PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY WITH A DOUKHOBOR DESCENDANT COMMUNITY

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

In the Department of Archaeology

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By Meagan Brooks

Permission to Use

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the libraries of this university may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised me in my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use of material in this thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or make use of material in this thesis in whole or in part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of Archaeology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7N 5B1

Abstract

Fleeing religious persecution in Russia, large groups of Doukhobors arrived in Canada in 1899, and settled in Saskatchewan. Today archaeology can serve a pivotal role in the Doukhobor community's efforts to reclaim and celebrate its past. A partnership between the Doukhobor community and the Saskatchewan archaeological community, created "The Doukhobor Pit-House Public Archaeology Project." The project featured the participation of Doukhobor descendants in the excavation of two Doukhobor sites.

This provided an opportunity not only to provide a beneficial experience for the community but also to study how a public archaeology project is formed and operates to a successful finish. Using qualitative data including questionnaires, daily journals and interviews, this project evaluated the impact the archaeological experience had upon the changing Doukhobor community, by discerning the project's successes, failures and benefits. The results of the evaluation provides practical information for future public archaeology projects and wider implications for the discipline's relationship with the public. The analysis also provides a deeper understanding of how archaeology can provide Canadian communities with a voice in the creation and maintenance of their past for the betterment of future generations and the wider provincial and national community.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

The importance of a community understanding its own past has become

increasingly clear in recent years. Even more important, a community should be

involved in the creation of its own past, to find its own place in the larger fabric of many

histories. Communities, whether they be ethnic, religious or geographic, cannot afford

to experience their history passively, allowing others to dictate what their identity is.

Archaeology provides an excellent opportunity for communities of any nature to explore,

celebrate and reconnect with their past. This thesis examines the nature and the potential

of public archaeology projects in communities through the evaluation of The Doukhobor

Pit-House Public Archaeology Project, formed through a partnership between

Doukhobor descendants and the University of Saskatchewan's Department of

Archaeology in the summer of 2004.

To create goals and a single hypothesis for this thesis, two separate questions

were considered. The first question focussed upon the Doukhobor community: *How can*

we involve the Doukhobor community in the creation and celebration of their past?

Since the immigration of the Doukhobors to Canada at the turn of the 20th century, many

descendants feel they have become removed from the roots of their ancestors and even

from their parent's generation. Projects of this nature are needed to recapture a sense of

the past, forge a shared identity and educate new generations. To address this, the main

goals of this project were to actively include a portion of the Saskatchewan Doukhobor

descendant community in the creation and excavation of their history, maintaining an

open historical and archaeological dialogue with the participants, while excavating two early Doukhobor sites in Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

As the project and accompanying thesis evolved it became clear that to understand public archaeology projects and this project in particular, a thorough evaluation of the project had to be made. This formed the second question: *What factors create a successful and beneficial public archaeology project?* Therefore, the goals of the evaluation are to determine the effectiveness, the successes, failures, and short-to-long term benefits of this project for the Doukhobor community, demonstrating the applicability of these issues to public archaeology at large.

A hypothesis combining these two concerns determines that: *The Doukhobor community will benefit from active participation in the excavation and discussion of Doukhobor sites, by increased internal and external awareness and pride in their past and current contributions to the settlement of Saskatchewan and the Canadian West.* The analysis which follows in the following chapters of this thesis will seek to determine whether this hypothesis is supportable or not and to provide further recommendations about public archaeology projects within communities.

To provide the reader with a basic understanding of Doukhobor history and beliefs, the second chapter will briefly outline their beginnings, immigration to Canada and the present standing of Saskatchewan Doukhobors. Unless stated otherwise, Doukhobors as discussed in this thesis are those Independent Doukhobors residing within Saskatchewan, a fundamentally different group than those within British Columbia. Within this chapter I will also provide an introduction to the sites which the project excavated, allowing the reader an understanding of their historical and

archaeological importance within the community.

Chapter three will describe the theoretical frameworks of this thesis. Although public archaeology may not be formally recognized as a sub-discipline within itself, it is described as such, with appropriate descriptions of its contributing theories, as used in connection with this thesis. As archaeologists are not generally familiar with qualitative data analysis and project evaluation, an overview of the subject and the theories utilized for the analysis is provided.

Further understanding of the project and the qualitative analysis is provided in the fourth chapter, covering the methodological orientations of this thesis. A thorough, chronological description of the project's formation, evolution and function orients the reader within the project. A description of the archaeological excavation, analysis and qualitative analysis methods is also included in this chapter. It is hoped that the organization of this chapter will allow readers to peruse it prior to and while reading the analysis chapters in order to form their own ideas about the interpretations.

Each of the analysis chapters has been organized along similar lines for ease of reading and comparative purposes. Chapter five covers the specific methodology, classification, analysis and results of the questionnaire analysis. Chapter six follows the same path, describing the analysis of daily journals and chapter seven covers the analysis of interviews.

To conclude the thesis, chapter eight will discuss the themes recognized through the evaluation of this project to demonstrate the project's effectiveness and its applications to public archaeology as a whole. Included in this chapter will be recommendations for the implementation of future projects of a similar nature.

As this thesis is focussed primarily on the analysis of a public project, the archaeological information gained during the excavations has not been included in the main body of the thesis. A summary of the artifacts can be found in Appendices C and D.

Each thesis endeavours to provide new information upon at topic of some importance and interest to the author. I have believed in the importance of public archaeology for several years of my academic career and I can only hope that this study provides further knowledge on how to actively and positively include communities within archaeology for the benefit of both the discipline and community. In this spirit I would like to remind the reader that, while this thesis has been academically produced in pursuit of a Master's degree, it could not have been completed without the enthusiastic participation of volunteers from the Doukhobor community. They worked very hard at the sites, were very welcoming and I have been extremely lucky to have met and learned from them.

Chapter 2: Doukhobor and Site History

As this thesis is focussed more upon the analysis of a public project rather than the archaeology of the Doukhobor people, I have provided only a brief introduction to Doukhobor beliefs and history to orient the reader within the community group. Their history is a fascinating story and I encourage the reader to examine historical works concerning the Doukhobors more thoroughly. In particular Carl Tracie's 1996 *Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobor Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899-1918*, is an extremely detailed examination of the ups and downs of Doukhobor life in Saskatchewan. Also, L.A. Sulerzhitsky, a representative of Tolstoy, wrote a diary as he accompanied and aided the Doukhobors in their journey from Russia. Translated by Michael Kalmakoff and published in *To America With the Doukhobors*, (1982) it provides an interesting, personal, historical view of the migration to and settlement in Saskatchewan.

2.1 Doukhobors: Origin and Beliefs

The group eventually known as Doukhobors originated in Russia during the 17th and 18th centuries through peasant protest to changes within the Russian Orthodox church (Tracie 1996:1). Influenced by Quaker ideas these people solidified their beliefs into a rejection of the tenets of the church, its icons, festivals, ceremonies and particularly rejected the authority of religious and secular leaders (Mealing 1982:13;Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:19). Leaders do exist within the Doukhobor faith, although they tend to lead the more secular aspects of the communal life, rather than the religious. There is also a belief that leaders are divinely chosen and invested

5

with a clearer understanding of God, similar to that of Jesus (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:22). Key to their belief system is the 'divine spark.' Essentially, every living thing has part of God within them and therefore no person is held above another. This is also the reason for their vegetarian and pacifist beliefs, as violence against another living creature is a grave sin. In later extremist beliefs even using animal labour is prohibited. The only symbols used are salt, bread and a jug of water to signify the necessities of life (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968: 19-20). Not unsurprisingly, the group's stringent adherence to their beliefs garnered much persecution from both the church and the Russian government. Even their very name was originally derived by an archbishop in 1785 as a derogatory term; "dukho-bortsi" meaning "spirit wrestler" as they were wrestling *against* the holy spirit. However, the peasant group transformed that term to indicate they were wrestling *for* the holy spirit (Pohorecky 1993:4).

In 1802 Czar Alexander I, no doubt in frustration, had the group removed to the Molochnaya River (Milky Waters) area in the Crimea where they could practice their beliefs free from persecution, but also without influencing other Russians (Tracie 1996:2). The group remained there for some time, prospering, living in semi-communal villages, termed 'mir' (Kozakavich 1998:7). However, their refusal to bear arms against Napoleon caused the Czar's sympathies to disappear, leaving them open to further persecution. In 1839 they were separated and expelled to the Transcaucasian provinces, now part of other countries such as Turkey, where they were organized into the groups which would later immigrate (Tracie 1996:2; Pohorecky 1993:4).

As their religious gatherings were banned and persecution became more pronounced and violent, the community survived through compromises with the

government to provide food and medical aid, rather than military service (Mealing 1982: 15). However the Doukhobor leader, Peter Veregin, in exile in Siberia, began a long-distance renewal of pacifist beliefs and instructed his followers to refuse any kind of service. To define their renewed stance, on June 28, 1895 the Doukhobors burnt old weapons, an event still celebrated annually as Peter's Day (Tracie 1996: 2).

According to Sulerzhitsky, there had been a tradition among the Doukhobors that eventually the time would come to seek new lands in which to prosper (1982:30). The violent persecution that met their protest convinced the Doukhobors that the time had come. In 1897 Doukhobor representatives petitioned the government for official permission to emigrate from Russia. In early 1898 they were granted permission under the condition that they would not return to Russia once they left her borders (Sulerzhitsky 1982:30).

2.1.1 *Immigration*

With permission to leave their homeland the group began to seek a new country and the means to go there. Help arrived through English Quakers and the influence of the writer Leo Tolstoy, both of whom provided not only funds but also contacts who could negotiate for the mostly poor and illiterate group. Canada was chosen early as the best place for migration and negotiations were rushed due to the desperate situation of some groups of Doukhobors (Sulerzhitsky 1982:31-3).

The Canadian government at the time, headed by Wilfrid Laurier with Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior, was desperate to people its western lands. As a result they provided much aid and encouragement to the Doukhobor people. It was determined that the CPR would offer discount fares and government bonuses would help defray the

costs of settling in the west (Sulerzhitsky 1982:33). More importantly, they offered the

Doukhobors freedom from military service and the opportunity to settle in communal

groups, citing the Hamlet clause enacted twenty-five years earlier to accommodate

Mennonite groups (Tracie 1996:24).

As the immigration halls in Canada could not hold the entire group at once, the

Doukhobors made four trips in two freight ships, *The Lake Huron* and *The Lake

Superior*, which were adapted for passengers in order to save money. On December 10th

1898 *The Lake Huron* left Russia with 2140 Doukhobors, those who had been suffering

the worst, as well as those who would soon be called for military service. Following

groups of similar numbers made the trips in stages, the last leaving in April 1899. No

trip made by either ship was easy, deaths and hardship dogging each crossing

(Sulerzhistsky 1982:33). The memory of the long, hard trip to Canada still lives within

the Doukhobor community, "I remember my great-grandmother crying when she would

think about her mother who had been buried at sea...she still cried about that because she

would often say that the fish must have eaten her [mother]." (Formal interview

conducted by author 2004).

Once in Canada, the groups travelled by train to Manitoba and Saskatchewan and

stopped in Brandon, Selkirk and Yorkton living in immigration halls and blockhouses

built for their arrival. In the spring they moved to the reserved lands to establish their

villages (Tracie 1996:17). According to Sulerzhitsky's count from the four trips he

helped supervise, some 7750 Doukhobors made their way to Canada in this way to settle

in Saskatchewan (1982:39).

2.1.2 *Life in Canada*

The first groups settled in reserved lands near Yorkton and Swan River, termed the North Colony, South Colony and the Good Spirit Lake extension. However, the government had not planned for such large numbers and the last groups of Doukhobors (largely from the Kars region, now part of Turkey) were forced to wait in immigration sheds in Selkirk through the summer while it was decided where their land would be (Tracie 1996: 17,19; Pohorecky 1993:4). Delegates chose fertile land near the North Saskatchewan river, separate from the established colonies (Figure 2.1). In August this group of Doukhobors travelled to Duck Lake from Selkirk and then to their reserved land, the Saskatchewan Colony or Prince Albert reserve as it was called and established several villages (Tracie 1996:19,86; Kozakavich 1998:42; Popoff 1993).
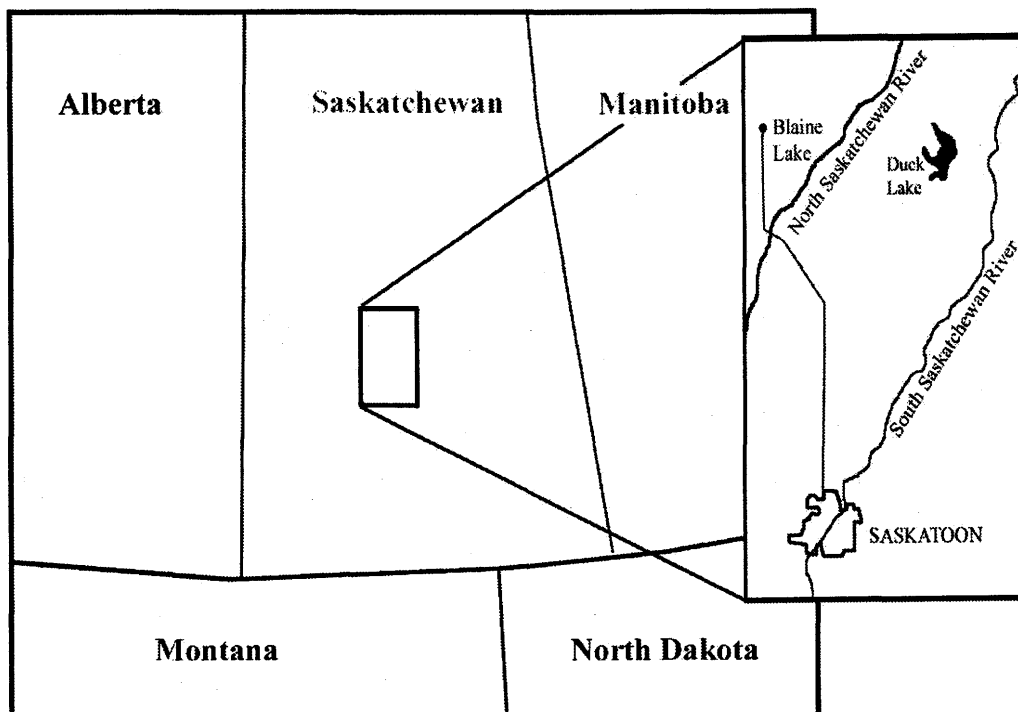
Figure 2.1: Location of Blaine Lake in relation to Saskatoon (map by author).

Doukhobor villages are generally built along a traditional Russian plan, known as the Strassendorf plan (Kozakavich 1998:34). This featured two rows of generally identical, long narrow houses facing each other across a wide main thoroughfare. This plan was ideally designed to promote equality within and between the villages. However, similarities between houses and villages often ended beyond the basic village layout (Tracie 1996:24,31). Building types not only differed according to local resources but also to design and individual decoration. The Saskatchewan Colony houses, such as those at the Ospennia village, tended to be more traditional than those of other colonies. A variety of materials were used, such as logs, sod and homemade bricks and the walls would be whitewashed on the outside. They were narrow, low buildings with the living quarters backed by areas for grain storage, farm equipment and animal accommodations (Bondoreff 1980:22; Tracie1996:31). Other colonies had opted for taller house structures, while utilizing a common barn, reflecting a greater commitment to communal life. Tracie (1996:36,40) determines that this difference between colonies and villages is a result of certain groups, especially those from the Kars region, having more privately owned goods and more wealth.

Village structure changed again as the Doukhobors migrated from Saskatchewan to Alberta and British Columbia. In British Columbia the architectural focus of the community were Big Houses in which fifty families or so would dwell. In Alberta the organization was even more organic, as the Doukhobors adapted to local conditions and the emphasis upon the Russian example faded (Kennedy and Reeves 1986:60).

Although they were seasoned farmers, the building of villages and successful farming on the Canadian prairies was often trying for the Doukhobors. Anecdotes

10

abound for this period, illustrating hard work and suffering, tempered by the kindness of their neighbours. Besides the financial aid they had received from the Quakers and the Canadian government, donations of tools and food were gratefully received. Mennonite neighbours provided villages with staples such as milk and eggs to augment the Doukhobors' generally vegetarian diet of fruits, wild berries and bread (Popoff 1993).

Non-Doukhobors were shocked to see the women of the villages physically pull ploughs in the fields when many of the young and healthy men in the villages left to find work during the summer months, taking with them the colony's draft animals, "[A] Native by the name of Greyeyes came upon a group of Doukhobor women breaking the land by pulling a shear plow. Greyeyes returned next morning with a team of horses and offered to lend his [horses] to break the land" (Formal interview conducted by author 2004). It must be noted that although this event has often been misunderstood by the general public, the pulling of the plough by the women is a story told and re-enacted with pride by Doukhobor descendants and it formed one of the main events at the ceremony which inaugurated the beginning of this archaeological project.

2.1.3 *Separation*

Despite the relative peace and prosperity for the Doukhobor people, their trials were not over. Friction between the Doukhobors and the government inevitably began to increase as the group, mindful of their experiences with the Russian government, refused to cooperate with many of the formalities (giving accurate vital statistics, pledging allegiance, individual land tenure) considered imperative by the Canadian government (Tracie 1996:97).

The hurried and vague nature of the government's agreement with the

Doukhobors created many misunderstandings not only with the group but between

government agencies. Not only had many of the Doukhobor villages been established

outside the reserve areas, but field agents were not apprised of the special agreement

with the Doukhobors and filed cancellations for portions of their lands despite the

standards being met within the village as a whole (Tracie 1996:100).

These tensions and issues were in part smoothed over when Peter "The Lordly"

Veregin, the spiritual leader, arrived from exile in 1902 (Woodcock and Avakumovic

1968:186). Educated and charismatic, not only did he encourage many villages to greater

communalism and prosperity but also carried out the individual signing of land for his

flock, to partially satisfy the government's demands (Woodcock and Avakumovic

1968:186; Tracie 1996:101).

However, not all agreed with Veregin's leadership. The more independently-

minded Doukhobors, largely from the Saskatchewan colony, began to move away from a

strictly communal organization. As Veregin was carrying out the land signing, those

families who decided to become independent often lost their lands within the original

reserve and villages (Tracie 1996:102). This and other disagreements created schisms

within the Doukhobor faith which are felt even today.

Although communalism enjoyed a resurgence after Veregin's arrival, by 1905

some villages within the Saskatchewan colony were becoming completely independent

from Veregin's leadership. In an attempt to hold the community together, Veregin

ordered those loyal to communalism to move closer to Yorkton (Woodcock and

Avakumovic 1968:201). Due to this, by 1909 only two villages within the

Saskatchewan colony were communal, with the rest occupied by those living

independently (Tracie 1996:150).

In 1905, Clifford Sifton was replaced by Frank Oliver as Minister of the Interior. Oliver had been against the Doukhobor immigration in the beginning and now used his new position to give an ultimatum to the Doukhobors (Tracie 1996:103). Allegiance to the crown and individual land tenure was demanded under penalty of land cancellation. By 1907 the land held by the communal Doukhobors decreased drastically to roughly a third of its previous holdings; over time it would decrease even more (Tracie 1996:158).

Veregin made the decision for the communal Doukhobors to leave Saskatchewan for land in British Columbia. Beginning in approximately 1908 a steady stream of Doukhobors loyal to Veregin migrated from Saskatchewan villages, most settling in lands purchased in B.C. but others forming villages in Alberta (Friesen 1985:4). By 1912 the Saskatchewan colony villages were entirely independent in character, many owning land privately nearby (Tracie 1996:194). Over time the population of villages decreased as the remaining Doukhobors took homesteads further away from the village, or moved out of the province, leaving the village land to remaining single families or to be resold and ploughed over.

Today, Doukhobors and their descendants in Saskatchewan are very proud of their roots. Although many are no longer vegetarian and some may not formally practice the faith, the basic beliefs of love, peace and community are still very much in evidence. Of increasing importance is the celebration and maintenance of Doukhobor heritage. Keeping their culture and history alive for future generations has become a top priority for the Doukhobor societies within Saskatchewan.

2.2 Pit-House Site

The late season arrival of the settlers of the Saskatchewan Colony caused difficulties in establishing a permanent village for the first winter. Some villages, such as Ospennia (the focus of the excavation) and Petrofka built temporary dugout shelters along the banks of the river before moving to flatter ground nearby. These shelters were dug into the earth with wood, branches and clay walls and topped by a sod roof. Often housing more than one family, these dugouts provided the first home for Doukhobors in these areas (Blaine Lake School 1957:4; Bondoreff 1980:22; Ciona et al 1962:1; Popoff 1993; Tracie 1996:24,87).

The site of these pit-houses (Figure 2.2), which were occupied by the builders and later inhabitants of the Ospennia village, is currently owned by Brenda Cheveldayoff in the northwest quarter of Section 31, Township 43, Range 5, west of the Third Meridian, 13.5 km south east of the present day town of Blaine Lake.
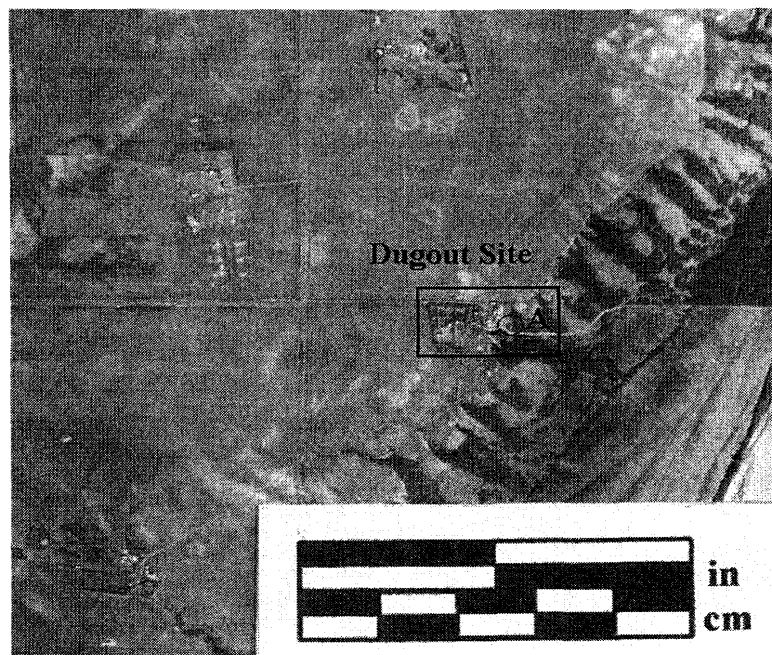
Figure 2.2: 1949 aerial photo of the Popoff farm. 'A' is the site of excavation. Scale 4"to a mile, catalogue number A11985-9 (photo courtesy of Margaret Kennedy)

14

The site is along a tributary creek close to the western shore of the North Saskatchewan river in a steep coulee surrounded by heavily cultivated parkland. The property is no longer a working farm and grasses and bushes have grown up around the later farm buildings. The coulee boasts abundant bird and mammal life and the soil tends toward silt and gravel.

The general property is said to have at one time hosted approximately 48 families (approximately 200 people) along its slopes, living in pit-houses or 'caves' as they are locally termed (Popoff 1993; Popoff 1980:639). The site has been informally given several names. Although it is occasionally termed the first Ospennia site (Bondoreff 1980:22), the most common name stems from the term "aul" an Armenian word for dugout (Popoff 1980:639). "Zemlyankee" in Russian is also used meaning hut or dugout and is used by the Blaine Lake Doukhobor Society as a name for the site today. During excavation the site has been referred to as the Pit-house or Dugout site.

The Popoff family began their lives in Canada at this site and then at the Ospennia village. Jim Popoff, the current owner's grandfather, purchased the land in 1930 for $600, after it had passed through a large number of owners. The land has remained in the family ever since (Land Titles No. 149 Day book no. BD 1279).

Only one structure remains to provide an idea of what these pit-houses may have been like, the others caved in, salvaged or lost as the farm lane to the river was widened. They also may have been intentionally filled in over time due to concern about their safety as they decayed (Linda Favreaux, personal communication 2005). The particular structure upon which excavation focussed sat in a side slope, surrounded by dense brush. Wood walls with daub still caked on the interior in some sections are all that remain.

15

Bushes and small trees have taken root within the structure. It has certainly been modified over the years for various uses, as it maintained some use on the property. Members of the Popoff family have various memories and sometimes arguments concerning the uses of this particular structure over time. It has been said to have been used as a coop for various types of fowl and a playhouse for the children of the family (Linda Favreaux, Annette Popoff, personal communication 2005). However, it has been consistently stated by family and local residents alike that the structure is all that remains of the dugouts and is in consequence an important site.

2.3 **Ospennia Site**

The former village of Ospennia (sometimes referred to as Oospennie) lies in the southeast part of the southwestern quarter of Section 1, Township 44, Range 6, west of the Third Meridian, less than a kilometre northwest of the pit-houses (Figure 2.3). The land is privately owned by Malcolm Legget and is farmed by the Cheveldayoffs.
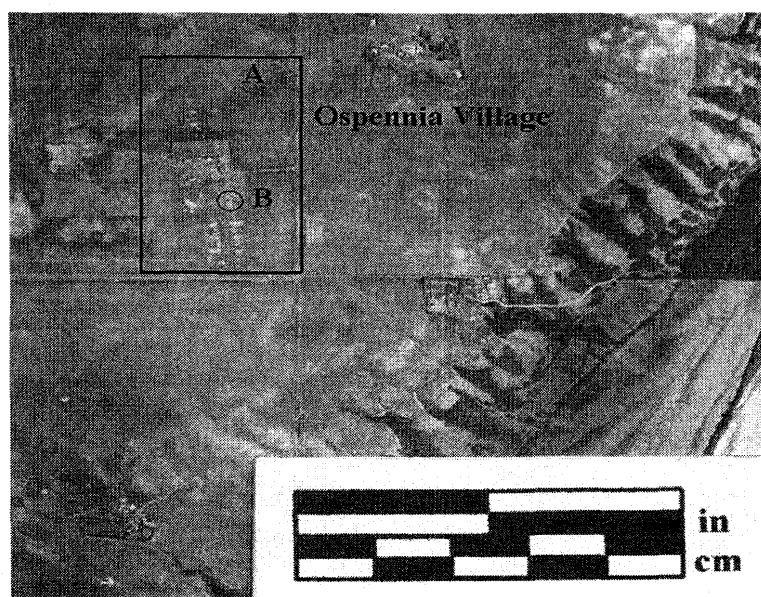
Figure 2.3: 1949 aerial photo of the Ospennia village. 'A' is the graveyard, 'B' the excavation site. Scale: 4" to a mile, catalogue number A11985-9 (Photo courtesy of Margaret Kennedy)

16

Subsurface remains such as low mounds at regular intervals are visible in the field. Buildings remaining on the site are from the Kalesnikoff farm, the Doukhobor family who took possession of the site after the village dissolved (Bondoreff 1980:22). The cemetery attached to the village is still in service within the community. The area of excavation in the village is possibly a part of a lot, listed by John Bondoreff and Sam Kalesnikoff to be occupied at some point by the Popoffs or the Katelnikoff family (Figure 2.4) (Bondoreff 1980:23-24).

The Doukhobors began to move slowly from the pit-houses to the village from 1902 to 1904 (Bondoreff 1980:22; Popoff 1993). Ospennia progressed very quickly, like much of the Saskatchewan colony, with roughly 65 cultivated acres for each of its homesteads. By 1905, the village of Ospennia had a population of sixty with a decent number of horses, cattle and sheep (Tracie 1996:148). In 1905, roughly half of the families in Ospennia were independent while those loyal to Veregin had begun to move to other colonies. As the independent families began to move to their own homesteads, village population decreased in general. In 1912, 62 individuals lived in the village, all independent Doukhobors. By 1917 this number had decreased to 13 individuals, just two families, and the village was dissolved (Tracie 1996:196).

While there is some confusion as to whether the houses were left to decay or were salvaged or burnt, locally it is believed that the houses were dismantled for use at new properties (Marion Burak, personal communication 2004). The Kalesnikoff family, taking over the property, eventually plowed over many of the houses, and then cultivated the freed lands and constructed new buildings. Today these fields yield a large quantity of surface artifacts associated with the village and early homestead.

Within the Blaine Lake area there are the remains of several Doukhobor villages. However, Ospennia is important due to its physical closeness and emotional connection with the nearby Pit-house site. Also, unlike many of the villages, it is readily available for excavation as its owner is interested in local history and friendly with the Cheveldayoff family.

Figure 2.4: Family of Sam Kotelnikoff (also seen as Katelnikoff) in Ospennia (photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board)

Chapter 3: Theoretical Frameworks

There were many theoretical influences for this thesis. As many aspects within the field of public archaeology influenced my practice of it, a detailed discussion of public archaeology and these particular ideas is provided to orient the reader. Similarly, the sociological theories which influenced my qualitative analysis of the community excavation, will be presented as they pertain to qualitative research. Based upon these theories and my knowledge of the community, I had several expectations concerning the operation and results of the project. In order to tie them with the theoretical frameworks, I have presented these at the end of this chapter.

3.1 Public Archaeology

Over the last two decades public archaeology has grown from an infrequent activity performed by archaeologists to a separate endeavour in its own right. Far from being the "archaeological flavour of the day" (Fagan 2000:259), it has emerged as a necessary, detailed and complex program. Contributions to public archaeology as it is used within this thesis are to be found in the advancement of preservation concerns, changes in the way individuals regard heritage, the reflexivity of critical theory and civic engagement. However, within public archaeology, archaeologists must ask themselves two important questions: who is the public and how do we engage them? Surveys covering communities to nations attempt to answer these questions and provide a starting point for archaeologists concerned with public education. While these questions may or may not be answered completely, they are key for establishing a program for

engaging the public. Several issues and levels of engagement are involved: the role of archaeological associations, the importance of the internet, information and presentation of archaeology and participation. Education programs in schools are also an important level of engagement, allowing teachers from different provinces and states to apply archaeology to their specific curricular needs. However, public archaeology often comes down to politics and the corresponding ethical responsibilities of the archaeologist. It is often a fine line the archaeologist is forced to walk, balancing the divergent needs of communities.

3.1.1 *Origins of Public Involvement in Archaeology*

Archaeology for the most part has always seen the need for public involvement. In 1910 Carl Russel Fish stated,

> "The work of neither archaeology nor history can proceed without
> popular support, and the local appeal is one of the strongest that can
> be made. It should be the hope of the local archaeologist to make his
> neighbours and his neighbours' children see history in everything
> about them. If this is accomplished we may hope gradually to arouse
> a deeper and more scientific interest and a willingness to encourage
> that research into the whole past"(1978:9).

Today this is still the basic goal of involvement. That goal is coupled with an interest in promoting the public benefits of history and archaeology, and forming inclusive pasts with the public (Little 2002:3; McDavid 1997b: 115). What McGimsey (2003:617) calls 'public outreach' has reached a point where an archaeologist can devote an entire or major part of a career to it. Archaeologists are occupying different jobs within government and museums. They may create displays, write for the public and develop new ways of teaching archaeology.

