Building Capacity for Co-Created Digital Moviemaking through Youth Programs

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One challenge for archaeology and the broader heritage sector concerns facilitating connections between young people and the past in urban settings. Such connections are important because they inspire civic engagement, whereby young people become stewards for their urban environments, their communities, and the heritage sector. Co-created youth work experiences and digital media products can build capacity for government agencies and community-based organizations to find solutions to the challenges they individually face. For example, governmental agencies feel pressure to demonstrate the public benefits of taxpayers' investment in cultural resources; employing youth is one solution. Community-based organizations view heritage as a means to instill pride and generate economic benefits; working with governments can help them apply this vision. Members of the public may not realize the impacts of historical events in their communities or their lives; having youth report about the untold stories of the park next door can change that. As one Urban Archaeology Corps (UAC) participant observed, "a lot of people are connected and we don't realize it."

This paper presents the UAC as a case study that demonstrates how the co-creation of digital media projects can provide new or novel opportunities for civic engagement. The National Park Service (NPS) conducted a pilot during the summers of 2012-

ABSTRACT

The Urban Archaeology Corps is a United States National Park Service (NPS) work program that invites youth to reflect on archaeological stewardship through digital media. Youth from communities surrounding urban national parks engage in interdisciplinary research, then create short digital movies and video diaries about their experiences. Emphasis is placed on connecting untold stories with the youth and local people. This paper is a case study in building capacity in youth programs for co-created archaeology work experiences and digital products that enable the NPS and the communities it serves to share in archaeological stewardship.

El Urban Archaeology Corps es un programa de trabajo del National Park Service (NPS) de los Estados Unidos que invita a los jóvenes a reflexionar sobre la administración arqueológica a través de medios digitales. Los jóvenes de las comunidades alrededor de los parques urbanos nacionales participan en la investigación interdisciplinaria, quienes luego crean cortometrajes digitales y diarios acerca de sus experiencias en formato de video. Se hace énfasis en conectar a los jóvenes y a la población con las historias locales que no se han contado. Este trabajo es un estudio de caso sobre la capacidad de estos programas juveniles para crear en colaboración las experiencias del trabajo arqueológico y los productos digitales, lo que permite al NSP servir a sus comunidades, compartiendo la administración arqueológica.

2014 in collaboration with Groundwork Anacostia River District of Columbia (GWARDC) at National Capital Parks-East, an urban national park unit located east of the Anacostia River in Washington, D.C. In summer 2015, the UAC will expand to four urban national park units and employ 30 young people ages 15-25. The UAC is not a traditional archaeological field school; instead, it emphasizes, first, the unique perspectives of youth on the national parks and, second, the co-creation of digital media products to share their experience. Co-creation for the UAC means the development of an archaeology work experience by the NPS and GWARDC and the creation of media products by youth about their experience. The term co-creation is used to capture the fact that the UAC is a program developed in partnership by the NPS and GWARDC. As explained in further detail below, the NPS and GWARDC were both equal stakeholders in the creation of the UAC and each contributed to the direction, planning, and implementation of the project. As a result of the UAC, the NPS and GWARDC have built their capacity to meet their missions and goals.

OVERVIEW OF CAPACITY BUILDING

Capacity building is an outcome of civic engagement and community-based partnerships. The term traditionally refers to top-down assistance from wealthy countries to developing countries. More recently, capacity building has been applied to other contexts, such as urban environments within the United States or heritage management fields (Fleming and Campbell 2010; Jansen 2010; Smith 2012). Archaeologists have made significant contributions to the body of civic engagement literature, although they do not necessarily frame the results as building capacity (Chambers 2004; Holtorf 2010; Little and Shackel 2014; McDavid 2003, 2007; Mullins 2007; Pyburn 2003; Shackel 2004, 2009). Archaeological community service learning projects provide pathways for young people to practice civic engagement and, in turn, build their skillset for collaboration and civic work (Nassaney 2009, 2012). Such work increases the capacity of communities for heritage stewardship and their organizational partners' capacity for working with communities.

