# Care for the Future: Heritage Education in the Context of Rapa Nui (Easter Island) and Other Small Island Communities

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#### Resumen

La educación es aceptada como el medio principal a través del cual el patrimonio arqueológico puede ser disfrutado y preservado. Los lazos entre investigación y educación, a través de actividades dirigidas a la comunidad, son parte importante de los proyectos arqueológicos en Rapa Nui, por ejemplo, proveyendo información para la interpretación de los sitios. El intercambio de información entre los investigadores y quienes administran el patrimonio puede ser otro resultado, o impacto, importante de las investigaciones. Discutiremos aquí los hallazgos preliminares de entrevistas realizadas a residentes, en el marco de una investigación doctoral, respecto de la arqueología, el manejo del patrimonio y los programas educativos patrimoniales realizados en Rapa Nui. Examinamos el rol que juega el patrimonio arqueológico en los contextos educativos de Rapa Nui junto con algunas observaciones sobre su impacto y el potencial futuro de este importante trabajo. Uno de los aspectos del programa educativo es generar vínculos entre investigadores, administradores del patrimonio, museos y alumnos de las escuelas de Rapa Nui y las Islas Orcadas, Escocia. En este artículo revisamos los beneficios y el potencial de los vínculos entre dos pequeñas comunidades isleñas en la educación y gestión patrimonial.

#### Summary

Education is accepted to be the principal means by which archaeological heritage can be both enjoyed and preserved. Links between research and education through outreach are an important part of archaeological projects on Rapa Nui, for example providing new information for site interpretation. Knowledge exchange between researchers and heritage managers can be another important outcome, or impact, of research. The preliminary findings from doctoral interview-based research with residents pertaining to archaeology, heritage management and heritage education programs that have taken place on Rapa Nui the island will be discussed here. We examine the role archaeological heritage is playing in Rapa Nui in education contexts, and make some observations as to the impact and legacy of this important work. One aspect of the education program is in developing links between researchers, heritage managers, museums and school pupils between Rapa Nui, and the islands of Orkney, Scotland. The benefits and potential of links between small island communities in heritage education and management are considered in this paper.

#### Rapa Nui Heritage Education (Educación Patrimonial) Program

Archaeological heritage is of fundamental importance to the Rapanui economy as well as, of course, to Rapanui identity. Several decades of survey and excavation have increased knowledge and understanding of the complexity and density of archaeological sites, landscapes sites, and landscapes, in terms of the development of Polynesian society on Rapa Nui. Research has also contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the 'collapse' debate which commentators such as Jared Diamond (2005) and Clive Ponting (1992, 168-70) have portrayed as a causal relationship between environment and human activity (but see Hunt 2006). The outcomes of research have not perhaps been fed back into education or management as effectively as they might have been, and the contribution that a better understanding of archaeological heritage could make to the sustainable development of the island is as a result not fully realised.

The role that heritage education at all levels plays in improving an understanding of the significance and fragility of the archaeological resource is demonstrable, and the impact of archaeology and heritage education programs on island communities (in Rapa Nui and the north of Scotland, UK) is the subject of doctoral research by one of the authors of this paper (Keir). The findings from this research based on semi-structured interviews conducted with Rapa Nui residents pertaining to archaeology and heritage education programs that have taken place on the island will be outlined here. In the interviews, participants discussed three distinct archaeology and heritage programs: 1) activities run by the local museum (prior to 2014), 2) the 'Apo' ('Tomorrow') program, and 3) foreign archaeological field schools in which local students have taken part in. Interview participants commented positively on the youth workshops and summer excursion program run by the Museo Antropológico Padre Sebastián Englert (MAPSE), with those who had taken part in it stating how enjoyable their experience was and how their involvement enabled them to visit and get to know places on the island they had never been before. The invaluable initiatives of Āpō – now Terevaka.net Archaeological Outreach (TAO) (cf. Shephardson et al. 2013), which engages local high school students in field and archival skills, has over the years been responsible for at least three students undertaking degrees in archaeology or related fields (ibid.: 66). Participants that took part in the program commented on the impact it had on them in terms of personal enjoyment and development; increased involvement and sense of belonging with in the community; the development of an interest in archaeology; and the development of a sense of archaeological empowerment from the realisation that local people can get involved and meaningfully contribute to archaeological survey work on the island.