As archaeology originally developed as a mostly amateur activity, a hobby for

20

the leisurely, public participation has a long history in archaeology. Today archaeology is still unique in that we are one of the few professions in which individuals without an advanced degree can participate and contribute to the knowledge base. It is possible for these individuals to share our passion, commitment and sometimes even talent, although they do not share our professional credentials (McGimsey 1972:9; Allen 2002: 244).

The professionalisation of the discipline has limited avocational activities within archaeology. For example, in Britain, amateur archaeology had been encouraged during the 1950s with the popularity of television and radio shows, as well as digging holidays abroad and at home (Cleere 1984:22). However, by the 1960s and 70s preservation efforts redoubled, trained professionals flourished and a gap between the professional archaeologist and the amateur/public widened. Alienated by superior attitudes and archaeologists too busy to deal with the public, misunderstandings about the nature of excavation and archaeological principles grew (McGimsey 1972:8). In Britain, by the 1980s, as the days of large, well funded projects began to wane, the need for the amateur archaeologist as a volunteer arose again, aided by public relations efforts (Cleere 1984:24). In North America the same pattern follows, although it seems that public involvement to aid preservation was more emphasized, as will now be discussed.

3.1.1.1 *Preservation Concerns*

What we see of public archaeology in North America today is largely a result of the preservation concerns of archaeologists. Starting in the 1950s and through the'60s and '70s industrial and commercial development began to increase, creating a quickly changing landscape, that impacted archaeological resources (Lowenthal 1996: 6). Archaeologists saw what was to come and rushed to find ways to preserve what was left.

21

"Our generation cannot postpone the decision to work toward this preservation for the forces of destruction are multiplying and gaining momentum. The next generation cannot study or preserve what already has been destroyed" (McGimsey 1972:3). In North America it was perceived by McGimsey and others that educating the public about these sites was the only way to ensure preservation. McGimsey's 1972 seminal book upon the subject *Public Archeology,* intoned that archaeologists had to take a leadership role in public education. Those that did not were not responsible archaeologists and were in fact contributing to the destruction of knowledge (1972:4,6), "Without public involvement there cannot be effective public support of archaeology and without public support there cannot be legislative funding of adequate programs to recover and protect a state's or the nation's archaeological heritage" (McGimsey 1972:7).

In 1972, McGimsey assessed the then current situation in each state and laid out the groundwork for state programs aimed at implementing public education for funding and a network of protection support (1972:37). However at that time, McGimsey tended to equate the public with the avocational archaeologist, and many of his comments about public involvement seemed to encourage amateurs to follow proper procedure and to educate those in power. A wider outreach was missing.

As the preservation mission progressed it was recognized that better public understanding of archaeological resources not only lessened site-looting, vandalism and encouraged preservation but also created greater support for the curation of archaeological collections and records (McManamon 1991:121). The public program began to expand its focus from preservation to the value of learning about the past in

general. Programs were designed to foster preservation and to value archaeology as a science (Lerner 1991:103). They began to centre around actual participation on a site rather than information about preservation. For example, in site-steward programs volunteers are educated in archaeology and historic value and are trained to monitor archaeological sites and to safeguard and preserve cultural resources (Lerner 1991:105).

Increased public awareness of preservation issues and cultural resources allowed a dialogue to be opened with governments to find alternatives for preservation of sites when threatened by development. For example, in 1979 in Tennessee the construction of a dam submerged 18th century Fort Loudoun. Although attempts to halt the dam project had failed, law did require salvage archaeology and further interpretation of the site post-flooding. This interpretation required earth to be placed over the original fort and partial reconstruction of the fort done at great expense and funded by those interested and those required by law to do so (Kuttruff 1990:265, 279). Without the public education attempts towards preservation, such a site may have gone under the water, with little or no interpretation.

3.1.1.2 *Heritage Concerns*

Public archaeology, and archaeology itself is often characterized as having two main benefits: The knowledge benefits of history and the community benefits of heritage. Heritage and history are often confused, but are in fact two very different things, affecting one another. History sends messages about what happened and how things came to be, but heritage tends to be more complex, mythic even, passing on specific portions of history to establish origins or empower a group. As Lowenthal wrote, "Viewed as history, the past is a foreign country; viewed as heritage it is highly

familiar" (1996:139). History is for everyone's knowledge, but heritage is much more private, creating the tensions which occur between archaeological interests and community interests. It restricts membership, alters history to suit its needs and can bond neighbours but also may oppress others (Lowenthal 1996:ix, 128). Heritage tends to collapse history into meaningful segments, often mixing them together. For example the term 'of yore' or the 'olden days', blend distinct periods into a hodgepodge of events, material culture and values that in some way aid the identity of the present, whether that be to demonstrate legacies of strength or oppression, idealize the past or exclude others (Lowenthal 1996: 138-139, 155-156). Heritage ranges across regions, nations and between nations. Between a nation and its individual communities, heritage causes tension. The nation uses heritage to homogenize, to create good citizens and those ideals sometimes clash with the identities communities have created for themselves out of their heritage (Little 2002:7; Carman 2002:11).

However, none of this explains why public interest in heritage would increase occurrences of public archaeology projects. Interest in archaeology and history is relatively high, as demonstrated by the popularity of television programming such as the Discovery Channel. Why this increase in interest? Partially it is due to the efforts from the preservation concerns and the public education programs it spawned, but that isn't the entire reason. David Lowenthal suggests it is symptomatic of a world trend, a feeling of dislocation from our past. The massive changes of the past century have increased with each decade, creating divisions between generations and pasts (Lowenthal 1996:6). Not only has technology separated us from our pasts, mass migration over the last hundred and fifty years or so has taken away family and personal roots (Lowenthal

24

1996:9). Therefore, individuals, communities and nations have begun to use heritage to compensate for this sense of displacement.

Where then, does this leave public archaeology? As archaeologists we despise the idea of the past being falsified; all of our theories and methodologies strive to prevent this. Yet the medium we are dealing with, heritage, refuses to cooperate. Our own actions, by being performed publically, are responsible for giving heritage the tools with which to create these perhaps false identities. If, the first duty of a public archaeologist is, as has been suggested by many, to the community, how do we bring that to bear with our duty as scientists? These topics will be dealt with more thoroughly in a section upon politics and ethics; however, it is safe to say that in our efforts in public archaeology we must accept the fact that the very nature of heritage skews information for its own needs. Archaeology and history seek to explain through critical inquiry, but heritage seeks to celebrate (Lowenthal 1996:168). In the present we must strive to give heritage the most ethical and accurate tools possible with which to create identities, while protecting information for the heritage needs of the future.

3.1.1.3 *Critical Archaeology*

The self-reflection of critical theory has done much to stir public archaeology. Critical theory is involved in examining the ways in which knowledge is historically situated and finding the relevancy to the particular social and political interests (McDavid 1997b:117). Its origins for use in archaeology tend to centre around attempts to adapt Marxist ideas about history to the present day. As a result it has heavy emphasis upon the ideologies at work in the past and present while producing knowledge (Leone, Potter and Shackel 1987:283-284). Ideologies are utilized by a class to reinforce the

existing order as natural and inevitable. Archaeologists studying these societies include every class in their study as a way of deconstructing the ideologies (McDavid 1997b:117). Also, examining the point of view of the researchers and the sources of information enables a researcher to recognize political and social issues and any present ideologies which are affecting their interpretations. Often this takes the form of tracing modern day ideologies (such as capitalism) to their origins in order to understand the world today, effectively breaking down the ideology (McDavid 1997b:117; Leone, Potter and Shackel 1987: 284-285). Critical theory works particularly well in the investigation of politically charged issues involving a disenfranchised people. However, critical theory clearly has heavy Marxist connations, making it problematic for use in public archaeology in North America. McDavid discovered, while working at the Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas, that while critical theory was his preference and suited the situation, it would not be received favourably in its pure form in an economically conservative capitalist community such as this. Instead he included it in the interpretation of the site but did not emphasize it, in keeping with the local context (McDavid 1997b: 118).

Any public archaeology is inherently political. Historical archaeology frequently deals with archaeological sites whose occupants still have direct descendants in the area, and with disenfranchised people, adding to the stress of politics upon the archaeology (McDavid 1997a:1). For example, the politics of the Alabama community that Linda Derry found herself in created difficulties in forming partnerships with many members of the public (Derry 1997:18). However, instead of perpetuating the community divisions, Derry remained true to the varied needs of the community and the

archaeological data, eventually gaining trust and acceptance. She did this by remaining ethical in the face of disappointment and frustration, for example, abandoning projects when it was clear one portion of the community was unhappy with them (1997: 20).

When dealing with politics in historic and public archaeology, archaeologists must acknowledge that they are dealing with a number of publics with varying goals and views upon the past. Even within what appears to be one community, there will still be divisions (Edwards-Ingram 1997:28). Often when a project seeks to empower one group, it disenfranchises another. The empowerment will almost always be uneven, although it is the archaeologist's task to attempt inclusivity (Green, Green, and Neves 2003:369-370). Whether a public interpretation will be harmful to a community, instead of beneficial, must be taken in to consideration. McDavid (1997b) in his work at the Levi Jordan Plantation, posed this question and was faced with a difficult answer. An archaeologist must be ethical in recognizing this possibility and remembering that in public archaeology, the communities come first.

3.1.1.4 *Civic Engagement*

Recently this kind of engagement with the public has begun to be discussed in terms of 'social capital' and 'civic engagement'. Social capital, put simply, is formed from the features of social life that allow a group of people to work together as a community. Trust, reciprocity, social networks and norms are all aspects that allow individuals to work together. Social capital can work individually, benefiting an individual by creating community support and institutional 'safety nets'. Publically it works through those same supports and institutions, allowing the co-operation to bond and bridge groups of people (Putnam 2000:19-22; Young 2002:109-10). Civic

engagement refers to any involvement an individual has with the institutions, associations and social networks that make up the community. The connection between the two is simple; civic engagement increases social capital through the social connections and trust it fosters, creating a successful community (Young 2002:107-8).

In the last few decades there has been a perceived decline in social capital and civic engagement through public interest and involvement in politics, community and charity. Added to the sense of disconnection from the past and home, discussed above, a larger sense of disconnection from community and country is growing, causing some social scientists to make dire predictions on the fate of western society (Lowenthal 1996:6; Putnam 2000:402). Brought to the forefront by Robert Putnam's 2000 book, *Bowling Alone: Collapse and Revival of American Community*, the topic has become one of heated debate within western countries. Within Canada, studies have demonstrated a varied decline of trust and participation in traditional political and community forums, relating to increased mobility, pressures of time and money, television and internet, decreased interpersonal trust and generational changes (Young 2002 Nevitte 2002; Barnard et al 2003).

These findings are similar to those of Putnam (Putnam 2000:284); however, it has been shown that many Canadians do take an interest and participate, although in ways that differ from those of the previous so-called "civic generation"(Putnam 2000:257; Nevitte 2002:12; Barnard etal 2003). For example, studies into younger Canadian generations (15-35 years of age), demonstrate a relatively high rate of involvement in charities, volunteering and social activities. However members of this generation are more demanding of a personal return for involvement. They want to

provide input and learn skills through involvement in community, however many feel that because of their age they are undervalued and ignored by the traditional forums (Barnard et al 2003: 12,26-8).

To increase civic engagement and social capital, there is a need to create new ways to engage the public in their community, province and country. Already government institutions are attempting to find innovative ways to add more engagement to existing services (Little 2005). Archaeology can play a major role in creative civic engagement. Public archaeology projects can engage individuals on a new level, providing a unique, active, learning experience, while benefiting the community. As discussed above, archaeology can also serve as a method of empowering a community. This empowerment is important within civic engagement, as it provides a group with the confidence to participate in the larger community. New confidence increases social capital helping bridges to form between communities.

3.1.2 *Who is the Public?*

Surveys and studies of the public by archaeologists and archaeological institutions are very important within public archaeology. One can hardly form a public archaeology project without knowing exactly who the public is, how much they know about archaeology and what they want. The general public, as defined by McManamon (1991123), can be broken into three large groups. The smallest group is those who are archaeologically literate and interested, the middle group is the interested public, who watch archaeology television shows, visit museums and read popular archaeology books. The largest group is those people who show no interest in and have no knowledge of archaeology apart from popularized misconceptions. These groups, with the exception

29

of several sub-groups, such as Aboriginal North Americans, have correlates all over the world (Carman 2002: 109) McDavid (1997b:115) takes a site-focussed definition of public or publics as descendants, academics, ethnic communities and anyone interested in history, archaeology or the subject being studied. Whoever your public may be, the key to performing profitable public archaeology is to know your public and what they want out of archaeology and their values and interests. The archaeologist can identify and implement effective means of communicating with the public in an entertaining, relevant, understanding way for each community (McManamon 1991:124).

Many surveys have been carried out with these objectives in mind. In 1991 and 1996 surveys of British Columbia demonstrated a public that was undeniably interested in archaeology, although they had a low understanding and awareness of archeology and archaeology issues (Pokotylo and Guppy 1999: 401). Building on this initial work, a survey of Canada in 2000 by the Department of Canadian Heritage in collaboration with David Pokotylo examined the nation wide perception, knowledge and attitudes toward archaeology and heritage (Pokotylo 2002: 91). Surveys have also been undertaken by the Society for American Archaeology with similar goals. The Canadian survey demonstrated that Canadians have a reasonable and accurate interest and perception of archaeology and believe it has an important role in maintaining Canada's history and cultures. However, there were regional variations that demonstrated many contradictory and inaccurate beliefs and concerns regarding archaeology and heritage issues. Canadians also perceived archaeology as unimportant to the general public, despite a belief in its nationwide importance. The survey also demonstrated that Canadians seemed to prefer to learn about archaeology by visiting site locations and museums. The

second most preferred way of learning about archaeology was through university and college courses and activities (Pokotylo 2002: 122-6). This tells us ways in which we should be engaging the public for maximum benefit as well as other areas we can enhance.

Besides carrying out a survey of this sort, the best way an archaeologist can understand the publics they are dealing with is to initiate dialogue and understand what the local issues are. For example, Linda Derry (1997:22), through trial and error, slowly gained the trust of the African-American community by implementing student programs to work on an old school house, as school activities were a hot issue in the rural community. This and other ways of engaging the public will be discussed in the following section.

3.1.3 *Engaging the Public*

While every archaeologist acknowledges that public archaeology is important, it is not always clear or easy to implement. It must be remembered that public archaeology is a partnership. It emerges from the interests of communities, not only from those of academics, and research question and practices must be flexible to meet those interests (Green, Green and Neves 2003: 369). When the goals for engaging the public are only to maintain funding or gain permission to excavate, only information which the archaeologist needs the public to know is given. The public will not receive the whole story and will therefore not benefit from the experience as much as possible. Rather the public should be taught not only what it needs to know and but what it is interested about the past (Potter 1990:609). For Potter, this includes opening a discourse upon the value of archaeology with the public; once people feel included and are convinced that

their opinions matter, they will see it as valuable (1990:610). Several ways in which the public can be engaged and educated is through the work of government and archaeology associations, the internet, media, school programs and museums. While these are important within public archaeology, the scope of this thesis is focussed upon engagement through direct participation within the discipline.

Part of the thrill of archaeology is the hands-on aspect. Contact with authentic items often sparks passion for the past that draws people to archaeology (Lipe 2002:21). Full participation in excavation provides that experience more than any museum exhibit, article or public talk can. Participation can take place at many different levels, from a weekend workshop to a month long excavation and lab experience. Often these experiences are offered through organisations such as archaeological associations, museums, or at the initiative of volunteers. Projects are established and run for various reasons. Some attempt to involve a particular community in local archaeology, while others have a broader aim at enhancing the general public's knowledge of archaeology.

For example, the Society for American Archaeology began to demonstrate a commitment to public archaeology in 1988 by publishing Gabriel Decicco's 'Public Relations Primer', detailing to archaeologists the ins and outs of public relations. This led to the formation of the Public Education Committee, in 1990. It has worked to make archaeological resources available to the public, through the classroom, parks, museums and the sponsoring of public programs and workshops. The website provides access to resources such as incorporating archaeology into lesson plans, current news, and opportunities for public programs (Society for American Archaeology 2003).

Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia offers many public education opportunities

such as field schools, learning weeks, volunteer opportunities and tours and programs at the Department of Archaeological Research (Edwards-Ingram 1997:31). Within such programs, inclusivity is achieved by incorporating the slave history of the site into the tours and programs, enhancing the experience of the participants by providing a more holistic view of archaeology and history.

Another museum group which provides and encourages archaeological participation by the public is the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, in Shropshire, England. Ironbridge Archaeology is the field unit for the Trust. Apart from monitoring all archaeology at sites run by the Trust, it also operates commercially, specializing in industrial and post-medieval archaeology. Participation in archaeology through the Trust is open to all levels of the public, although it is geared towards children. Each year Archaeology Days are run at various museums and sites. Activities such as excavation, drawing, and finds processing are carried out under the supervision of trained archaeologists (Ironbridge Gorge Museums 2002).

The University of Calgary's Program for Public Archaeology covers programs for sixteen year olds and older members of the public, at both a historic house site and a pre-contact site (Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary 2003). This program is highly organised, utilizing enrolment based schedules. The program also runs week-long workshops for teachers and elementary school activities. An interesting feature of this project is the questionnaire to be filled out. This allows the participants to voice concerns and suggestions for improvement of the experience, and has been helpful in creating the questionnaires utilized in this thesis. The program is run from Fish Creek Provincial Park Archaeology Interpretive Centre, which was established in 2001 through

a partnership with the University of Calgary (The University of Calgary's Fish Creek Provincial Park Archaeology Interpretive Centre: 2003).

In a public archaeology project there are endeavours which can be linked to the participation in excavation that enhance the educational and inclusive nature of the experience. Participation in post-excavation procedures can continue the lessons learned by the public, further including their voices in the interpretation of information recovered during excavation. Similarly the creation of displays for the presentation and interpretation of the archaeology and the past is done in partnership with organizations in the community. For example, Adrian Praetzellis' excavations in Sacramento resulted in a permanent exhibit in the federal building built on the site. The exhibit was created by the Chinese-American Council in Sacramento, with archaeologists, architects and historians advising on technical matters (2002:53).

These are only some examples of participation-based experiences addressing various members of the general public. Participation projects, by necessity, need a higher level of organization and planning than many other aspects of public archaeology, and are therefore the highest level of engagement for the public and a community.

Public archaeology is by necessity a demanding and complex endeavour, however, the rewards for both the public and the profession are many. Through an understanding of the field, the public itself and the unlimited possibilities for engagement, public archaeology can be truly relevant in today's changing society.

3.2 Doukhobors and Public Archaeology Projects: Expectations

Four main expectations and concerns were formed early in the project, focussed upon Doukhobor community issues and ideas about public archaeology projects. These

34

expectations and concerns helped to formulate the project analysis.

First, the Doukhobor community had to be open to an interaction with archaeology in consideration of their present beliefs. Any descendant community will at some point be uncomfortable with the idea of at least some aspect of archaeology taking place at sites of importance. Some practising Doukhobors have been offended by previous archaeologists' interpretations of butchered animal remains and liquor bottles found in village site excavations, as both products represent activities prohibited in Doukhobor faith (Brenda Cheveldayoff, personal communication). For the project to succeed, the Doukhobor community needed to be willing to enter into a dialogue with archaeologists. This issue and others were discussed with mutual respect and consideration to maintain the open relationship with the Doukhobor community. Although this dialogue would have happened regardless, I expected to have a larger focus upon it if the volunteers were mostly practising Doukhobors and descendants, as opposed to members of the general public.

Second, I also expected that the backgrounds of the volunteers would affect their motivations for participating in the project. Volunteers of Doukhobor descent were expected to be motivated by personal heritage concerns. I also expected that those individuals would only consider future participation on projects of a personal nature for the same motivations and would see the benefits of such projects as applying only to their own community.

Third, I expected those individuals who were not of close Doukhobor ancestry to have other motivations for involvement, such as an interest in archaeology. Through this interest in archaeology I expected them to demonstrate not only an interest in future

35

participation in any kind of archaeology but an appreciation for learning about archaeology, with evidence that they did learn throughout the project.

Fourth, to provide an interest in archaeology and therefore its support (the original goals of public archaeology), I expected that the volunteers would not only learn much about archaeology while using the project to celebrate their heritage, but also enjoy the experience. Archaeologists can teach archaeology to the public but it will only make an impact if it is enjoyable. I expected that volunteers would most enjoy the experience by learning through hands-on activities and having responsibility for their own work. I also expected that they would enjoy doing these activities at sites with which they felt a local and perhaps emotional connection.

These expectations follow the main themes of the project later identified and discussed in the analysis. I might also add that I expected that I would also benefit from the project by gaining experience within public and descendant archaeology as well as increased knowledge about Doukhobors and the heritage concerns of descendant groups. How much this and other expectations were met and fulfilled will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 : Methodology

Public archaeology projects often follow interesting paths before they are performed. In the case of this project, the path determined the project's formulation, operation and outcome. A detailed description of the project is provided to enable an informed view and understanding of its path to completion. This 'thick description' as it is termed within qualitative analysis and evaluation, not only provides context for the project, including its original intentions and evolution, but also supplies readers with a sufficient understanding of the project to form their own opinions of the interpretations presented through analysis (Dey 1993:31; Patton 2002:438). This description of the excavation-based portion of the project will be followed by a summary of the post-excavation and qualitative analysis methods used.

4.1 Project Development

The Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology Project was largely born out of the desire of land owner, Brenda Cheveldayoff, to commemorate the memory of her father, Sam Popoff. "This dig was my way, personally, to be connected to Dad, living his dream." (Brenda Cheveldayoff, personal communication). Sam Popoff had a great interest in history and his Doukhobor heritage, extending to the protection of areas on his land and an interest in any archaeology.

After his passing in November 2001, the land eventually came into Brenda Cheveldayoff's ownership. In the fall of 2003, as a way of assuaging her grief over her father's death, she contacted Dr. Margaret Kennedy, then head of the Archaeology

Department at the University of Archaeology, to discuss the possibility of an archaeological dig on her land, concentrating on the area thought to have been where the original Doukhobor pit-houses were located. This was fortuitous as I had just begun my master's program under Dr. Kennedy's supervision and had indicated an interest in public, historic archaeology.

Visits to Brenda Cheveldayoff's land occurred in October and November 2003 to determine the feasibility of a project and locate possible dig sites on her land. During these early meetings, it was established that the main area of interest for an excavation was the wood and soil remains of a structure (Figure 4.1) thought to have been one of the original pit-houses.
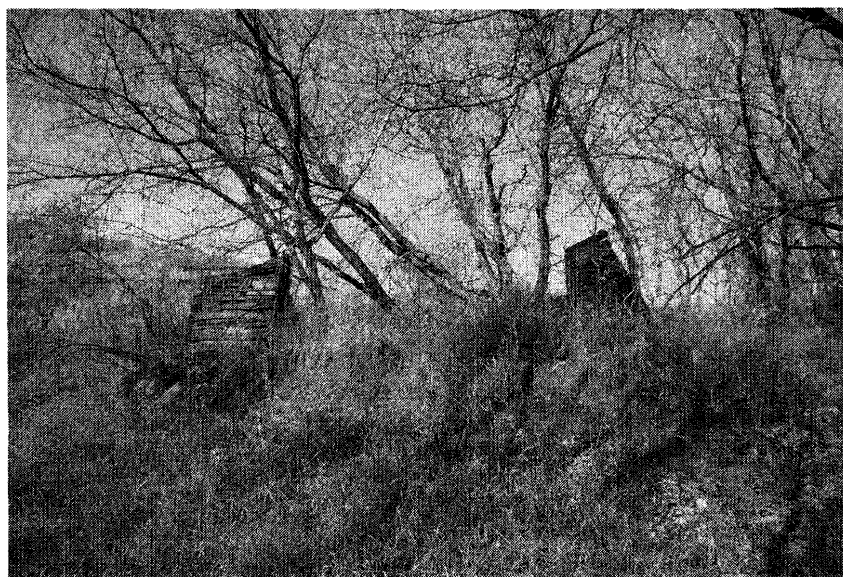
Figure 4.1: Structure of possible pit-house in the fall of 2003 (photo by author).

At this time I began a project log, entering any pertinent information about the community, sites and meetings to chart the development of the project. This proved useful later on in the project, not only archaeologically but for understanding my own

intentions concerning certain issues. Despite not being formally utilized as a data set during the qualitative analysis, it acted as a support to my memory and interpretations of data.

Funding was applied for and awarded through the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation and The Saskatchewan Archaeological Society. The proposal stated the intention "to excavate a Doukhobor 'pit-house' or 'dugout' in order to involve the wider community in archaeology and the construction of their past." A second goal of the project was to "provide more information about the spatial organization of such sites."

In compliance with the wishes of the land owners, it was determined that whenever possible the volunteers for the project would be of Doukhobor ancestry and any non-Doukhobor participants would be approved by Brenda Cheveldayoff. Due to the small size of the structure, only five or six volunteers would participate per day. Originally I had hoped to have trained volunteers to act as assistants and provide a more supervised working environment, more one-on-one learning as well as provide more data for the study of the archaeologist-public relationship. However, due to the busy field season, there were far fewer archaeological volunteers than expected and this portion of the study was downplayed.

The project was set to begin on April 3, 2004 and finish on the 28th, although this was later extended to July 12 in order to make up for days lost to rain. Excavation would take place Wednesday to Sunday, with Monday and Tuesday serving as free days, in order to allow volunteering on the weekend, while still providing two free days. With this work format, scheduling of volunteers began. I had intended to carry out the task of scheduling myself; however, due to the nature of the academic schedule at that time of

year, as well as Brenda Cheveldayoff's eagerness, she filled the work schedule. This worked out well as Brenda's contacts and relationships within the community enabled her to gain volunteers where I may have had more difficulties.

Volunteers were instructed to wear comfortable clothing and sturdy footwear as well as bring water, lunch, sunscreen, insect repellent, their own metric ruler, measuring tape and a pencil. In total 36 volunteers participated in at least one excavation at one of the sites. At the time, before a greater emphasis was placed on the analysis and evaluation of the project, no demographic data on the volunteers were taken. However, the volunteers were mostly in late middle age (in their fifties and sixties) and roughly equal numbers of men and women.

Shortly after scheduling, a problem arose with the location of the excavation. After several visits to the site, before and during scheduling it was increasingly clear that the structure might pose several problems during excavation. Not only was the stability of the structure during and after excavation a concern, as well as its accessibility, but the small size of the excavation area might not provide enough work for a whole month.

During early meetings Dr. Kennedy and I had visited the site of the Ospennia village, which had recently been purchased by Malcolm Legget, an acquaintance of Brenda Cheveldayoff with historical interests in the area. The wealth of surface artifacts and low mounds at the village site, created the possibility of a secondary dig site. This would not only allow for more excavation, but also varied the experience for the volunteers. However, it soon became clear that the focus of the project for the Cheveldayoff family and the Doukhobor community was wholly and emotionally on the specific structure near the river, despite the logistics. They felt that the volunteers would

be severely disappointed not to dig at the structure on the Cheveldayoff land and would drop out of the project altogether. Therefore, a compromise was settled, in order to dig both sites. Excavation days at the pit structure (site Fe Nq-14) were settled on Thursday through Saturday, while the area chosen at the Ospennia village site (site Fe Nq-11) would be worked at on Sundays and Wednesdays. However, the schedule was forced to remain flexible due to rain. The free days were rescheduled with volunteers and depending on which site was most accessible and needed more work, the excavation days at each site were sometimes switched.

During this time, Brenda Cheveldayoff had exercised her considerable talent for media relations and began a series of news spots with the main local television, as well as articles in local newspapers (see Appendix B for examples of articles). As a result of her efforts the project was well covered by positive media stories, garnering interest and attention locally and provincially.

4.1.1 *Units, supplies and excavation techniques*

During May the Ospennia site was lightly cleared with a bobcat to uncover features for excavation. It was determined that the area would be sampled with 50 x 50 cm test pits on visible changes in the soil, enlarging the test pits as required (Figure 4.2). Seven test pits were laid out along a north-south grid several days before excavation began with the aid of another graduate student. Vertical measurements would be taken from ground level due to the dispersed nature of the units and relative flatness of the ground. All units had grid co-ordinates corresponding to letter labels A through J. Letter labels were used throughout the project for the ease of the volunteers, preventing confusion due to the similar grid co-ordinates.

Figure 4.2: Test pits at the Ospennia site (photo by author).

By the tenth of June, it had become obvious that the test pits were revealing nothing. Brenda Cheveldayoff arranged for a grader to come to the field. Dr. Kennedy supervised the clearing activities with this grader at Ospennia. Stripping of the cultivated surface revealed an intact area of artifacts and bone. A 2 x 2 m unit was placed over this debris area. Excavation eventually uncovered the articulated skeleton of a horse within what appears to have been a cellar pit. Volunteers found working within the confines of 1 x1 m units extremely difficult as the horse skeleton filled the entire open working area. To create more space and prevent the skeleton from being damaged, units were joined into 1 x 2 m units. To avoid confusion with the old units and excavated test pits, new unit labels were assigned, J to U. As the excavation progressed this area was finally expanded into four 2 x 1 m units and one, 2 x 2 m unit. A plan of the units can be found in Appendix D, Figure D.2.

Six units were also laid out within the pit-house structure, after cutting and

clearing the brush and grass. Each unit, labelled A to F was 1 x 1 m in size, with the exception of unit D which was 2 x 1 m. Two lines were installed slightly above the site to provide vertical measurements to the units, with the use of tape measures and line levels. All but one unit was opened on the first day of excavation. Due to crowding, unit F was left unexcavated until June 18th when other units did not require as much attention. A plan of the units within the structure can be found in Appendix C, Figure C.1.

Screens were set up at each of the sites and all soil was sifted through 3/16" screen. Units were dug with trowels in 10 cm increments, although shovel shaving was used at the Ospennia site in order to locate feature limits after heavy rains. Artifacts found in situ were measured and bagged with a tag describing the provenience and context. Artifacts found during screening were bagged and labelled with provenience. Some soil samples were taken and labelled with provenience and the reason for sampling. Trowels, dust pans, buckets, brushes, clippers, tags, artifact bags, line levels and required forms were all provided to the volunteers. Extra pencils, markers, rulers, measuring tapes and first aid supplies were also on hand, as well as a cell phone for emergencies.

4.1.2 *Opening day and daily routine*

On June 3rd, Doukhobor descendants, media, university representatives and community members gathered on the Cheveldayoff land overlooking the North Saskatchewan River. Speeches, prayers, hymns and a potluck lunch kicked off the project, followed by a re-enactment of the Doukhobor women pulling the plough (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Excavation commenced in the early afternoon, filmed and reported

by the various media groups present. These opening day ceremonies were important to the Doukhobors in order to begin an open learning atmosphere where dialogue about history, archaeology and heritage could begin with comfort and mutual acceptance while celebrating their ancestors' achievements.

Figure 4.3: Hymns and prayers during opening ceremonies (photo by author).

Figure 4.4: Re-enactment of plow pulling (photo by author).

Excavation days each followed a similar pattern, maintaining a daily routine that

strove for consistency with personal and archaeological discovery. Upon their arrival at the site volunteers were given consent forms required by the Behavioural Research Ethics Review Board and the liability waiver provided by Brenda Cheveldayoff.