Maximizing the potential for capacity building is inherently co-creative because multiple stakeholders must work together to identify and overcome obstacles to their long-term sustainable goals. Carol DeVita et al.'s (2001:7) list of common capacity building goals includes: "to empower people, increase community participation, foster social cohesion, enhance cultural identity, and strengthen institutional development in a sustainable way." One path to sustainability is for communities to identify assets they already have. Elderly community members, for example, have a wealth of memories to capture through oral histories. Young people might contribute mental maps that document how the built environment affects their movements. To bring about products like oral histories or mental maps, individuals need to be connected with civic associations. John McKnight (2013:13) writes that:

> The basic tool for community building with the gifts of individuals and the power of associations is making connections. The gifts of individuals become valuable when they are connected to someone. Associations

become powerful when they connect the gifts of many individuals. Associations become even more powerful when they are connected to other associations.

In this way, capacity building results from individuals and civic associations finding connections in order to support civic engagement.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, heritage professionals realized that the sustainability of their work depended upon the public's involvement. They saw institutions, such as museums or parks, as centers of civic engagement activities that could build social capital in communities (Hirzy 2002). Co-creation of activities became a best practice for working with communities. Nina Simon (2010:Chapter 8) sees co-creative projects as "originat[ing] in partnership with participants rather than based solely on institutional goals." In this view, museums (and parks) are "community-based organizations in service to the needs of visitors, rather than ... providers of services the institution perceives as valuable" (Simon 2010:Chapter 8). Heritage professionals backed away from assuming leadership and authority, instead working collaboratively with communities.

Archaeology is part of the co-creation movement. Backing away from an authority role poses a challenge for archaeologists, whom communities engage specifically for their specialized skills. Carol McDavid (2011) asks about the role public archaeologists play in capacity building and the sustainability of community projects. She admits that the movement of a project tends to correlate with the level of her involvement, suggesting that partners' dependence upon her determines their capacity for community archaeology. Phil Pollard (2014) notes that capacity building for archaeology takes place in office cubicles as often as it does in the field or with communities, a case that is certainly true for the UAC. Nonetheless, archaeologists continue to do community archaeology work and seek new ways to be relevant, such as digital media, as a means to facilitate public engagement. Both the new museology and post-processual archaeology thus challenge archaeologists and communities to co-create projects in ways that foster sustainability and civic engagement.

Within the NPS more specifically, civic engagement is part of everyday work. "Director's Order 75A: Civic Engagement and Public Involvement" (National Park Service 2007), a policy memorandum, directs NPS employees to seek out and conduct a range of civic engagement activities. The Director's Order defines civic engagement as:

> a continuous, dynamic conversation with the public on many levels that reinforces that commitment of both NPS and the public to the preservation of heritage resources, both cultural and natural, and strengthens public understanding of the full meaning and contemporary relevance of these resources.

Barbara Little (2007:7) articulates that the purpose for the NPS to conduct such work is: "to keep national parks relevant to the American people, to transform these historic sites by making them active centers of democracy and civic engagement." Molly Russell (2011:5) finds no one way that the NPS conducts civic engagement. Russell (2011:19) identifies, instead, a core set of principles that are central to any NPS civic engagement project (active listening, trust,

FIGURE 1. The Urban Archaeology Corps learns excavation techniques (photo: UAC).

relationships), as well as secondary ones (understanding communities, diverse opinions, open communication, transparency). Civic engagement activities by the NPS are thus part of a broader professional examination of the role of civic engagement in professionals' institutional work with the public. Partnerships with community-based organizations such as GWARDC are within the constellation of civic engagement activities.

