There are a few examples of projects that merit further examination: the "Chanmulá" site in the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico, the Levi Jordan Plantation Project in Texas, and the African Burial Ground in New York.

Chanmulá

Chanmulá is not the true name of site that Lisa Breglia (2012:89) worked at, but this minor detail does not decrease the importance of her findings there. This site is located in the northwest portion of the Yucatán Peninsula (Breglia 2012:89). There are two contemporary villages near the site, both of which are organized under the *ejido system*. "Ejidos" are federal land grants that were entrusted to rural communities in the 1930s after the reorganization of the federal government due to the Mexican Revolution (Breglia 2012:91). Prior to the ejido, most peasant farmers throughout Mexico were bound to large plantations (haciendas) through debt peonage

(Breglia 2012:91). Thus, the current land-owners are very attached to their hard-earned land; they believe it is their right to work the land as they please.

A team of archaeologists have spent the last several years working at the Chanmulá site (Breglia 2012:89). Their relationship to the local communities is complicated as there are economic, legal, and ideological connections between the two groups. The archaeologists often hire local men to serve as day laborers and local women as cooks and domestics (Breglia 2012:93). These are some of the few opportunities to earn cash money in the region (Breglia 2012:93). The archaeologists currently (at the time of this article) had a plan to develop the local site for tourism, but it has been hard to convince the locals of this tenuous promise of future economic benefits (Breglia 2012:93).

Some archaeologists have written that the local communities will eagerly accept any archaeological initiative that might offer economic develop (Pope and Mills 2012:169-186). The community at Chanmulá, however, has not been welcoming to the archaeologists efforts. Breglia (2012:93-99) offers several reasons for this rebuff. For one thing, the local communities identify as Maya, but they do not recognize continuity between themselves and the ancient Maya (Breglia 2012:95). Thus, they see no connection between themselves and the ruins (Breglia 2012:95). In their present form, the ruins look more like hills (Breglia 2012:95). This is how they are understood by the locals anyway (Breglia 2012:95). Furthermore, the current division of land between ejido members causes some of the plots to be in the center of the site. If the site were to be excavated (let alone restored), this land would no longer be available for cultivation (Breglia 2012:91). This would doubtlessly effect some of the inhabitants' livelihoods.

Looking at the interconnections between the region's social, historical, and economical legacy, the villager's reluctance to adopt the development plan is better understood by the archaeologists.

Nowadays we find greater consensus in both academic and professional communities that archaeology though science is neither a detached nor neutral activity. Subsequently, archaeologists carry a heavy responsibility to maintain sensitivity and flexibility in cross-cultural situations. What I have come to understand is that (1) "archaeology" does not always represent what local people understand as their heritage; and what's more (2) public or community outreach, though it may be practiced with the best of intentions always carries the potential danger of ethnocentrism [Breglia 2012:98].

From this article, we learn that the community may not historically or culturally identify with the archaeological site. We, as archaeologists, need to accept the fact that this is ok, but we also need to work with the community on what is important to them. In the case of Chanmulá, the community had a much better connection to and pride for the land as their "right" and livelihood. The trick will be to find a compromise that works for all involved.

Levi Jordan Plantation Project

The Levi Jordan Plantation Project is located near Brazoria, Texas (McDavid 2004:35). In the 19th Century, the Levi Jordan Plantation was a large sugar plantation, complete with slaves (McDavid 2004:38-52). The past presentation of the Levi Jordan Plantation had focused on the "Big House," the owner and his family. Then there was an opportunity to do some archaeological investigations on the property and the slave quarters (McDavid 2004:38-52). The excavations would provide an amazing opportunity to gather data about African-American life in the mid-late 19th century, but it caused tension in the local community, which included descendants of both the Euro-American owners and African-American slaves (McDavid 2004:39). McDavid (2004:39) commented, "Both African-American and European-American descendants

sometimes felt that a public association with the plantation would be embarrassing or otherwise harmful."

This was the first hurdle archaeologists working at the site had to conquer: getting the local community to accept all aspects of its history. Brown, one of the principle investigators, had included the descendant communities from the beginning of the study, but he wanted everyone to continue to be involved; Brown wanted to address all of the community's research interests as well as his own (McDavid 2004:40). McDavid (2004:40) investigated to see how the community wanted the site to be interpreted and the ways in which they were interested in interacting with the history being uncovered. This developed into a website that would serve as a forum for all of the different stories related to the plantation (McDavid 2004:41). McDavid (2004:41) was especially interested in providing the community with the infrastructure to add to the website. This was to become one of the most popular methods of public interpretation that remains active today (McDavid 2004:41-47).

The public participation evolved over a period of seventeen years and it continues to adapt to the needs of the community (McDavid 2004:35-49). It transitioned from a privately operated site to a publically owned site operated with a community-elected management board that includes members from the descendant communities. McDavid (2004:35) commented, "The Jordan archaeological project has evolved over seventeen years from a 'traditional' archaeological project with little public involvement (Brown 2000) to a public archaeological project controlled by members of ethnically diverse local descendent community using archaeologists as consultants/collaborators." It has taken some effort and compromise on the part of many "stakeholders" (CRM word for those with a vested interest in the project), but all have been pleased with the results. (McDavid 2004:49).

The African Burial Ground

The African Burial Ground is often held up as an example of how community relations should *not* be conducted (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Sabloff 2008:98-101). The facts were these: in the late 1980s, the United States General Services Administration (GSA) contracted out the task of building a multi-story office building (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). During their required search of the historical archives, they found a seventeenth-century map that had a "Negro Burying Ground" on the site of the proposed building; since the area had been previously developed, however, they did not expect that any human remains had survived (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101).

Soon after the archaeological excavations began, the Burial Ground itself was encountered (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). Not only was it much bigger than expected, but there were also many human remains-over 400 were eventually recovered (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). At this point, African-Americans from across the United States and across the world began to protest the desecration of their ancestors' remains (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). At first, the builders and excavating archaeologists did not really pay attention to the community's concerns (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). This only increased tensions between the community and excavators (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-106; Sabloff 2008:98-101). Eventually, under pressure from the mayor of New York City and the United States Congress, the contractors were forced to alter building plans to allow some of the burials to remain intact, while allocating a generous amount of funds for the rest of remains to be studied at Howard

University, a traditionally Black university (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-86). The consulting firm was also forced to pay a heavy fine for violating historic preservation codes (King 2008:6-8, 81-82; Roche and Blakey 1997:84-86). According to King (2008:7), the entire debacle cost over of \$80 million! King (2008:7) believes that with better planning and wider consulting a lot of problems could have been avoided. Personally, I think there still would have been a lot of hurt feelings, but the fact that the consulting company seemed to purposely exclude the public exponentially exasperated the problem.

All of these examples illustrate conflicts that can occur when different groups have different understandings of *heritage* (Harrison 2010:11). Heritage has different meanings and significance to different groups of people (Harrison 2010:9-11). In multicultural nations such as the United States, this makes it very difficult to create a standardized method for working with cultural material. But why should we care? The simple answer is because the public does. Shackle (2004:2) points out that "There are many other ethnic and social groups that want to participate in the development of their own heritage."

METHODS

The focus of my study is Coulee region's knowledge of archaeology and their perceptions of archaeology. For this paper, I will define "the Coulee Region" as a fifteen-mile radius of the city of La Crosse. This data was collected via a paper survey. The La Crosse Public Library graciously granted me permission to recruit participants at the Central Branch of the La Crosse Public Library. I aimed to collect 300 surveys: 150 from adults and 150 from young people aged 10-17; within each group, I hoped to collect surveys from an equal number of males and females. These results should approximate a 10% representative sample of the population of the Coulee

Region (Onboard Informatics 2012). I attempted to gather a random sample to see if factors such as age or level of education influence the subject's opinion or perceptions of archaeology.