Volunteers were also given a site and excavation guide to read and take home with them. The guide discussed the purpose for the project, gave an introduction to archaeology, a brief Doukhobor history and descriptions of the sites. It also provided detailed information on recording procedures including a glossary and examples of level and artifact forms. The guidebooks were also attached to the anonymous questionnaire volunteers were asked to fill out. The guide is provided in Appendix A.

Once all the volunteers arrived we came to the excavation area of the site we were working on that day. I began by introducing myself to the group, explaining my archaeological and personal background. I explained the purpose of the project and continued with a small discussion about the sites and Doukhobor heritage. During this discussion I encouraged volunteers to share their family's story with everybody and to add to the historical discourse. I then provided an introduction to archaeology, discussing its goals, artifacts, features and the tools we would be using with demonstrations of how to use the tools. Volunteers were assigned to units, given fresh level forms with the previous day's level forms, the artifact form and the daily journal form. I explained how to fill out the forms and their purpose in detail, using the previous day's forms as examples as well as those provided in the guide.

As the day progressed I checked each level form and encouraged the volunteers, assisting them when necessary. Although some volunteers required more attention than others, I attempted to visit each volunteer frequently, asking how they were doing, if they

had any questions or needed any help (Figure 4.5). When a find was made, its discovery was shared with the entire group, and if its identity was not obvious (such as a nail) we discussed what it might be and its meaning. I often explained the origin of archaeological ideas connected to various artifact types, answering questions as completely as I could. If necessary, further discussion took place about the place of certain artifacts amongst the Doukhobor people. This was mostly done in connection to animal or fish bone, to allow the volunteers to voice opinions and ideas about such findings, not just at the site but in archaeology in general. Features were also treated the same way.
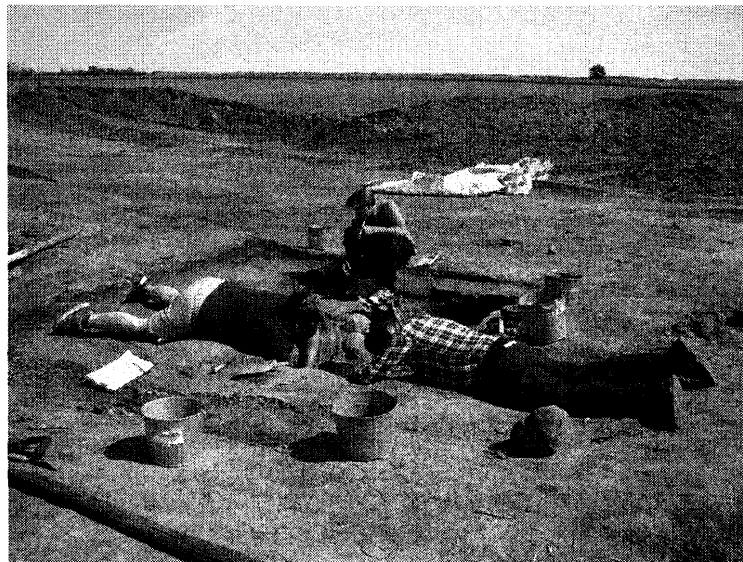
Figure 4.5: Volunteers helping one another dig at the Ospennia site (photo by author).

Volunteers often talked about the living conditions in 'caves', the move to Canada, current issues in the community (Doukhobor and otherwise) and family connections to one another and the sites. Having small groups facilitated not only my supervision but this continuous dialogue, as everyone was allowed the opportunity to see other's achievements and voice an opinion but still work at their own unit (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: A volunteer at the Pit-
house site displays a find (photo
by author).

During the lunch break (Figure 4.7) volunteers were given the opportunity to visit

the facilities and to see collected surface artifacts and those that had been excavated so

far. These were kept in a secure machine shed on the property and I would answer

questions and explain artifacts there. If we had been working at the Ospennia site, I

would take volunteers who had not seen it to the other work site and explain the

excavations there in more detail. Unfortunately because of time constraints and the

problem of removing the tarp covering the horse bones, a reciprocal visit was not often

made to the Ospennia site, although volunteers were encouraged to volunteer again or

stop by during a work day at that site.
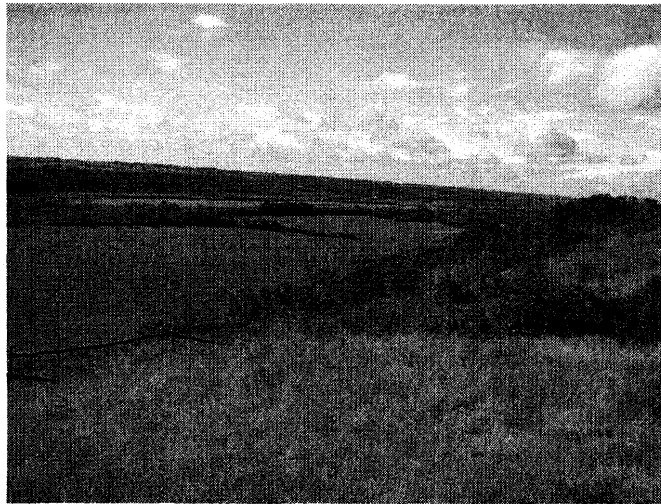
Figure 4.7: View of the North Saskatchewan river from the lunch area (photo by author).

At the end of the day volunteers were instructed to clean up their units, screen their buckets and finish their forms as well as fill out the daily journal and questionnaires (Figure 4.8). I explained to the group the purpose of the daily journals, and encouraged them not only to record the daily events but also to include their opinions and ideas about the sites and the archaeology.

I collected all the level forms and daily journals and placed them in the common field binder and put the questionnaires in their envelope. I tidied the site further and packed all of the supplies for the next day, occasionally loading everything into the car to be moved to the other site, or simply to the Cheveldayoff's home. However, at the Pit-house site, the screens and supplies were left in the waterproof container overnight, as it was a more secure location than the Ospennia site.

In the evenings, I wrote my own daily journal and examined the level forms. By doing this, I was able to know what to explain better the next day, while correcting mistakes and maintaining a level of professionalism. I also updated the schedule, and if

need be rescheduled or reminded volunteers of commitments.
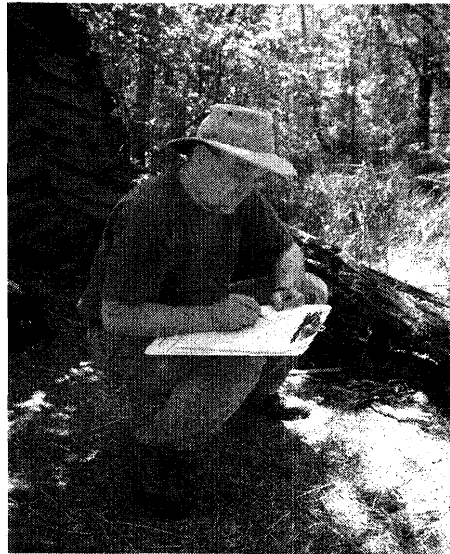
Figure 4.8: A volunteer at the pit-house completing his notes (photo by author).

Many excavation days were lost to rain at the beginning of the project. Rain days were spent processing artifacts in a nearby machine shed while continuing to discuss heritage, the past and archaeology (Figure 4.9). Although this plan was carried out, it became sometimes problematic and work days had to be cancelled altogether. Not only had we not found enough artifacts to process, but getting to the property along the rain washed highways and muddy gravel roads was an adventure few volunteers (myself included) cared for.

The units at the structure were backfilled in by July tenth and the last few days of the project spent doing final recording of both sites. The units within the structure were restrung in order to point out their location for visitors to the site. Originally the horse skeleton was to be left in situ and covered over, however it was determined that its completeness would be of value to the zooarchaeology collection of the Department of

Archaeology. Therefore, on July 30th the skeleton was removed and the remaining soil

deposits were covered with a plastic sheet. The site was later filled in by a grader and

marked for the possibility of future excavation.

Figure 4.9: Volunteers washing and rebagging artifacts
(photo by author).

4.1.3 *Post-Project Developments*

Before describing the post-excavation methods, it is important to note that events

are ongoing concerning the sites. Before the project began Brenda Cheveldayoff and the

Saskatoon and Blaine Lake Doukhobor Society planned to mount a plaque near both

sites to commemorate the achievements of their ancestors. This plaque was mounted

prior to a ceremony which marked the provincial historic designation of the site on the

Cheveldayoff's land. This application process was long and at times frustrating for the

Cheveldayoff family. Although there were different ideas about the nature of the site

and application problems, the designation was eventually awarded and presented on June

25, 2005 in a ceremony attended by Lynda Haverstock, Lieutenant Governor of

Saskatchewan (Figure 4.10).

Shortly after the excavations, Brenda Cheveldayoff and her family built an

interpretive replica near the existing pit-house structure, with an aim towards future

visitors to the site. At this time she applied for and was awarded provincial funding for

the preservation of the existing structure.

**Figure 4.10: Saskatchewan's
Lieutenant Governor Lynda
Haverstock and Brenda Cheveldayoff
with the provincial plaque (photo by
Donna Choppe).**

A non-profit committee, The Doukhobor Dugout House Inc., consisting of

several interested members has been established to oversee the protection and future

development of the pit-house land. More historic buildings have been moved to the land

and plans have been made to hire costumed interpreters as guides. The creation of an

interactive web page for the site with Doukhobor related links is also being planned.

This group is also considering planning cultural Doukhobor workshops in conjunction

with Doukhobor Cultural Society of Saskatchewan (Brenda Cheveldayoff, personal

communication, 2005).

4.2 Post-Excavation Procedures

During the project little spatial information was gathered, as well as very few artifacts from the Pit-house site. My focus had also shifted more and more to a qualitative evaluation of the project, and so analysis of the spatial organization of the sites was dropped from the study. As a result post-excavation methods focussed on cleaning (mostly done by volunteers during rain days), organizing and cataloguing the artifacts with little analysis. The catalogue and artifact organization should aid any future researcher desiring to analyse these materials.

The coded classification system used in the catalogue is based upon one devised by Dena Doreszenko of the Ontario Heritage Foundation for its artifact databases. This system catalogues artifacts primarily by function and activity categories, then lists material, class, type, variety and identifiable fragments and vessels. For example, a piece of floral transfer printed ceramic would be entered into the catalogue as follows: foodways; holloware; ceramic; white earthenware; brown transfer print; floral pattern; rim; tea cup. Due to the catalogue length it was not deemed necessary to include it with the summary of archaeological finds in Appendices F and G. However, copies of both are secured with the artifacts for future use.

The skeletal animal and bird remains found at the Ospennia site were catalogued and treated to further analysis by archaeology graduate student, Cara Pollio as part requirement for a zooarchaeology course (2005).

4.3 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data and sources are something that archaeologists deal with

frequently, although they are rarely singled out or their importance recognized. Qualitative data provide information about the meanings behind language, actions and materials (Dey 1993:10). Within the social sciences these data come from interviews, written documents, photos, drawings, observations and any other medium which demonstrates specific or multiple meanings concerning a specific context of society or culture (Dey 1993:14; Denzin and Lincoln 1998b:3)

The most defining element of qualitative data is its difference from quantitative data. Qualitative data are often hidden and unstructured, incapable of being measured through standard scientific methodology. Yet the interpretation of qualitative data throughout archaeology and the social sciences is vitally important, precisely because it does uncover information beyond statistical information. For example, a study on victims of crime would be woefully incomplete and nearly useless if it focussed solely on statistical information without examining the emotional state and needs of the victim (Fischer and Wertz 2002:278). Similarly, a study of public archaeology would be incomplete and ineffective without an examination of the experiences of volunteers and participants, which cannot be fully described and analysed through statistically viable questionnaires.

A complete review of sociological and ethnographic theory in relation to qualitative research is unnecessary within the scope of this thesis. However, grounded theory, phenomenology and the nature of evaluation, are elements which touch upon qualitative research as utilized within this thesis and a description of their development and structure is required.

4.3.1 *Grounded Theory*

Grounded theory was first introduced in 1967, by the sociologists Glaser and Strauss in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Emphasis placed upon quantitative positivist studies in the 1960s had created an erosion of traditional ethnographic fieldwork. Qualitative data sources were ignored as unquantifiable and therefore unscientific (Charmaz 2003: 83-4). This compounded a growing distance in sociology between "armchair sociologists" and real research, where new theory was seldom built from research (Dey 2004: 82). Glaser and Strauss' goals were to offer a way of studying qualitative data to generate theory through empirical research, 'grounded' in the data of fieldwork, instead of testing preexisting theories created in isolation from data. Theories generated through the grounded theory process were to be more specific and practical, judged by their relevance, utility and wider contribution to the field (Dey 2004:80, 83). This relied on the concept of an objective, unbiased view of an external reality, independent from the researcher. As a result, they were very focussed upon using scientifically rigorous methods in analysis, emphasizing steps and procedures to be followed from project design to the final report (Patton 2002: 125, 489; Hammersley 2002: 66).

In particular, the coding and classifying of data was emphasized. Coding is labelling groups of data that have been organized into discrete categories (Patton 2002: 490). Three phases of coding -open, axial and selective- formed the process to create increasingly detailed analysis of the data. Open coding was designed to generate preliminary categories, to identify potential concepts and stimulate ideas about the data. Axial coding reorganized data by comparing and making connections amongst the

categories and subcategories, creating a framework by which to examine questions of context (Patton 2002:490; Dey 2004:85). Selective coding characterized the last step in the analysis, which required the selection of a core category and relating it to others, determining areas which needed further data (Dey 2004:85).

Through these steps an internal cycle of data gathering, theory creation, theory testing and further data gathering informed by the testing is undertaken until the researcher arrives at a point of "theoretical saturation"(Dey 2004: 80). This saturation is seen when classifying and comparing sets of data no longer provides new information towards the theory and a central category or themes illustrating the study and theory can be arrived at (Dey 2004: 80-1).

Similar to processualist archaeology, grounded theory tends to be downplayed today in favour of more reflexive, post-modern theories. However, it has made a lasting contribution to the discipline through its focus on procedure. As the first to provide explicit methods for qualitative research, the grounded theory school helped to legitimize qualitative research within sociology (Charmaz 2003: 84) The emphasis upon continual data generation from multiple sources, the creation of labelled data classifications and the comparison and connection of categories have all remained important influences on the way qualitative research is done today.

4.3.2 *Phenomenology*

Phenomenology was first developed by a German philosopher, Edmund H. Husserl in the early 20th century. He focussed upon the idea that we can only really know what we experience, through our own consciousness. Therefore, to understand how experience and knowledge is created, we should study how people experience a

phenomenon, such as life or an event (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003:25). It has been particularly useful in qualitative data analysis because it examines the way an individual's experience is formed by the individual, uncovering the meaning behind the experience. By examining a large number of individuals and finding commonalities, the 'essence' of the experience of a phenomenon (in regard to this thesis the archaeology project) can be derived (Fischer and Wertz 2002:277; Patton 2002:107).

As phenomenology is grounded in the idea of lived experience, understanding phenomena often requires the researcher to take a participant-observer role and undertake in-depth interviews with individuals (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003:28;Patton 2002:106). As a result, methods of acquiring and analysing data are very important within phenomenology. Fischer and Wertz (2002:277) called their viewpoint "empirical phenomenological psychology" in their study of crime victims to demonstrate their focus upon examining real events with stringent methods to allow other researchers to replicate their work.

Part of the methods are based upon an identification of biases, rather than a denial of them. Termed the "epoche" or "bracketing" stage, it involves the researcher identifying prior attitudes and biases about phenomena in themselves and their subjects (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003:31-2). By writing and discussing their own experiences with crime prior to conducting interviews, Fischer and Wertz (2002:276, 279) became aware of their own presuppositions regarding crime. They also attempted to put aside any theories and constructs so that they could see the way the events described by the interviewees really appeared.

Steps of analysis within phenomenology represent a progression from the

particular and individual to the general and common. Comparison and identification of key phrases and statements that point directly to the phenomenon being studied are grouped into meaningful units which are then inspected to reveal essential features of the phenomenon (Patton 2002:485). In this progression, case studies are particularly useful, including narratives. Preferably, the latter are presented in the individual's own words as they describe their experiences. For example Fischer and Wertz created a series of cases to compare with one another, progressing towards a general structure for the experience. Their first "case synopses" were written from raw transcriptions to describe the event, plucking out the essential aspects of the experience. These cases were then compared with other transcripts to create an "illustrative narrative", demonstrating the common sequence of events and personal meaning. After several stages of comparison with the cases and narratives they arrived at general structures demonstrating "the essential constituents of the phenomenon" (Fischer and Wertz 2002:281). Giorgi and Giorgi describe these parts of analysis as "transformations" (2003:33). The researcher transforms the raw data of transcripts into a series of narratives describing the events in relation to the meaning for the individuals. These are stated in terms that can be generalized to the wider experience (Giorgi and Giorgi 2003:33-44).

Phenomenology is widely used within qualitative research, especially within psychological studies. In relation to an evaluation of a project, its ideas are important in examining the common essence of the public archaeology experience at the Doukhobor pit-house and Ospennia village.

4.3.3 *Evaluation*

Qualitative data analysis is an important part of doing program or project

evaluations. Patton, one of the early evaluation innovators, described evaluation as involving,

> "the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics and outcomes of programs, personnel and products for use by specific people to reduce uncertainties, improve effectiveness and make decisions with regard to what those programs, personnel or products are doing and affecting."
> (1982:15)

Although the methods for doing evaluation have been refined, the definition has not changed very much since 1982. Similar to cultural resource management within archaeology, evaluation is almost always initiated by an outside client for the purposes of dealing with one or more areas of a specific program, for the use of the client and program users, while still contributing to the wider sociological discipline.

In the 1960s and 70s evaluations had become common within government funded programs (usually health and education related), as part of a wider concern for accountability within program planning (Poister 1978:4). To meet this need, evaluations were done following traditional sociological studies by testing models from a positivist stand point (Patton 1982:15). Not only did evaluators begin to recognize the limitations of traditional methods, they also became concerned with the ethics of doing goal focussed evaluations. Evaluations had until this point been almost entirely focussed upon determining whether the goals of a program had been reached, in order to determine its continuation. There was little concern over the project's effect on staff and users, or providing recommendations and ensuring the evaluation was appropriately utilized (Greene 1998:379-80). Poister, as an example of this focus, states three challenges for an evaluator. First, determine the goals and objectives of the program; second, determine success and failure; third, determine the relationship between the two

(1978:9).

By the late 1970 and early 80s these concerns developed into a cry for a standard set of guidelines. In 1981 the Joint Committee on Standards for Education Evaluation, representing twelve professional associations, developed a list of standards and guidelines for evaluations. Although based upon the evaluation of education programs, the standards were utilized by the entire field to update evaluation practice. In particular the guidelines focussed upon four critical areas of evaluation: utility, feasibility; propriety and accuracy (Greene 1998:382-3). These have become some of the criteria with which evaluations and qualitative research are judged (Patton 2000:425).

In particular it has been recognized that evaluations should be practical and situational, particularly with regards to government funded projects. To do an appropriate and relevant evaluation, the evaluator should understand the differing political interests at work within the program and the need for evaluation. Being responsive to these aspects helps select the appropriate methods for data gathering, analysis and presentation to ensure the interests of all have been met (Greene 1998:374,377; Patton 1982: 24).

Through understanding the interests at work a researcher can work to make the evaluation as useful as possible. Avoiding jargon, misleading labels, providing a personal face to the data and involving the "stakeholders" (those with a stake in the evaluation) in the evaluation process, will help to ensure the evaluation will be useful and used appropriately (Patton 1982:50,303; Patton 2002:10).

Evaluation can examine a project or program in its entirety, or target a specific area. However, there are two main types of evaluations. Summative evaluations take

place at the end of a project, 'summing' it up. It is designed to make a final judgement on the project and its components, looking at success and failure. Summative evaluations can also determine continuation of the program, or make recommendations for future implementation (Patton 2002:218-20). Formative evaluations tend to be geared to making improvements, and can be carried out during a project, to help 'form' the project. Evaluations of this nature tends to measure performance and internal processes, often focussing on particular aspects instead of generalizing about the whole as in summative evaluations (Poister 1978:16; Patton 2002:220).

The evaluation presented in this thesis is largely a summative one, designed to examine this particular project. While my methods of data gathering and analysis have been influenced by grounded theory and phenomenology, I have attempted to follow the evaluation judgements of utility, feasibility, propriety and accuracy. Through these standards I hope to provide an evaluation of this project which will be useful to archaeologists and communities implementing their own public archaeology programs.

4.3.4 *Qualitative Analysis Methodology*

Detailed methodologies for the analysis of the specific data sets have been included within their respective chapters, to allow the reader a closer understanding of the analyses of those data sets. The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with a basic account of those methods used in connection with the analysis, allowing them to familiarize themselves with some of the jargon and concepts before introducing the analysis.

In order to do the qualitative analysis, I focussed on the methods presented by Michael Quinn Patton in his several publications, most notably his 2002 *Qualitative*

Research and Evaluation Methods, 3ʳᵈ Edition. Although other qualitative method related sources were perused (Denzin and Lincoln 1998a; Dey 1993; Huberman and Miles 2002; Seale et al 2004), Patton's was used largely due to its enthusiastic reviews and engaging style. I certainly agree with reviewers who describe his work as creative, comprehensive and appropriate for both the inexperienced and experienced alike (Devitt 2003; Janesick 2003; Locke 2002). In particular Patton's method of explaining concepts and providing several different examples before finishing with thought provoking ideas and suggestions for the reader's own research, was genuinely helpful (Janesick 2003:885).

More importantly, Patton's focus as a researcher has long been on the practical evaluation of programs and projects. Despite the academic forum in which this thesis was created, the qualitative analysis was carried out as an evaluation of the project's successes, failures and effectiveness with an aim towards demonstrating how projects such as this could be implemented. Therefore Patton's ideas are much more useful for the purposes of this analysis than other methodologies look at qualitative data from a purely ethnographic perspective.

4.3.4.1 *Reading the Data*

The first step of a qualitative analysis begins with an organization of data. A general reading and inventory of the data is necessary to complete this (Patton 2002:440). Dey suggested strategies for effective reading of qualitative materials, such as making checklists during the reading of known themes and ideas. Reading while consistently keeping in mind and listing the well known "four Ws" is also useful in gaining a basic understanding of your data (1993:83-84). This basic reading of the data I

had gathered was immensely helpful and provided me with a sense of areas in the data which were incomplete and directions to take with the analysis (Patton 2002:440). For example, the data I originally planned to use in the analysis were comprised of questionnaires, interviews and participant observations. However, I was too busy supervising the volunteers to make systematic observations. Although I had made some observations, a reading made it clear that they were not thorough enough to include in the formal analysis. Instead I discovered that the daily journals held much more information than I had previously considered. Therefore my data are taken from questionnaires, daily journals and interviews.

If I had done a 'computer-assisted qualitative data analysis' (CAQDA) based qualitative evaluation to complete my analysis, I would likely have read the date sets while entering information into the program. After reviewing some literature concerning CAQDA (Dohan and Sanchez-Jankowski 1998; Kell 2004), I decided that given my small and very manageable amount of data, a computer program was not necessary for this analysis. Although the program may have enabled me to see extra problems with an added amount of objectivity and verification, my unfamiliarity with qualitative data analysis itself combined with that of a new computer program would likely have created larger problems.

4.3.4.2 *Organization and Classification*

As one of the main goals of qualitative analysis is to classify unstructured data in order to find new meanings, the creation of a classification system was paramount in the analysis (Dey 1993: 16). The first step towards a classification is to determine through the initial reading how the data are going to be organized for interpretation and

presentation. This organization can concentrate on the large view of the project, presented as a chronology, or a list of processes, outcomes and issues. The organization can also be much more specific, orienting itself through case studies in order to examine the common themes (Patton 2002:439). As the questionnaire was the main part of analysis, the data have been organized according to questions, responses and corresponding themes and issues concerned with the project.

The classification for the entire analysis grew out of this organization through 'content analysis' and 'cross-case analysis'. Content analysis begins the classification of the data content and occurs through successively engaged readings of the materials. It involves the classifying and coding of the data by rigorously searching for recurring words, phrases or images which describe themes, issues or patterns (Patton 2002: 453, 463). Cross-case analysis looks at groups of data together rather than individually as in a case study. Common indicators found through content analysis are grouped to form a classification that bridges different data sets. Cross-case analysis is usually used in connection with standardized interviews to examine common and differing perspectives among project participants (Patton 2002: 440). I used it in this analysis to examine different questionnaires and daily journals as well as interviews.

Although most of the classification was predetermined by the focus on the questions and issues of the questionnaire, efforts were made to include categories or types which presented themselves within the data through content analysis. The construction of a classification is a process of attaching meaning to aspects of the data content and comparing these meanings to find the best 'fit' within a structure (Patton 2002:464). By continuously re-examining, comparing and contrasting the sections

63

identified through content analysis and the raw data, the meanings and their place within the classification can be honed to discover new connections between them (Dey 2004:88,90).

This is an "analyst constructed typology", which seeks to identify and interpret patterns and themes that appear to exist but which may be unperceived by the participants (Patton 2002: 459). A participant-constructed typology would be one that focussed on patterns identified and interpreted by the participants. However, because this typology and its ensuing analysis is analyst-created it needs to be verified by others. Patton calls this a "form of analytical triangulation" to check and recheck the applicability and completeness of the classification and its analysis (2002:464). In an analysis where several researchers work together, this will happen naturally as each classifies and interprets the data as they see them before combining their classification into one they all use. A single researcher must allow the classification and analysis to be reviewed by colleagues to verify it. This fresh set of eyes is imperative to spark new ideas and catch problems.

The third corner of the analytical triangle, according to Patton, are the people being studied. Presenting the classification to them for verification helps clarify confusion and prevents the analyst from becoming too wrapped in categories, forgetting about the individuals behind the data (Patton 2002:497). From a grounded theory stance, this also enables the researcher to generate more data through feedback, to continue analysis. To fulfill this requirement, I briefly reported my preliminary findings in lectures including participants and noted their comments. I also reported findings to Brenda Cheveldayoff and other participants in order to include their comments.

This three fold verification (researcher, reviewer, participant) helps to provide a substantive significance for qualitative analysis in lieu of statistical significance tests available to quantitative data. Further, the extent to which the findings of the analysis compare with existing knowledge helps to verify its significance (Patton 2002:497).

This is not to say that statistical testing is impossible within qualitative analysis. The issue of statistical tests within a purely qualitative study has been slightly contentious. Following many other disciplines, sociology went through a positivist period attempting to apply quantitative tests to qualitative studies in order to obtain objectivity and credibility. With the advent of theories rejecting positivism, the emphasis upon quantitative testing has lessened greatly, focussing instead upon meaning and interpretation through description and classification (Dey 1993: 26-7). Particularly in the health care field, quantitative methods have been found to be inappropriate and unhelpful at times in studying the nature of providing health care (Leininger 1994).

However, there are some qualitative researchers who believe that aspects of the qualitative data can be examined with basic or "quasi-statistics". Phenomena seen within the data are capable of being enumerated, as I have done in my analysis, and some would argue that it could and should be statistically analysed with at least basic counts to support qualitative interpretations (Dey 1993:28; Maxwell 2002:37-64). All researchers seem to agree that quantitative and qualitative data can be useful to support one another in an evaluation.

I enumerated the types within the categories because I felt that for my archaeological audience, this was the best way of understanding the nature of the phenomena I was identifying. In a compromise between the two groups of thought, I

have provided basic numeric indices, such as the mean and median, presented the highest and lowest values and provided percentages to demonstrate proportions. In creating correlations, the types were compared through qualitative analysis methods. Chi square tests were attempted to discern if the differences and similarities were significant. However, in many cases they were not particularly useful and did not provide further information. As the basis of the classification was carried out through an interpretive content analysis based on my created classification, focussing on a small data set, it is perhaps not appropriate to undertake further statistical tests on data of this nature. In the future an evaluation of a larger public archaeology project combining quantitative with qualitative data would be useful.

The following chapters cover the analysis of the three data sources used in the evaluation of the project. The chapters cover methodology, analysis with the creation of classification systems and results specific to the section of data they analyse. The individual results will be combined in the final discussion chapter to provide a complete evaluation of the project, with recommendations towards community public archaeology projects.

Chapter 5: Questionnaire Qualitative Analysis

5.1 Methodology

Attached to the guidebooks given to the volunteers was a ten-question questionnaire designed to help evaluate the project. Volunteers were asked to fill out the questionnaire at the end of their last day of participation in the project. The questionnaires were then collected and the responses analysed after the completion of the excavation. This analysis provides the backbone of the qualitative analysis, developing many of the categories of analysis used throughout the evaluation.

The anonymous questionnaires were designed as standardized open-ended questionnaires in order to allow volunteers the opportunity to provide full responses to the questions. In some cases two part questions were included. This allowed them to display a variety of attitudes, experiences and knowledge beyond the restrictions of a closed multiple choice format. In part, this was developed using Patton's model of a standardized, open-ended interview. It provided a standard interview format for each respondent and was able to "capture the complexities of their individual perceptions and experiences" (1987:112-115).

The questions on the questionnaire (see Table 5.1) were created to address some of the issues and ideas surrounding this particular project and public archaeology projects in general. Issues such as motivation, benefits and the archaeologist and public relationship fuelled the nine specific questions, leaving the tenth open for extra comments.

67

Table 5.1: Participant Questionnaire Questions

1. How did you find out about the project and why were you interested?

2. Did you find this project personally beneficial and why?

3. Do you think you have a better understanding of Archaeology, of Doukhobor history?

4. Who (ie: Doukhobors, Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan, Archaeologists) do you think the project benefited most and why ?

5. What did you enjoy most about the project and why?

6. Were there any problems with the project and how could they have been fixed?

7. Would you take part in another public archaeology program and why or why not?

8. What would you like to see done with the site and any artifacts found and why?

9. Was there sufficient guidance from the supervisor on site and why or why not?

10. Any extra comments, suggestions?

Twenty-six questionnaires were returned to the researcher throughout the excavations. These questionnaires only represent 72% of the total public volunteers, as ten volunteers did not fill out and hand in their questionnaires. While this smaller sample is not detrimental to the qualitative analysis, there is an opportunity for future improvement in the understanding of why it is a small sample. Various circumstances have been identified which adequately explain the missing questionnaires. As described above, the questionnaires were attached to the guidebook which was handed out at the beginning of a participant's involvement in the project, to be filled at the end. However, this required that volunteers continue their participation in the project as scheduled. Inevitably, some individuals cancelled their last day of participation or due to inclement weather the day itself was cancelled. Also, volunteers with appointments were often

anxious to leave at the end of the day. During the rush to prepare their unit and notes, the questionnaire may have been forgotten. In regard to these circumstances volunteers were contacted and asked to forward completed questionnaires to myself or Brenda Cheveldayoff, although not all did.

It is also possible that not all members of the Cheveldayoff family filled out the questionnaires. As their participation was sometimes spontaneous, on the provision that an extra body was needed, it was understood that they would fill out questionnaires later. Unfortunately, questionnaires may have been forgotten in the face of other responsibilities.