To date a number of archaeology field schools run by different universities around the world have taken place on Rapa Nui. These involve foreign teams of students and archaeologists undertaking an archaeological project on the island as part of the student's archaeological training and individual academic research interests. Heritage professionals on Rapa Nui have utilised the foreign field schools as a first step and opportunity for local students to take part in archaeological projects and learn about Rapa Nui's archaeology and heritage. A retrospective account was given by one participant who took part in a field school at the turn of the millennium. The participant described fondly how the program helped her to grow personally, make lasting friendships, and demystify the archaeological process. However, in hindsight she brought into question the archaeological practise and ethics of the program, and as a result this has directly influenced her current attitude towards how archaeological practice should be conducted on the island. For instance, she is opposed to foreign field schools doing an excavation project on the island, unless it was properly designed and involves the local heritage authorities and the local community.

Interview participants noted that the promotion and teaching of Rapa Nui's archaeology and cultural heritage is not a pre-requisite of formal school education and as such it is not in the national curriculum. This means that any promotion done of it is due to the individual schools and teachers in Rapa Nui, and as a result there is great variation in the form archaeological and cultural heritage education takes in different schools and the amount of relevance and importance placed on it, which contributes to very different learning experiences for pupils. The collaborative approach working with teachers espoused allays a concern expressed by participants about the effective delivery of cultural heritage programs by schools, and about teachers necessarily having the knowledge to teach about the history of the island due to a lack of teaching materials and guidelines.

Interview participants also highlighted the need for archaeology and cultural heritage education to be both embedded within formal education and provided through dedicated non-formal education programs. UNESCO (2014: 20) provides good working definitions of the different types of education delivered in different settings: *formal* education is carried out in school system and is based on an established curriculum, whilst *non-formal* education takes place outside the formal system, but is delivered through organised learning settings such as museums and community organisation, and *informal* learning is something we all do in our daily life experiences based on work, family and leisure activities.

Participants highlighted that traditionally learning about archaeological and cultural heritage took place informally through the family, but that it was currently being negatively impacted by the effects of modernisation and globalisation. Intergenerational learning was seen as the traditional way in which knowledge about Rapa Nui culture and archaeology was passed on and taught. It was identified as a two-way process, especially in families, where the older generations impart knowledge onto the young, but the young also play an important role in bringing new knowledge and ideas into the family. However, participants noted a number of obstacles to this happening in the present: a lack of interest from children in more recent times, a language barrier between younger and older generations, and people having less time to spend with family due to job demands. Except within the family circle, participants noted that there were not many other links between elders and youth in which knowledge sharing can take place. In this respect they felt that formal and non-formal archaeology and cultural heritage education programs such as the one discussed in this paper were important to ensuring that specialist knowledge, such as the toponomy (place names) of the island, the restoration and management of archaeological sites, and stories about people and places, held by older generations were incorporated into the education programs and passed on.

Participants noted that not everyone has the time or inclination to get involved in archaeological educational programs on the island and so in this respect informal intergenerational and family learning is important. Family members can become involved in

the activities of the programs by joining the children on excursions, but if this is not possible children can share their experiences with both parents and siblings upon their return home. This was identified in the interviews as a benefit of heritage education, with children being the best way to introduce and pass on new ideas and knowledge within the family.

It was felt generally by heritage bodies and teachers that there was a need for generating and articulating a common approach to 'Educación Patrimonial' (Heritage Education). A need to create permanent links with the schools in the community was identified, with the aim of preparing ultimately a specific curriculum on heritage education. As a result a new heritage education program was established as a joint initiative between MAPSE and the Education and Dissemination Department of the Secretaría Técnica de Patrimonio de Rapa Nui (STP). The education program also includes the aim of setting out guidelines for the preparation of school material with a heritage-related content; the creation of a sustained legacy of the program in the form of teaching resources (such as film, web-based and paperbased) was felt to be a significant need in sustaining activities into the future.

For the purpose of involving younger Rapanui children in heritage education 'Manu Iri' -Heritage Guardians for children aged 8 to 12 years old, was launched on Cultural Heritage Day, May 2014 with a program of events planned for the year ahead. The overall aim of the program was to involve these younger people of the community in learning about and therefore caring for heritage, through extra-curricular non-formal learning. The collaborative program aimed to create permanent links between various educational bodies to deliver heritage education, and therefore to create a program that is sustainable into the future. Pedagogically the method is to maintain a constant and cumulative process of learning, which provides children the skills and comprehensive knowledge, using a mix of classroom, laboratory and place-based learning. An important element of the education program is intergenerational learning (links with traditional knowledge), and learning from local experts in various aspects of Rapanui cultural heritage including archaeology, conservation, toponymy, Rapa Nui language, ecology and history. Therefor four common areas were established: environment; archaeology; history and oral transmission; art and culture. Within these common areas specific themes are set each year for the educational activities and educational materials.