Within the NPS, youth employment programs have not traditionally combined archaeology with civic engagement or co-created work experiences and digital media. Examples exist throughout the NPS, however, of archaeological projects that work with youth, or communities, or digital media. Archaeologists at Fort Vancouver National Historical Site train young people in archaeological methods and interpretation through its longstanding Public Archaeology Program. Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the University of Tennessee, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians have held archaeological field schools for the tribe's high school students. The program improves working relationships between the park and the tribe. Digital media is a core component of the Youth Ambassador Program at New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, in which underserved youth create videos and music for public programming. All of these programs exist due to the vision of individuals and organizations committed to making connections between archaeological heritage and youth within their communities.

THE UAC

The NPS and GWARDC built capacity for archaeological work experiences by co-creating the UAC program and digital media products. This section outlines the program, using the pilot program based at National Capital Parks-East in partnership with GWARDC as a case study. While working in the program, the team conducts preliminary work on a research question; coordinates two community outreach events; completes a small archaeological test or excavation; and produces media including short movies, educational handouts (such as coloring sheets for kids and park history brochures), and artifact exhibits.

Co-creative archaeological work is an effective and appropriate technique for engaging young people ages 15–25 because it does not dictate; instead, it encourages them to take evidence and arrive at their own conclusions as a means to act on their expressed needs. At this developmental stage, young people intellectually and emotionally shift from being children to adults. Their personal identity becomes more defined. They are increasingly independent and able to engage in higher-order and abstract thinking. Youth become aware of their personal responsibilities and their relationships to the world. They become cognizant of the impact of the past and their heritage on their lives, but are also able to form questions and opinions about it.

For the millennial generation, which includes births from the early 1980s to the early 2000s, a unique set of historical circumstances impact their sense of history and self. In general, they grew up with the Internet, handheld personal devices, and social media. In comparison with their parents' generation, they face increasingly expensive higher education, fewer and less secure career opportunities, a completely different balance of expenses, and a radically more diverse populace. All these factors—and more—form the millennials' unique generational perspective and impact their relationship with heritage resources and their meanings. For underserved millennial youth, their experiences are also shaped by geography, class, and ethnicity, which in turn impact their exposure to technology, education, and life experiences. One UAC team member said that "our job in the UAC is to make these stories resonate with people and that's something that, you know, we're constantly trying to find every day, and hope that our videos and our projects help with that" (Mills 2014:8). In this way, the UAC matches the collaborative and engaged potential that broadly characterizes the millennial generation with archaeology's goal to connect communities with their heritage.

Assets and Weaknesses

Despite shared goals of stewardship and civic engagement, NPS and GWARDC are culturally very different organizations with distinct identities that tie closely to their assets and weaknesses. One is large, bureaucratic, slow to change, and rich in heritage resources and practitioners. The other is small, lean, and deeply embedded in local community-based work. Each organization had something to offer the other, but each organization also needed something from the other. Co-creative work enables organizations to pool their resources in order to construct something that neither could on their own.

The NPS is a federal bureau within the Department of the Interior. Its mission is to "[preserve] unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world." For the UAC, staff at the Washington Office identify funding sources, coordinate administrative paperwork, and establish an overarching framework of priorities and goals. Park staff members at National Capital Parks-East decide upon the research questions and work projects, and supervise the team's activities on park lands as necessary, because this is within their purview as NPS employees to ensure resource protection.

GWARDC uses environmental restoration goals as a vehicle for community development. It works with communities along the Anacostia River and its watershed. GWARDC aims to increase the capacity of communities to improve and care for their local environment; reclaim lands for conservation, recreation, and economic development; and reconnect residents to the environmental assets of their neighborhood, including parks, open spaces, and riverways. The executive director and staff at GWARDC coordinate administrative matters, including applications for grants and awards, recruitment of youth, identification of community members for oral history interviews, and other tasks.