Other methods of distributing and receiving the questionnaires may have been just as problematic. However, by distributing the questionnaire with the guidebook, the volunteer was still able to send a completed questionnaire from home if necessary. It was inevitable that not all participants would desire to respond to and send the questionnaire.

It is important to recognize that the small size of the sample for analysis does not negate its worth. The responses on the questionnaires demonstrate the feelings, attitudes and opinions of a group of individuals who worked very hard during the project. Their contributions, together with the rest of the qualitative data will provide a view of the motivations, benefits and ideas about this project.

Following Patton's suggested methods (1987; 2002), photocopies of the completed questionnaires were made and numbered to match up with the originals in the event that they needed to be compared. It appeared that some individuals, although instructed otherwise, felt compelled to write their names on the questionnaires. In order to maintain the anonymity desired for the analysis, a student with no involvement in the project or community, blacked out names and identifying comments on the photocopies.

An initial reading of the questionnaires was carried out in order to provide a basic

understanding of the responses. Categories and types were created to classify the responses. This analysis combined both an inductive and deductive approach. As the questions had been based on the issues to be studied, some of the responses fit into categories already decided upon when the questionnaires were designed. However, inductive analysis was done through the early reading of the questionnaires as categories and types emerged from within the data, creating different ideas and patterns (Patton 2002:453)

Categories and their types were discerned through cross case analysis, or in this case, cross questionnaire. In order to classify responses across the entire sample of questionnaires, responses were examined question by question. For example, responses for the first question were read for all of the questionnaires, discerning common keywords throughout and classifying them as such. After each of the questions had been examined, the questionnaires were studied again in order to discover further contextual keywords for categories and types within different questions. Frequently responses which provided insight into categories and types created primarily for one question were found in response to another. Through this continuous method of examination a system of classification was created, demonstrating the attitudes and sentiments of the volunteers as within the questionnaires.

It is perhaps necessary to explain the concept of contextual keywords as developed for this analysis. The identification of common keywords, such as 'archaeology', 'family' and 'learn' is vital to the analysis. It provides a level of standardization that allows the cross questionnaire analysis to commence. However, it is not enough to identify keywords on their own. The context in which the keyword is found changes the meaning of the keyword in relation to the analysis. Therefore, the same keywords may be found for different types although their context of use is different and is classified as such.

After the first version of the classification system was created, the enumeration of the keywords commenced. Although all keywords for the individual types had been identified, it was decided that they would only be counted once per questionnaire. This was done to avoid large values that would most likely be the result of an individual's personality (loquacious or laconic).

Blank spaces left for questions were slightly problematic as their meaning is ambiguous. Throughout the questionnaires there were very few questions not answered with at least one word, excluding the extra comments space. I have been inclined to consider a blank as a lack of interest in the issue identified in the question. However, given their low number and ambiguous meaning, blanks have not been made a significant part of the analysis.

It may seem backwards that the enumeration was carried out before the final version of the classification. However, the existence of some types became dependent upon the number of responses. For example, a type with only one counted response would be reexamined to ensure a good fit. As a result some of the types were discontinued and their responses reclassified. This created a second version of the classification which was then examined by other students and a third final version created through their comments. This final version of the questionnaire response classification is described below in Table 5.2.

5.2 Classifications and Analysis Results

Although tables are occasionally utilized to display the questionnaire results, results are also described within the text. Original values have been displayed with percentages, which provide a better understanding of the proportion of responses within the questionnaires. However, it must be realized that because many volunteers provided several types of the same categories in their responses or left the question blank, the values and the percentages will not always add up to the total number of questionnaires.

71

Table 5.2: Questionnaire Analysis Classification

Category and Types	No. of Response	Description	Contextual Keywords	Example
1 Information Diffusion				
A Word of Mouth	13	family member or acquaintance informs them	relatives, family person	"My aunt told me of the project"
B Media	2	advertised in some form of media	tv, newspaper	"I read an article about the project in the Saskatoon Star Phoenix"
C B. Cheveldayoff	7	owner of property, including having gone on tour	Brenda, owners, the family	"I found out from Brenda Cheveldayoff"
D Doukhobor Societies	4	both Blaine Lake and Saskatoon Doukhobor Societies	Doukhobor, societies	"Through the Doukhobor organization"
2 Motivation				
A Supporting	5	in support of friend or family member	help, family member	"I wanted to help her" (aunt)
B Emotional	10	personal interest due to family connections to specific sites	lived, caves, family, community	"My mother wintered in the dugout in 1899"
C Heritage	9	Doukhobor descent	Doukhobor, our people, background	"Became interested because of my Doukhobor background"
D Archaeological	8	prior interest in archaeology	archaeology, interest, dig, learn	"I always wanted to see what went on a dig"
E Historical	7	general interest in history, local and otherwise	history, local, area, learn	"Interested in the history of the area"

Table 5.2 Continued

3 Personal Benefits				
A Learning about Heritage	15	learning more about Doukhobor past and heritage	learn, history, past, Doukhobor, ancestor	"I found out more about the way my ancestors lived"
B Learning about Archaeology	22	learning about archaeology in general	archaeology, process, why,	"It helped me to take an in depth look in to archaeology"
C Reconnecting	10	renewing contacts with family and Doukhobor community	people, company, listening, together	"Listening to stories"
D Active Enjoyment	20	being outdoors and the activity of archaeology	outdoors, nature, finding, digging	"Finding artifacts at the site"
E Professional Presence	4	working with a professional	Meagan, teaching, professional, working	"I enjoyed talking to Megan, finding out why she was doing this"
4 Perceived Wider Benefits				
A Doukhobor	16	Doukhobors by increased pride respect, knowledge, tourism	Doukhobor	"I think it brought attention back to a lot of our Doukhobors"
B Community	3	local community by tourism, knowledge	Blaine Lake, town, local community	"A historical site for Blaine Lake"
C Archaeology	2	increasing archaeological knowledge	archaeologists, site	"Saskatchewan archaeologists because a site(s) were done with this project"
D Researcher	3	the researcher gets a degree	studies, archaeologist	"Benefited them in completing studies and research"
E Holistic	8	Doukhobors, town, Saskatchewan and Archaeology	everyone, all, each	"Everyone benefits, knowing our past can only help every community!"
F Province of Saskatchewan	1	the province through tourism	tourism, Saskatchewan	"Saskatchewan- for tourism"

73

Table 5.2 Continued

5. Problems				
A Scheduling	2	conflicts between dig schedule and job	schedule, work, job	"Jobs couldn't get around, this limited our participation"
B Weather	7	bad digging conditions due to weather	weather, rain, wind	"The only problem was the weather"
C Physical	3	too physically demanding	older, physical, hard work	"As I am older it is harder to get up and down"
D Frustration	6	frustrated with pace, tools, location of dig, information given	tedious, slow, serious, no artifacts	"No real Doukhobor artifacts were uncovered"
E Too Personal	1	found the project too personal	too personal	(do another dig) "not if personally related"
F None	13	a written comment on lack of problems	none, no	"Not that I could see"
6 Future Involvement				
A Personal Meaning	5	only involved if the project had personal meaning	personal, our history heritage	"especially if it related to my own heritage"
B General Interest	15	involved regardless of personal connection	interest, archaeology, yes	"Yes, I just find archaeology interesting"
C No involvement	5	not again due to time, health also used for no response	no, health, older, job blank	"Possibly not because of back problems"

Table 5.2 Continued

7 Future Perspectives				
A Presentation and Interpretation	20	presented and preserved in some manner including a replica	preserved, copy, replica public, open exhibit	"The artifacts should be displayed for all to see what we have done"
B Museum	6	housed in a local museum	Blaine Lake, Doukhobor, museum	"Have the artifacts placed into the Blaine Lake Doukhobor Museum"
C Commemoration	5	marker and or annual event	cairn, marked, annual	"A cairn placed to mark the village site and dugouts"
D Future Research	3	more should be done with site and a report	studied, teaching, report	"Artifacts could be studied"
8 Archaeologist's Performance				
A Encouragement and Patience	4	demonstrated patience and encouraged volunteer	patient, encouraging	"She never made our finds seem insignificant"
B Helper	8	was helpful, and worked closely with volunteers	helpful, work	"Helping with areas we found challenging"
C Knowledgeable Educator	7	explained everything well, and shared knowledge	knowledgable, taught, explained	"Very good at teaching procedures and explaining the reasons for them"
D Professional	2	professional demeanor	professional	" Very professional"
E General Positive	14	general positive comments	yes, good, positive	"Yes very good"

The categories and types are examined and described in order, followed by a discussion of possible correlations within the classification.

5.2.1 *Category 1: Information Diffusion*

This category was created to track how the volunteers found out about the project. Four types of the informing the public about the project were identified through participant responses based on specific keywords used; word of mouth, media, Brenda Cheveldayoff and Doukhobor Societies. Originally the societies were to be broken into separate types, however, the values were so small they were combined. It is important to note that this type includes only those responses that indicate the Societies as an official source of information. Responses which indicate society members as family or friends of the volunteer are considered to be part of the first type.

In the original version of the classification another type was included in this category for those individuals who had been on a previous tour of the site and heard about the project. However, during the actual enumeration of keywords this proved to be very rare. It was reasoned that any recent tour would most likely have been conducted by Brenda Cheveldayoff and she would have mentioned the project. Therefore, information given on tours of the site has been included within this category.

As can be seen in Table 5.3, half of the volunteers heard of the project through their family, friends and members of the community while the second largest group was informed by Brenda Cheveldayoff. Media coverage of the project before excavation was on a much smaller scale than that received on the first day of the project, and is reflected by the small values for that type. However, the Doukhobor Society as an official source seems to have had small success in gathering volunteers. The spread of information through the Doukhobor Societies seemed to occur during and after the excavations, although this was largely at the initiative of Brenda Cheveldayoff and others.

76

Table 5.3: Category 1-Information Diffusion, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	Total
No. of Responses	13	2	7	4	26
%	50	7.7	26.9	15.4	100

5.2.2 *Category 2: Motivation*

Understanding the motivation behind participation in a project such as this was one of the key reasons for doing a qualitative study. Understanding the motivations will help future projects tailor the experience in order not only to gain more volunteers, but also to provide a more rewarding experience for both the volunteers and the archaeologists. Five central motivations were discerned from the questionnaires: supporting, emotional, heritage, archaeological and historical. It could be argued that supporting is part of an 'emotional' motivation. However, I felt it warranted separate consideration, as the individual volunteer is not emotionally invested in the sites but in the volunteers with whom they were participating. Originally archaeological motivation was split into separate types, indicating a scientific or romantic interest in archaeology. However, very few volunteers qualified their responses by indicating exactly what about archaeology interested them. Therefore a single type for archaeological interest was utilized.

At the beginning it was clear that the pit-house land was very important in the heritage concerns of the Doukhobor community, and therefore it was expected that the emotional type of motivation (B) would be the largest motivator by a significant margin. While 38.5% of volunteers did indicate an emotional motivation, it can be seen in table 5.2 that it is closely followed by the other types. In fact, only four out of the ten emotional motivations appeared alone within the responses. Often it was listed with heritage and historical motivation (C and E). As there is an undeniable connection between emotion and heritage this is not surprising and in retrospect it is interesting that as many as four volunteers described the motivation as emotional alone.

Table 5.4: Category 2-Motivation, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	E	Total
No. of Responses	5	10	9	8	7	39
%	19.2	38.5	34.6	30.8	26.9	n/a

Connected to this idea of emotion and heritage was also that of a supporting motivation, type A. Some volunteers were not of Doukhobor ancestry but were married or related to someone who was. It is reasonable to assume that some of those individuals volunteered in order to support this other person in their emotional celebration of heritage. Although the presence of this type within the questionnaires had not been expected, its values are appropriate for the number of those volunteers in that situation.

Surprisingly an interest in archaeology was a relatively common motivator. It appeared alone once and was usually coupled with an interest in heritage or history. It is an important facet of the motivation and demonstrative of the interests of the volunteers.

5.2.3 *Category 3: Personal Benefits*

One of the main goals of the analysis of qualitative data for this project was to discern short and long term benefits. This category covers what the volunteers found personally beneficial from the project and are generally short term benefits; learning about heritage, learning about archaeology, reconnecting, active enjoyment and professional presence. These types were largely derived through responses to question five, asking what the volunteer enjoyed most about the project and why. While some may argue that enjoyment and benefit are not always connected, their connection in regard to this project is suitable. The activities and parts of the project that the volunteers appreciated and enjoyed will leave a lasting impression upon them, benefiting themselves as well as indirectly benefiting the Doukhobor community and archaeology.

In the original version of the classification, an extra type 'Rekindled' had been included within this category to address the project's beneficial rekindling of interest in the community and Doukhobor heritage. Although this is an important part of the

project and a benefit, it was found through the analysis of the questionnaires that comments of this nature were closer in context to the larger type of Reconnecting. Those comments were consequently added to this type and 'Rekindled' was dropped from the classification.

Throughout the project many people expressed their pleasure at the opportunity to spend a day or weekend participating in an outdoor activity, getting some fresh air and exercise. However, responses included in this type go beyond comments about good weather, detailing an active enjoyment through their participation in an archaeological project. In this type I have included comments expressing an enjoyment of "finding artifacts". This is considered to be separate from type B above as the respondents did not seem to connect the finding of artifacts specifically to learning about archaeology. While finding artifacts is a part of learning about archaeology, it was considered that stated on its own, it reflected more an enjoyment of the activity rather than a beneficial learning exercise.

Table 5.5 demonstrates the values associated with the volunteers' perceived personal benefits. None of the types of personal benefits appears alone in responses; instead they are in combination with the other benefits. Results for type A were slightly disappointing, as it was hoped that the volunteers would find it an opportunity to learn from one another about their heritage. However, most of the volunteers were of Doukhobor ancestry and old enough to have been involved in the traditional aspects of the community several decades ago. Therefore, from their point of view there may not have been very much to discuss about their heritage that they did not already know. In this light, the values below for type A are quite high.

Table 5.5: Category 3-Personal Benefits, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	E	Total
No. of Responses	15	22	10	20	4	71
%	57.7	84.6	38.5	76.9	15.4	n/a

It was expected that there would be an adequate number of responses demonstrating type D, learning about archaeology, although the high value was unexpected. Of the twenty-two responses, 72.7% also listed active enjoyment (D) while 54.5% also listed learning about heritage (A). The connections between types A, B and D are clear. For many volunteers, learning about archaeology at these particular sites included learning about their heritage. The activity of archaeology is largely (at least in this sort of project) an outdoor activity, one that is most enjoyable and beneficial through learning about it.

Type C, reconnecting, resulted in lower than expected values. A large part of community archaeology is the bringing together of people so that they can celebrate their community. Ten responses concerning this type is a disappointing result. The responses are always in combination with other types and especially with type B. This suggests that it is a secondary benefit, not the most important benefit in the mind of the volunteer.

Four individuals noted the presence of a professional (E) as a personal benefit. Despite the comparatively low value, responses for the type came as a pleasant surprise. These responses always appear with those covering learning about archaeology and active enjoyment, demonstrating the tie between a professional archaeologist creating an enjoyable environment.

5.2.4 *Category 4: Wider Benefits*

In order to understand what the volunteers saw as wider benefits from the project, they were asked which groups they felt would benefit most from the excavations. Five groups were indicated as beneficiaries of the project: Doukhobors, local community, archaeology as a discipline, the researcher and the province of Saskatchewan. A sixth type demonstrated a perception that each group benefited from the project.

Most volunteers believed that the Doukhobor community (A) would benefit most from the project. Sixty-two and a half percent of responses indicating the Doukhobor

community as benefiting, were not in combination with any other types. The remaining

percentage of type A responses were found in combination with type B the Blaine Lake

community, type C archaeology and type D myself as the researcher.

It was surprising that so few volunteers saw the province of Saskatchewan as

benefiting from this project despite the closeness to the centennial. This is perhaps a

product of volunteers not immediately recognizing the possibilities for presentation and

study beyond the excavation.

Table 5.6: Category 4-Perceived Wider Benefits, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
No. of Responses	16	3	2	3	1	8	33
%	61.5	11.5	7.7	11.5	3.8	30.8	n/a

5.2.5 *Category 5: Problems*

It was very important to ascertain any problem areas of the project.

Understanding the negative aspects of a project such as this not only helps future

projects, but it also provides an opportunity to improve upon the experience late in the

project. Schedule conflicts, weather, the physical nature of the work, frustration and the

personal nature of the project were problems identified with the questionnaire, while a

sixth type was reserved for comments describing a lack of problems. These types were

derived not only from direct responses to question six (regarding problems with the

project) but also throughout the questionnaires.

Although the actual values for each type of problem seem relatively small, added

together, 73.1% of the volunteers listed at least one problem throughout the project.

While it does not override the positive feedback about the project, this is a depressing

result and solutions must be planned to address the problems and issues identified.

The weather (B) during the project was certainly a problem and it had been

expected that more volunteers would list it as such in connection with a need for better

planning for bad weather. Weather was partially responsible for some of the other

problems listed in the responses, such as scheduling (A) and frustration (D). However, results from the questionnaires demonstrate that if the volunteers made this connection, very few indicated it.

Fifty-four percent of the responses provided a written description of the lack of problems (F). However, several questionnaires demonstrated descriptions of problems in other areas apart from the specific question. It was decided that in these cases the description of no problems would be cancelled out, to provide a better description of the values. Therefore only 34.6% of the volunteers indicated a lack of problems during the excavation.

Table 5.7: Category 5-Problems, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
No. of Responses	2	7	3	6	1	9	27
%	7.7	26.9	11.5	23.1	3.8	34.6	n/a

One response was classified in type E, as the volunteer seemed to find the excavation too personal. This type was created to accommodate one response that does not fit elsewhere. Although the response at first glance seemed to apply to category six, discussed below, its context in relation to other answers indicated it was a problem rather than a comment upon future involvement. Essentially the response indicated that they felt the project (perhaps the location of the excavations) was too personal and therefore their experience was not as enjoyable. 'Too personal' could mean emotionally personal or physically personal, a reference to the closely spaced units. In the first interpretation the emotionally personal relation was, for many volunteers, the entire reason for participation in the project and this problem was unexpected. However, the presence of the comment at all demonstrates that each volunteer has different needs, whether they be emotional or physical. There are aspects of an excavation that may cause emotional discomfort or physical discomfort and plans must be made to deal with both.

5.2.6 *Category 6: Future Involvement*

Question seven asked participants whether they would participate in another public archaeology project in the future and why or why not. Although there is a concern that volunteers may have interpreted the question to mean another Doukhobor public archaeology program, the results can still be organized into three types based on why they would or would not want to be involved in the future. 'Personal meaning' indicates that the volunteer would only participate in a future project if it had a personal meaning. A general interest in future participation demonstrates participation regardless of the nature of the project. One word responses ("yes") were also counted within this type because volunteers desiring a level of personal involvement would indicate so in writing. The third type, no involvement, demonstrates a lack of interest in future participation for various reasons unrelated to the sites.

Slightly over half of the volunteers would participate again in another public archaeology project regardless of a personal interest in the site or culture. The values for types A and C, those individuals requiring a personal involvement or not wishing to participate again at all, are comparatively low. One volunteer left the category blank. While this has not been counted with the values for non-participation, it could be argued that a blank response indicates a desire not to participate again. Those who expressed a desire not to participate in a future project often cited age, health and career commitments as reasons why they would not. It would have been more helpful to rephrase the question to allow for other forms of participation in archaeology.

Table 5.8: Category 6-Future Involvement, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	Total
No. of Responses	5	15	5	25
%	19.2	57.7	19.2	96.1

5.2.7 *Category 7: Future Perspectives*

In order to gauge the volunteers' opinions on the future of the sites, they were

asked what they would like to see done with it. Responses can be organized into four different types: presentation and interpretation, museum, commemoration and future research. The difference between the first two types must be noted. Presentation and interpretation covers those responses that indicate a desire to have the artifacts and sites presented and interpreted to a larger public. However, the type of museum indicates a desire to house the artifacts in a separate museum and preserve the artifacts for the Doukhobor community, with little concern for public (non-Doukhobor) interpretation.

Seventy-seven percent of the volunteers indicated that they would like to see the site presented and interpreted for the public (A). Of these, 35% responded in combination with one of the other types. The last three types, museum, commemoration and future research decreased in values as can be seen in Table 5.9. Although type A, presentation and interpretation had higher than expected responses, the decrease seen for types B, C and D were expected. Although commemoration and museums may have been discussed in relation to types of presentation and interpretation for the public, they were not explicitly discussed nor was future research.

Table 5.9: Category 7-Future Perspectives, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	Total
No. of Responses	20	6	5	3	34
%	76.9	23.1	19.2	11.5	130.7

5.2.8 Category 8: Archaeologist's Performance

It was very important to understand how the volunteers felt about the quality of guidance they received throughout the project. Originally, it had been planned that a more varied group of archaeologists would provide their expertise to the project; however, through scheduling this number was reduced greatly. Therefore, comments discussing the guidance relate almost exclusively to myself, as the supervising archaeologist and researcher. Encouragement and patience, a helper, a knowledgeable educator and a professional, were behaviours and roles I performed that were appreciated

84

by the volunteers. A fifth type demonstrates general satisfaction with my guidance. As there were no blanks and no negative comments regarding guidance, types have not been created to address those possibilities.

Table 5.10 demonstrates the variety of responses found within this category. Generally positive descriptions (E) were the most prevalent, with unspecific comments of satisfaction. Helpfulness (B) and educator (C) followed closely behind, often in combination with each other and type A, encouragement. Although type D, indicating the professionalism of the archaeologist only had two responses, its presence within the questionnaires was a pleasant surprise, adding a new dimension to the experience.

Table 5.10: Category 8-Archaeological Performance, Questionnaire Responses

Types	A	B	C	D	E	Total
No. of Responses	4	8	7	2	14	35
%	15.4	30.8	26.9	7.7	53.8	134.6

5.2.9 *Extra Comments Section*

It is perhaps worth detailing the responses volunteers provided for question ten, extra comments. Of the twenty-six questionnaires, 57.7% of the volunteers included extra comments. Twelve reiterated their enjoyment and thanks for the project, while three provided extra personal information and advice for the project. Forty-two percent of the volunteers left the question blank or indicated a written desire not to comment further. These results were heartening, demonstrating that over half of the volunteers were sufficiently invested in the project to provide extra comments.

5.2.10 *Correlations and Connections*

Some basic correlations between the categories have been discerned through the analysis in response to questions about the relationship between the categories. These were accomplished by comparing the values for the categories with one another.

In order to understand which kinds of individuals were being targeted most by which types of information spread, this category was compared with the motivation

category. This was done under the principle that those with certain motivations were more likely to get information from certain sources. There proved to be only a slight connection positive or otherwise between the two categories. Eighty-five percent of the historically-motivated individuals learnt of the project from Brenda Cheveldayoff. One would be tempted to say that Brenda Cheveldayoff was mostly informing those who did not have a directly emotional motivation in the project, but rather an informal interest in local history. However, considering that responses for historical motivation often appeared in combination with other motivations, there may be no real connection between the motivation and types of information spread.

As many volunteers described learning about archaeology as a benefit, it is important to examine this in connection with not only motivation (demonstrating a prior interest in archaeology) but also with a connection to future participation. As expected, all of the eight individuals who indicated a prior interest in archaeology also considered learning about archaeology as a benefit. Seventy-five percent of those volunteers expressed an interest in future participation in archaeology. While it would have been preferable for all of those volunteers to have an interest in future participation, 75% is a more than satisfactory value, given the age group and physical nature of participation.

Of the entire 22 individuals who listed learning about archaeology as a benefit, 77.2% had an interest in future participation, 64.6% regardless of personal interest and 13.6% only if it related to the volunteer personally; the remaining percent did not answer the question. However, of the 22, 36.4% of the volunteers who found the learning beneficial and would participate again, did *not* list a prior interest in archaeology in their responses. While this is a slightly lower value than would have been hoped, it is far from discouraging. Given that future interest in archaeology was described in the questionnaire as direct physical participation, which some candidly admitted they found difficult, it is possible that many of those who found learning a benefit would maintain a

future interest through other less physical methods. A questionnaire with less emphasis upon physically based participation would have addressed this and provided more accurate information on future interest in archaeology in general.

While the high percentages between prior interest, learning about archaeology and future participation were not unexpected, it had been expected that those with emotional motivations would be less inclined to continue a participation in archaeology or only through another personally related project. However, while 20% of those who described an emotional motivation for participation would only participate on personal projects, 60% would participate regardless of a personal attachment. Of the emotionally motivated group 70% considered archaeology a learning benefit and 60% would also participate in future projects. This clearly demonstrates that learning about archaeology encourages a future interest in learning more about archaeology as well as participating in it.

To complete the connection between learning about archaeology and future interest, the values concerning archaeologist performance were compared to the other categories. All volunteers indicated at least general satisfaction with the archaeologist. Of those who found learning about archaeology beneficial, 54.5% of the volunteers indicated a general satisfaction with the archaeologist, while 45.5% listed specific types singularly or in combination. Sixty percent of volunteers who listed specific types of performance and found learning beneficial would participate again in an archaeological project out of general interest. Similarly, of those who demonstrated general satisfaction with the archaeologist and a beneficial learning experience in archaeology, 66.7% would participate again out of general interest. While these are not extremely high percentages, it does demonstrate that a general and specific satisfaction with the guidance provided by the archaeologist during the learning experience encourages future interest.

Future interest also applies to the volunteer's opinions concerning the future of

87

the site. It was expected that prior motivations would also be likely to affect the attitudes toward the future of the site. Forty-five percent of the individuals expressing a desire for public presentation and interpretation were emotionally motivated, while 30% were motivated by an interest in heritage. This was rather surprising, as it was expected that those who were emotionally motivated would be more likely to express a desire to commemorate the site and house the artifacts specifically in a local Doukhobor museum, rather than open it to a non Doukhobor public. However, all of the 20 volunteers who indicated presentation and interpretation had listed learning about heritage and archaeology as benefits. Clearly the enthusiasm they found for learning about heritage and archaeology stimulated a further desire to share this information with others.

5.3 **Questionnaire Analysis Conclusions**

The questionnaire analysis provides a starting point for conclusions about the qualitative analysis. From the questionnaire analysis alone it is possible to discern several tentative conclusions about the public archaeology experience.

Having several different methods of informing the public about the project was clearly important to spark interest, causing the information to be spread by word of mouth. However, the initiative for all of these types comes from the ambition and drive of Brenda Cheveldayoff. Without her communication skills, it is likely that the other types of information, and certainly word of mouth would not have been as successful.

Volunteers had a combination of interconnecting motivations for their participation in the project. The high numbers of emotionally motivated and the corresponding type of supportive participation reinforced the emotional place that heritage and the sites associated with them hold in a community. While many volunteers were motivated by an interest in archaeology and history, the personal and emotional factor provides an excellent forum to cultivate an informed interest in archaeology and history.

It is clear that a beneficial learning experience through active outdoor participation, for those of all motivations, increased interest not only in archaeology but in sharing the sites and knowledge with the wider public. This has also been affected through the actions and behaviour of the archaeologist, acting in a helpful teaching role, but also by providing a professional and comfortable atmosphere, and maintaining an open dialogue with the volunteers. This positive experience encourages the desire to share the participant's heritage with the general public.

However, it is important to note the one questionnaire that demonstrated possible discomfort with the personal nature of the project. While only one volunteer indicated this, it is possible that others also felt some discomfort but did not wish to indicate so within the questionnaires. Given this, it is clear that while I, as the supervising archaeologist, may have provided a comfortable and professional learning environment and encouraged the discussion of heritage issues concerning the sites, I did not broach the topic of the emotional nature of the project itself.

While it is extremely encouraging that so many of the volunteers enjoyed learning about archaeology through outdoor participation, it was disappointing that more volunteers seemed to see reconnecting with their community as a secondary benefit, or did not count it at all. It is hard to distinguish whether this was truly unimportant during the project or was simply taken for granted. Although observational data have not been purposefully included within the analysis, I recognized this reconnection as an important benefit within the community through the opening day ceremonies and the verbal comments of participants during the excavations. Several times participants worked with distant family and community members they had not seen for a very long time, using the opportunity not only to celebrate their common heritage but to catch up with each other. Although not specifically described within the questionnaires, participants did reconnect with one another during the experience.

It was also of concern that so few volunteers considered the province as benefiting from the project. On a deeper level, one could hypothesize that the Doukhobor community has often felt cut off from the wider Saskatchewan society, or that while they individually consider themselves part of the provincial community, their Doukhobor heritage is separate from it. However, I believe it is more likely that the volunteers were not exposed to enough of the post excavation possibilities in connection with the wider province. Although post excavation analysis and possible tourism was discussed, it tended to be discussed in project and area specific terms.

Although there was not a large number of responses demonstrating complications during the excavation, when combined, they create serious concerns. Despite the disappointing result, however, it is preferable to have a number of small resolvable problems rather than one or two large problems during the project. Each of these difficulties can be addressed by better planning before the project, and this will be discussed in chapter eight.

Despite only receiving 26 questionnaires, they were on the whole complete with many insightful comments. It is very encouraging that the volunteers provided questionnaires of this quality, demonstrating an enthusiasm for the project and a vested interest in its success.

Chapter 6 : Daily Journal Qualitative Analysis

6.1 Methodology

The daily journal in an archaeological excavation generally serves as another form of recording, allowing events and thoughts to be recorded through prose. In post excavation analysis, journals can be useful for answering questions about a particular day's work and fill in the occasional gap within the field notes. When handing out the paperwork for the journals, I explained to the volunteers what should be written in the journals; a record of the day, describing the archaeology and the events which occurred. It was also explained that this was an opportunity for them to record any ideas or opinions about the project and artifacts they were finding. When reading some of the journals during post-excavation cataloguing I realized that they could be used as a measure of how well they understood the purpose of the journals and archaeology and therefore the quality of my explanation. A closer examination demonstrated that there were other possibilities for analysis as some entries portrayed opinions and feelings about the experience beyond that particular day.

Fifty-seven daily journals from 36 volunteers were analysed following the same format as used for the questionnaires. There was a desire to maintain the same anonymity as the questionnaires. This was a potential problem for the journal entries, as they were labelled by excavator, unit and date in order to be useful to the archaeological analysis. This was dealt with by leaving only the date and a number label on the journals when they were transcribed.

The entries were analysed first by site, using 29 from the site of the pit-houses and 28 from the Ospennia village site. By reading the entries I identified tentative categories and types, many similar to those of the questionnaire analysis. Two fellow graduate students examined these typologies and they were altered slightly based on their comments. This created a flexible keyword-based classification system, similar to that of the questionnaires, that would work for both sets of entries and provide a basis for the analysis.

Counting contextual keywords for this analysis was slightly different than the analysis of the questionnaires. It was impractical to count every single keyword in a description for each category, because it would provide an over-estimation of archaeological understanding or misunderstanding. For each of the categories detailed below I have explained the counting method used.

After a comparative analysis was completed for the two sites, I put the results together and analysed them chronologically to track improvement over the course of the project. To look at individual improvement, I also analysed several entries written by the same excavators over the course of their participation.

6.2 Pit-house and Ospennia Daily Journals Classifications and Results

The classification of the daily journals follows the same format as that of the questionnaire. Categories and types are explained in detail with their corresponding contextual keywords, phrases and descriptions. Table 6.1 displays the classification system with examples of quotations.