Two surveys were designed: one for young people between the ages of 10 and 17 and another for adults over 18 (See Appendices A and B for the original surveys). Both of these surveys were based on the Harris Interactive, Inc. (2000) survey: Exploring Public Perceptions and Attitudes about Archaeology (Ramos and Dunnange 2000). This was a phone survey given to a representative sample of people living in the United States (Ramos and Dunnange 2000). The scope of my investigation is obviously much smaller, thus I have the opportunity to be much more specific in my questioning. My survey includes several open-ended questions and opportunities to explain one's thoughts. The goal of this was to collect as much detail as possible regarding the attitudes of the community about archaeology.

I thought a survey would be the most appropriate because this method could include a large number of participants in a short amount of time. Interviews would provide more nuanced details about each participant's opinion, but the time constraints would severely limit the sample size. I hoped that large numbers of participants would translate to the greatest potential for a variety of opinions. This variety would allow the most complete understanding of the public's true opinions.

The survey also includes a short, multiple-choice, test of archaeology and the archaeological process. For example, the participant is asked what an archaeologist does and given the answer choices of: "hunts for treasure," "studies fossils such as dinosaur bones," "help museums find things to display," "study the remains of past cultures," or "not sure." This section was included for two reasons: 1) to determine the archaeological literacy of the community, and 2) to evaluate on the relationship between knowledge of archaeology and the archaeological

processes and the positive or negative opinion of archaeology in general. This section will be compared with the results of the 2000 Harris Interactive, Inc. survey to see how the Coulee Region compares with the rest of the nation on archaeological knowledge (Ramos and Dunnange 2000). The results of the open-ended questions were summarized and organized by theme.

As with any research involving human subjects, this study was sent to the Internal Review Board from the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. It passed evaluation without the need to refine the process of informed consent, thus I began the survey process.

RESULTS

I collected 132 adult surveys and 31 surveys from young people age 10-17. This makes a total of 163 surveys. This ends up being about a 1% sample of La Crosse. The adult population ended up being almost 50% male and 50% female, with a few respondents that did not answer this question. While all age groups are represented in the population, the majority of participants were between 22 and 56 years of age. These results are summarized below in Figure 2.

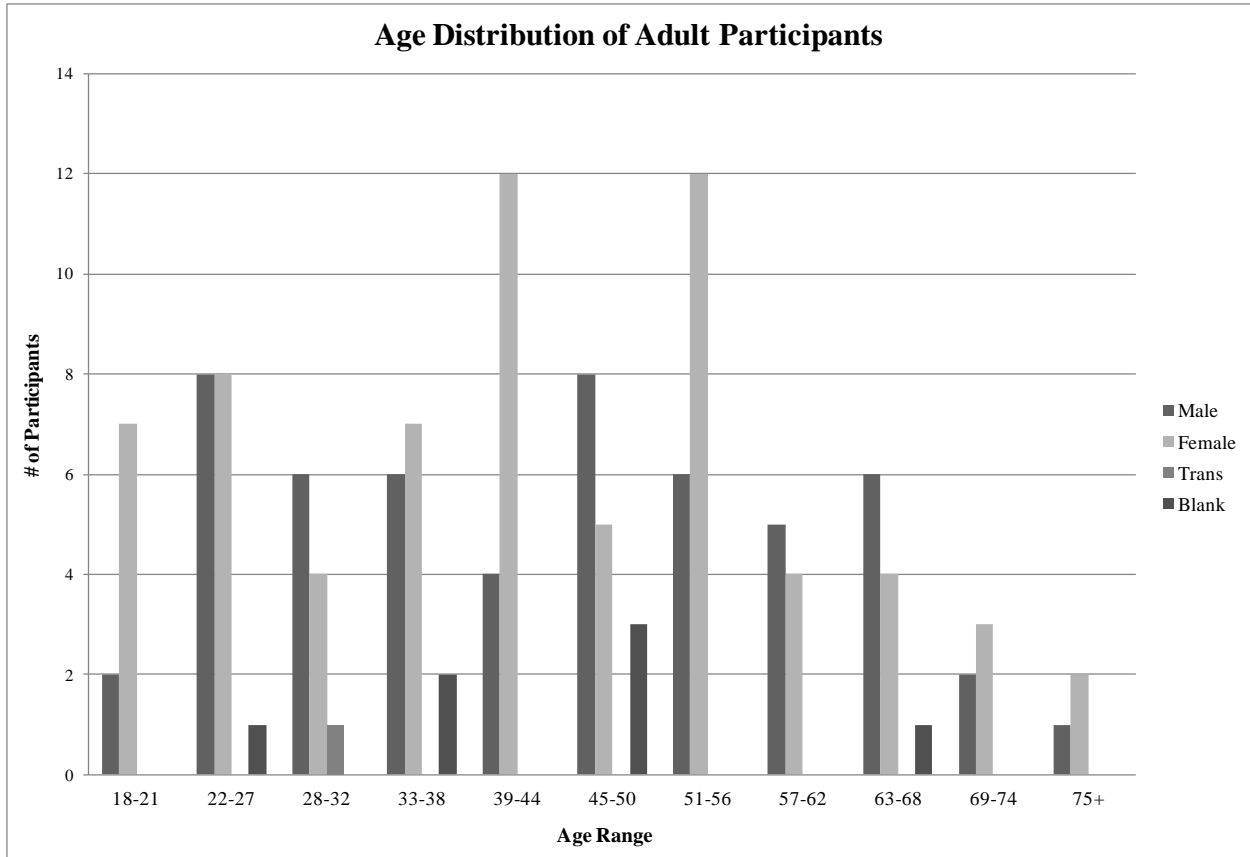


Figure 2. Age and Gender Distribution of Adult Participants.

The age and gender distribution of juvenile population was nowhere near as balanced as the adult group; over 67% of the sub-adult population was female. The majority of the youth respondents were also younger, between the ages of 10 and 12. Figure 3 summarizes the age and genders of the younger population.