Both the NPS and GWARDC gave up some authority and control to co-create the UAC. For example, among the NPS's strongest assets were funding, parks, and cultural resources. NPS funding enables the UAC program to continue, supports community-based non-profits' operational costs, and purchases supplies and equipment. The NPS provided guidance to GWARDC on the appropriate pay for a professional archaeologist, a position that GWARDC had not hired before. Although NPS wanted to steer the program's development, it knew little about the issues facing employment of youth east of the Anacostia River or about small non-profit organizations. GWARDC's strongest assets, on the other hand, were its commitment to youth service and its staff members' deep connection to neighborhoods surrounding National Capital Parks-East. As a result, GWARDC provided insights on young people's thought processes, the calendars affecting their time, and the cultural issues that explain parents' involvement in their children's lives. GWARDC saw the UAC schedule as rigid, while the NPS viewed it as an appropriate and responsible unfolding of training to prepare youth for each task. Once GWARDC understood the principles behind the program's design, it was in a better position to promote the strategy to multiple audiences. On the other hand, neither the NPS nor GWARDC had the equipment or experience to implement a digital media component in the UAC. The NPS could purchase appropriate equipment and supply a media specialist for workshops, but relied on GWARDC to recruit the right young people who could use digital media effectively to fulfill the program's goals. Table 1 lists the strengths of each organization, as well as the shared weaknesses.

Beyond NPS and GWARDC, the UAC ticks because of its youth and the project archaeologist. They became part of the co-creative process because of their feedback to NPS and GWARDC. The team at National Capital Parks-East consists of 11 people, ages 16–25: a project archaeologist, a youth mentor, and nine additional members. The age range aligns with noncompetitive hiring authorities under the Public Lands Act and Direct Hiring authorities. These legal authorities provide a path for young people age 16–25 to be noncompetitively hired into federal service upon completing a required number of work hours on public lands. Youth recruited into the program by GWARDC come from diverse backgrounds and represent the communities surrounding National Capital Parks-East and the suburbs of Washington, D.C. They work full-time for 10 weeks and are paid an hourly wage plus a public transportation subsidy. The team is based at a workroom within National Capital Parks-East, but regularly travels to archives, libraries, and other parks to do their work. Their work is co-creative with NPS and GWARDC because their research results and interactions with community members inform the organization's approaches to civic engagement.

On-the-Job Training

Another key component to building capacity is training youth in the skills necessary to do their work with the UAC. The assumption is that, like archaeologists in their jobs, youths bring skills and abilities to the work experience but require training to do their work better. Participants receive training in the broad range of tasks undertaken by archaeologists, from research to excavation to talking with community members. Training both looks at archaeology head-on and provides experience in related fields and techniques appropriate to civic engagement.

TABLE 1. Assets Brought by NPS and/or GWARDC to the Urban Archaeology Corps.

	NPS Strength	GWARDC Strength	Shared Weakness
Administration	X (cooperative agreements, task agreements, scheduling)	X (payroll, transportation subsidies, permission slips)	
Funding	X (base)	X (matching funds, grants)	
Professional archaeologists and archaeology research needs	X (NPS employees and professional archaeology network)		
Expertise in management	X (cultural resources)	X (nonprofits)	
Digital media availability (laptops, tablets, cameras, software and apps)			X
Ability to store, purchase, and maintain office supplies and computer equipment			X
Digital media specialist to deliver training	X		
Social media and web presence	X (websites, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr)	X (websites, Twitter, Facebook)	
Access to trainers and/or training	X (archaeological methods, oral history, workplace diversity, digital media, Global Positioning Systems, safety)	X (camping and outdoor skills, Anacostia watershed management, safety)	
Long-term relationships with youth and their families; Ability to flexibly recruit		X	
Expertise in local communities' history and culture		X	
Program evaluation			X
Promotion and marketing	X (social media, web, newsletters, professional archeology conferences and publications)	X (social media, web, newsletters, fundraising campaigns, awards, board members' networks, Groundwork USA network)	
Program reporting to multiple audiences	X (various NPS parks and programs, archeologists)	X (Groundwork USA network, local politicians, communities)	
Opportunities to grow into other parks and communities	X (national park units nationwide)	X (in National Capital Region national park units, other Groundwork USA trusts nationwide)	