Table 6.1: Daily Journal Analysis Classification

Category and Types	No. of Points	Description	Contextual Keywords	Example
1 Understanding the Journal's Purpose				
A Archaeological	220	describes the archaeological tasks they carried out in their unit.	activities, units, levels, artifacts measurements, locations	"other than digging I was working on cleaning around the wood"
B Daily Events	88	describes the routine and events of the day	weather, lunch, tour, visitors cleaned artifacts, explanations	"at 10 am there was a school group arrived from Blaine Lake"
C Above and Beyond	14	questioning and thinking critically about the unit and/or site	questions, theorizing, maybe, I think, I believe	"large rock..is interesting, -foundation for a door post?"
2. Understanding of Archaeological Concepts				
A Terminology	154	the accurate and appropriate use of archaeological terminology	pedestal, trowelling, level loam, feature	"unit began with a clay loam mixture."
B Reasoning	10	reasoning for tasks and processes carried out in their unit or on site.	because, as, due to, noticed	"due to close proximity, wall kept caving in"
C Misunderstanding	14	a clear misunderstanding of the concepts and tasks carried out	scraping, shifting, misnomers	"went to site E and scraped"
3 Archaeologist's Performance				
A Encouragement and Patience	11	worked with volunteer with patience and encouragement	patience, encourage, help, work with	"very understanding and helpful"
B Knowledgeable Educator	11	explained everything well, shared knowledge	educator, knowledge, taught explained	"Megan explained what was happening"

Table 6.1 Continued

4 Personal Benefits				
A Learning about Heritage	6	learning more about Doukhobor past and heritage	dugout, heritage, learnt	"understand why they would be located in that spot"
B Learning about Archaeology	12	learning about archaeology in general	archaeological dig, learnt	"I got an idea of what an archaeological dig should feel like"
C Reconnecting	8	meeting with other Doukhobors, family and friends	meeting, family, people, friends	"share with family members"
D Active Enjoyment	8	being outdoors and the activity of archaeology	outdoors, view, detail, work, experience	"enjoyed the work"
5 Future Interest				
A Participation	1	interest in future participation	come again, work	"will come out again if times work"
B Information	2	interested in getting further information	call, look forward to	"I look forward to the conclusion drawn"
6 Problems				
A Physical	1	volunteer found work too physically demanding	hard, too much, work	"the trowel and bucket work is definitely young persons work"
B Weather	2	volunteer found outdoor weather difficult	weather, difficult, bad, hard	"very windy today..difficult to work under conditions"
C Disappointment	2	volunteer was disappointed in some aspect of the experience	disappointed, missed	"a little disappointed that the cave site didn't..[look like caves]
7 Dialogue				
A Dialogue	14	conversations and discussions about archaeological and heritage issues	discussed, conversation vegetarian, talk, stories	"had some conversation about the Doukhobors"

In order to display the comparative results, I have relied upon tables which provide the basic numbers for each of the types. These are accompanied by a brief paragraph providing further information between the types. The tables display the number of examples of the type, the average number of examples per entry, the maximum and minimum number of examples and the percentage of entries with at least one example. Occasionally the average number of examples per entry are not presented because the number values were too small. The average number of examples per entry were determined by dividing the number of *examples* of the type by the number of entries. It is important to note that this is not the same as the number of *entries* with at least one example for a specific type, the value used for creating the percentage of entries with at least one example of the type.

6.2.1 *Category 1: Understanding the Journal's Purpose*

To determine whether the volunteers understood the purpose of the journal, I examined the content of the entries, looking at the recording of archaeological activities, daily events and any ideas or opinions about the site. Not only does this demonstrate what the volunteers gained from the experience, it also demonstrates the quality of my explanation of the concept. Three types that exemplified an understanding of the journal's purpose were identified: archaeological descriptions, daily events and 'above and beyond' descriptions.

In order to avoid over-counting, keywords were counted once for individual sections of work described. For example, each individual artifact in a list is not counted, rather one 'point' is given for the list of artifacts from one level of the unit and another point for a list from another level or unit. Similarly, measurements describing levels

from the same unit are only counted as one and measurements describing a feature in the unit will also be counted as one to make a total of two for the entry. In this way, while the count can rise quite high, the same keywords are not being counted twice for describing the same items.

As seen below in Table 6.2, the journal entries displayed acceptable results, demonstrating an average of six (rounding up to the next whole number) examples of the types per entry. Type A, archaeological recording, is the most important and basic requirement for the entries and the results are as I expected. Given the shorter length of most of the journals, an average of four archaeological descriptions per entry is very acceptable and demonstrates that the volunteers did indeed understand the basics of what I asked them to do.

Table 6.2: Category 1- Understanding the Purpose of the Journal, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type Combined
No. of examples	220	88	14	322
Average per entry	3.9	1.5	n/a	5.6
Maximum No. examples	12	9	2	16
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	1
% of entries with at least one example	98.2	71.9	22.8	100

Results between the two sites, displayed in Table 6.3, demonstrate some interesting differences. At the Ospennia site, four out of 28 entries demonstrated all three types of understanding (14%). Five entries demonstrated *only* the recording of archaeological activities (17.8%), while 18 entries (64.2%) demonstrated only

archaeological recording and daily events. Combined, 22 submissions demonstrated at least archaeological and daily events recording (78%) and occasionally above and beyond recording.

Table 6.3: Category 1 - Understanding the Purpose of the Journal, Pit-house and Ospennia Sites Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Type C	Type C	Ospennia combined	Pit-house combined
No. of examples	130	90	56	32	5	9	191	131
Average per entry	4.6	3.1	2	1.1	n/a	n/a	6.8	4.5
Maximum No. examples	12	6	1	5	1	2	16	12
Minimum No. examples	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
% of entries with at least one example	100	96.5	78.6	65.5	17.9	27.6	100	100

The Pit-house site demonstrated a slightly lower understanding of the journal's purpose than the journal entries of the Ospennia site did, as can be seen in the above table. One entry did not record any archaeological information at all. Eighteen entries (62%) have at least one instance of archaeological and daily event recording. Out of that group, four (22.2%) also had an example of "above and beyond" thought.

It seems that those volunteers writing entries at the Ospennia site understood the purpose of the daily journal better than those at the Pit-house site. As excavations began at the Pit-house site for several days before the Ospennia site, my instruction to the volunteers may have improved. This will be examined below by reorganizing the entries chronologically.

However, despite this lower understanding, the number of examples for type C, 'Above and Beyond', are higher for the Pit-house site. This indicates that the structure itself and the personal context of the site inspired the volunteers to think beyond the

basic requirements of the exercise. There is also a correlation with Category 7, Dialogue, described below. Out of the nine Pit-house entries demonstrating a higher level of thinking about the site, three also mention the discussions taking place. The higher level of dialogue at the Pit-house site in general, compared to the Ospennia site, likely inspired volunteers to think beyond the immediate descriptions of the site, whether they described a dialogue or not.

6.2.2 *Category 2: Understanding Archaeological Concepts*

While a complete measure of this understanding is difficult to achieve through daily journals alone, there is an opportunity to examine what the volunteer is able to relate in a written form, whether it is accurate or inaccurate. Each keyword is counted only once per entry to in order to avoid inflated counts.

Terminology is a key aspect of this category, as the volunteer's appropriate use of archaeological terminology demonstrates that they listened and retained information. Some terms that are occasionally used in archaeology have not been included because they are common words. For example, corner; digging; and artifact names such as 'glass' and 'nails' are words that are found in everyday vocabulary. It could be argued that 'ceramic' is a term in everyday vocabulary; however, in the general public its use is rarely related to ceramic materials found in the archaeological record. Instead, the public tends to use terms such as 'china' or simply dishes to describe what an archaeologist would term ceramics.

Two other types were utilized to examine an understanding of archaeological concepts. The type 'Reasoning', notes descriptions of the reasons why archaeological actions were carried out. This demonstrates the volunteer's level of comprehension and

comfort with the concepts. Incorrect information, such as inaccurate or inappropriate terminology or the misinterpretation of concepts, demonstrates how much they learned and what concepts they found difficult. I have termed this type 'Misunderstanding' because the mistakes and errors found in the journals are the result of volunteers' misunderstanding either the terms or my explanations of concepts. Often the majority of these mistakes are items that I had attempted to correct throughout the excavations.

Examples of understanding basic archaeological concepts is measured using the first two types in this category. Table 6.4 below displays the combined values for the journals from both sites using these first two types.

Table 6.4: Category 2 - Understanding of Archaeological Concepts, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Type C	AB combined
No. of examples	154	11	14	165
Average per entry	2.7	n/a	n/a	2.9
Maximum No. examples	8	2	2	10
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	96.5	15.8	21.1	96.5

In total, the values are quite high. Ninety-six point five percent of entries from both sites demonstrated at least one example of terminology, heavily supporting the total of types A and B. Despite this high number, an average of only 2.7 terms per entry, throughout the 57 entries, is rather low. I would have hoped and expected this average to be much higher. However there are reasons for this lower average, which are discussed below through the comparison of the two sites. Twenty-one percent of the

entries had an example of an error. While this is perhaps higher than I would like, taken in conjunction with the high rate of accurate terminology it is an acceptable percentage of error.

Although every entry from the Ospennia site had at least one example of accurate terminology, 75% of the entries displayed this type with no examples of the other two types. Entries with examples of reasoning were always present with type A, although only three of those seven entries did *not* also have type C, 'Misunderstanding'. Interestingly 14% of the entries had examples of all three types. The entries do not use an individual term correctly and incorrectly in the same entry, rather they are using a variety of terms with one term used incorrectly.

Table 6.5: Category 2- Understanding Archaeological Concepts, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Type C	Type C	Ospennia AB combined	Pit-house AB combined
No. of examples	80	74	8	3	9	5	88	77
Average per entry	2.8	2.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	3.1	2.6
Maximum No. examples	8	6	2	1	2	1	10	6
Minimum No. examples	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
% of entries with at least one example	100	93.1	25	6.9	25	17.2	100	93.1

Similar to the first category, the journal entries from the Pit-house displayed slightly lower values than those from Ospennia. Not only did two entries *not* display any archaeological terminology, only two entries displayed any examples of reasoning. However, examples of type C are also smaller, but they still appear mostly in conjunction with the accurate use of terminology. Only one entry demonstrated examples of all three types.

Volunteers from both sites clearly understood the majority of basic archaeological concepts (that can be seen through the entries) and made relatively few errors. However, it is also clear that those who were inclined to write more within the journal entries would accordingly display more mistakes along with the correct terminology and reasoning. The entries from the site of the pit-houses tend to be shorter in general than those from Ospennia village, providing less opportunity for examples demonstrating the three types of this category. Shorter entries from both sites influence the average number of terms per entry, providing the lower than expected average. In order to more clearly discern an understanding of archaeological concepts through the journals, volunteers would have to be encouraged to write much more in the journal entries.

Due to the length of the entries there is a positive correlation between Category 1 type A, 'Archaeological' recording, with the correct use of terminology. Volunteers describing more archaeological activities will be more likely to use more archaeological terms. At first glance the correlation seems stronger within the Pit-house entries with the numbers between the two categories matching more closely than those of the Ospennia entries. However, this is simply a result of the smaller values in general for the Pit-house entries, due to the shorter length of the entries.

6.2.3 *Category 3: Archaeologist Performance*

This category covers comments based upon my behaviour during the day described. Similar to the analysis of the questionnaire, the types entail my encouragement and patience with the volunteers as well as my role as a knowledgeable educator. Each comment in an entry was counted individually.

There were no examples of negative performance recorded in the entries and therefore a type was not made to address it. The numbers for both sites are quite small for this category, only totalling 22 examples. However, considering the volunteers were not instructed to comment on the archaeologist's performance or behaviour this is not surprising. Results between the two sites are fairly similar, although type A, 'Encouragement and Patience' was more frequently remarked upon in the Pit-house site journals than at Ospennia. I believe this once again points to the more intimate nature of the work at this site, where my encouragement would perhaps mean more to the volunteers.

Table 6.6: Category 3 - Archaeologist Performance, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Types combined
No. of examples	11	11	22
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	2	2	4
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	15.8	15.8	24.6

Table 6.7: Category 3 - Archaeologist Performance, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Ospennia combined	Pit-house combined
No. of examples	4	7	6	5	10	12
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	2	2	2	1	4	3
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	10.7	20.7	14.3	17.2	17.9	31

6.2.4 *Category 4: Personal Benefits*

The questionnaire analysis dealt heavily with the benefits of the projects. While I did not expect volunteers to describe these kinds of things in their daily journals, some took the opportunity to do so. The same types as used in the questionnaire analysis fit well with the daily journals and were utilized for the classification. Each comment in an entry was counted individually based upon its context.

In total, there were 34 examples of personal benefits and 31.5% of the daily journals demonstrated at least one example. The most common type of personal benefit was B, 'Learning about Archaeology'. However, as can be seen in Table 6.9 below, the journal entries from the Pit-house site demonstrate twice as many examples of personal benefits than those from the Ospennia site. Type A, 'Learning about Heritage' also had significantly more notations in the Pit-house entries than those from Ospennia. Four of the five type A examples from the Pit-house appeared in conjunction with type B. The emotional and inspirational nature of the site and structure for the community, seems to have influenced the volunteers at the Pit-house site to record information of a more personal nature.

Table 6.8: Category 4 - Personal Benefits, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Types Combined
No. of examples	6	12	8	8	34
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	1	2	1	4
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	10.6	21.1	12.3	14	31.6

Table 6.9: Category 4 - Personal Benefits, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Type C	Type C	Type D	Type D	Ospennia combined	Pit-house combined
No. of examples	1	5	4	8	3	5	3	5	11	23
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	4
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	3.6	17.2	14.3	27.6	7.1	17.2	10.7	17.2	25	37.9

6.2.5 *Category 5: Future Interest*

This category was created to address those participants who demonstrated an interest in either future participation in archaeology or a desire for further information on the outcome of the project. Similar to the last two categories, each comment is counted individually per entry. Very few of the journals for either site demonstrate any future interest. Only one entry from the Ospennia site demonstrates a desire for future participation in archaeology with no corresponding entry from the Pit-house site. Both the Ospennia and Pit-house entries demonstrate one instance each of a desire for further information on the archaeology of the site.

Table 6.10: Category 5 - Future Interest, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Types Combined
No. of examples	1	2	3
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	1	1
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	1.8	3.5	5.3

Table 6.11: Category 5 - Future Interest, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Ospennia combined	Pit-house combined
No. of examples	1	0	1	1	2	1
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	0	1	1	1	1
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	3.6	0	3.6	3.4	7.1	3.4

6.2.6 *Category 6: Problems*

This category address any problems and negative comments made by the volunteer in the journal entry. They are similar to those discerned through the questionnaire analysis. Similar to the types discerned through the questionnaire analysis, the physical nature of the work and weather proved to be problems. The third type, 'Disappointment', is similar to the 'Frustration' type in the questionnaire analysis. although it is closer to personal and emotional disappointment. Comments regarding the disappointment in an aspect of the project were counted each time they appeared in an entry.

There were few problems described within the questionnaires, despite a direct question in this regard. I had hoped that more examples and types of problems would be seen within the journals as volunteers recorded the daily events. Unfortunately there were few to be seen throughout the entries. In total the journal entries for Ospennia logged only three examples of problems and the Pit-house entries, two. I had expected type A, the physical nature of the work, to be one of the largest problems in the project considering the older age of most of the volunteers. However, this was only commented upon once in the Pit-house entries and not at all for the Ospennia site. The weather was commented upon for the Ospennia site twice and not at all for the Pit-house site. I had expected this, considering I was more likely to begin and continue excavation at the Ospennia site despite difficult weather, due to ease of access. Type C, 'Disappointment', garnered an example from each site and could be a reflection of those particular days and volunteers rather than the project as a whole.

Table 6.12: Category 6 - Future Interest, Project as a Whole

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Types combined
No. of examples	1	2	2	5
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	1	1	1
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	1.8	3.5	3.5	8.8

Table 6.13: Category 6 - Problems, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia Type A	Pit-house Type A	Type B	Type B	Type C	Type C	Ospennia combined	Pit-house combined
No. of examples	0	1	2	0	1	1	3	2
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	0	3.4	7.1	0	3.6	3.4	10.7	6.9

6.2.7 *Category 7: Dialogue*

Dialogue was added as a category later in the analysis. I had not asked volunteers to comment upon this and did not readily see any examples in the Ospennia entries. Upon recognizing it in the Pit-house entries, I added it to Category One as another type of recording, demonstrating an understanding of the journal's purpose. However, upon reflection I realized that given the importance of maintaining an open dialogue within a community archaeology project, it should form its own category rather than fitting it awkwardly within others. I did not discern enough examples in the entries describing specific forms of the dialogue to break it into further types. I have therefore left it open in order to provide the possibility of later types.

The entries from the Pit-house site displayed six times as many examples of a dialogue ensuing than did Ospennia. While it is disappointing, it was not unexpected. Given the emotional context of the site of the pit-houses for some volunteers, a dialogue involving their ideas and feelings about the project tended to continue more naturally. While the Ospennia site was also a Doukhobor site, many volunteers did not feel this same connection and perhaps did not feel a need to discuss it. In fact the two Ospennia

entries that did note a dialogue tended to describe what occurred during lunch at a visit to see the other site and artifacts, not necessarily a dialogue that involved the Ospennia site. It is also possible that I did not encourage the dialogue at the Ospennia site as much, due to the more complex archaeological deposits at the Ospennia site that required my attention.

Table 6.14: Category 7 - Dialogue, Ospennia and Pit-house Comparative

	Ospennia	Pit-house	Combined
No. of examples	2	12	14
Average per entry	n/a	n/a	n/a
Maximum No. examples	1	2	2
Minimum No. examples	0	0	0
% of entries with at least one example	7.1	27.5	17.5

6.3 Chronological Break Down of Daily Journals

To understand whether there were significant improvements in my instruction of the volunteers I have organized categories one and two of the daily journal data chronologically. To provide high enough values to see chronological patterns, the first two categories were used. By adding the numbers of a type for a specific date and then calculating its average, I have plotted the average number of examples of that type for that date. Accompanying the text are graphs displaying the average number of examples per entry for the specific types.

It was expected that the chronological organization would show an increase, decrease or plateau in the average number of type examples. However, for most of the types there was no discernible pattern. Instead, the averages tended to rise and fall daily.

These spikes perhaps reflect lengthy individual entries. It has been recognized that there are many factors that would determine the quality and quantity of the daily journals. Weather was especially a problem at the end of the day as many volunteers were forced to write their entries quickly after cleaning up and finding shelter. Also if a certain event, such as a visit or special lunch, occurred it lessened the archaeological items described. These events happened at random throughout the project and may have transcended my instruction to the volunteer in regard to the daily journals. Due to these factors, the chronological analysis taken on its own is rather inconclusive. However, added to the rest of the qualitative data it contributes to a wider understanding of the experience. Category 1, type A, 'Archaeological' recording does demonstrate a slight chronological pattern as can be seen in Figure 6.1 below. Over the course of the project, the number of archaeological events and activities described does, on a small level increase.

Figure 6.1: Category 1 - Understanding the Journal's Purpose, Type A Archaeological. Chronological Analysis, Project as a Whole.
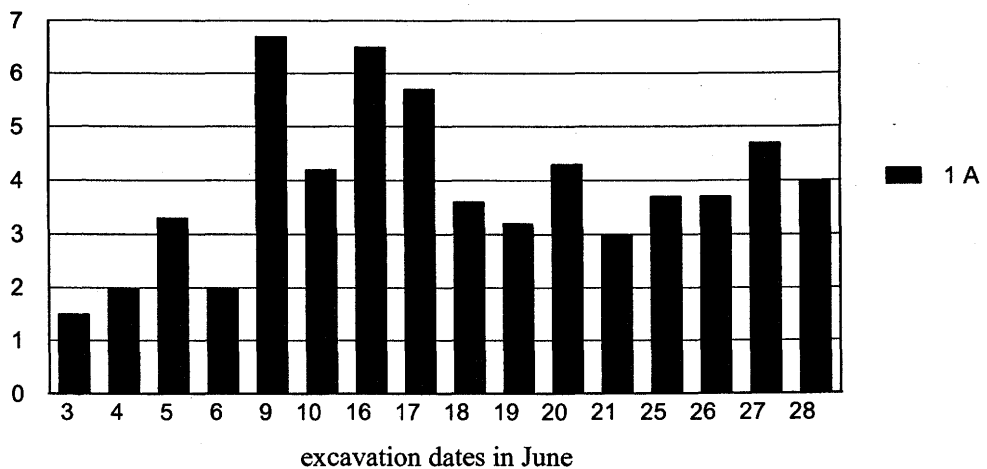
I believe that this small increase is due in part to my increasing comfort level with the project as it went on. The first few days of excavation were stressful and exhausting as I tried to determine the best ways of teaching and helping the volunteers. However, as the project progressed I fell into a more comfortable routine with the volunteers. This allowed me to provide clearer instruction and more time at the end of the day for the journal.

Breaking down the chronological analysis by the two sites proved to be more enlightening. The small rise in archaeological recording seen above, seems to have been more a result of a rise in the Pit-house entries than those from the Ospennia site. The Pit-house entries also have a corresponding rise in the average number of accurate archaeological terms used per unit, as seen in Figure 6.3. Results from the Ospennia site demonstrate less of a pattern on both accounts. However, after the ninth of June the average number of archaeological activities recorded seems to decrease. Therefore, while my technique may have improved over the course of the excavations, the Ospennia site entries suffered slightly. I had expected a greater improvement at the Ospennia site simply because there were more interesting archaeological activities to describe in the entries. However, as stated above, I believe that due to the more complex nature of this site, my attention was not as focused upon explanation, and the Ospennia volunteers were not   encouraged and instructed as much as those at the Pit-house site.

Figure 6.2: Category 1- Understanding the Journal's Purpose, Type A, Archaeological. Chronological Analysis, Pit-house Site and Ospennia Site.

Pit-house Site

Ospennia Site
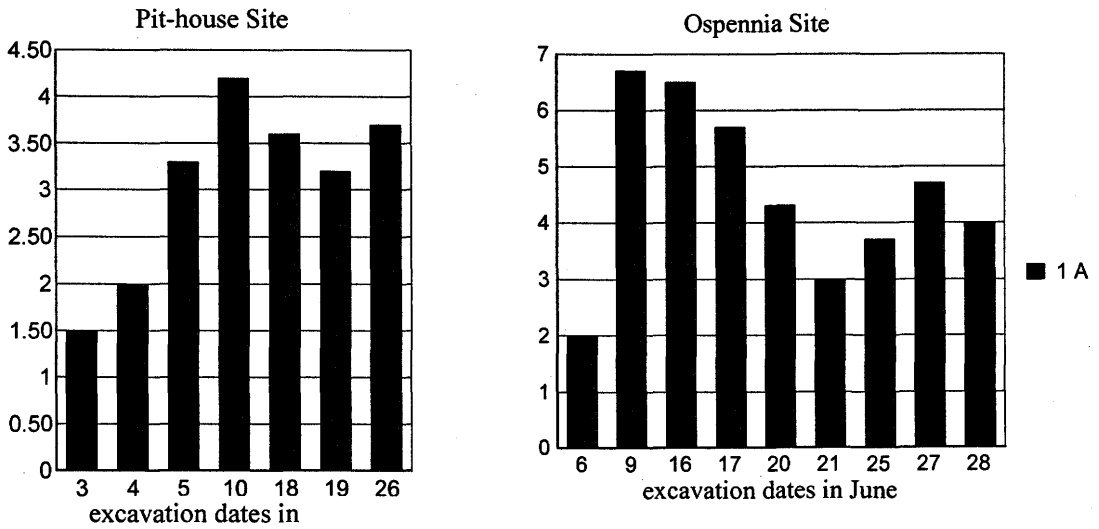
Figure 6.3: Category 2 - Understanding Archaeological Concepts, Type A, Terminology. Chronological Analysis, Pit-house site.
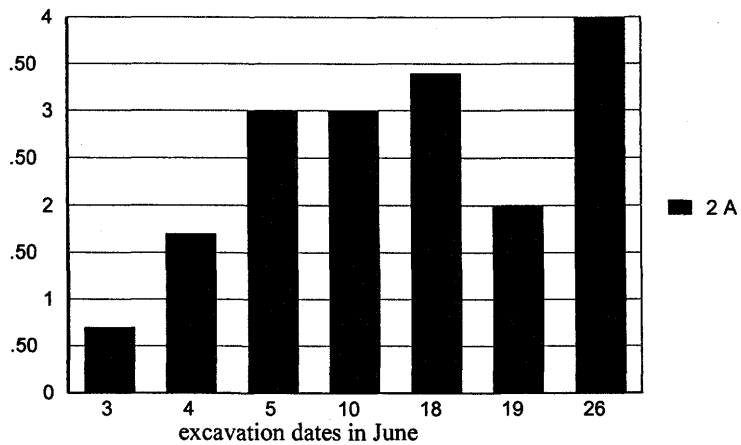
The modest increase in these results may also be connected with the learning

111

curve of individual volunteers. As most volunteers only participated one or two days during the project, there was not a lot of opportunity to develop understanding and participation at a higher level. In order to address this, I analysed the entries of individual volunteers who had volunteered more than three times over the course of the project. I felt that more than three days of participation was adequate time to experience both sites, widening the range of activities that contribute to the learning process.

In the beginning of the daily journal analysis I had listed all the journal entry numbers done by the same individuals in chronological order. Although I was concerned that this may impinge upon the anonymity I strove for within the analysis, it proved to be unproblematic. A list had been created well before analysis of those entries suitable for this analysis. The entries were labelled only by letters, not volunteer names, which provided anonymity.

Out of the four volunteers chosen for this individual analysis, most demonstrated improvement in at least one category and type. Volunteer A participated four times and demonstrated a slight improvement in the quality of his/her daily journals, as can be seen in Figure 6.4. Over the four separate days of work the number of examples of archaeological and daily event recording rose from five to nine at the most and eight on the last day of participation. The number of archaeological terms used remained largely consistent throughout his/her participation, while the other categories did not have enough results to mark a pattern.

Figure 6.4: Category 1- Understanding the Journal's Purpose, Individual Volunteer Analysis, Volunteer A.

excavation dates in June
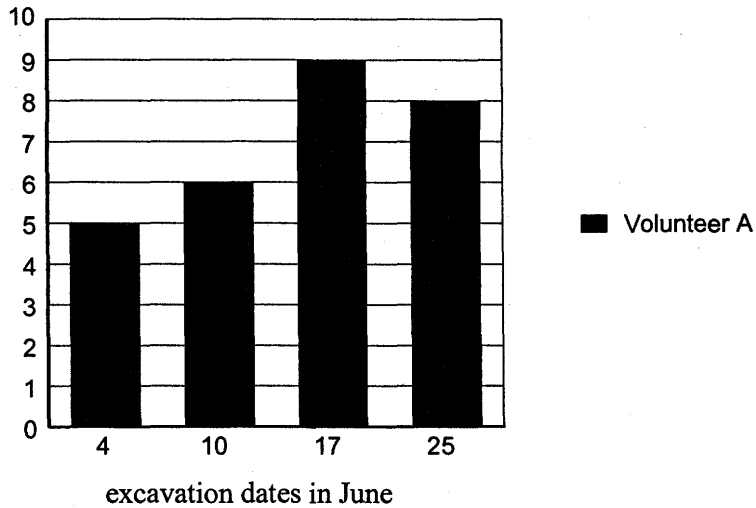
Volunteer B participated five days and also showed some slight improvements, largely within category 1, type A, 'Archaeological' recording. Other types within Category 1 and results for the category itself were generally consistent, as was Category 2.

Figure 6.5: Category 1-Understanding the Journal's Purpose, Type A Archaeological. Individual Volunteer Analysis, Volunteer B.

excavation dates in June
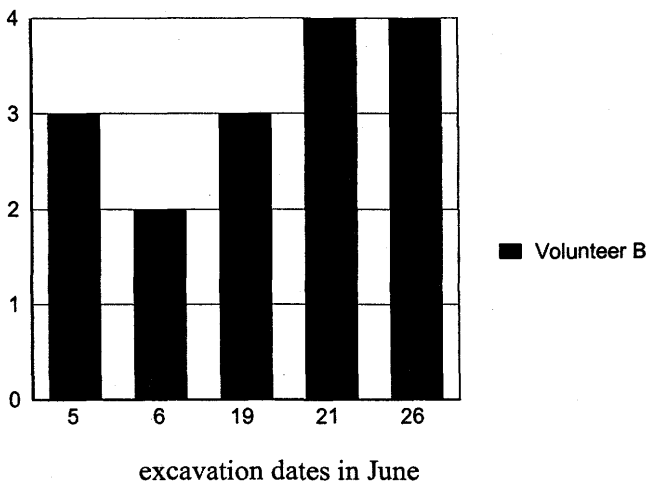
Volunteer C, volunteered four times over the project and demonstrated a bit of improvement within Category 1. However his/her results for Category 2 'Understanding Archaeological Concepts' seems to drop a little. The results spike at a count of six items and then drop back to only one item that demonstrates either terminology or reasoning. This is a much lower use of terminology and reasoning than I would expect by an individual's third and fourth day of participation. Although the context of the day indicates nothing which would limit the usage of archaeologically specific words and reasoning, the volunteer has indicated a decreased understanding in the last two days of participation. However, it is fair to observe that the volunteer gained an understanding of archaeological concepts (considering the high amount indicated for the one journal entry) but due to various reasons not recorded, such as rushing at the end of the day, weather, fatigue, did not demonstrate this understanding to the extent of their ability.

Figure 6.6: Category 1 - Understanding the Journal's Purpose. Individual Volunteer Analysis, Volunteer C.

excavation dates in June

114
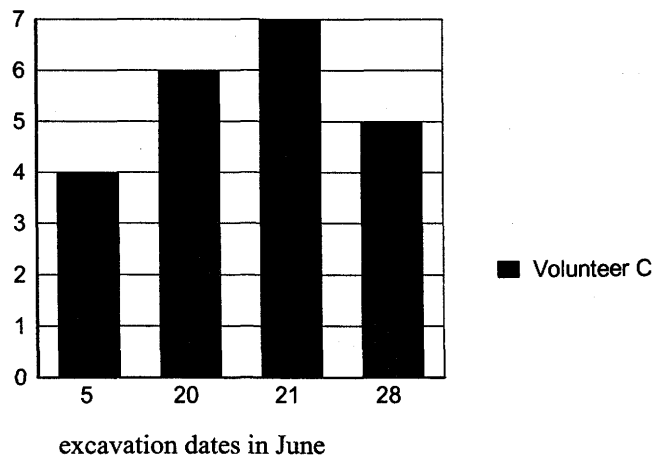
Volunteer D also participated four times and demonstrated a very clear rise in both understanding the purpose of the journals and of some archaeological concepts. Volunteer D demonstrated the kind of improvement I had hoped to see in each of the individual volunteers and even across the entries as a whole.