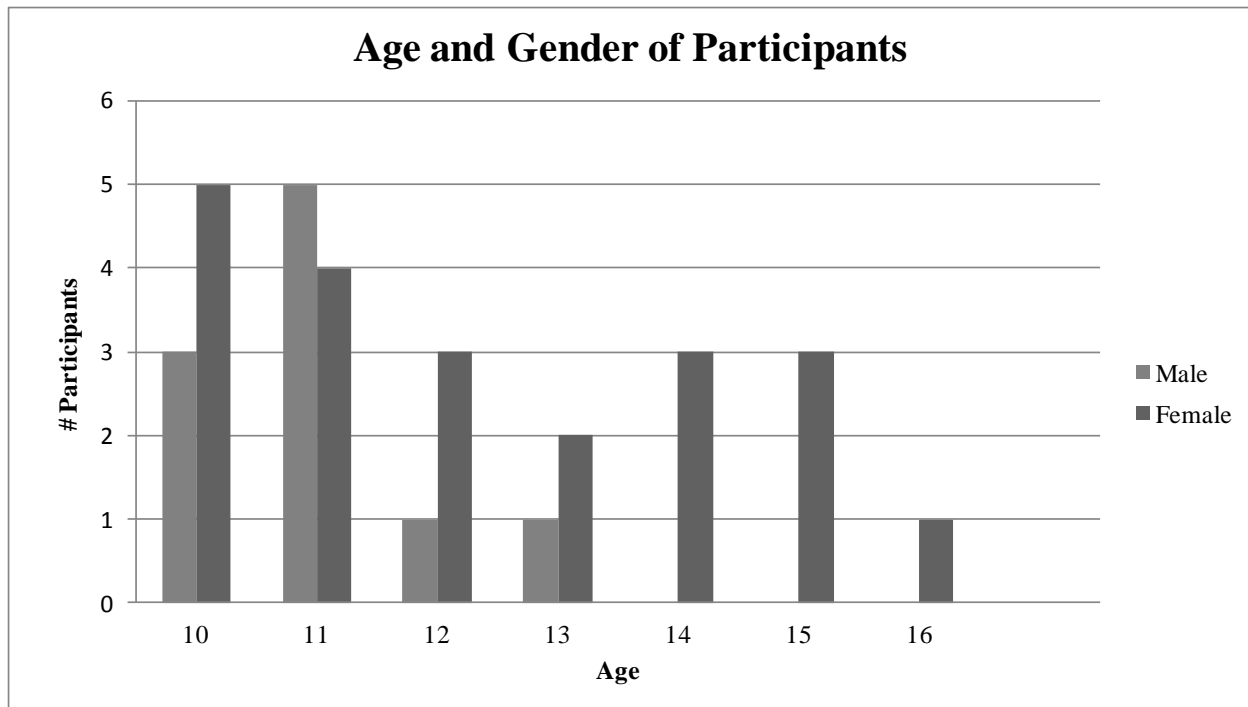


Figure 3. Age and Gender Distribution of the Youth Population.

Misunderstandings

One of the questions I was most interested in examining was how much does the community know about archaeology? This question was best examined through the "Archaeological Knowledge" section on both surveys. This section contained eight questions on both Wisconsin archaeology and the science of archaeology itself. The first question asked "what does an archaeologist do?" Over 76% of the adults and 45% of the youth answered this question correctly with the answer "study the remains of past cultures." Interestingly, the youth were evenly divided between the correct answer and the "studies fossils" response as 45% of the youth also chose this answer. Of the remaining youth responses, 3% answered "don't know," the another 3% left this question blank and the remaining 3% thought that archaeologists help museums find objects to display.

The adult responses were more varied. The majority of adults, over 75%, chose the correct answer of "study the material remains of past cultures." Less than 1% of adults thought that archaeologists "help museums find objects to display." Only 7% of adults thought that archaeologists studied fossils. Another 7% selected more than one answer. Interestingly, the two most common answers paired together were "study fossils" and "study past cultures." One respondent in particular, who mentioned that she had taken an anthropology class in college, left a written comment on her survey that she thought that anthropology, not archaeology was the study of past material culture. She still chose "the study of past material culture" as her answer. While the general pattern of awareness is positive, it would seem that there is more work can be done to help the public better understand the cross-disciplinary approach of modern archaeology.

The next question asked "what is an artifact?" In this case, 67% of the adults and 39% of the young adults chose the correct answer of "an object made by human-kind." The second most common response among both adults and youth was "informative artwork"; almost 10% of adults and 26% of youth chose this answer. The following answer choice, "a naturally-occurring object," was chosen by 8% of adults and 23% of the youth. About 7% of adults and 13% of the youth claimed that they did not know what an artifact was. About 3% of adults left this question blank while another 5% chose more than one answer. The younger respondents did neither of these things.

The following question asked if there was a Native American Mound in Myrick Park. Over 83% of the adults and 48% of the youth answered "true," the correct answer. About 8% of adults and about 3% of the juveniles believed this statement was false. Some 5% of adults and 3% of the youth responded that they did not know.

The next question asked about the meaning of the words "projectile point." About 78% of adults and 48% of the sub-adults chose the correct answer of "the stone tip of an arrow or spear." The second most-selected answer choice among both adults and young people was "I don't know". Over 14% of adults and more than 48% of the youth chose this answer. Less than 1% of adults chose the answers "a type of food" or left the question blank. None of the juvenile chose either of these answers. Just 3% of adults and none of the younger population chose multiple answers to this question.

The responses to the subsequent question were the most surprising of the survey. The question asked "what is the meaning of historic and prehistoric?" Astoundingly, 50% of adults and 77% of the sub-adults answered this question incorrectly. This means that only 23% of the juvenile population and 49% of the adults chose the correct answer of "when writing was invented." The most commonly-chosen incorrect answer among adults was "the same as BC and AD." Over 18% of adults and 22% of the youth chose this answer. The most commonly-chosen incorrect answer among the younger population was "I don't know." Over 38% of the young people and over 18% of adults chose this answer.

Another popular, but incorrect answer was "when a place was "discovered" by the west." This answer was chosen by over 10% of the adults and 12% of the sub-adults. I was puzzled by the popularity of this answer until it was explained by an individual who has spent a lot of time educating the public about archaeology (Arzigian personal communication 2013). She says that she commonly explains *prehistoric* as being "Native American" (Arzigian personal communication 2013). It makes sense that one could chose the answer "when a place was discovered by the west" if he or she had been told that prehistoric meant before Europeans. Over 3% of the youth and 2% of the adults reported that they did not know.

This is a significant finding. Language is how humans transmit information. If there is a disconnect between the words that are spoken and the words that are understood then there will likely be a misunderstanding. In this case, if the public does not understand the words that are being used, then they will not be able to understand or appreciate what the archaeologist is trying to accomplish. Personally, I found this surprising because I do not consider "historic" or "prehistoric" to be jargon. It would make sense that people would find "projectile point" confusing as it is not commonly used in daily language. Yet, the results show that there was much less confusion about the meaning of projectile points. This is interesting as meaning of "historic" is common in daily language; thus it would be logical to assume the public had an understanding of its meaning. The fact that there is such confusion should encourage archaeologists to tailor their language to ensure that their goals are understood by all.

The next question asked about laws in archaeology. Over 93% of adults and 83% of the youth knew that there are indeed laws that protect archaeology. Barely 5% of adults and 9% of the juveniles thought that this statement was false. Even fewer left this question blank with less than 1% of adults and only 6% of the youth skipping it. None in either group responded that they did not know.

The following question asked about prehistoric artifacts common to Wisconsin. Exactly 75% of adults and 32% of young people correctly answered that stone projectile points were frequent finds throughout Wisconsin. The most frequent, although incorrect, answer among adults was clay figurines; almost 10% of adults and 13% of youth chose this answer. I strongly suspect that the popularity of this response is due to the fact that clay is a common element in the soil. The logical progression of this thought is that the ancient inhabitants of the area could use

the clay to make figurines. The ancient people in the region did take advantage of the clay to make pottery, but not figurines.

The most commonly-selected wrong answer among the younger population was "colorfully painted pottery"; over 32% of the youth and 8% of the adults chose this answer. I think this answer is also related to the general misunderstanding of the difference between "historic" and "prehistoric." If I had asked about a common historic artifact, this answer would have been correct.

Another inaccurate answer commonly selected among the younger population was that "gold and silver jewelry" was a common Wisconsin artifact. Over 16% of the young people chose this answer, but barely 2% of the adult population made the same choice. Again, this answer would have been much more appropriate if I had asked about historic rather than prehistoric artifacts, thus perhaps it can be attributed to the general misunderstanding of the meanings of "historic" and "prehistoric."

There were two other responses collected: selecting more than one answer choice and leaving the question blank. Less than 4% of the adult respondents selected multiple answer choices but none of the younger population did so. More of each group had left the question blank. Barely 2% of the adults but over 6% of the youth left this question blank.

The final question asked if it was true that the Valley View Mall had been built over an Oneota village site. Around 63% of the adults and 52% of the youth correctly answered "true." Less than 25% of adults and 38% of the youth answered "false." There were also about 10% of the adults that claimed they did not know and 3% of adults left this question blank. About 6% left this question blank while 3% of young people claimed that they weren't sure. The exact responses to this and all of the other questions can be found in Appendix C.