Unlike traditional archaeological field schools, the UAC team excavates for only three-to-five days over the course of 10 weeks. They learn archaeological methods, including site identification, excavation techniques, artifact processing, and site condition assessment. They practice archaeology by assisting with small compliance projects. For example, one major result of co-creating the UAC program was that GWARDC was able to complete a project they had been waiting to finish. In 2012 and 2013, National Capital Parks-East staff asked the UAC to investigate the possibility of archaeological resources associated with contraband camps at Fort Mahan, one of several forts built to defend the District of Columbia during the Civil War. Park resource staff were concerned that new equipment proposed for a fitness trail might disturb archaeological resources associated

with the camps. GWARDC had purchased the equipment and was waiting for the go-ahead to install it. The UAC participants were able to complete work that ultimately helped this project move forward.

The team also applies archaeological methods to trash pickups and reading the landscape for visitors' impacts. As necessary, the team tells resources managers and law enforcement about what they observe, including the locations where people live illegally in the parks. Over the course of the work experience, the project archaeologist constantly reinforces the connections between archaeological methods with other disciplines and their impact on park management.

FIGURE 2. The Urban Archaeology Corps learns about trash collection from bandalong traps on the Anacostia River.

In addition to archaeological methods, the team learns a broad range of approaches to cultural resources work. Workshops include archival and secondary source research, oral history, digital media, GPS, and interpretation. In addition, a diversity workshop sets expectations for mutual respect among the team and establishes ground rules for words, physical contact, and behavior. These training opportunities not only impart practical skills, but also provide opportunities to practice social skills that are key to civic engagement. Oral history training, for example, teaches about respectful conversation and multiple perspectives. Diversity training enables youth to speak about difference and collaborate on the kind of space they want to share.

Training thus helps to build capacity for archaeology as a vehicle for civic engagement by increasing youths' abilities to conduct research and work with communities and people from a place of respect. A participant said that she had changed her mind about all that archaeology involved: "I said [in a survey] digging in the ground, but I did not know it had all this history behind it, like … forts and earthworks and soldier men standing behind big mounds … and shooting at people, it's really cool" (Mills 2014:8). Another participant remarked, "Doing the dig at Oxon Hill was really fun, yeah that's what I thought archaeology was before this, just digging, and cataloging, didn't know it was research" (Mills 2014:8).

Meeting NPS Staff

One aim of the UAC is to show that public lands are viable work opportunities with something for everyone, even if archaeology is not their thing. The team meets NPS staff from all corners of the bureau, including interpretation, administration, resource management, and maintenance.

The team learns from NPS employees about their career paths and the work they do. They can also receive mentoring, as told by one team member:

> Today Tony came in with us today, it was pretty cool seeing him again because he came last year and he recognized me so me and him also had a really good talk about me about to graduate college and different options I can take whether it's in the NPS or other government positions that are open [Mills 2014:4].

In addition, the team learns how to apply for federal jobs. A NPS employee visits the group to talk about career paths in the federal government. The talk includes a primer on using the website USAJobs.gov, the online jobs announcement system for federal positions.

Meeting NPS staff helps the team to practice civic engagement through their communication skills and by forming relationships with government employees. During these conversations, they talk about their ideas and give feedback on what is going well in the parks, what needs improvement, and what does not make sense to the public. This "speaking back" in person to the NPS enables the team to practice the message for their co-created digital media product.

Comparative Site Visits

Much as heritage professionals consult with each other, the UAC team visits park staff in urban, suburban, and rural national park units. Some parks have similar urban communities, such as Kenilworth Aquatic Gardens, Oxon Hill Farm, Anacostia Park, and Frederick Douglass National Historic Site. Other parks are located in rural settings beyond Washington, D.C., including Booker T. Washington National Monument, Gettysburg National Military Park, and Shenandoah National Park. The visits have two primary purposes. First, the team becomes knowledgeable about national park units in their neighborhoods and the heritage preserved within them. Second, the team experiences a range of approaches to resource management and interpretation. The team also practices civic engagement in the process of talking with government employees at these parks.