Figure 6.7: Category 1- Understanding the Journal's Purpose. Individual Volunteer Analysis, Volunteer D.

excavation dates in June
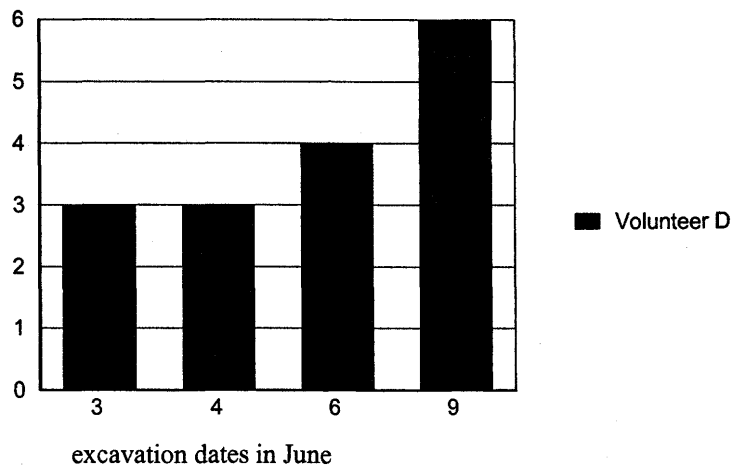
Figure 6.8: Category 2 - Understanding Archaeological Concepts, Types A and B total. Individual Volunteer Analysis, Volunteer D.

excavation dates in June

115
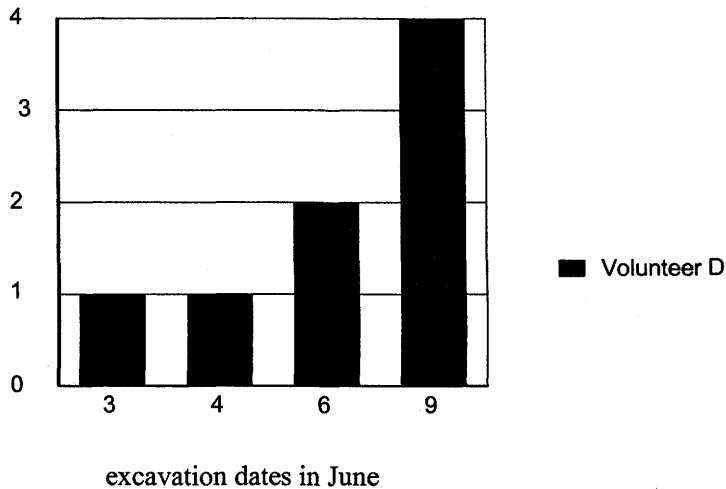
While the individual entries demonstrate some improvement, it is not as much improvement as I would have hoped for even over this short period of time. However, the volunteers were often volunteering several days apart and would likely forget some of the terms they learned. In order to see better improvement, there would have to be a group of volunteers with a much longer and more intense level of participation.

6.5 Ospennia and Pit-house Daily Journal Conclusions

On the whole, results from this analysis are informative and satisfactory. The volunteers seem to have understood my instructions and have demonstrated this through the inclusion of appropriate content and the use of appropriate terms within the journals. There were few results from categories three through six, although they will be added to those results from the questionnaires and interviews to be analysed as a whole.

The results of a comparison between the journal entries from the two sites provides a deeper look at the experience. Through the entries, it is possible to say that the volunteers at Ospennia seem to have grasped the point of the journal exercise and to have a good understanding of basic archaeological concepts. They displayed this by writing more detailed and at times, lengthy entries. The Pit-house volunteers, while they also seem to have a good understanding of the processes and concepts, do not have the same level as their Ospennia counterparts. The Pit-house volunteers generally wrote less detailed and smaller entries. While this is not necessarily an indication of a lack of understanding, it does demonstrate that they perhaps undervalued the journals in the archaeological process.

Despite a potentially lower understanding and appreciation for some archaeological processes and concepts, the Pit-house site volunteers demonstrated a

slightly higher level of thinking about the project and the site. This indicates that the surroundings of the Pit-house site, with its emotional and personal context, did have an effect upon the way people carried out the archaeology. The volunteers were inspired to think further for themselves about the structure, the artifacts and their heritage.

However, this is also connected to the higher incidences of a continuing dialogue at the Pit-house and a slightly higher appreciation for learning about heritage and archaeology. The dialogue encouraged at the Pit-house site prompted volunteers to think further about the site and project and to record these ideas in the journals. As a result of the discussion, and the personal nature of the site, these volunteers also benefited more from learning about their heritage and archaeology than did volunteers from the Ospennia excavations. In fact, it is noteworthy that the Pit-house entries also had a slightly higher number of comments on my encouragement and patience with the volunteers. This encouragement and patience coupled with a continuing dialogue possibly made people feel more comfortable putting their own thoughts into writing. Had I demonstrated further patience and had a dialogue been better encouraged at the Ospennia site, there may have been more examples of volunteers thinking above and beyond expectations.

Throughout the rest of the categories there were little differences between the two groups. The small number amount and nature of problems was similar as were any interests in the project in the future. As a concluding statement for the comparison of the two sites, it would be fair to say that while participants at both sites learned and retained things about archaeology, the Ospennia volunteers gained more in this way. However, the Pit-house volunteers gained more personally and emotionally from the experience than did their Ospennia counterparts. I believe that while I did my job as an archaeologist

and an instructor well, I failed to maintain a high level of encouragement and dialogue necessary for a truly successful experience with Ospennia.

This is mirrored by the chronological analysis findings. The entries as a whole demonstrated a disappointingly slight improvement in Category 1, largely a result of improvement seen in the Pit-house entries. The Pit-house entries also had a pattern of improvement for Category 2, types A and B. Ospennia entries showed very little improvement in either categories over the course of the project. Therefore, while the Ospennia group may have had a slightly higher number of examples of both categories, the entries did not improve on that count over the project compared to the Pit-house entries. Individual volunteers chosen for analysis also demonstrated only a small amount of improvement.

While I would hope that the frequent volunteers felt encouraged throughout their experience, I believe it is clear that I did not keep up an increasing level of encouragement throughout the course of the Ospennia excavations, as it became more archaeologically absorbing. However my technique of instruction and encouragement seems to have improved over the course of the Pit-house excavations, as very little changed archaeologically at the site and I was able to focus more upon the volunteers.

While the daily journal analysis is a small part of the whole analysis of the experience, it does demonstrate that my instruction, encouragement and level of attention to the volunteers affects a large part of the project. Not only is the volunteer's experience affected but also in some part the quantity and quality of the excavation recording carried out through the journals and therefore the quality of the archaeology. The daily journals demonstrate that while there is much that could have been improved at both sites through

better instruction and motivation on my part, volunteers demonstrate a satisfactory

amount of understanding of both the journals and some archaeological concepts.

Chapter 7: Interview Qualitative Analysis

7.1 Methodology

The interviews for analysis were carried out toward the end of the project with three individuals, chosen for their heavy involvement in the project. The concept of the interview is well known within our society. However, within social sciences many theoretical and methodological issues surround interviews. Many books and articles have been written on how to conduct an interview, emphasizing the conduct of the interviewer and the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. After choosing my interviewees, I reviewed some of this literature to formulate my questions and the structure of the interview.

Patton emphasizes clarity, neutrality and sensitivity while asking questions in an interview (1987:122). In the view of many, conducting an interview with these items allow a 'rapport to be established (Patton 1987:123; Rapley 2004: 19). I had already known the individuals I interviewed for some weeks and built a rapport with them over that time. This relationship I had with my interviewees was essential to gaining full, responsive discussions to my questions. To maintain the rapport during the interview, I endeavored to make the interviewee comfortable and explain the purposes of the interview.

In order to help me conduct the interviews I made and followed an 'interview guide' (Table 7.1). This guide listed a variety of open-ended questions regarding historical and cultural knowledge as well as opinions, feelings and ideas about the

project and the interviewee's experience (Patton1987:111). Using the guide instead of following a strict list of identical questions ensured that I covered basic issues, while allowing the flexibility for further discussion. Although the interviews followed the same pattern, each was tailored to fit the level and nature of the individual's involvement in the project and their community. The historical questions were included in order to fulfill possible archaeological questions regarding the sites. They also provided an idea of the collective elements of Doukhobor culture and history present today, as they may have affected the project.

Table 7.1: Interview Guide

Questions regarding the history of the site and family connection:
-When did your family come to the site?
-How long did they live at the dugouts?
-When did they move to the village?
-Did they stay in Saskatchewan?
-What do you remember being told about the Doukhobors coming to Saskatchewan?
-What do you remember being told about their lives here?
-What did they bring with them?

Questions regarding the evolution of the project:
-When did you get involved in the project?
-How did you find out about the project?
-Why were you interested in the project?
-At any point did your feelings change about the project?

Questions regarding the benefit of the project
-Do you feel you know more about Doukhobor history?
-Have you enjoyed the project?
-Do you feel you understand archaeology better?
-What have you found most beneficial about the project?
-Do you see short term and/or long term benefits for yourself, the Doukhobor community?
-Do you see short term and long term benefits for Blaine Lake community and Saskatchewan?
-Did you have any problems with the project?

Table 7.1 Continued

-How could any of these problems have been handled better?
-What would you like to see done now with the site and the artifacts?
-Were the archaeological volunteers helpful?
-Did the archaeological volunteers communicate well with the group?
-If they were not helpful do you have any suggestions to improve?
-Any additional comments or suggestions?

Questions regarding media involvement in the project
-In the beginning what were your concerns regarding media involvement?
-Did you want to talk to the media?
-Do you think the media could have been handled better?
-Would you be comfortable with media follow up coverage?

The interview questions and following discussions were designed to probe for

deeper levels of feelings and opinions than was possible with the questionnaires.

Although many of the questions asked were the same, responses demonstrated the

unique personalities and experiences of the individuals interviewed. As a result, the

contextual keyword counting method found useful within the questionnaire and the daily

journal analysis did not help to elucidate clear patterns throughout the interviews.

Keyword counting was modified slightly to broaden the scope, though still continuing

with content analysis. While similar words and phrases and phrases were noted between

the interviews, I relied more upon meanings seen 'between the lines.' This is based on

what I knew about the individuals' experience in the project, their place in the

community and their attitudes about history, culture and archaeology. Informal

observations I had made during the project were helpful, and I was able to examine my

own journals to verify interpretations. The interviewees also had the opportunity to

review the transcripts of the audio taped interviews and classifications, allowing them to

ensure that the interview and interpretations accurately reflected their point of view.

Through these observations and information, I also attempted to alleviate a

potential problem. Having known me and worked with me frequently during the project, the individuals may have been reluctant to elaborate on negative aspects, despite assurances that I would not be offended. While trying to remain unbiased, I often read 'offhand' comments within the context of my own observances and knowledge, in an effort to locate areas of dissatisfaction.

Each interview was read separately and rough notes and classifications were created. This helped to identify the basic attitudes and feelings the individuals had, while illustrating themes for their involvement in the project. By comparing these I endeavoured to make a single classification (Table 7.2) that would provide a deeper evaluation of the project. This had the added benefit of allowing me to discuss the interviews separately and as a whole. The classification for all three of the interviews was tested with each interview to ascertain its appropriateness, providing new categories and types while altering others.

7.2 Interview Analysis Classification and Results

In the interests of brevity I have not included the individual, preliminary classifications for the interviews, only the collective classification. The classification is presented in table form in Table 7.2. As the contextual keyword counting method was not used in the same fashion as the previous analyses, only descriptions and examples of quotes have been provided to help explain the types of responses.

Table 7.2: Interview Qualitative Analysis Classification

Category and Types	Description	Example
1 Collective Historical/ Cultural Sentiments		
A Site Location	knowledge of the location of one or both sites	"[knew about the site] from Sam, her Dad and also from our own family."
B Generation Loss	cultural information is being lost by older generations passing on	"I was awfully young when my grandfather and grandmother died, that's where I would have gotten the stories"
C Assimilation	Saskatchewan Doukhobors were and are being assimilated	"but I remember as a child there was always meat and alcohol."
D Negative Press	bad relationship with media, due to bias and ignorance	"we always get associated with just Sons of Freedom"
E Grief and Hardship	memory of the migration and attempts to form a new life	"the hardship of trying to maintain a family"
F Persecution	memory of persecution in Russia and Canada	"they weren't free to practice religion"
2 Motivation		
A Heritage	motivated by a desire to learn and celebrate aspects of their heritage	"It is my heritage"
B Emotional	a personal connection to the site and project	"it is my final way of saying my goodbye."
C Archaeological	an interest in archaeology	"the idea of archaeology...how you actually do things."
D Supporting Community	a desire to support activities within the community	"we should be supporting this."
E Atonement	regret for losing knowledge about the culture and past	"I was guilty that I didn't sit down with mother and talk to her"
F Inclusion	being included in the practice of archaeology and history	"it gave us a chance to partake"

Table 7.2 Continued

3 Prior Archaeological Perspectives		
A The Exotic	archaeology only happens in other places, not home	"digging someplace somewhere in the world"
B Indiana Jones	archaeology is romantic and unscientific	"from popular entertainment"
C Sterile Science	archaeology is scientific and does not relate to daily life	"you're interested in the facts"
D Misunderstanding Heritage	people are unaware of heritage issues and laws	"[your land] could be taken away"
4 Post Archaeological Perspectives		
A Respect	understand and respect the role of archaeology	"a greater respect, a little more understanding."
B Exciting	archaeology is exciting and interesting	"it was exciting"
C Action	archaeology is action oriented in the field and life	"it's hard work."
D Methodological	archaeology is scientific and formated	"A lot of people don't understand what it all involved."
5 Prior Concerns		
A Community Politics	politics within the community would cause problems	"politics in the community was my concern"
B Media	the media would portray the project and the community poorly	"biggest concern was bad publicity"
C Scientific and Professional	the project might not be done properly and it will reflect badly	"I was happier it was being done by a University"

Table 7.2 Continued

6 Emotional Indicators		
A Comfort	the individual was made to feel comfortable with the project	"made people feel comfortable"
B Enthusiasm	the individual was enthusiastic and excited about the project	"I went in very enthusiastic and I leave it very enthusiastic."
C Fellow feeling	the individual felt a connection with their fellow volunteers	"being able to watch other people's experiences"
D Frustration	the individual was frustrated with aspects of the project	"it was difficult because she expected special privileges"
E Stressful	the individual found aspects of the project stressful	"it was just so hard to connect with everybody."
7 Positive Processes		
A Preplanning	planning ahead of time	"groundwork in presenting it".
B Extra inclusion	including people in the larger scheme beyond excavation	"she came to the prayer home and said would you like to do [Doukhobor] meal parts [for visitors]"
C Organization	the project was organized well	"so well planned and so well organized."
D Outside Support	community was given adequate support from outside	"the positiveness of the university people."
E Professional Atmosphere	the atmosphere of the project was professional	"you explained it in a professional manner"
F Teaching	a good teaching and learning exercise	"to teach us and we would learn"
G Active Participation	volunteers actively involved and responsible for work	"You have the people or the descendants of the people doing a lot of work."
H Priority	community given priority in the excavation	"we would be the first"

Table 7.2 Continued

8 Negative Aspects		
A Spreading Responsibility	more people needed to share responsibility	"being more responsible"
B Local Cooperation	the local community was not supportive enough	"it caused problems with the Doukhobors"
C Interprovincial Connections	failed to connect with other Doukhobors	"that was as far as it went"
D Internal Disagreements	internal issues created and inflamed through the project	"I wanted them to be able to teach more".
9 Personal Benefits		
A Being There	being at the sites affirmed their understanding of the past	"It strengthened much more than just feelings."
B Active Experience	having an experience rather than being a spectator	"I got to experience that...that's kind of like an honour."
10 Doukhobor		
A Reconnecting and Exchange of Ideas	benefited by being brought together	"great exchange of ideas from...the phones were ringing"
B Revitalization	benefited by providing impetus to preserve and celebrate	"revitalization of the Doukhobor people"
C Positive Press	benefited by being presented positively in the media	"I think the media, their involvement, can only help at this point"
D Professional Work	benefited by being associated with a professional work	"something you can read back on and learn"
E Snowball	will benefit through the continuing developments	"it can go much beyond here"

Table 7.2 Continued

11 Larger Community Benefits		
A Tourism	town will benefit through increased tourism possibilities	"wanting to be involved in tourism and marketing it"
12 Future Perspectives for the Site		
A Museum	artifacts housed in Doukhobor Museum	"our museum, Doukhobor Museum in Blaine Lake"
B Living Museum	site of the dugouts made into a living museum	"concept of the living museum"
C Education	opportunity to educate school groups	"connect with some of the school boards"
13 Future Perspectives for the Doukhobors		
A Expansion of Message	changing and growing to be more current and global	"perhaps move towards a more worldly group"
B Loss of Customs	continuing assimilation and loss of customs, unless something is done	"everyone is married into different cultures and kind of getting away from it"

In order to make decisions about the meanings of the types and their connection to one another I used a method from Patton 2002. Rough charts were created with categories or types written across the top and others along the side. I compared them and searched the interview content for possible connections to fill in the spaces created by crossing these categories or types. This helped to follow up possible connections and meanings behind the classification, by creating different avenues of investigation and groups for discussion.

Results from the analysis demonstrate a myriad of opinions and experiences. While most are held in common between the three interviews, some appear as pertaining to one experience only and are discussed as such. Aspects of the classification pertaining to one interviewee are important as they demonstrate the project's ability or failure to meet the needs of different people in the project.

7.2.1 *Category 1: Collective Historical/Cultural Sentiments*

Responses falling into this category were those responding to questions about Doukhobor history and culture. These ideas often have connections with the nature of participation in the project, as well as the interviewees final experience with the project.

The interviewees can be ranked in their confidence and scope of their historical and cultural knowledge through their physical and emotional distance from the home community. The individual with the most knowledge is active within the local Doukhobor Society and church, maintains vegetarianism, and resides in the local community. The individual with a close connection to the sites but less cultural knowledge, does not belong to the Doukhobor church or Society. This individual lives near the sites, though is further removed from the local community, after having lived

129

away for many years. The third individual is even further disconnected, living outside the community and has little contact with the Doukhobor community beyond extended family.

This emotional removal from the community is a result of some of the types of actions and concerns identified in this category. Generation loss and assimilation have worked to rob cultural and historical knowledge from many younger Doukhobor descendants, something that all of the individuals recognize. While one interviewee speaks of losing grandparents (often the keepers of such knowledge) at an early age and regretting a failure to record family knowledge, others note the move away from the community through marriage, schooling and careers.

Despite these actions, each individual, on varying strengths, demonstrated similar sentiments regarding Doukhobor history and culture. Each was aware of the existence and location of the dugouts, recognizing their significance within the community and prompting participation in the project.

Each interviewee also acknowledged the longstanding bias of the media toward the community due to Sons of Freedom activities.

> "on tv and radio we always get associated with just the Sons of
> Freedom and the media doesn't seem to understand that there is a
> division here that is another group and this is us. The history follows
> us and maybe it hasn't all been positive but, as far as the media is
> concerned, must we keep saying that?"

This poor relationship with the media was a source of concern and frustration for the community with regards to the project.

Connected to the problems of media, is the idea of persecution that still permeates the culture for all three individuals. Although two did not explicitly say it,

their knowledge of the bias of the media, and problems with other Doukhobor groups demonstrates the tradition, despite specific historical knowledge. An example of the nature of this sentiment today is summed up by an off hand comment from one of the interviewees. After discussing persecution for pacifist beliefs, and the experiences of the interviewee's family during World War Two: "things like that are sort of disturbing." The knowledge and sense of persecution is there today, though tempered by their current lives within the wider provincial society.

A tradition of the grief and hardship the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan went through to successfully settle is also understood. This was demonstrated strongest with the individual closest to the community, with family and community anecdotes of hard work and suffering. However, the sense of the hardship is also seen through the pride and amazement used when discussing the migration and settlement of the Doukhobors; "they carried whatever they had on their backs"; "here's people who came and built, dug into river banks."

Together these types portray a picture of the cultural concerns and attitudes these individuals brought to the project. A sense of the hardships, suffering and persecution tempered by a sense of loss through assimilation and generation gaps is shared, varying only by each individual's emotional and physical closeness to the community. These aspects and their strength influences their motivation for participation, their concerns and opinions about the project and for the future.

7.2.2 *Category 2: Motivation*

Motivation has been an important facet of the project to examine. The individuals interviewed were chosen for their unique involvement in the project and an

examination of their motivations demonstrates a deeper and more complex level than seen in the questionnaires. For example, the way emotion is used for this type differs slightly from its usage within the questionnaire analysis. As in the questionnaire analysis it denotes an emotional attachment to the site through family connections and beliefs in the significance of the site. However, through the interviews this type works on a more personal, individual level, indicating that the volunteer had an individual, personal interest in the site and project beyond the emotion of a heritage connection.

The motivations for participation expressed in the interviews are mostly related in varying ways to the individuals being Doukhobor descendants and desiring to celebrate, protect and commemorate their heritage. As above, the degree and nature of their commitment to motivation based on heritage seems to follow their closeness to the community. The interviewee closest to the community was motivated completely by an interest in protecting and celebrating Doukhobor heritage, while supporting the Doukhobor community and enabling Doukhobor inclusion in the creation of their history through the archaeology; "because it was Doukhobor, because it gave us a chance to partake". This interviewee had only a vague interest in archaeology and if the project had not been concerning Doukhobors she would have likely had no involvement.

The second interviewee, living near the community was motivated through a completely different source, due to a separation from the community. Regardless of their background the individual may have participated in the project due to familial connections to the site. However, it is important to note that had this family not been Doukhobor, the site would not have been deemed important and the interviewee would not have felt the obligation to it. Indirectly these motivations could be construed as

heritage on a more personal level.

The third individual, the furthest from the community, also participated through an interest in his heritage. However, their distance from the community and current life style created a heritage motivation of a different nature. Finding themselves at a point in life where family and heritage began to take new meanings, the interviewee regretted a former lack of appreciation for heritage. "I am ashamed to say that I lived most of my life in this area and I didn't really know what these caves were." This project provided the individual with an opportunity to learn about their heritage and to atone for past disinterest: "this is another connection for me, another thing for me to see the background". With renewed interest in personal heritage came a further interest in supporting activities within the individual's family and the Doukhobor community.

However this individual may not have followed this desire had the project not been archaeological. The interviewee expressed an interest in the mechanics of archaeology and a desire to participate in it, prior to the project. Had this interest not been in place, participation in the project would likely not have been as in-depth, nor as enthusiastic, perhaps due to the individual's distance from the community.

Heritage motivations can often be very emotional. An emotional motivation could be applied to each of the volunteers, through a passion for their heritage and close personal connection to the sites. The individual discussed immediately above had no family who lived directly at either site, yet still felt an emotional connection by seeing the sites. Their quest for renewed interest and insight into their personal heritage is rooted in the personal and emotional, through his changing life stages.

The two interviewees closer to the community had family members who had

lived at both sites, maintaining that sense of place and emotion for the sites. The need to safeguard not only the sites but the remains of Doukhobor culture creates an emotional motivation for participation. However, one interviewee felt this need not so much for themselves or for the community but as a commemorative aspect for a family member; "if he was here today maybe I wouldn't be as motivated...it is more finishing off something he wanted do... that is my final way of saying goodbye." Although this was a very personal need, and truly an impetus for the project, it was shared by other volunteers who also used their participation to remember the life of a loved one who had an interest in the site.

Although motivations are primarily established in the very beginning of the project, the experience of the project can change them. In particular the interviewee with the most personal and emotional motivation found themselves opening up to new possibilities during the course of the project.

> "At first it was just do the study and that would have been fine and now it has turned into wanting to be involved in tourism...just being able to watch other people experience and tell their experiences and what they wanted from it. If somebody could get something out of the same project, that's probably what changed the limit for me"

This discovered interest creates a motivation for maintaining participation and action with the project and sites through a sense of fellow feeling derived from the shared experience.

Emotional indicators are closely connected with maintaining motivations, especially comfort and enthusiasm. If the volunteer had experienced negative emotions with regard to the experience they likely would have terminated involvement. Similarly, many of the items considered attitudes about archaeology and personal benefits are also

134

'found' motivations which continued participation in the project.

> "[feelings] became more positive, stronger, that this was the right
> thing to do... it was exciting. You would tell people you were going
> to the dig today and you would try to get out of work to go. It just
> improved as we went along."

The motivations identified in the interviews are similar in some respects to those identified in the questionnaires. However, they demonstrate a more complex reasoning for involvement, with multiple motivations and connections to the individual's background. Throughout the rest of the analysis, it is clear that motivation is closely entwined with many of the other categories, helping to determine the individual's experience.

7.2.3 *Archaeological Perspectives*

In order to understand the changing ideas about archaeology as a result of the project, individuals were asked to describe what they understood and thought about archaeology prior to and after their involvement in the project.

Those interviewed tended to misunderstand the nature of heritage and archaeology prior to their experience, envisioning it as something occurring either elsewhere in the world or with different, 'older' cultures. There also tends to be a contradictory view of the archaeologist. Some referenced 'Indiana Jones' in connection with the exotic imagery of archaeology, while others tended towards a more accurate scientific view. None of the interviewees demonstrated a previous understanding of archaeology's relevance to today's society and the possibilities for their own community.

This lack of understanding and previous interaction with archaeology created some frustrations at the beginning of the project as it came together. Misinformation and rumours born out of misunderstandings concerning heritage and archaeological issues

135

(digging graves, taking away artifacts, etc) circulated through the community, perhaps dissuading some from volunteering. One individual interviewed noted, "I was told at one point that if the provincial government got involved with an archaeology dig on land that was owned by you it could be taken away."

However, this lack of understanding and interaction with archaeology also fuelled some of the desire to participate in the program. Being attracted to the ideas of archaeology through its popular and scientific perceptions, some expressed interests in learning the reality of archaeology.

> "All I knew was what I knew from the public little free books I read
> and from popular entertainment you know, which is of course lovely
> but it bears about as much resemblance to the reality of the dig as
> one would expect. It's not Indiana Jones."

The image of archaeology being only for the exotic and the 'other' is also closely entwined with the motivation, to be included within archaeology while examining and celebrating their heritage.

> "It gave us a chance to partake. Whereas if you heard about another
> one, like the one at Wanuskewin [a nearby First Nations national
> historic site and heritage park], we would hear about it, but you
> aren't a part of it and therefore you don't walk in and say gee, I'd
> like to learn how."

This prevailing image of archaeology only being for other cultures, seems to be connected to a larger frustration with the way archaeology, history and heritage is projected: "why isn't our history as good as anybody else's...we always look somewhere else, 'oh that's so exotic over there.' Well here's people who came and built...that's as valid a history as any place".

It is clear that those interviewed had different attitudes about archaeology prior to their experience with the project. Changing attitudes during and after the project are

directly connected with the activities and processes of the project, which in turn are connected to the concerns and emotions within the project, as described in the next section.

7.2.4 *Concerns, Emotions and Processes*

Although media was the main concern, internal politics and the professionalism of the project were also a concern. Given the prevalent attitudes toward archaeology and public activities within the community and the town, there was a concern that the project would exacerbate the divisions natural to any community, hindering the project's success and benefits. Concerns also existed that the project would not be carried out professionally and objectively, due to internal politics: "I can see there would be some difficulties like pre-conceived notions and things like that, that we all have. That's why I was happier it was being done by a University."

Those interviewed identified eight positive and four negative features of the project which have been detailed in the classification above. The features and activities of the project at times rectified and justified these concerns, moving through a range of emotions, while changing attitudes about archaeology.

In order to meet the media concerns of the community steps were taken to ensure a fair, positive presentation of the project through the media and within the community; "it's negative to just report on the Doukhobors by excluding them and just doing the archaeology site." This planning in advance for the project and in particular the way media was handled helped to alleviate many of the concerns and has been considered very successful and important to the project.

"I think her groundwork in presenting it as a cultural experience etc,
and briefing whoever was coming out made us feel more

137

comfortable...we were sort of relaxed, we didn't feel like they would
be picking at us for something negative".

Similarly fears about how the project would be seen and its professionalism were

allayed through the organization, professional atmosphere and positive outside support

maintained at the site. "The whole idea we had to sign papers and keep everything here

on the site and everything else made people feel comfortable". Presenting an organized,

professional project, throughout my actions as a supervisor and instructor, as well as

through the support of other professionals created a sense of inclusion and comfort with

the project and toward future activities with archaeology.

> "I think what really helped us feel more relaxed is...when you were
> dealing with the children and the teachers that came out and when
> you explained the archaeological aspect in a professional manner all
> of a sudden they start viewing us in a professional manner much
> better than we were perceived before."

Concerns about the professionalism and presentation were eased by the

knowledge that a professional would be teaching the volunteers in an active experience:

"somebody was going to be here to teach us and we would learn a little bit more about

archaeology". The teaching atmosphere helped people to feel more comfortable and

enthusiastic, as they were encouraged, and given space to learn while still enjoying the

excitement of discovery.

> "Yes I do understand archaeology better, I totally respect it. A lot of
> people don't understand what it all involved. So you spend a day
> seeing it, you respect it a little more than what it was always
> projected before, it was 'oh so they dig and do all this stuff', but once
> you work with it you learn to respect the field. It's hard work."

Active participation, while being essential to the learning experience, also

provided a lot of opportunity for volunteers to work and learn together. "You're right in

there working around people and continuously in contact with different descendants and

elders, I learned just by being part of it." Apart from the excavation, efforts to include

the community in larger site related activities, such as the opening day and making meals

for tour groups, created a sense of fellowship and inclusion, easing concerns about

community politics.

Being the first to learn about the sites and the archaeology became important to

the community, as it ensured that they would be actively involved and included in the

archaeology,

> "we would be the first ones to see and hear and everything, so I think
> we were quite excited about that and of course we heard that others
> would be coming in after us to finish it and after having gone
> through that we felt good about that, just to be first on there was
> great."

This consideration created a more positive impression of archaeology, as those

interviewed enjoyed the respect given to them and found it exciting that they were

making these discoveries first.

Not all the features, activities and processes of the project were considered

positively, although these are balanced with the positive benefits discussed in the next

section. Four aspects were identified which did not help to create a positive experience

during participation in the project. Some of these items could have been avoided or

better handled and will be discussed further in the next chapter; however, it would be

valuable here to examine how these aspects affected the concerns, emotions and

archaeological attitudes of those interviewed.

There was a sense that more sharing of responsibilities for planning and hosting

the project and personnel should have occurred, to allow a greater sharing of cultural

knowledge and experience among different people in the community. "I would have

brought a few of the Doukhobor elders on board to be able to take some of the responsibility...because I wanted them to be able to teach more about the culture which I couldn't provide because I am a younger generation." Although, this was partially a result of internal disagreements about the project, the stress and frustration it created served to widen divisions between points of view. Similarly the quest to make contact with Doukhobor groups in British Columbia left some individuals frustrated and disappointed, again widening divisions between individuals and groups; "yet I had to be the one to spearhead that and it was just so hard to be able to connect with everybody", "we thought somebody would come from out there, they said they were interested but that was as far as it went." Similarly, different ideas about the sites and the project within the local Blaine Lake community also sometimes created misunderstandings and stress between groups.