DISCUSSION

The significance of the disconnect between the public's understanding of *historic* and the archaeologist's definition of the same words cannot be understated. This misunderstanding can literally determine how the public perceives archaeology and other aspects of history. In his book *Archaeologist Toolkit 7: Presenting the Past*, Larry Zimmerman (2003:7,12-13) suggests: "The single greatest problem in presenting the past may be figuring out who the audience is." Like King (2008:115), Zimmerman (2003:11-14) encourages the creation of reports that can widely appreciated; he continues saying, "We shouldn't have to dumb down everything we do so that it 'sells' or makes people 'feel good' about themselves. Rather we had better figure out just doing archaeology reports doesn't cut it if we want the public to learn about, let alone buy into our disciplinary views about the past. Worse, it may even alienate them if done without sensitivity to their needs or concerns" (Zimmerman 2003:11). I think it is this disconnect between the archaeologists and the community that is responsible for the muddle of answers recorded in the question about the difference between *prehistory* and *history*. I don't believe that archaeologists, at least in the Coulee Region, have gotten to the point of alienating the public. However, I believe archaeologists should be acutely aware of the potential to antagonize the community and actively avoid it.

General Opinions and Perception

The second question of interest, and in all honesty the question that led to the development of this project was "what do the people of the Coulee Region think about archaeology?" I wrote the entire "Opinions" section with two goals: 1) reveal what history was important to the community

and 2) how that history could best be honored and how this history can best be passed down to future generations. The results suggest that the Coulee Region is generally supportive of archaeology and archaeological research.

Most of the respondents surveyed stated that they were interested in archaeology. Over 83% of the adult respondents self-identified as "interested," "very interested" or "fascinated" with archaeology; less than 5% identified themselves as having "no interest," being "very uninterested" or "uninterested." Among the youth, over 61% identified themselves as "interested," "very interested," or "fascinated"; about 13% self-identified as having "no interest," being "very uninterested" or "uninterested." The complete results of this question are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Complete Responses to "Interest in Archaeology".

Interest in Archaeology		
Answer Choice	# of Adult Responses	# of Youth Responses
No Interest	3	1
Very Uninterested	2	3
Uninterested	1	0
Neither Interested or Uninterested	10	8
Interested	79	12
Very Interested	22	7
Fascinated	9	0
Blank	6	0
Total	132	31

There were several other questions that intended to divulge the Coulee Region's opinions and perceptions of archaeology. Some of these questions were overt in the information that was

trying to be collected, others probed more subtly. Some of these questions included potential answers to get the participants thinking; others purposely did not include answers as to not lead the participant in any way. Questions with answers could be divided into three categories: those that offered degrees of agree or disagree with particular statements, yes or no questions, and people who might be involved in "ownership" or protection of archaeological resources. After each question, the respondent was asked to justify their answer.

The questions with varying gradations of agree and disagree were included to see to how strong the respondent's opinion was. This was included because the literature seemed to imply that public support for archaeology was conditional (DeBore 2004:3-4; Hasten 2004:177; McGuire 2008:xii, 1-11; Ramos and Duganne 2000:22-26; Tilley 1998:307-310). This idea was echoed in my own data as well. For example, one respondent commented that: "Archaeology for knowledge of ancient culture is important but not as important as the environment." The yes or no questions were included to gain a better sense of the participant's experience with archaeology as well as their own initiative to explore archaeology. One question, for example, asked the participant if they would include a visit to an archaeological site or natural history museum in their vacation plans. Another asked if they would like to participate in archaeological events in the Coulee Region. The answers predictably depended on their reported interest in archaeology, although sometimes the amount of free time or level of physical ability factored into negative responses. The questions with answer choices related to the variety of people and institutions that may be involved in the archaeological process were for two very specific questions: "who should 'own' archaeology?" and "who should be responsible for protecting archaeology?" These questions were included to get a sense of how personal of a connection the respondents had the archaeological resources.

Despite the variety of questions, the responses seemed to keep returning to the themes of identity, the future, the irreplaceable nature of archaeological resources, the need for balance, the generalization that archaeology should be public, and the idea that the past should be respected. Such repetition from so many different individuals in both the adult and juvenile populations suggests that these ideas are generally important to the community. Often, references would be made to more than one of these concepts in a single response. For example, one respondent answered the question "it is important to preserve history, cultural heritage, and the natural environment" with this answer: "History and culture is what makes us different and interesting; Preserving the environment is important simply for avoiding the destruction of the planet. We don't know for example what the effect of destroying some of the ecosystem." This response touches on the idea that there is a relationship between history and culture; the assertion that culture and history are interesting; that the environment is important.

This one quote brings up the ideas of identity through the repeated use of first person pronouns (*our* and *us*); the potential to learn from history and make better decisions for the future; and finally the idea that one's identity is connected to history. The repeated use of first person pronouns, especially the possessive (*ours*) seems to indicate a close relationship, an ownership with the past. Professor Sara Colley (2007:30-33) did a study from 1999-2004 where she asked her second and third year archaeology students at the University of Sydney what were the public benefits of archaeology? She also commented on the repetition in the use of first person pronouns, "we" in her case (Colley 2007:32). She did not attribute much meaning to this, but she did suggest the use of *we* seemed to be more impersonal, like the "royal we" (Colley 2007:32).

While I cannot say my respondents were not doing the same thing, the feedback that I received seemed to be using *we* to create a relationship between themselves and the past. A perfect example of this is the comment: "It is a link between us and the past. Having a connection to our roots is important, although I can't say the exact reason. Perhaps it is hardwired into our psyche. Plus history is a body of knowledge collected so those of us living now can make wise choices, even though we don't always" (underlines added). The underlined sections seem to suggest a personal relationship between the individual and the past. The respondent values this relationship, even though she doesn't know why. Furthermore, the lessons learned from the past are important; especially because these lessons can help make better decisions in the future.

The relationship between lessons learned in the past and the possibility of better solutions to future problems was repeated throughout my data. Over 91% of adult respondents and 61% of the juvenile respondents agreed or strongly agreed that archaeology was important. One adult respondent commented, "Without Archaeology, we have no knowledge of our past. If we have no understanding of our past, we can't create an informed and better future." The young people seemed to have similar opinions. One teenager responded, "It's good to learn our history because history often repeats itself." When asked about the importance of archaeology, a fourth grader commented: "Because if we don't have it we couldn't find out about prehistoric times." when asked about the importance of archaeology.

This theme is also well represented in other studies. The Harris Interactive, Inc. survey (Ramos and Duganne 2000:23) reported that about 25% of their respondents felt that archaeology was important because knowledge of the past could improve the future, especially in the realm of avoiding mistakes. Pokotylo and Mason (1991:11) also concluded that the overall,

the community of British Columbia was supportive of archaeology; over 84% of those surveyed believed that archaeology was relevant to today's society. Pokotylo repeated these results in 2007 comparison study of the public and first year archaeology students (Pokotylo 2007:16). In this study, both the students and public were asked to the importance of archaeology on a one to five scale, with five being the most important. Over 31 % of the public and 46% of the students rated archaeology a four while 20% of students and 30% of the public think archaeology is important enough to receive a five.

The next reoccurring theme is the idea that archaeology is a type of non-renewable resource. A site can only really be dug once; artifacts may be *recreated* but they cannot be replaced. As one respondent put it: "There is no 'undo' for a careless action." Another respondent wisely expressed that : "They [buildings] can and should be documented photographically: significance is not always immediately realized. Records should be kept at the very least."

The younger group also understood this idea, although they did not seem quite as concerned as the adults. One fifteen-year-old stated that: "Future generations should have the chance to look back and see what life was like before Internet, facebook, and cars." Another child noted: "If we permanently forget something we'll regret it. No one will know how to pronounce ancient Egypteyion [Egyptian.]"