Digital Media Products

Digital media products are a key feature of the UAC. Participants collaborate with each other, the NPS, and GWARDC to co-create the movies. The process helps them to form connections with archaeological heritage and urban national park units, which in turn creates a sense of stewardship that is key to civic engagement.

An NPS media specialist conducts photography and videography workshops with the team. They learn techniques for developing a script and pairing it with images to tell a story or convey an idea. Each participant has a MacBook Pro laptop computer or an iPad for a workstation. They use point-and-shoot Canon Powershot digital cameras for still and video images. Audio is captured with clip-on microphones. Images and video are processed using standard iMovie and iPhoto software. Using these tools, each participant produces a short movie to share with the public, NPS, and GWARDC.

Some participants take an educational approach to share information or an idea that they believe is interesting or important for others to know. For example, one participant talked about a Civil War soldier on watch at Fort Mahan who doodled pictures and his name into the logbook. The doodles made the soldier into a real, relatable person for this participant, not just a distant figure in the past. Other movies convey a message to the communities surrounding the national park units and to the NPS. One participant argued that the community's dumping of garbage in the parks betrayed its ignorance for history and disrespect for park lands. He urged the NPS to improve its interpretive signage. The movies created by the UAC are on the National Capital Parks-East YouTube channel (2014).

In addition to the movies, the UAC participants film video field books. They talk about what they are learning and doing,

without direction from their supervisor or authority figures. One participant recorded,

> today we went on the Deanwood historical tour of this town, well the neighborhood, it was really fun, we learned a lot about the history of the area, how it had the first all-black amusement park and how a lot of African store owners made their businesses there, and also how there are also a lot of Jewish businesses there too because they knew how the blacks felt and they were treating them equally [Mills 2014:2].

The video field books help the participants think through their work experiences, but they also document changes in attitudes, interests, and needs.

Expansion of participants' marketable skills are one result of the co-creative process of making the movies. The participants build their capacity for team-based, collaborative work that uses technology to communicate to various audiences. Before the UAC, many participants did not realize that working with digital media is a real career path for many different kinds of organizations. Such work might include creating videos and images, managing social media accounts, or conducting marketing and production tasks. Many UAC participants had experience with computers and digital technologies, but not in working with Apple products and associated recording and editing software. Neither their schools nor homes tended to offer these products, which offered a stepping stone to additional, cumulative experiences in industry standards for digital production. One 15-year-old said that he "learned computer skills on the MacBook. He feels that these skills will help him in the long run and help him in the next year of school since he's taking 'technology class.'" Another had learned "MacBook skills." After meeting NPS staff whose work focuses on digital media, such as social media managers and media specialists, and gaining the work experience themselves, they have gained a foundation for moving into a technology position.

Community Day and Public Events

The UAC team practices civic engagement during outreach and education events. These events aim to connect the public with the archaeological heritage preserved within National Capital Parks-East. To do so, team members share their knowledge and ideas with community members and political figures. They talk about the roles that NPS and GWARDC play in communities east of the Anacostia River.

The Day of Archaeology Festival (2014) is coordinated in Washington, D.C., by Archaeology in the Community, a nonprofit archaeology education and outreach organization. UAC team members create activities for kids, artifact displays, and information sheets for the day. They talk with visitors about their work, often impressing on them that archaeology is possible in urban settings and may reveal historical evidence. For example, the team recovered archaeological evidence of twentieth-century partying in Fort Mahan. They put artifacts from the excavation on display at the Day of Archaeology event. One Day of Archaeology visitor recognized pull tabs from beer cans and other artifacts from her own days of socializing in the park.

The team also coordinates a Community Day at the end of their work experience. This event, which takes place at the Dorothy Height Library near Fort Mahan, invites NPS employees, community members, parents, politicians, and others to learn about the team's summer experience and to ask questions. Community Day is an opportunity for the team to speak back to the NPS about the ways that services or interpretation can be improved in parks, or the valuable lessons they learned.