These aspects negatively affected the experience of the project for some of the individuals interviewed. There is a concern that the volunteers view archaeology and the immediate project positively, but would not become deeply involved in another community related project (archaeological or otherwise) as a result of the negative aspects. Clearly, this would also affect the perceived benefits of the project, whether they be personal, Doukhobor or town oriented. However, it must be remembered that different ideas and opinions are important for the growth of heritage, projects and developments at related sites.

7.2.5 *Perceived Benefits*

As demonstrated with the analysis of the questionnaires, the interviews portray the Doukhobor community as the general beneficiaries of the project. Within the

questionnaire analysis some of these types tended to be seen more as pertaining to individuals. In hindsight, believe this is a result of the questionnaire being geared more towards the individual in contrast to the interview which prompted the interviewees to discuss themselves and their community as a whole.

The personal benefits identified through the interviews are connected to the active participation component of the project. By physically being involved in the excavation and seeing the sites and artifacts with their own eyes, perceptions of history and their culture were strengthened: "just seeing the dugout alone and getting an idea that people actually could have lived in something of this size in this place, it strengthened much more than just feelings." This physical participation together with the learning and professional atmosphere added up to a deeper experience, which those interviewed could cherish in contrast to the experience of a spectator. "It's nice to know that I had you here, and I got to experience that...and that's kind of an honour."

Interviewees noted an increase in discussion within the community as a result of the project, reconnecting people to one another and their heritage. By structuring the project to prioritize, teach and actively include the Doukhobor community in the excavation and site activities, the community felt a new encouragement to continue discussions and ideas outside the project.

> "Great exchange of ideas, from the Langham area, from the east, from Veregin, Kamsack area etc. The phones were ringing, people were talking and the Peter's Day celebration, for example, was a little bigger than usual..we are still here and people are helping us to remember and document. Maybe it helps us see what direction we are going to go in now. Because often we think, 'oh the old ways are great we don't want to give those up' but then we have to sometimes and progress with time."

Support from outside entities such as the University of Saskatchewan and the

Saskatchewan government was essential to encouraging this revitalization, "The positiveness of the university people, yourself, Margaret Kennedy brought with it made it, well, we felt better about ourselves and we said we were going to do more about it now." Far from being persecuted and ignored in the province, the community is beginning to feel they are an integral part of Saskatchewan's heritage and is encouraged to maintain and develop that heritage for the future.

The revitalization and renewed exchange of ideas combine to create a snowballing effect to, "get the ball rolling for things that need to get done here". As the group feels more empowered more activities, events and workshops can be organized to continue benefits started by this project. Similarly, the public interest engendered by the media attention and the Doukhobors' increasing comfort with their heritage will hopefully create tourism in the local community. "If it gets people interested in looking at this area and keeping this area alive, it's a long term benefit..all of the local community can benefit".

However, there is a concern that the negative aspects of the project may work to lessen the benefits. In particular, internal problems and disagreements within a community not only create individual stress and frustrations but can, in some situations, dampen enthusiasm and initiative to create new ideas and activities,

> "The Doukhobors especially can benefit if they let themselves.
> If we let ourselves, if everyone accepts it. Let's not sit on it,
> let's open it up and show it to the world and say 'this is us, this
> is unique' then everybody benefits."

Sometimes disagreements took much needed time and attention away from the creation of positive activities that could build upon the benefits of the project. However, as discussed earlier, these disagreements help to create important discussions that renew

enthusiasm for heritage and culture. Long after the initial excavation, ideas and connections are still being made that will hopefully carry forward new activities to build upon the benefits of the excavation.

7.2.6 *Future Perspectives*

Those interviewed demonstrated several hopes for the future of the sites with an aim towards the presentation, survival and progress of the Saskatchewan Doukhobor culture. However, as the dugout site has always been paramount in the minds of the community, these wishes tend to pertain to its future rather than that of the village site, one of several in the area. Those interviewed also presented ideas about the future of Doukhobor culture. Some ideas for the future pertain directly to the Doukhobor community regardless of the sites. These tend to contradict each other based upon the individual's outlook.

The perspectives the interviewees hold for the future of the sites and their culture are connected to their motivations for participation as well as the processes and activities of the project. Those interested in a museum setting seem to focus more upon the protection and preservation of the sites and artifacts for the Doukhobor community; "our museum, our Doukhobor Museum in Blaine Lake... if we would be able to put them there along with other artifacts I could see that as a positive thing." The desire to preserve and protect the sites is not surprising considering the prevalent heritage and emotional motivations in the interviews. However, there is an increasing concern to share the site and its artifacts with the public. Some would like to see a protective museum setting and a reconstructed open museum working in unison.

> "The most open it could be, would be what I want to see, but in a controlled way... if they can reconstruct what things were like in an

143

active way that's what I would really like to see, the concept of the living museum where you can actually come and see things as they were."

The desire to open the site, while connected with a recognized need for tourism in the area, is also stimulated by the positive attention given to the community by archaeologists, the government and media and their own positive experiences with the project and archaeology.

One interviewee, who had previously been very emotionally focussed on the site began to appreciate new aspects of the project through this experience. In particular, education became more of a focus: "my main interest would be to focus on kids, schools, teenagers..I'd like to work towards the schools, I think I'd like to connect myself to some of the school boards and work this as a field trip, something they can learn from."

Ideas regarding the future of Doukhobor culture are contradictory and based largely upon the motivations and position of the individual in the community, as well as their experience with the project. Uniting the two viewpoints is the acknowledgement that change is inevitable for the community. From one direction a hopeful image of growth and expansion is provided:

> "I see a lot of change. I think the history will be one thing we can always go back to, but because of the changes in the way we are living, in our education and living with more people -, we probably will still maintain , I am hoping our basic ideals, like our 'toil and peaceful life' and the 'welfare of the entire world is not worth the life of one child', I think that will stay with us. I think perhaps we will move toward a more worldly group, joining peace groups, activists and looking for peace that way."

This individual is intensely interested in Doukhobor heritage, is closely involved in the community and participated out of desire to celebrate heritage, support the community and be included in the archaeological and historical record. While this individual has

144

always had hope for the community, the experience of the project has perhaps provided

more faith in an ability to 'revitalize' the Doukhobor message.

Another interviewee presented a very different view of the future for the

Doukhobors:

> "There is no one my age or younger that is taught by these elders to
> understand or carry it on. It's like they don't seem to want to share,
> they have their own way of doing stuff and when someone new or
> younger comes in they don't seem to want to. Plus everyone is
> married into different cultures and kind of getting away from it. I
> don't see it. Maybe it is stronger in other provinces but in my own
> experience I just don't see it."

This bleak image of the current and future community must be read in the context of

this individual's place in the community, motivations and experience in the project.

This individual has only recently begun to be active within the community, being

attached to the sites through very emotional family ties as discussed above. The negative

aspects of the project have unfortunately also influenced the attitude, as they created

stress and frustration, negatively reflecting on the rest of the community. This comment

isn't necessarily a condemnation of the community. Instead, it demonstrates the need for

further activities such as the archaeology project. This would help open the community

to more members and create discussion, allowing younger generations to learn about and

celebrate Doukhobor culture.

7.3 Interview Analysis Conclusions

The individuals interviewed displayed an interesting variety of ideas and

opinions about the project, culture and community. Many opinions mirror those seen in

the previous two analyses. The emphasis upon motivations, active learning experiences,

the revitalization of the community and the future for the sites are all ideas which have

been present throughout the analysis. However, the detailed information about historical ideas, project concerns and emotions are very important to examining the experience in its entirety.

Most volunteers were reluctant to report negative aspects of the project within the questionnaires or daily journals. The individuals interviewed have a depth of experience through which they can voice the concerns and problems of the project. The negative aspects of the project are just as important as the positive ones, perhaps even more so because they will provide an avenue for improvement.

Considering the uniqueness of the three individuals interviewed, I would be hesitant to extrapolate the findings of the interview analyses to the entire volunteer group. However, the diversity and sometimes contradictory nature of these ideas will serve to deepen the understanding of the archaeological experience. The results from these analyses will support and add to the developing themes of the evaluation.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Recommendations

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the thesis by highlighting the important themes of the Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology Project (as seen through the analysis of the questionnaires, daily journals and interviews) and to provide recommendations and ideas for improvement. Four main themes of the project have been identified: motivation; beneficial active learning experience; dialogue; reconnecting and revitalization. These themes were significant throughout each data set analysis and the successes and problems of this project revolve around them. In order to provide a utilization focus to this chapter the themes are discussed in terms of their applicability to public, descendant and community archaeology. While many of the recommendations provided are based upon avoiding and improving issues particular to this project, they are very applicable to future public archaeology endeavours.

8.1 Motivation

As seen through the analysis of the project, motivations to participate in a community-related archaeology project can be complex. An individual's motivations dictate their level of commitment and participation in archaeology projects as well as their experience with the project. The archaeologist interested in working with descendant communities and the general public should be aware of and sensitive to the motivations at work and tailor the project to address them. A basic understanding of the target community before the project is undertaken helps to predict what these motivations would be. For example, I believed that participation would be based equally

on an interest in Doukhobor heritage, archaeology and local or provincial history. When the project was refocused to target Doukhobor descendants these predictions changed and I assumed that Doukhobor heritage would outweigh all other interests. To address these predicted motivations, the project depended upon discussion and celebration of Doukhobor heritage, with less emphasis upon archaeological discussion beyond required methodology.

After analysing the qualitative material it was clear that while heritage was the most prevalent reason for participation, it was by no means the single one and it often worked in combination with an interest in archaeology. I also did not expect the complexity of the motivation, with a range from the personal and emotional to the undefined and peripheral. A useful exercise would have been to discuss motivations with a variety of community members before the project. This would have helped me to understand in advance why they wanted to be involved with the project, as well as provide some insight to their expectations. This would also have allowed brain storming ideas for ways of addressing these interests and needs and enable a network of support to plan them.

Although there were some activities apart from the excavation which involved other members of the community, motivations could have been addressed by providing a wider range of participatory options. For example, a special day could have been set aside to take a small field trip to see other archaeological sites being excavated, to fulfill the archaeological interests of some. Likewise, a time for 'show and tell' (perhaps on rain days) would have allowed those with heritage interests to display and discuss Doukhobor and family memorabilia and stories. Events such as these would have made

the experience more personally beneficial for a wider range of participants.

8.2 **Beneficial Active Learning Experience**

Most participants enjoyed learning about archaeology through an active involvement in a project. This active learning experience was one of the great successes of the project. By structuring the project to be a learning but inclusive and active exercise, a new interest and appreciation for archaeology, as well as Doukhobor heritage, was fostered.

To provide a good learning environment the differing needs of the volunteers had to be met. The simplest way to do this was to define the volunteer base before the project. For example, other than very rare exceptions children were not to be included in the excavation. Adults and children clearly do not respond to the same teaching methods and teaching a mixed age group such involved tasks could have led to a lot of frustration and confusion within the confines of the pit house or Ospennia units. This is not to say that public archaeology projects cannot provide an enjoyable family experience. Within a different setting (more space, more staff) families can be positively instructed together with more individual help provided to their needs.

Similarly the physical strength and health of the volunteers must be taken into consideration to provide a beneficial experience. Access to the pit house was not ideal and many had difficulty with some of the more strenuous activities required in excavation. To address these problems I assigned units based upon a person's physical ability, attempted to pair older individuals with younger volunteers and carried out many of the more difficult tasks myself. On larger projects there is the option of an operating field lab to provide another level of learning participation. This is ideal for older or

disabled volunteers who are incapable of performing some excavation tasks. Workshops designed to create displays about the excavations would also be useful. These would teach a variety of volunteers about the presentation of archaeology and archaeology's role in society, while allowing them to bring their individual skills and abilities to the project.

Not every archaeologist has the skills necessary to teach archaeology actively to non-academic volunteers. Hiring enough energetic, personable and knowledgeable archaeologists and students is essential to providing a beneficial active learning experience. The largest mistake in this project was not hiring a full time student with the appropriate skills to assist in the project. While an occasional colleague did volunteer, I instructed, interacted with and supervised the volunteers by myself. As a result I was often frustrated at not being able to provide a higher level of support and instruction to all volunteers when my attention was required elsewhere. An assistant would have helped with instruction and supervision, allowing me to supervise the more complex aspects of the sites as well as carry out more in-depth participant observation. With another assistant to aid the volunteers (especially at the end of the day), they may have been able to fill out questionnaires and daily journals more completely, increasing the feedback necessary for the evaluation. A full time assistant would also have provided more ideas and observations about the project, generating a more complete view of the experience. The volunteers would have benefited through the increased instruction and supervision, while perhaps gaining perspective of archaeology different than that projected by myself.

8.3 **Dialogue**

Dialogue was an important aspect of the project from the very beginning, essential to the learning experience, comfort and involvement of the Doukhobor community. This had to be planned for and actively continued by integrating it into the daily activities of the project. For example I began each day of excavation with discussions about archaeology and Doukhobor history and tried to continue them during breaks and lunch. I also informed and invited the community to any lectures I gave on the project, encouraging their comments and opinions about the work done. While planning for continuing dialogue is important, an archaeologist should always look for opportunities for discussion. For example I routinely encouraged critical conversations about artifacts, the sites and the project as a whole during excavation as finds were made and questions were asked. In future projects, discussion about the nature of heritage and history would be useful, particularly its personal and emotional qualities. This would encourage the volunteers to understand their own motivations as well as those of others, increasing respect for each other's ideas and beliefs.

Part of maintaining this dialogue with the volunteers and community was creating and continuing a positive relationship with them. A friendly and open yet professional demeanour on the part of the archaeologist encourages the dialogue to continue with the comfort of everyone concerned. This includes attempts to be neutral within the community.

In order to remain neutral, it is important that an archaeologist makes themselves available to as much of the community as possible. This can be accomplished during and shortly before the project by living independently within the community. Attending a

variety of community social functions to meet with community members and maintaining a friendly presence also helps to demonstrate both neutrality and availability.

Relationships with a community and ensuing dialogues can also be improved and increased if the archaeologist is heavily involved in the beginning stages of the project. In the early stages of planning meetings should be arranged with involved community organizations and interested community members. This would allow the community to meet the archaeologist early in the process and to gain an earlier and better understanding of archaeology and the proposed project. Similarly, guidebooks could be mailed out prior to the projects to explain archaeology, the project and expectations to the participants. Meetings should be continued throughout the project to address questions and issues and to resolve conflicts. Taking these steps in planning the project will help to avoid and solve many problems and issues that might occur as a result of misunderstandings and poor communication.

As was discussed throughout the analysis of the project, the media were a concern for the community and were handled very well in this project. To encourage community inclusion, all communication with the media on my part was aimed at providing clear, accurate and sensitive information about the project and encouraging the media to speak with community members on all other matters. It is important, as part of an effort to maintain accurate information as well as a positive dialogue with the community, to be involved in managing the media. Maintaining control of the media, especially over the long term is an extremely difficult task and very little can ensure that every report is completely accurate. By helping to manage the media and speaking with

reporters public archaeologists can help to increase the accurate content. This perhaps would prevent misunderstandings about the nature of the project that might create discomfort in the community and threaten the benefits of the project.

8.4 Reconnecting and Revitalizing

The reconnection and revitalization seen within the community is another hallmark of success and a major theme for the project and its volunteers. The enthusiasm generated by the project has led to initiatives to maintain the benefits over the long term. Connections made while planning and taking part in the project have led to new discussion and planning, which will lead to new growth.

During the project this reconnection and revitalization was encouraged through the opening day ceremony, the maintenance of dialogue and by the natural gathering of people to participate in the project. However, in future projects the hypothetical activities discussed above in connection to motivations could be planned as structured events to bring more community members together. For example, this project could have planned local and Doukhobor history sessions in conjunction with the excavation, similar to the public history workshops in Baltimore described by David Gadsby (2005). Local community members could be invited to provide presentations upon history and heritage, while participants would be encouraged to contribute and discuss. Workshops focussing on heritage handicrafts and skills, similar to those currently being discussed within the Doukhobor community, could also been organized. These workshops could be taught by community members and attended by excavation volunteers as well as community members not directly involved in the excavation. This would allow the sharing of information about the excavation as well as contributing to the growing

revitalization. Supportive workshops such as these would further include and empower a community, providing opportunities beyond excavation.

8.5 Conclusion

These themes and their corresponding recommendations demonstrate the benefits and problems of carrying out a Doukhobor descendant archaeology project within the Blaine Lake area. Within a historical and public archaeology context this project matched the growing concern in public archaeology to include and empower communities as opposed to its preservation based concerns. The project's evaluation fits in with this current literature by providing further ways of looking at descendant projects within a community in order to celebrate and revitalize them.

The contributions of qualitative data were imperative to an analysis of a descendant archaeology project. It is unlikely that the issues and concepts presented through the questionnaires, daily journals and interviews would have been identifiable through other means. Future work within archaeology can build upon these analyses and examine larger and more varied data sets to discern a deeper and more complete understanding of public, descendant and community archaeology. For example, to understand more about the learning patterns of volunteers, in order to find better ways of teaching archaeology, archaeological notes can be examined qualitatively and compared to those from other projects and field schools to chart improvement. Qualitative data such as those used within this thesis could also be combined with and compared to quantitative sources to further archaeology's quest to present archaeology and involve the public in its endeavours for mutual benefit.

This thesis provides ideas and options for future archaeology work with all kinds

of communities. In particular, modern world immigrants can have large benefits through an interaction with archaeology. The very act of immigration begins the process of divergence from the past and traditions. The findings in this thesis provide an example of how other communities can regain these with a renewed sense of pride and empowerment with the aid of archaeology.

In concluding this thesis it must be asked whether or not the Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology project was successful in its aims to actively include the local descendant Doukhobor community in the creation and excavation of their past while determining the most successful methods. I believe that, while there are areas which could have been improved, the project was fundamentally successful and beneficial to both the community and archaeology. The heritage designation of the pit house land and the burgeoning plans and ideas for the future are proof of the success of the project. It is a great comfort to know that even though my own involvement with the project and community is finished, the hard work of the volunteers will continue to inspire the community to greater accomplishments. The project has created new connections between community members, government officials and professional archaeologists to build upon the year's activities for the future benefit of the Doukhobor community and the province of Saskatchewan.

References Cited

Allen, Mitch
2002   Reaching The Hidden Audience: Ten Rules for the Archaeological Writer. In
        Public Benefits of Archaeology, edited by Barbara J. Little, pp. 244-251.
        University Press of Florida, Miami.

Blaine Lake School
1957   *Our Historical Blaine Lake.* Blaine Lake School, Blaine Lake.

Barnard, Robert, Denise Campbell, Shelley Smith and Don Embuldeniya
2003   Citizen Re:Generation: Understanding Active Citizen Engagement Among
        Canada's Information Age Generations. Electronic document, www.d-code.com,
        accessed June 12, 2005.

Bondoreff, John I.
1980   Ospennia "Dug-Out" Hut Village 1899-1904. In *Bridging the Years: Era of
        Blaine Lake and District 1790-1980* pp. 22-24. Drawings by Sam Kalesnikoff,
        Town of Blaine Lake and Rural Municipality of Blaine Lake.

Carman, John
2002   *Archaeology and Heritage: An Introduction.* Continuum, London.

Charmaz, Kathy
2003   Grounded Theory In *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research
        Methods,* edited by Jonathan A. Smith, pp. 81-110. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Ciona, Mary, Mary Eilleen McDonald and Pauline Reban
1962   *Blaine Lake Golden Jubilee 1912-1962.* MacIntosh, North Battleford.

Cleere, Henry
1984   Amateurs and Professionals in British Archaeology Today. In *Archaeology,
        Politics and the Public*, edited by Colin Dobinson and Roberta Gilchrist, pp. 22-
        24. York University Archaeological Publications, York.

Decicco, Gabriel
1988   A Public Relations Primer. *American Antiquity* 53:840-856.

Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonna S. Lincoln (editors)
1998a   *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials.* Sage, Thousand Oaks.

1998b   Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research. In *Collecting and*

Interpreting Qualitative Materials, edited by Norman K Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, pp. 1-34. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Devitt, Patrick
2003   Review of *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* 3rd ed, by Michael Quinn Patton. *Nurse Education Today* 23:467-470.

Dey, Ian
1993   *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User-Friendly Guide for Social Scientists.* Routledge, London.

2004   Grounded Theory. In *Qualitative Research Practice*, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, pp. 80-93. Sage, London.

Derry, Linda
1997   Pre-Emancipation Archaeology: Does it Play in Selma, Alabama. *Historical Archaeology* 31(3):18-26.

Dohan, Daniel and Martin Sanchez-Jankowski
1998   Using Computers to Analyse Ethnographic Field Data: Theoretical and Practical Considerations. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:477-498.

Edwards-Ingram, Ywone
1997   Toward "True Acts of Inclusion": The "Here" and the "Out There" Concepts in Public Archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 31(3):27-35.

Fagan, Brian
2000   Epilogue. In *Public Benefits of Archaeology*, edited by Barbara J. Little, pp. 253-260. University Press of Florida, Miami.

Fischer, Constance T and Fredrick J. Wertz
2002   Empirical Phenomenological Analyses of Being Criminally Victimized. In *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion,* edited by A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, pp. 275-304. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Fish, Carl Russel
1978   Relation of Archaeology and History. In *Historical Archaeology: A guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions,* edited by Robert L. Schuyler, pp. 8-10. Baywood, New York.

Friesen, John W.
1985   Doukhobors in Alberta: A People in Transition. Paper presented to the 7th Biennial Conference of The Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Montreal.

Gadsby, David A.

2005   Public History Workshops as a Model-Building Tool for Historical Archaeology: Hampden, Baltimore, Maryland. Paper presented at the 38th Society for Historical Archaeology Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, York, England.

Girogi, Amedeo and Barbro Giorgi
2003   Phenomenology. In *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods,* edited by Jonathan A. Smith, pp. 25-50. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Glaser, B.G. and A.L. Strauss
1967   *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* Aldine, Chicago.

Greene, Jennifer C.
1998   Qualitative Program Evaluation: Practice and Promise. In *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials,* edited by Noman K Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, pp. 372-399. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Green, L.F., David Green, and Eduardo Goes Neves
2003   Indigenous Knowledge and Archaeological Science: The Challenges of Public Archaeology in the Reserva Uaca. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3:366-397.

Hammersley, Martyn
2002   Ethnography and Realism In *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*, edited by A. Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Miles, pp. 65-80. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Huberman, Michael A. and Matthew B. Miles (editors)
2002   The Qualitative Researcher's Companion. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Ironbridge Gorge Museums
2002   Ironbridge Archaeology. Web page, http://www.ironbridge.org.uk/ironbridge/d_archaeology.asp, accessed December 4, 2003.

Janesick, Valerie J.
2003   Review of *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods* 3rd ed, by Michael Quinn Patton. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13:884-885.

Kell, Udo
2004   Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis. In *Qualitative Research Practice* edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, pp. 473-489. Sage, London.

Kennedy, Margaret and Brian Reeves
1986   *Phase II Archaeological and Historical Resources Study: Oldman River Dam. Vol. 1 Historic Period Resources Inventory and Impact Assessment.* Prepared for

Alberta Environment Planning Division, Edmonton, AB. Copies available from the Department of Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Kozakavich, Stacey
1998   *A State of Change: an Historical Archaeology of Doukhobor Identity at Kirilovka Village Site FcNx-1.* Master's Thesis, Department of Archaeology. University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Kuttruff, Carl
1990   Fort Loudoun, Tennessee, Mid- 18th Century British Fortification: A Case Study in Research Archeology, Reconstruction and Interpretive Exhibits. In *The Politics of the Past*, edited by David Lowenthal and Peter Gathercole, pp. 265-283. The Academic Division of Unwin Hyman, London.

Leininger, Madeleine
1994   Evaluation Criteria and Critique of Qualitative Research Studies. In *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Studies,* edited by Janice M. Morse, pp. 95-115 Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Leone, Mark P., Parker B. Potter Jr., Paul A. Shackel
1987   Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28:283-299.

Lerner, Shereen
1991   Saving Sites: Preservation and Education. In *Protecting the Past*, edited by George S. Smith and John E. Ehrenhard, pp.103-108. CRC Press, Boca Ratan.

Lipe, William D.
2002   Public Benefits of Archaeological Research. In *Public Benefits of Archaeology*, edited by Barbara J. Little, pp. 20-28. University Press of Florida, Miami.

Little, Barbara J.
2002   Archaeology as a Shared Vision. In *Public Benefits of Archaeology,* edited by Barbara J. Little, pp. 3-19. University Press of Florida, Miami.
2005   An Introduction to Archaeology as Civic Engagement. Paper presented at the 38th Society for Historical Archaeology Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, York.

Locke, Karen
2002   Review of Review of *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* 3rd ed, by Michael Quinn Patton. *Organizational Research Methods* 5:299-301.

Lowenthal, David
1996   *Possessed By the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History.* The Free Press, New York.

Maxwell, Joseph A.

2002   Understanding and Validity in Qualitative Research in *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion,* edited by A. Michael Huberman and Matthew Miles, pp. 37-64. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

McDavid, Carol
1997a Introduction. *Historical Archaeology* 31(3):1-4

1997b Descendants, Decisions, and Power: The Public Interpretation of the Archaeology of the Levi Jordan Plantation. *Historical Archaeology* 31(3):114-131.

McGimsey, Charles R. III
1972   *Public Archeology.* Seminar Press, New York.

2003   The Four Fields of Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 68:611-618.

McManamon, Francis P.
1991   The Many Publics for Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 56:121-130

Mealing F. M.
1982   Introduction. In *To America with the Doukhobors,* written by L.A. Sulerzhitsky. Translated by Michael Kalmakoff, pp. 1-. Canadian Plains Studies No. 12 Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, Regina.

Nevitte, Neil
2002   Introduction: Value Change and Reorientation in Citizen-State Relations. In *Value Change and Governance in Canada*, edited by Neil Nevitte, pp. 3-35, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Patton, Michael Quinn
1982   *Practical Evaluation.* Sage, Beverly Hills.

1987   *How to Use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation.* Sage, Newbury Park.

2000   Utilization-Focussed Evaluation. In *Evaluation Models: Viewpoints on Educational and Human Services Evaluation.* 2nd ed, edited by Daniel L. Stufflebeam, George F. Madaud and Thomas Kellaghan, pp. 425-438. Kluwer Academic Publishers, Norwell.

2002   *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods.* 3rd ed. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

Pohorecky, Zenon S.
1993   *Statement Outlining Feasibility of Initiating Ethno-archaeological studies of Early Doukhobor and/or other early East European/Slavic Settlements on the Prairies of Western Canada.* Prepared for the Research Branch, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull. Copies available at the Department of

Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Pokotylo, David
2002   Public Opinion and Canadian Archaeological Heritage: A National Perspective. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 26:88-129.

Pokotylo, David and Neil Guppy
1999   Public Opinion and Archaeological Heritage: Views From Outside the Profession. *American Antiquity* 64: 400-416.

Pollio, Cara
2005   Analysis of Faunal Material from the Ospennia Site, FeNq-11. Manuscript on file, Archaeology Department, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Poister, Theodore H.
1978   *Public Program Analysis: Applied Research Methods.* University Park Press, Baltimore.

Popoff, Polly
1980   "Jim and Polly Popoff Family" In *Bridging the Years: Era of Blaine Lake and District 1790-1980,* pp 639-640. Town of Blaine Lake and Rural Municipality of Blaine Lake.

Popoff, Sam (narrator)
1993   Doukhobor and Popoff Family Home Movie. vhs video, Brenda Cheveldayoff, Blaine Lake.

Potter, Parker B. Jr.
1990   The "What" and "Why" of Public Relations for Archaeology: A Postscript to Decicco's Public Relations Primer. *American Antiquity* 55:608-613.

Praetzellis, Adrian
2002   Neat Stuff and Good Stories: Interpreting Historical Archaeology in Two Local Communities In *Public Benefits of Archaeology,* edited by Barbara J. Little, pp.51-58. University Press of Florida, Miami.

Putnam, Robert D.
2000   *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community.* Simon and Schuster, New York.

Rapley, Tim
2004   Interviews. In *Qualitative Research Practice.* edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman, pp. 15-33. Sage, London.

Seale, Clive, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium and David Silverman (editors)
2004   *Qualitative Research Practice.* Sage, London.

Society for American Archaeology
2003   Public Education. Website, http://www.saa.org/pubEdu/index.html, accessed
        December 4, 2003.

Sulerzhitsky, L.A.
1982   *To America with the Doukhobors*. Translated by Michael Kalmakoff. Canadian
        Plains Studies No. 12. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina,
        Regina.

Tracie, Carl
1996   *Toil and Peaceful Life: Doukhobor Settlement in Saskatchewan 1899-1918*.
        Canadian Plains Research Centre, Regina.

Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary
2003   The University of Calgary's Programme for Public Archaeology. Website,
        http://www.fp.ucalgary.ca/pubarky/index2.htm, accessed July 14, 2005.

University of Calgary's Fish Creek Provincial Park Archaeology Interpretive Centre
2003   Fish Creek Provincial Park Archaeology Interpretive Centre: Educational
        Programming. Website, http://www.fp.ucalgary.ca/arkyeducation/ accessed July
        14, 2005.

Woodcock, George and Ivan Avakumovic
1968   *The Doukhobors*. Oxford University Press, London.
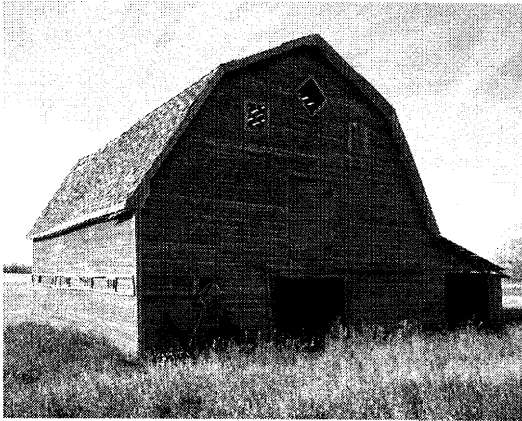
Young, Lisa
2002   Civic Engagement, Trust and Democracy: Evidence from Alberta. In *Value
        Change and Governance in Canada*, edited by Niel Nevitte, pp. 107-147.
        University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology Project

Site and Excavation Guide

2004

Site Supervisor: Meagan Brooks, Archaeology Department,

University of Saskatchewan

Welcome to the Doukhobor Public Archaeology Project! Through this experience it is hoped that you will learn not only about archaeology but also Doukhobor heritage. The project has been created through the joint efforts of the local Doukhobors, Brenda Chevaldayoff and the University of Saskatchewan's Archaeology Department. By excavating the remains of the pit house and the village house in Ospennia, information can be gathered about early Doukhobor life in Saskatchewan and archaeology's place in a community, contributing to a Master's thesis for the University of Saskatchewan.

This guide will provide some information on archaeology, the sites and some excavation techniques. Examples of the recording forms are provided and there is also a Glossary, explaining some terms you may come across. There is also an anonymous questionnaire regarding your experience with the project. At the end of your experience with the project, it would be greatly appreciated if you would fill out the questionnaire and hand it in. Everything will be demonstrated in the field. If during or after your participation in the project you have any questions please don't hesitate to ask.

What is Archaeology?