Such concerns have been unearthed in other surveys as well. Pokotylo and Mason (1991:10) found that 96% of their contributors were "concerned" about preservation. Another 67% wanted more public education on preservation issues (Pokotylo and Mason 1991:10). The Harris Interactive, Inc. (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30) survey did not explicitly ask about preservation, but they did ask about the role of the federal government in protecting

archaeological resources. The results were that 96% of the contributors believed that archaeological sites (both prehistoric and historic sites) should have legal protection.

Related to the indefinite nature of archaeology is the need for balance between the old and the new, the human world and the natural one. I think this balancing act is part of the human experience. When asked if it was more important to preserve old buildings or build new ones, one respondent replied, "We don't live in a vacuum. Our surroundings and our past form a web around us, in such a way that actions cause a ripple effect in our society and our environment." Another respondent was obviously very impressed with the resolutions made in northern Wisconsin. He related this answer: "We must respect the past, we must also strengthen the economy, so there must be a balance-like in Northern Wisconsin."

The younger group had similar opinions. One respondent said, " We should never destroy historic sites, it ruins our connection with the past and ruins learning." When asked what should be preserved, another participant offered this varied list: "Native American places, natural environment, and heritage, along with old cities because they are all really cool!"

On a personal note, a "balanced perspective" seems like it would be the best. The only problem is the issue of who gets decide what "balanced" is? In my opinion, these are the conversations we need to be having; "we" meaning archaeologists, other scientists, the public, special interest groups, Native American communities, the business community, everyone. The other surveys do not seem to have collected this result. The Harris Interactive Inc. (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30) did ask respondents to determine of the effect of archaeology (on a scale from 0-10) on a group of other social issues. They seemed to believe that archaeology had the most effect (7.1) on one's understanding of the modern world (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30). Archaeology seems to have the least effect on public policy (4.6); yet archaeology seems to have

a stronger effect on international affairs (5.7) (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30). Archaeology also seems to have a 5.7 effect on societal values (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30). Despite the current trends of sustainable tourism, archaeology is only seen to have a 4.7 effect on the economy, the next-to-lowest effectiveness rating (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30). The third lowest effective score went to archaeology helping one understand one's own life (Ramos and Duganne 2000:26-30).

Another matter of importance to the people of the Coulee Region is the idea that archaeology and archaeological knowledge should remain accessible to everyone. "Artifacts belong to our culture," one participant argued. "No one has a right to destroy or take something that should be for everyone," another answered. "It ruins it for everyone," added another contributor.

These answers mostly came from two questions: "who should 'own' archaeology?" and "who should be responsible for protecting archaeology?" Both of these questions included answer choices. The former question included possible answers of : the person or group who found it; the owner of the land it was found on; the national government; the state or local government; the cultural group that originally made or used it; it depends or not sure. The answers to the latter question included: the national government; state/local governments; academic institutions; culture group that originally made/ used them; the land owner; museums; it depends; or not sure.

I do not have the answers, but I think this is why archaeologists and the public should be having this conversation. This survey is just the beginning of this discourse. The fewest, just over 2%, thought that the national government should own archaeological resources, but 6% thought that the state or local government would be an appropriate owner of archaeological resources.

The barely 4% thought that the person or group who found the artifact should maintain ownership, yet 6% thought that it should be the property of the person who owned the land that it was found on. The vast majority of respondents answered either "it depends" (30%) or "not sure" (20%). I think this goes back to the idea that so many respondents thought that archaeological knowledge should be universally accessible.

Interestingly, about 17% thought that the cultural group that originally made or used it should receive custody of the archaeological material. While the exact ancestral group that created the artifact might be very difficult or even impossible, this represents a shift in public perception. Even before the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was passed, it was controversial (King 260-266; Newman and Sanford 2001: 47; Trigger 2003:59-66; White Deer 1998:333-337; Meighan 2004:174-176). It threatened to further strain the already tense relationships between some Native Peoples and some members of the scientific community (King 260-266; Newman and Sanford 2001: 47; Trigger 2003:59-66; White Deer 1998:333-337; Meighan 2004:174-176).

Thus it makes sense that when NAGPRA was first introduced, not everyone was so supportive of the return of archaeological material to its original creators. The Harris Interactive, Inc. (Ramos and Duganne 2000:13), stated that only 1% of respondents mentioned that archaeologists may return artifacts to Native American groups. The results in British Columbia were much different; almost 16% of respondents said that the legal rights to prehistoric archaeological artifacts (Pokotylo and Mason 1990:15). Pokotylo's other survey (2007:17) asked lots of questions about the relationship between archaeologists and First Nation people (called Native Americans in the United States). Around 5% of the students and 7% of the public thought that only members of the First Nations should have access to sacred sites, even if they contained

archaeological material (Pokotylo 2007:17). About 15.6% of the public and 39% thought that only "prehistory" related to only First Nations (Pokotylo 2007:17). On the other hand, barely 9.7% of students thought that only First Nation decedents should have exclusive control of the excavation of prehistoric sites; 13.4% of the public had the same opinion (Pokotylo 2007:17).

My respondents were much more inclined to return the artifacts. One respondent stated: "It is their heritage. They can/could offer it to the public but they shouldn't be required to do so." "I would say the cultural group, yet these resources should be available for public education," another replied. The idea that archaeology should remain public was repeated by many respondents. The quote, "No one should own it. It should be trusted under the public domain" illustrates this point perfectly.

The other question proposed specifically to understand how personally responsible for the public felt for archaeology was the question "Who should be responsible for protecting archaeological/cultural/environmental resources?" Like the previous question, this question had answer choices to help the respondent think through the question. Similar to the last question, "who should own archaeological material?", the written comments and explanations were mostly about how archaeology should remain public. One respondent, for example, stated "Everyone has some responsibility for making sure our history is protected." Yet only 22% of the respondents answered "it depends," 9% did not know, and 3% wrote in "everyone" or "all of the above." Over 20%, though, chose multiple answers. Perhaps by doing this they meant to say all of those listed were responsible for the protection of archaeology. Many of their written comments suggested this. "Groups should collaborate," for example.

After those listed in the previous paragraph, the most popular chosen answer was the national government (16%). Yet only 2% of the respondents thought that the government should

"own" archaeology. How is it that 16% the same population could think that the government would be the best protectors for archaeological material, yet would not be the best owner? Some of the written responses offer some suggestions. One apparently conflicted respondent offered, "I'd like to keep archaeological finds in the governments' hands, because cultural issues can be complicated (i.e. religious lands) and the group who has more power will take control. I also wouldn't like the government to ruin a historical site for the sake of capitalism and monetary gains. Who do I trust more?" Another added, "The cultural group may not be vested in using the land it was originally used for. If the local government owns it, the land can be made into an education and natural place for everyone." This individual seems concerned that the archaeological material remains available for everyone to learn from. In their opinion, the local government would be the most likely custodian to accomplish this. Another individual thought that the National Government would be most likely to accomplish the same goal. "The National Government has an interest in preserving our history for the future." "If the federal government does it, then there are consistent rules for the whole country," another respondent added. On the other hand, "Our government sucks, it should be placed in charge of people who care about the cause" quipped another. It seems like this individual would prefer to trust in the power of the people.

Other responses to the question "who should be responsible for the protection of archaeological resources?" included academic institutions (9%) and museums (5%). Interestingly, no one thought that solely the landowner of the archaeological site should be responsible protection of the archaeological material. One respondent in favor of museums stated "It all depends on who has the least potential monetary gain and who will protect the archaeological finds the most. I know there is competition amongst museums, but I choose to

believe they'd rather give up their own artifacts to see them survive." "It would be kept out of the realm of individual ownership and therefore be enjoyed by all," another museum supporter added. One individual thought either academic institutions or museums should be responsible for the protection of archaeological material because: "These institutions know how to properly preserve the items." Most of the responses, however, seemed to suggest that everyone should work together. "Everyone! The only way to successfully protect everything is to work hand in hand."