Program Evaluation

A robust evaluation and reporting sequence tracks the degree to which the UAC meets the goals of the NPS and GWARDC. Quotes from participants throughout this article come from those evaluations. The team completes surveys on their first workday, midway through the work experience, and on the final day. In addition, the participants answer a demographic survey. The survey asks questions about age, gender, ethnicity, education, career plans, and experience with the NPS as an employee or volunteer. The answers enable the NPS and GWARDC to track the diversity of the UAC.

The first and last day surveys have similar qualitative and quantitative questions in order to track changes in attitudes from the beginning to the end of the work experience. The answers to the questions may include yes/no, rankings on a scale, single words, or sentences. For example, participants answer questions such as: "Have you done archaeology before?" "How important do you believe it is that national parks are preserved and protected?" "Having learned about the NPS and what it has to offer, would you consider a career in the National Park Service?" and "Would you participate in the UAC next summer? Please explain your answer." Quantifiable answers are statistically analyzed, whereas qualitative answers are compiled into a list. The surveys indicate that UAC team members exit the work experience feeling more knowledgeable about archaeology, enthusiastic about national parks and the heritage they preserve, and interested in volunteer or employment opportunities with the NPS.

The data from the surveys answer questions about the degree to which the UAC meets its goals and youth have a transformative experience. Because one aim of the program is to increase awareness of and interest in the NPS as a career path, the surveys do not ask whether UAC participants see non-profit careers as an option. As a result, despite GWARDC's co-creative partnership role in the program, the surveys do not provide it with a way to gauge its impact on encouraging young people to be involved in their communities at the nongovernmental, community-activist work. Thus, although the surveys demonstrate that the NPS and GWARDC goals for the UAC are met, they could be improved by investigating the participants' perspective on local community organizations.

Halfway through the work experience, participants are interviewed one-on-one for about 30 minutes. The interviewer's opening questions include: "What do you think so far?" and "Have you learned something that you didn't know?" Next, the interviewer asks them to speak more specifically by asking questions such as "What kinds of skills have you learned?" "What is the topic of your final project?" "What do you want the project to achieve?" "How will you complete your project?" The

answers tell NPS and GWARDC what is going well. For example, participants talk about ways that the program's design enables the team to work well together. They enjoy seeing NPS activities from behind the scenes, doing research, and visiting new places. The interviews also reveal when changes need to be made. After a disruptive personality created a hostile working environment, a diversity training workshop was given the following summer to set expectations for conduct. The participants' accounts produce more information on their day-to-day experiences with the program. As such, they are an important supplement to first and last day surveys that ask for responses on more general aspects of the program. The one-on-one conversations are part of the co-creative process because they provide a way for NPS and GWARDC to shift course as necessary to meet participants' needs while also meeting the organizations' shared goals.

Data from the demographic survey, the first and last day surveys, and the interviews are compiled into an annual report about the UAC (Mills 2014). The reports inform wrap-up meetings in which the NPS and GWARDC meet to talk about the parts of the work experience that went well or need improvement. The reports are also useful because neither organization has a way in its daily activities to capture the thoughts and insights of youth who participate in their programs. The qualitative data, in particular, is a unique contribution that youth make because it is information that cannot be collected any other way. As a result, the evaluation sequence and the final reports build capacity for the NPS and GWARDC to collaborate on digital projects in archaeology.

REFLECTION

Co-creation of the UAC program and digital media products enables the NPS and GWARDC to build capacity for youth work experiences in archaeology that engender civic engagement. Working together enables archaeologists and nonprofit organizations to expand to new audiences. For many people, archaeology is a mystery or something they do not see as having relevance to their lives. A program such as the UAC, and a partnership like that between GWARDC and NPS, means that archaeology is put "out there" to a broader audience than either organization could reach on their own. Each organization promotes the value of community-oriented work to their circles of influence, in turn talking about the significance of archaeology as a benefit to the public.