Simply put, archaeology is the study of past human cultural activity, often through the material created by those activities (Renfrew and Bahn 1996:539). To study this, archaeology involves not only digging for the *material culture*, but also doing a lot of historic research on the culture and site. Archaeologists are scientists searching for information upon the human past, not treasure hunters, or grave robbers or interested in dinosaurs, as the media often presents. While university departments and government heritage departments carry out archaeology in Canada, today, the majority of archaeology is carried out by Cultural Resource Management companies, salvaging and preserving cultural remains which are under threat from building and engineering projects.

Background History of Doukhobors

The term Doukhobor, spirit wrestler, was coined by a Russian archbishop in 1785 as a derogatory term meaning that they were wrestling *against* the holy spirit. However, the group transformed that term to indicate they were wrestling *for* the holy spirit (Woodcock and Avakumovic 1968:19). In Russia they faced much persecution for their beliefs, in particular for pacifism. By 1899, the Doukhobors began to immigrate to Canada, encouraged by the Canadian government who provided free rail transportation and special allowance of communal land tenure in order to populate the Canadian west (Kozakavich 1998:8). Approximately 7400 Doukhobors made their way across Canada, settling in Saskatchewan. Originally, they established 61 villages in three separate colonies: South Colony, North Colony and Prince Albert Colony in the Langham and Blaine Lake area along the North Saskatchewan River. However, the number is probably closer to ninety, as villages moved frequently yet retained the same name (Kozakavich 1998: 8-10,33).

When the immigrants first arrived they made temporary homes by digging a hollow in the river bank, adding log walls and a sod roof (Blaine Lake School 1957:4). In most cases these homes served them for the first year before they established homes in the planned communal villages (Kozakavich 1998:34).

Communal Doukhobors moved to other parts of Canada in 1907 as the prejudice of their neighbours and the changing immigration policies of the Canadian government made communal life difficult (Kozakavich 1998:10-11).

The Project and the Sites

This project will be excavating two connected sites in order to compare them, as well as provide an interesting experience for the volunteers. The first is a single dugout which was part of a village close to the town of Blaine Lake. Originally the site had no official name. Polly Popoff, grandmother of the current owner of the site, called the site "aul", an Armenian word for dugout (1980:639).

Currently the site has been named Zemlyankee, a Russian word for cave. Arriving in 1899, the inhabitants lived there for roughly four or five years while building their communal village, Ospennia (Popoff 1980: 639). After the group had left the dugout site (1904-5) the land remained in the ownership of the Popoff family (Popoff 1980:640). The site is designated as Borden number (all archaeological sites in Canada are given a Borden number based upon location) of FeNq-14.

Ospennia is the second site this project will excavate and is designated FeNq-11. We will be focussing upon the remains of a single house in the village and it will make an interesting comparison with the nearby pit house. Ospennia was occupied as a village approximately from 1902 to 1913, as families made the move from the pit houses to the village and eventually away to other communal villages, provinces or on to individual farmsteads (Bonddoreff 1980:22-24).

Digging and Recording

The unit sizes we will be digging will vary by site and purpose. Some will be as small as 50 cm (all measurements will be taken in centimetres and metres) test squares to 1 metre and even 2 metre squares if necessary. Archaeologists 'dig' a unit with shovels and trowels. A trowel is used so that nothing is missed. On our sites, because there hasn't been a very long occupation, you will be excavating in 10 cm *levels*, unless otherwise instructed by the supervisor. All dirt will be put in a bucket and sifted through a screen to find artifacts.

Forms

For each new 10 cm level you will fill out a Level Form, an example of which is provided in the package. These forms will be explained in further depth on site. It is very important that these forms are filled in correctly. Using the forms archaeologists are able to put all of the excavation information together to understand the site. Depth measurements are made by stretching the string attached to the *datum* stakes to your unit, fixing a *line level* to it and measuring down to what you want to measure. Horizontal measurements are taken in

northings and *eastings.* This means that you measure how far north (measuring from the south wall) and how far east (measuring from the west wall) the artifact is in the unit.

Another form which goes with the Level Form is the Artifact Form. Each unit has an Artifact Form and all artifacts found *in situ* are recorded on the sheet. The Artifact Form can be cross-checked with the unit plan and other forms, ensuring that nothing will be missed.

Features

When an archaeologist trowels they look for things in the soil. They watch for any abrupt changes in the soil which would indicate a *feature.* A feature is a mark left in the soil from an activity. For example, a hole that has been dug for a post would leave a round stain, long after the post has rotted or been taken away. A feature is given its own Level Form and recorded the same way as a level.

Artifacts

You will also be looking for *artifacts.* Some artifacts will make their way into the soil in your bucket and you will find them when you sift in the screen. These artifacts are put in the artifact bag labelled with the site, Borden number, unit, level, date and excavator. It is very important that artifacts are not mixed up because artifacts are often how we recognize different time periods and occupations. Other artifacts you will find in situ, this means that you will discover them while you are trowelling and they will still be in the ground. An archaeologist records these finds on the plan of their unit, on the back of the Level Forms, recording their depth and horizontal measurement as explained above. We do this so that we can look at the notes later and understand the distribution of artifacts across a site. These artifacts are also put in a bag with their own label, providing the site, Borden number, unit, level, date, excavator, identification of the artifact and any comments.

Glossary

Artifact - any object created, used or modified by humans (eg. ceramics, bricks, tools).

Close - this means that the level is finished and the measurements taken are for the bottom of the level, which is now the top of the next.

Colour- soil is often different colours, and a simple description of the soil colour is helpful.

Compaction - soil is sometimes loose or hard packed. A scale of loose-medium-hard is used to judge the compaction.

Composition- the soil matrix is often made up of different types of soil. A simple scale would be clay, loamy clay, loam, sandy loam and sand.

Datum- a fixed reference point. Archaeologists use it to do all measurements off of so that all units are using a common point.

Feature- non-portable objets or staining found in the ground from a past human activity (eg. hearths, post holes, foundations)

Level- the basic vertical unit of measurement in excavation. During this project we will be excavating 10cm levels.

Inclusions- objects found scattered throughout the soil which make up the matrix such as pebbles, brick scatter and charcoal.

In situ- an artifact or feature found where it was originally found in the ground.

Material Culture- generally used to mean artifacts, but can be any material remains from a culture.

Matrix- natural and cultural deposits which make up the archaeological site.

Northing and easting- measurements made towards the north and the east in order to map and measure the artifact or feature

Open- this means that the level is just beginning and the measurements are taken from the top surface of the level, often what was the bottom of the preceding level.

Provenience- the location of an artifact and feature at the site. Without provenience artifacts are useless.

Unit-the individual portions of the site being excavated.

References Cited

Blaine Lake
1962   *Blaine Lake 1912-1962 Golden Jubilee* Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

Blaine Lake School
1957   *Our Historical Blaine Lake.* Blaine Lake School, Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

Bondoreff, John I.
1980   Ospennia "Dug-Out" Hut Village 1899-1904. In *Bridging the Years: Era of Blaine Lake and District 1790-1980* p 22-24. Town of Blaine Lake and Rural Municipality of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan

Kozakavich, Stacey
1998   *A State of Change: an Historical Archaeology of Doukhobor Identity at Kirilovka Village Site FcNx-1.* Masters Thesis, University of Saskatchewan Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Popoff, Polly
1980   "Jim and Polly Popoff Family" In *Bridging the Years: Era of Blaine Lake and District 1790-1980* p 639-640. Town of Blaine Lake and Rural Municipality of Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan.

Renfrew, Colin and Paul Bahn
1996   *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice.* Thames and Hudson Ltd, New York, New York.

Woodcock, George and Ivan Avakumovic
1968   *The Doukhobors.* Oxford University Press, London, Great Britain.

Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology Project
Level Form

Site: Dug out   Borden Number: Fe Ng - 14

Date (m/d/y): 06 4 07   Excavator(s): M Brooks

Unit: A   Level: 2

Level Description

Level ☑   Feature ☐   Shovel ☐   Trowel ☑   Screened ☑

Dimensions and location (feature) ——— covers whole unit

Colour: orange-brown Composition: loamy-clay Compaction: medium

Inclusions: brick ☑ charcoal ☐ mortar ☐ ash ☑ wood ☐ rock, pebbles ☐
        other _____

Artifacts: 3 machine cut nails, several metal pieces, 1 plain whiteware ceramic

Other Description: The level is evenly coloured across the whole unit. It is a loamy-clay with medium compaction

Comparisons with other units: B, C have the same but D and E are different

---

Depth

Open	Close
Datum : W	Datum : W
Datum Height: 1 ~~cm~~/m	Datum Height: 1 m ~~cm~~
NE 105 cm SE 107 cm	NE 115 cm SE 115 cm
SW 106 cm NW 106 cm	SW 115 cm NW 116 cm
Centre 105 cm	Centre 116 cm
Other points located on plan ☑	

Photography: Print ☑   Slide ☐

Attached plans and profiles: _____ none
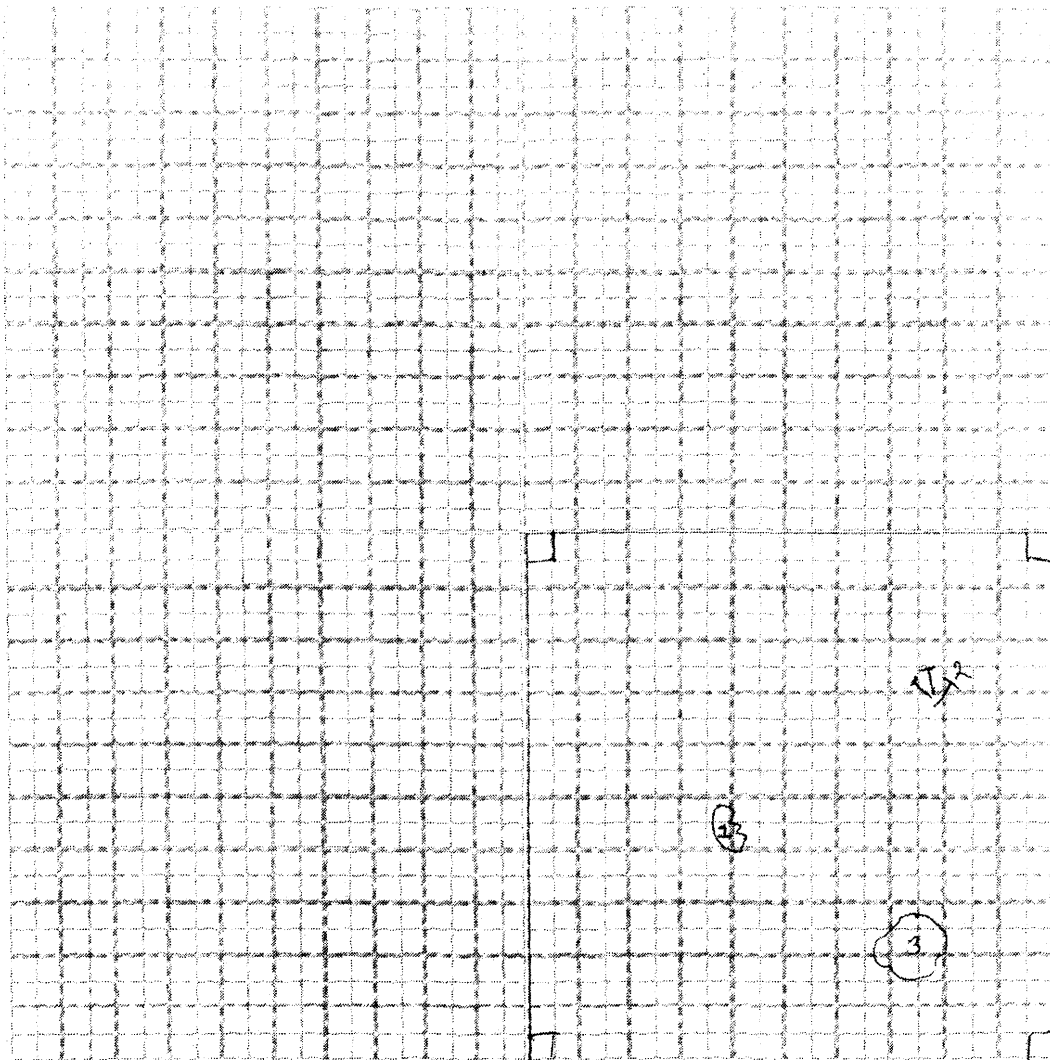
Datum _W_   Datum height _1 m_ cm

1. _110_ cm 2. _109_ cm 3. _112_ cm 4. _____ cm

5. _____ cm 6. _____ cm 7. _____ cm 8. _____ cm

9. _____ cm 10. _____ cm

Northings and Eastings (N/E cm)

1. N _40_ E _60_ cm 2. N _70_ E _20_ cm 3. N _20_ E _15_ cm

4. N ___ E ___ cm 5. N ___ E ___ cm 6. N ___ E ___ cm

7. N ___ E ___ cm 8. N ___ E ___ cm 9. N ___ E ___ cm

10. N ___ E ___ cm

Legend:
1 - plain whiteware ceramic

2 - cluster of 3 nails

3 - rock

172

Doukhobor Pit House Public Archaeology Project

Artifact Form

Site: Dug Out

Unit: A

Borden Number: Fe Nq - 14

Excavator	m/d/y	level	artifact	depth cm	N/E cm	mapped	print	slide
M. BROOKS	6/4/4	2	cluster of nails	109	70/20	yes	✓	
"	6/4/4	2	plain white ware	110	40/60	yes	✓	
"	6/4/4	2	rock	112	20/25	yes		

173

Doukhobor Past Dug Up
Archeology team to research site near Blaine Lake
Peter Wilson, The Star Phoenix, www.saskatoonstarphoenix.com
Monday, May 17, 2004

The tree branches whistle and the tangle of prairie grass bends and curves in a wind-directed rhythm. Surrounded by Mother Nature's dance and music, it doesn't take much effort for Brenda Cheveldayoff to conjure up the past.
It's over a century since her Doukhobor ancestors first set eyes on this spot. They settled here for a while, digging holes in the sides of the hills to make their first primitive homes. The settlers were here before the black skeletal bush that now coils up through old foundations and crowds the hillsides along this stretch of the river.

Cheveldayoff's parents farmed this land. Her dad, Sam Popoff, was a history buff who never tired of telling her stories about those long ago days. He knew about the early community and about those first 48 families who put down tenuous roots here. For up to five years, they lived on a patch of land that eventually became part of the Popoff family spread southeast of Blaine Lake.

This summer, an archeology team from the University of Saskatchewan has an extensive research dig planned for the site. Together with volunteers from the local Doukhobor community, the researchers will try to uncover the past to give a better idea of how the settlers lived back then.

"My dad always dreamed of having something like this done," says Cheveldayoff. "I wanted to fulfill his dream and I think the dig will help finish off what he started."

Popoff knew where the caves were that his grandfather had helped dig. He'd told his daughter how the settlers had crowded their dugouts and cave homes into the natural shelter of the ravine area. In winter, he'd said, the blizzard winds had blown so strong it had buried the homes on the ravine's north end and their neighbours on the south side had to tunnel them out.

It's spring now, but there's still the bite of winter in the chill north wind blowing across the exposed lookout point. It provides a gentle reminder to what the early pioneers went through. But there's also a beauty about this place. Newly arrived robins fight against the gusts in their anxiety to find the best nesting spots. Down in the valley, the wide serpentine shape of the North Saskatchewan River coils into the distance.

"Coming here they would have walked along the river way down there; then slowly made their way to pretty well

where we're standing now."

Braving the strong gusts of wind, Alex Strelioff gazes across the endless panorama of Saskatchewan countryside. In a way, he's standing in the present but looking out over a distant past, a past that reaches out to the time his forefathers arrived in the country.

Strelioff is a Doukhobor elder, a direct descendant of the original group of settlers who travelled from Russia 105 years ago to make new lives on the Canadian prairies. These first Doukhobors arriving in Canada in 1899 were escaping an ongoing battle of religious and political persecution in their homeland of Russia.

About 7,500 Doukhobors moved from Russia to the Canadian prairies, their emigration sponsored in part by Leo Tolstoy and English and American Quaker groups. It was a bold and courageous experiment, but one that was to haunt Canadian authorities and bring both success and tragedy to the peasant pioneers. Pacifists, with strong spiritual beliefs, the Doukhobors lived a communal life in the old country, believing that sharing property and land was of benefit to the whole community. They also proved to be good farmers in their adopted country, forming three colonies in Saskatchewan two north of Yorkton and the other near Blaine Lake. Those who settled around the Blaine Lake area were more inclined towards becoming independent farmers, rather than working on shared land, says Strelioff.

The group that the Popoff family were part of began their lives in Canada living in tents in a temporary settlement near Duck Lake. It was a hard beginning for the newcomers but they were a tough

lot, says Strelioff.

He says that support from Quakers also extended to shipments of food because the religious group knew that the fledgling Doukhobor settlement could not be self-sustaining over the first few years. The Quakers were generous. Their first shipment of produce sent by rail included a car each of oats, sugar and onions along with two cars of potatoes and four cars of flour.

After the first winter, three scouts were sent out to look for land. They travelled down the North Saskatchewan River, checking out suitable territory that could accommodate the 48 families living in the Duck Lake area. About 35 kilometres upstream, they came across some flood plains where a deep ravine led up to a plateau of fertile virgin prairie. The clincher came when the scouts found their discovery also had a fast flowing fresh water spring.

"It was all virgin land, and the few people in the area they were travelling through would have almost all been Natives or Metis," says Strelioff.

The settlers had to walk the whole way carrying their possessions. It wasn't a light load. Part of the cargo carried by the women included heavy rocks they'd brought all the way from Russia to press their traditional sauerkraut

"They were worried that there wouldn't be rocks in the area, so they brought their own along with them," explains Strelioff. "Little did they know they'd have more than they could handle after they started ploughing up the prairie."

Standing in a canola-stubble field about a half-kilometre from the ravine, Marion Burak recounts the next stage of the community's development. It was here

where Ospennia once stood; the village the Doukhobor settlers' constructed after they moved from the ravine area and where they built their traditional long houses. It became one of about 57 settlements built by the Doukhobors in Saskatchewan.

"The houses would have been situated this way and would have faced that direction. There would have been about 200 people living here at its peak we think," she explains, tracing a finger across an old diagram from the local history book she's using as a reference.

The village did not have a long life. By around 1913, most of the residents had moved away to settle on homesteads in the area, she says.

Burak is a member of the local Doukhobor committee that is helping coordinate the research that will lead to the archeological dig this summer. Planning for the dig has helped to revitalize interest in Doukhobor history in the province, says Burak.

"The project is helping bring the Doukhobor community together and it's re-energizing our efforts to find out and preserve our history," she says.

For Brenda Cheveldayoff, seeing her father's dream fulfilled has renewed a sense of heritage.

"I never used to give it much thought, but now I see just how important it is for us to be able to connect with our past," she says. "The dig will help preserve this place and tell the story about the settlement. It will be another stage in dad's dream."

In the future, Cheveldayoff has plans that include eventually opening the site to tourists, visitors like her who want to touch a little piece of Saskatchewan's rich historical past. Right now, she's also interested in tracking down anyone who has knowledge of Doukhobor settlement around Ospennia. She can be reached at 306-497-3140.

Doukhobor settlement designated heritage site

❑ Blaine Lake caves housed 48 families

By Christine Fiddler
of The StarPhoenix

Old caves dug into a deep ravine at Blaine Lake hold a rich history for many local Doukhobors whose ancestors built them 100 years ago to survive the harsh prairie winters.

Last year, an archeological dig of the caves on Brenda Cheveldayoff's property restored the structure and preserved the site for visitors.

In a ceremony today, Lt.-Gov. Lynda Haverstock will officially declare the Doukhobor Dugout House a provincial heritage property, fulfilling a longtime goal for Cheveldayoff.

"We needed to do the archeological dig to prove that they actually lived there and you can't designate something until it has been proven by research and evidence," Cheveldayoff said in an interview.

The dig allowed University of Saskatchewan students to study the architecture of the shelters, where 48 Doukhobor families lived while they established a village.

"They dug a hole into the sides of the hill and they lined it with wood. There's no wood in the back wall, they left it as dirt. It's sort of like if you're looking at a cellar in the ground. So in 400 square feet there would have been 40 people," she said.

A spring nearby ensured an easily accessible fresh supply of water, which was the main reason the spot was chosen.

"Right now with the waters flooding it's really moving. It's been named Oospenia Creek, the name of the village they had in Russia. It's really, really beautiful. It's like a waterfall creek right in front of the structures where they lived in the side of the hills."

Norm Rebin, another descendent of the Doukhobor group, said in an interview that the caves signify the Doukhobor's survival, endurance, vision and faith.

"When we came to this country there was no safety net, there was no food supplies, welfare supplies, medical supplies and people only survived because they dug into the caves," he said.

The designation is important to bring people to the area, "so they would be aware of the history of Doukhobors and the contributions they've made. Brenda has done a very courageous and a very wonderful job."

The Blaine Lake group was part of 7,500 Doukhobor settlers sponsored in 1899 into the Canadian Prairies because of the religious and political persecution they faced in Russia.

According to Rebin, the Doukhobors' concept of peace and the environment were not unlike the Cree people who helped them with supplies in difficult situations and in establishing a knowledge of the terrain.

"I would say they were friends from the beginning and the most important thing is they did not judge us. As you know our society is very quick to judge," he said.

Cheveldayoff's efforts are an important contribution to her Doukhobor ancestors. The area was particularly meaningful to her father.

"It was dad's dream. I knew that he was doing all these little tours with his culture and his faith and as I grew up I knew about it but I just didn't pay attention," she said.

Local Doukhobors eventually want to see a Doukhobor museum built in the area.

The site can be located by turning east onto the gird road at the blue sign on Highway 12 after crossing the North Saskatchewan River but before arriving at the town of Blaine Lake. The site is marked by a large rock with an attached plaque.

Visitors can look at the cave structure, the archeological dig area, Doukhobor artifacts, a steam bath and 18th century Doukhobor buildings in a village-like setting.

—Photo courtesy Meagan Brook

A volunteer works on the archeological dig last year

Appendix C: Pit-House Artifact Summary Tables

Although few artifacts were found through the excavation of the pit house, those uncovered tended to emphasize the abandoned nature of the site. A summary of these are below in Table C.1. Of note are the fragments of a can (possibly gas) which has been reutilized, although for what remains a mystery. Its excavation provided a significant amount of discussion, allowing volunteers to hypothesize about its function.

The 29 faunal pieces (largely small mammal and rodent) reflect the abandoned state of the site. One piece was burnt, indicating the possibility of consumption. This was discussed at length with the volunteers. Seed samples recovered from several units from the same level were largely Amaranthus *blitoides*, commonly referred to as 'pig weed' or 'mat amaranth.' The seeds, while serving to better explain stratigraphy to the volunteers also sparked conversation about the type of seeds they could be and their connection to Doukhobor heritage.

Some surface ceramics were also collected from the Popoff farm yard and catalogued. Although they have little to do with the pit house, these artifacts will begin a collection to demonstrate the lifestyle of early Independent Doukhobor settlement. These are presented in Tables C.2 and C.3.

Table C.1: FeNq-14 Pit-house, Total Provenience Based Finds

| Glass	Nails (wire)	Faunal (mixed)	Seed samples	Reutilized gas can pieces	Miscellaneous	Total
9	29	29	4	69	35	175

Table C.2: FeNq-14 Pit-house, Glass and Ceramics Surface Finds

Glass		Ceramics	
Window glass	4	Ironstone	1
Pharmaceutical	1	Vitrified earthenware	6
Cylindrical bottle	1	Whiteware	9
Rectangular bottle	1	Porcelain	2
Milk glass	1		
Total	8	Total	18

Table C.3: FeNq-14 Pit-house, Ceramics Type Surface Finds

Ironstone		Whiteware		Vitrified earthenware		Porcelain	
plain	1	transfer print green	2	transfer print overglaze	1	moulded	1
		transfer print blue	1	blue sponged	1	plain	1
		plain	5	plain	4		
		blue banded	1				
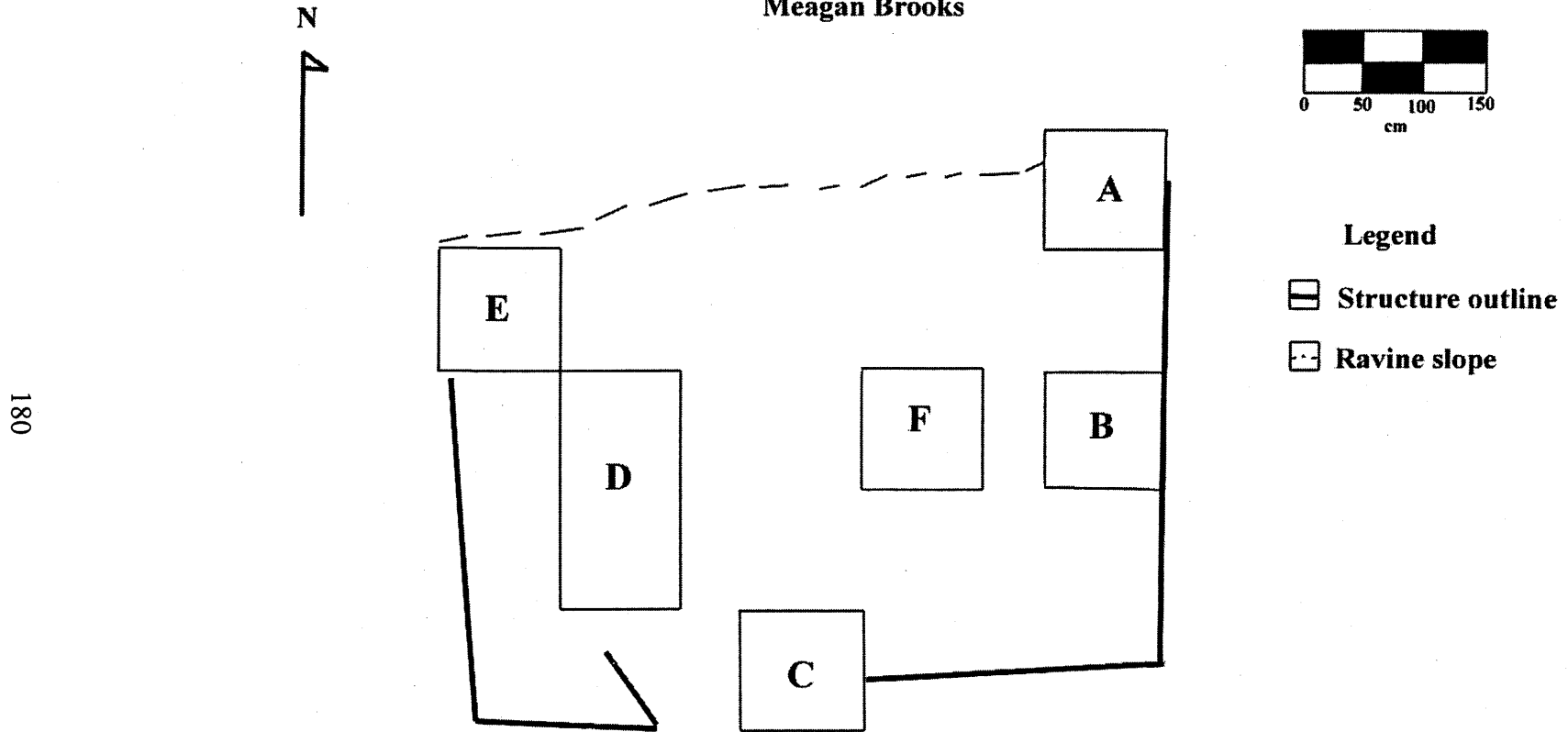
Figure C.1: Plan of Pit House units (plan by author).

Ospennia Surface and Test Pit Finds

Many surface artifacts were found on the site prior to the excavation. The artifacts revealed a variety of debris related to the village of Ospennia and homestead. However the information it holds is limited. Discerning what belonged to the village proper and the established homestead is extremely difficult as the area has been cultivated during and after both occupations.

Table D.1: FeNq-11 Ospennia Surface and Test Pit Finds

Glass	Ceramic	Faunal	Building Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous
134	86	17	41	26

Table D.2: FeNq-11 Ospennia Surface and Test Pit Finds, Glass

Gin	Liquor	Soda	Beer	Pharmaceutical	Unknown Glass Container	Unknown Glass Bottle
24	19	3	3	4	44	37

Table D.3: FeNq-11 Ospennia Surface and Test Pit Finds, Ceramic Types

Ironstone Plain	Semi-Porcelain	Porcelain	Hard paste Porcelain	Whiteware	Stoneware
11	2	3	1	58	7

Table D.4: FeNq-11 Ospennia Surface and Test Pit Finds, Whiteware Decoration Types

Transfer print Blue		Transfer print green		Plain	31
Floral	2	Floral	2	Handpainted	5
Abstract	1	Abstract	5	Stamped	1
Indeterminate	1	Nautical	4	Orange glaze	3
		Indeterminate	1	Transfer printed Red, Floral	1
				Overglaze floral	1

Ospennia Unit Finds

Within the cellar pit excavated at the Ospennia village a wide range of abandonment and post-abandonment debris was uncovered, filling in the pit. Although excavation of the pit was not finished, it is likely that the uppermost layers relate to the homestead and the deeper levels to the slow abandonment of the village throughout the 1910s. In particular the large amount of building materials such as brick fragments, window glass, plaster, nails and wood found in this small space demonstrate the destruction and possible salvage of buildings related to this village lot. The 851 faunal remains, comprising a minimum number of ten individuals, demonstrates the pit's use as a waste heap after the abandonment of the lot. The excavation of several chickens and birds, a juvenile lamb and an articulated horse provided an interesting experience for the volunteers. There was also very little evidence that the animals had been butchered for meat consumption.

The horse in particular captured the imaginations of the volunteers and there was much speculation as to how old it was and how it died. While it is impossible to state

how the animal died, a faunal analysis performed by fellow graduate student Cara Pollio discerned that this female horse was older, perhaps 14-16 years of age. Serious work and age related pathologies found on the bones demonstrate that the horse was a draft horse although small, at 15 hands. All the faunal remains from the cellar pit are stored at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Saskatchewan.

Table D.5: FeNq-11 Ospennia Unit Finds

Glass	Ceramic	Faunal	Wire Nails	Machine Cut Nails	Building Hardware and Materials	Miscellaneous
140	22	851	38	2	103	87

Table D.6: FeNq-11 Ospennia Unit Finds, Glass

Gin	Liquor	Soda	Wine	Jar	Lamp	Pharm.	Ink	Unknown Glass Container	Unknown Glass Bottle
32	10	3	3	4	8	11	1	63	5

Table D.7: FeNq-11 Ospennia Unit Finds, Ceramic Types and Decoration

Ironstone		Vitrified White Earthenware		Whiteware	
plain	2	transfer print green		plain	8
		abstract	1	flow blue	2
		floral	1	hand painted	2
				transfer print blue indeterminate pattern	2
				transfer print brown floral pattern	1
				transfer print green floral pattern	1
				transfer print overglaze floral pattern	2

Ospennia FeNq-11: Units Excavating Cellar Pit June 2004
Meagan Brooks