The young people's survey also had a question that attempted to get a sense of how personal of a connection the respondents had the archaeological resources. To simplify things a bit, their question was: "after archaeological material is found, what should be done with it?" Most of the answers focused on the idea that the material should be studied. "Put it in a museum after people have studied it," for example. The young respondents seemed very concerned that everyone should be able to learn from the archaeological material. As one respondent said: "I think that this material should be available to educate the public, but should also be used by archaeologists to learn from." It should be noted that the response varied with age; older respondents often had a more mature responses. One of the quotes above was written by a thirteen-year-old and the other by a fifteen-year-old. This is not to say that younger respondents were not insightful, just that more of them made very basic comments. For example: "kept and put in a safe place" or even "sell it."

As previously stated, one goal of this survey was to understand what history Coulee Region thought was important. The question on the adult survey "what is worth preserving? why do you think so?" and the question for the young people, "what kinds of things should be protected so that people in the future can enjoy them?" were included specifically to answer this

question. One of the perils of social research is that humans are very unpredictable creatures. Many social scientists have had the experience where the information they were looking for failed to come out in an interview, but was later casually revealed (Hippert personal communication 2013; Reeves 2004:71-80). The flustered researcher asks the informant why he or she did not mention this earlier only to be told "that isn't what you asked" (Hippert personal communication 2013; Reeves 2004:71-80). Knowing this, I carefully worded these questions. Even so, I did not quite get the answers that I was hoping for nor expecting.

For one thing, over 15% of adults and 3% of the youth left this question blank. Blank questions cannot offer any certainties, but one reason these questions were left blank could be that the respondent did not know what to say. A small percentage (about 7% of adults) wrote things along the lines of: "I don't know" and "it's not my place to decide what should be forgotten." Perhaps there is confusion about the word *preservation* like the misunderstanding about the meaning of *historic* and *prehistoric*? This would certainly explain the general vagueness of the answers. Further investigation is needed to know for sure.

None of the younger people admitted to not knowing. One common answer was "everything that is found." Over 28% of adult respondents and 9% of young respondents had a similar answer. The most popular response, however, was naming a physical object (or several) worth saving. Exactly 50% of adults and 38% of the juveniles listed these answers. Examples of physical objects include: "...bones, pottery, spear heads, arrowheads, etc. so we can trace our past." "Textiles, architecture unique to a certain period, writings," another respondent added. Many of the young people's lists were shorter. One thirteen-year-old, for example, suggested "things that are significant, but also unique."

Another important category mentioned was intangible things, such as cultures, stories, etc. About 23% of adults included something intangible on their list, but only 9% of juveniles had the same responses. "Historical evidence of social structure--traditional healing beliefs and practices," for example. "Cultural Heritage, because people change and cultures change. If we don't preserve it, it will be forgotten," added another. "Native American places, natural environment, and heritage, along with old cities because they are all really cool"! chimed in an eleven-year-old. Over 22% of the young people, like the individual mentioned above, specifically mentioned the environment as something worth saving; only about 12% of the adults mentioned that the environment should be saved.

Recommendations

Overall, the Coulee Region seems conflicted about archaeology. Some people are very well-informed, others are much less so. They know that archaeologists deal with the past, but are not sure if that is the human past or the biological past. Neither the adults nor the young people are clear on this point. The degree of misunderstanding among the juveniles is interesting considering the fact that the Wisconsin State standards dictate that students will be introduced to different sources of historical evidence by fourth grade (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction 2012a). There were only five current fourth graders, which made up about 16% of the youth sample, thus one would expect that more of the students would be familiar with archaeology.

It would seem, then, that there needs to be more opportunities to reinforce what is learned in school for the students as well as educational opportunities for the adults. These opportunities need not be long or extensive, for those who are familiar with archaeology understand it well.

The goal should to include as many people as possible. Thus, it should be possible to educate greater numbers of people and the level of confusion should drop.

Other studies (Pokotylo and Mason 1990:9-17, Steele et al. 2008:69-85) suggest that the most effective and memorable form of education is participation in public archaeology. While such opportunities exist in the Coulee Region, mass-scale utilization by the public is probably impractical (MVAC 2013). For one thing, the goal of any field school is to gather archaeological data (Steele et al. 2008:69-85). Members of the public would be untrained, thus more likely to compromise the data. There would need to be a greater number of professional archaeologists on staff to supervise the public to minimize the loss of data. The presence of professional archaeologists may not be in the project's budget. Furthermore, in order to participate, one must be physically able to perform the work and be able to take time off work. In this economy, time off work is a luxury many can't afford.

Another, more practical option, would be a video documentary. Both my research as well as others (Ramos and Duganne 2000:16; Pokotylo and Mason 1990:12) suggest that between 50% and 80% of people learn about archaeology from TV programs. Figure 4 illustrates the responses from my research.

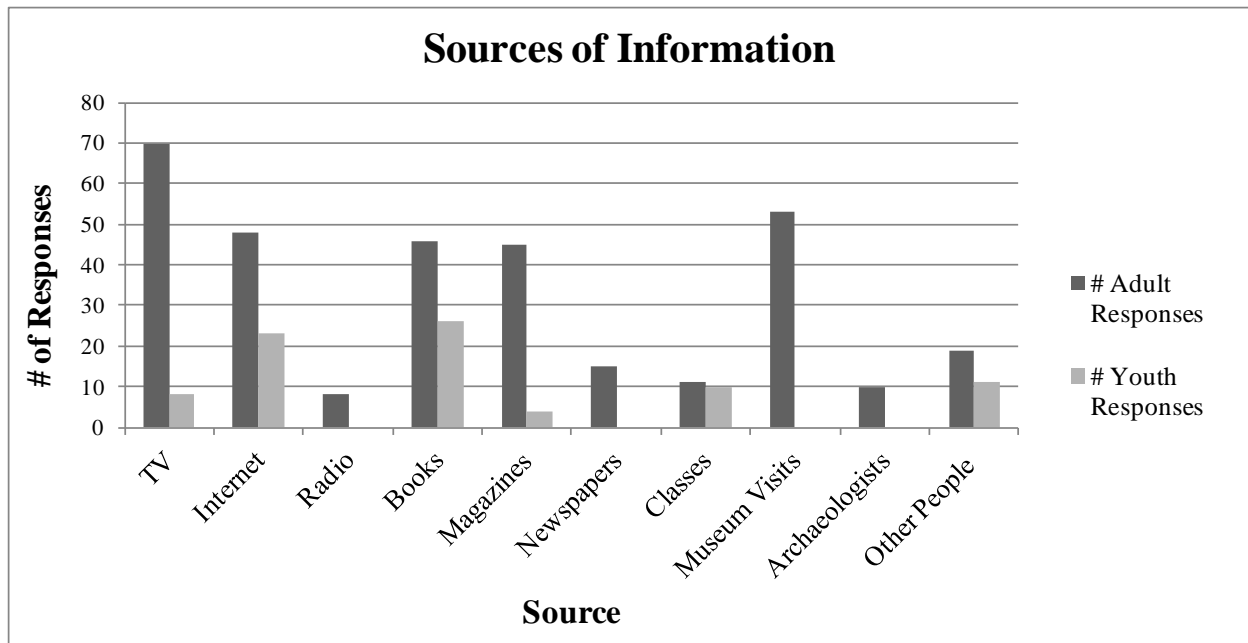


Figure 4. Adult Sources of Archaeological Information.