Building a co-creative partnership is not easy. The first year of the UAC was very difficult. Our experiences during that period, and the ways that NPS and GWARDC have persevered in forming a relationship, demonstrate that co-creative projects require patience, listening skills, and the ability to compromise. It took a lot of work, but ultimately the UAC program at National Capital Parks-East is better for the collaboration. The lesson here is to focus on shared goals, to communicate frequently and often, and to be open to learning about new institutional cultures.

Having said that partnerships are challenging, the UAC would have benefitted from an additional co-creative partner, one who could focus on the digital media component. Co-created digital media products are essential to the work experience, but neither the NPS nor GWARDC has the capacity to provide a media specialist for the time necessary to create truly professional

products. Future UAC would benefit from a three-way partnership: the NPS, GWARDC, and a local digital media organization.

Finally, co-creative projects can be so much fun that participants forget they are at work. Participants used to working in manual labor, retail, or other jobs may have a hard time differentiating their UAC work from school or a summer camp. Teasing out issues with the work experience means co-creating solutions to programmatic issues, such as absenteeism when parents do not take the program seriously enough to get youth to work. Past experience has shown that, to emphasize that the UAC is work, participants must be responsible for a final product and understand that work can be intellectual and manual. Intellectual work can seem like school, so conversation that forces the team to work together towards solutions is essential. Manual work should be meaningful, with a purpose and goal, and result in an obvious transformation of a place. It is a powerful lesson that work can be fun, but the UAC should not give the impression of a make-believe-work kind of program.

THE FUTURE OF THE UAC

The future of the UAC lies in the capacity of the NPS and youth-serving non-profit partners to collaborate on archaeological work experiences. This approach is an advance for archaeology, because collaborative projects that result in co-created products build capacity for sustainable archaeological projects that encourage civic engagement in youth. They help partners to participate in archaeological work and the NPS to communicate with communities.

Funding from the NPS will enable the UAC to grow and explore ways to be sustainable. In 2015, the UAC will take place in four urban national park units. Each park and partner organization will co-create a UAC program to their shared research needs, resources, and relationships with communities and partners. The vision is for the UAC to result in a nationwide network of parks and communities using archaeology for civic engagement.

The UAC has affected other NPS programs. It provides a framework for revitalizing existing park programs. In 2014, for example, National Capital Parks-East recruited young people from its Youth Conservation Corps for the UAC. This enabled young people to have a quality work experience and learn about the park and conservation work through disciplines other than maintenance. The program also helps parks think about ways to use their resources to reach out to communities in order to align with a number of current NPS initiatives. The UAC aligns with many current NPS activities: the Call to Action, which describes specific goals and measurable actions that chart a new direction for the NPS into its next century; the NPS Centennial, a celebration to kick off the next century of public and partner stewardship; and the Urban Initiative, a strategy to connect urban national parks with the public and visitors. These initiatives form a suite that focuses on engaging the next generation of stewards to become involved in national park units and programs run by the NPS. Parks charged with fulfilling these initiatives are looking for tested models of youth civic engagement projects in urban national parks, and the experiences of the UAC can provide guidance.

CONCLUSION

Co-creation through digital media is thus a key part of the UAC because it enables the participants to see places they thought they knew well in a different light, be creative in their communication of ideas, work as a team, and speak back to the NPS. Co-creation of the UAC and digital media products has increased the capacity of the NPS and GWARDC to conduct work experiences that feature archaeology as a vehicle for civic engagement. This is important because neither organization could have done the project without the other. It is through building capacity that the UAC uses archaeology as a tool of civic engagement, such that archaeology is the vehicle for encouraging youth from communities surrounding urban national parks to become personally invested in the heritage of their communities and in public lands.

Data Availability Statement

Reports cited in this article are available for review at the National Park Service, Washington Support Office, Archeology Program, 1201 Eye Street NW, Washington, D.C.

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