It just makes sense that using the most popular source of information to reach the widest audience possible. Producing their own documentaries would also allow archaeologists to balance the "Indiana Jones" syndrome that is portrayed by Hollywood and more charismatic, but less scholarly rigorous individuals (Sebastion 2004:6; Woodard 2009:50-57).

Over the past few years, anthropology, and the humanities in general have come under attack. Governors Rick Scott (of Florida), Rick Perry (of Texas) and Scott Walker (of Wisconsin) have all recently spoken out against anthropology as a "non-strategic" (Anderson 2011; The Economist 2011; Grossman 2013; Kiley 2012; Newkirk 2013; Marcus 2013; Ruiz 2011;Stoller 2013). Their point is that anthropologists and other humanities graduates don't get jobs upon graduation, thus the public should not spend their tax money on programs that do not produce economic benefits. "If I'm going to take money from a citizen to put into education," I'm going to take that money to create jobs. I want that money to go to degrees where people can get jobs in this state" commented Governor Scott to the Saratoga Tribune (Anderson 2011; The

Economist 2011; Grossman 2013; Kiley 2012; Newkirk 2013; Marcus 2013; Ruiz 2011;Stoller 2013). Among the numerous arguments one could make why anthropology (and the humanities in general) are important, my research shows that anthropology, more specifically archaeology is *important to the public*. Over 94% of my respondents thought that archaeology was important. Furthermore, over 60% think that archaeology should receive federal funding and 46% agreed to pay more taxes to make federal funding possible. These high numbers demonstrate just how much archaeology and the past are valued by the public, even if they themselves are not sure why; "I don't know, it just is!" commented one respondent.

My results closely mirrored the results from the national survey done by the Harris Interactive Inc (Ramos and Duganne 2000:23-30); thus one can be assured that the rest of the nation has similar feelings about the importance of the past as well as a similar willingness to fund research. As elected officials, these governors should respect this desire and keep opportunities for funding and research opened.

CONCLUSIONS

Almost every survey that has been done about archaeology (and possibly every conversation with someone with just has a casual interest in history or the natural sciences as suggested by Dr. Lynne Sebastian [2004:6]) has brought up the tenacity with which dinosaurs and archaeology seem to have stuck in the public mentality. The Harris Interactive survey (Ramos and Duganne 2000:13-14) reported that 85% thought that archaeologists studied dinosaurs specifically while 92% thought that they generally studied "fossils." David Pokotylo's (2007:14-15) study that compared the knowledge of the community and the students at the University of British Columbia found that 15.4% of the public thought that archaeologists were a type of "earth scientist" like paleontologists while 23.2% of students had the same opinion. That was

interesting considering the students were archaeology students in college, but then again the survey was taken on their first day of class (Pokotylo 2007:18). Also interesting was the fact that the scholars were more likely to have a "romantic perspective" (like Indiana Jones) of archaeology (Pokotylo 2007:18). In my opinion this is better than dinosaurs, but I would hope that this perception would shift with their continued exposure to archaeology.

Another significant point of confusion is the difference between historic and prehistoric. As previously mentioned, this was the question most commonly missed on the survey. I hope that with continued outreach this confusion can be cleared up.

Despite these misunderstandings, the Coulee Region is interested in and supportive of archaeology. Almost 60% of adults believed that archaeology should receive federal funding; over 46% agreed that they would pay more taxes in order for archaeology to receive said funding. "Better than uses our government has that I think are wasteful. Put it where it can benefit society," commented one individual. Others were more skeptical. "Me paying more taxes doesn't mean you'll receive them," one such participant quipped.

Additional evidence that Coulee Region values archaeology is that they are willing to travel to see it. Over 91% of adults said that they would include archaeology (a site visit or a visit to a natural history museum) in a vacation. Over 64% of the youth, however, said that they had never seen archaeology on vacation. One respondent commented, "I enjoy it and my children also appreciate and love archaeology and history. We learn a lot and it expands our imaginations too." "Traveling should not only be relaxing, but a time for introspection and opportunity for personal growth," added another. Not everyone was as enthusiastic. "I may see on if I'm nearby, but will not go to a city to see a site," responded one individual. "I don't find it particularly interesting," responded another. This view should be respected as well.

Furthermore, there was a high percentage of adult respondents that believed that archaeology was important (more than 91% agreed) and should be preserved (over 94% in favor of preservation). The results among the young people were similar; over 61% agreed that archaeology is important and the same amount thought that archaeology should be preserved. This would imply that the word preservation was understood. Yet, when specifically asked what should be preserved, answers were vague and otherwise not clear. More research is needed to understand the meaning of this.

Specifically within the city of La Crosse, there are at least three museums that offer displays on the history of the region as well as at least one institute of higher learning that offers classes on the subject. Thus, it seems like the archaeologists working in this region are doing a good job meeting the needs and expectations of the community.

APPENDIX A: ADULT SURVEY

Archaeology Survey: Awareness and Opinions (over 18)

About You: Demographic Data

1.) Gender: Female Male Transgender

2.) Age: 18-21 22-27 28-32 33-38 39-44
 45-50 51-56 57-62 63-68 69-74 75+

3.) Education (highest completed or level currently enrolled in)

High School (8 th -12 th grade)	Masters Degree (5-7 years of college)
Associate’s Degree (2 years of college)	Doctorate (7+ years of college)
Undergraduate Degree (4 years of college)	Multiple Degrees (combination of degrees)

4.) How long have you lived in the Coulee Region?

Less than 1 year 1-5 years 5-10 years 10-15 years 15-20 years 20 + years

5.) How many times have you visited a “big” museum containing archaeological material? For example: Milwaukee Museum of Natural History, Field Museum (Chicago), American Museum of Natural History (New York City), Smithsonian (Washington D.C)

0 1-2 3-5 6-8 8-10 more times than I can remember

6.) How many times have you visited a “small” museum containing archaeological material? For example, the La Crosse Historical Society.

0 1-2 3-5 6-8 8-10 more times than I can remember

7.) Which source do you use most often to find out more about archaeology? (Rank your top 3)

TV	Internet	Radio	Books	Magazines	Newspapers
Classes	Museum Visits	Archaeologists	Other People		

8.) What specific sources (TV channel, Magazine Title, etc.) do you use?

9.) Rate your interest in archaeology

No Interest

Interested

Very Disinterested

Very Interested

Disinterested

Fascinated

Neither Interested or Disinterested

10.) Have you been involved in any archaeological projects in the Coulee Region? (ie public field school, volunteer work, etc.) Yes No

11.) In what ways?

Awareness of Archaeology Circle the letter of the answer you feel is most appropriate. Remember that “not sure” is an acceptable answer.

12.) What does an archaeologist do?

- a.) hunt for treasure
- b.) study fossils such as dinosaur bones
- c.) help museums find things to display
- d.) study the remains of past cultures
- e.) not sure

13.) What is an *artifact*?

- a.) an object made by humankind
- b.) an informative piece of artwork
- c.) a naturally-occurring object
- d.) not sure

14.) There is a Native American mound in Hixson EcoPark. True

False

15.) What is a *projectile point*?

- a.) a bullet
- b.) a type of food
- c.) the stone tip of a spear or arrow
- d.) a type of jewelry
- e.) not sure

- 16.) What is the difference between *historic* and *prehistoric*?
- a.) The same as BC and AD. It's the same worldwide.
 - b.) Before and after the use of writing. It varies by location.
 - c.) When a place was "discovered". It varies by location.
 - d.) Not sure

17.) There are laws protecting archaeological artifacts. True False

- 18.) Which of the following is a common prehistoric artifact in Wisconsin?
- a.) Colorfully painted pottery
 - b.) Gold and silver jewelry
 - c.) Clay figurines
 - d.) Stone projectile points

19.) The Valley View Mall in Onalaska is built over the site of an Oneota village True False

Opinions This section asks questions about your opinions relating to archaeological issues. Please answer thoughtfully. Use the back page if necessary.

20.) Archaeology is important

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| Strongly Agree | It Depends |
| Agree | Disagree |
| Neutral | Strongly Disagree |
| Don't Know | |

Please explain your answer:

21.) It is important to preserve history, cultural heritage, and natural environments

Strongly Agree	It Depends
Agree	Disagree
Neutral	Strongly Disagree
Don't Know	

Why do you think so?

22.) What is worth preserving? Why do you think so?

23.) It is more important to preserve historical building then build new ones.

Strongly Agree	It Depends
Agree	Disagree
Neutral	Strongly Disagree
Don't Know	

Please explain your answer:

24.) If constructing a road (pipeline, etc) is going to destroy an archaeological or historical site, it should be rerouted.

Strongly Agree	It Depends
Agree	Disagree
Neutral	Strongly Disagree
Don't Know	

Why do you think so?

25.) Who should own archeological resources?

a.) the person/ group who found it

b.) the owner of the land it was found on

- c.) the national government
- d.) the state/local government
- e.) the cultural group that originally made or used it
- f.) it depends
- g.) not sure

Why do you think so?

26.) Who should be responsible for protecting archaeological/cultural/environmental resources?

- a.) The national government
- b.) State/local governments
- c.) Academic institutions
- d.) Culture group that originally made/ used them
- e.) The land owner
- f.) Museums
- g.) It depends
- h.) Not sure

Please explain your thoughts:

27.) There should be a punishment for looting (illegally taking artifacts from an archaeological site) and site destruction.

- Strongly Agree
- It Depends
- Agree
- Disagree
- Neutral
- Strongly Disagree
- Don't Know

What should it be? Why?

28.) Would you make a visit to a museum, archaeological site, historic site, or national landmark part of your vacation? Yes No

Why do you feel this way?

29.) Would you like to participate in archaeological events in the Coulee Region? Yes No

What kinds of events? Why?

30.) Should archaeologists should receive federal, state, or local taxes to fund their research

Strongly Agree It Depends

Agree Disagree

Neutral Strongly Disagree

Don't Know

Please explain your thoughts on this matter:

31.) I would agree to pay more taxes so that archaeology projects could receive more public funding.

Strongly Agree It Depends

Agree Disagree

Neutral Strongly Disagree

Don't Know

Please explain your opinions:

32.) Do you remember learning about archaeology in school? Yes No

Describe your experience (How old where you? In what class did you discuss it? What did you learn about it? etc.)

Thanks for your help on my project!

Archaeology Smarts Circle the letter of the best answer (hint: only 1 answer per question)

8.) What does an archaeologist do?

- a.) hunt for treasure
- b.) study fossils such as dinosaur bones
- c.) help museums find things to display
- d.) study the remains of past cultures
- e.) not sure

9.) What is an *artifact*?

- a.) an object made by humankind
- b.) an informative piece of artwork
- c.) a naturally-occurring object
- d.) not sure

10.) What is a *projectile point*?

- a.) a bullet (from a gun)
- b.) a type of food
- c.) the stone tip of a spear or arrow
- d.) a type of jewelry
- e.) not sure

11.) The Valley View Mall in Onalaska is built over a Native American Site. True False

12.) What is the difference between *historic* and *prehistoric*?

- a.) The same as BC and AD. It's the same worldwide
- b.) When writing was first used. It depends on the area.
- c.) When a place was first "discovered"
- d.) Not Sure

13.) There is a Native American Mound in Hixson EcoPark. True False

14.) Which of the following is a commonly found in Wisconsin?

- a.) colorfully painted pottery
- b.) gold and silver jewelry
- c.) clay figurines
- d.) stone projectile points

15.) There are laws protecting archaeological sites and artifacts True False

What Do You Think? This section asks you opinions on several issues related to archaeology. Use the back of the last page if you need more room.

16.) Archaeology is important.

Agree It Depends I Don't Know Disagree

Explain your answer:

17.) It is important to preserve history, cultural heritage, and natural environments.

Agree It Depends I Don't Know Disagree

Why do you think so?

18.) What kinds of things should be protected so that people in the future can enjoy them?

19.) It is more important to save old buildings than build new ones.

Agree It Depends I Don't Know Disagree

Why do you think so?

20.) If building a road (or similar structure) is going to destroy a historic or archaeological site, the road should be rerouted.

Agree It Depends I Don't Know Disagree

Please explain what you think:

21.) After archaeological material is found, what should be done with it?

22.) There should be a punishment for looting (stealing artifacts from archaeological sites or destroying the archaeological site itself)

Agree It Depends I Don't Know Disagree

What should it be? Why?

23.) Have you ever talked about archaeology in school? Yes No

In what class? What did you talk about? What did you think about the discussion?

24.) Have you ever been to a natural history museum on a field trip? Yes No

Which one?

What did you see?

What did you think of your trip?

25.) Did you ever visit a natural history museum on vacation? Yes No

Which one?

Where was it?

What did you see?

What did you think about your trip?

26.) It would be fun to help an archaeologist in the field.

Agree It Depends Disagree I Don't Know

Why do you think so?

Thanks for your help with my project!

**APPENDIX C: ALL RESPONSES TO THE "ARCHAEOLOGY KNOWLEDGE"
SECTION**

Table 2. Responses to "What does an archaeologist do?".

What Does an Archaeologist Do?		
Answer	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
Hunt for Treasure	4	0
Study Fossils	9	14
Display Stuff in Museums	1	1
Study Past Cultures	101	14
Not Sure	5	1
Multiple Answers Selected	3	1
Blank	9	0
Total	132	31

Table 3. Responses to "What is an Artifact?".

What is an Artifact		
Answers	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
Object Made by Human-Kind	89	12
Informative Art	13	8
Naturally-Occurring Object	11	7
Not Sure	9	4
Multiple Answers	6	0
Blank	4	0
Total	132	31

Table 4. Responses to "There is a Mound in Myrick Park".

There is a Mound in Myrick Park		
Answers	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
True	109	27
False	10	1
Don't Know	7	1
Blank	6	2
Total	132	31

Table 5. Responses to "What is a Projectile Point?".

What is a Projectile Point		
Answers	# Adult Responses	# of Youth Responses
Bullet	4	1
Type of Food	1	0
Stone Tip of an Arrow or Spear	103	15
Type of Jewelry	0	0
Don't Know	19	15
Multiple Answers Selected	4	0
Blank	1	0
Total	132	31

Table 6. Responses to "What is the Meaning of Historic and Prehistoric?".

What is the Meaning of Historic and Prehistoric		
Answer	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
Same as BC/AD	25	7
Before and After the Use of Writing	65	7
When a Place was Discovered by the West	14	4
Not Sure	25	12
Multiple Answers	0	1
Blank	3	0
Total	132	31

Table 7. Responses to "There are Laws Protecting Archaeology".

Laws Protecting Archaeology		
Answer	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
True	124	26
False	7	3
Don't Know	0	0
Blank	1	2
Total	132	31

Table 8. Responses to "Which is a Common Artifact in Wisconsin?".

Common Wisconsin Prehistoric Artifact		
Answer	# Adult Responses	# Youth Responses
Colorfully Painted Pottery	11	10
Gold and Silver Jewelry	2	5
Clay Figurines	13	4
Stone Projectile Points	99	10
Multiple Answers Selected	5	2
Blank	2	0
Total	132	31

Table 9. Responses to "True or False: The Valley View Mall was Built Over an Oneota Village Site."

The Valley View Mall was Built Over an Oneota Village Site		
Answers	# Adult Respondents	# Youth Respondents
True	83	16
False	32	12
Don't Know	13	1
Blank	4	2
Total	132	31

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