For Manu Iri, sessions every Friday during school term lasting two hours immediately after school were established, and a dedicated Rapanui speaking education officer was appointed. Children could therefore elect to join the program, and a core group of approximately 20 children was quickly formed. In addition to the regular weekly sessions, workshops and fieldtrips, the Manu Iri organisers have been collaborating with visiting researchers to offer more prolonged events over weekends and in holiday time, for example working with doctoral research student Dale Simpson from the University of Queensland, Australia, studying geology in relation to quarries for stone tools, and with Dr Andrea Seelenfreund and her team from Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Santiago, in an extended workshop studying anthropological, botanical and genetic considerations of *mahute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). In May 2015 a two-day workshop 'Today we are archaeologists' was undertaken at Vaitea linking with the Landscapes of Construction Project, and led by three of the authors of this paper (Downes, Richards, and Welham). The sessions focussed on scientific recording techniques such as the use of global

positioning systems (GPS) and 3-D modelling using photography, as well as geophysical and walk-over survey methods, and producing site descriptions. The workshop enabled a range of opportunities for transferring skills between participants and to discuss differing approaches to recording and investigating heritage. The workshop also led to the creation of resources, including the production of a teaching pack, but also in addition the primary data on the heritage recorded by the participants during the workshop itself.

#### Making links between communities

In addition to the specific aims of the Rapanui 'Educación Patrimonial' was the goal of establishing participative and integrated links with educational projects abroad, with the aim of exchanging knowledge and reinforcing common learning while also strengthening the abilities of the children to express what they have learned. In this aspect of the program the maintenance of constant links with a group of foreign children was planned to be forged and sustained; children abroad would participate in a program which would replicate that on Rapa Nui, allowing for the exchange of common themes, similar experiences and points of contact between such distant places both geographically and culturally. In this way small islands communities located in different parts of the world can work collectively to achieve United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO 2015); knowledge exchange and research based-heritage education can expose to communities the commonalities of their experience and at the same time bring into focus the aspects of their identity that are particular and can therefore help counter perceptions of isolation and the negative aspects of globalisation.

A youth education programme: 'My Place, Our Heritage' was therefore established in January 2014 between Rapa Nui and Orkney, Scotland by the authors of this paper. The collaborative initiative was born out of archaeological outreach activities in Rapa Nui undertaken as part of the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded 'Landscapes of Construction' (LoC) project. These activities were based around the Puna Pau quarry excavations and wider landscape survey that had been undertaken over five seasons of archaeological research from 2011–2015 as a partnership between LoC and MAPSE, Corporation Nacional Forestal de Chile (CONAF) and latterly STP, and had included: engagement of children in excavation and site visits, training of students in excavation and various survey techniques, presentations to CONAF rangers, tour guides, and the wider community, preparation of materials for interpretation boards and guide books, and an exhibition of research findings in Hanga Roa (January 2014).

It is important to base heritage education, and knowledge exchange, on research outcomes, and hence the LoC activities created an important platform for these links to be created. The extensive outreach activities have been discussed above, but in addition, knowledge exchange between the heritage bodies on Rapa Nui (MAPSE, STP and CONAF) centred around management of the Rapa Nui World Heritage Site and the experiences of Landscapes of Construction team in World Heritage Site research, in particular in the formation of the Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site Management Plan and Research Agenda (Downes and Richards) as well as research around Stonehenge (AHRCfunded Stonehenge Riverside Project) (Welham and Richards). The links between personnel of the LoC and Rapa Nui research partnership were seen to create the ideal platform for a parallel education programs to be undertaken in Rapa Nui and Orkney. Shared issues and connectivity were identified between the Rapa Nui and the Orkney islands' communities needs in terms of education, training and capacity building, seen as necessary to underpin sustainable heritage management.

The concept of linking Rapa Nui and Orkney island communities through heritage education was also felt to have wider benefits of cultural exchange, and knowledge exchange for example in museums practice, heritage and tourism management practice exchange. Furthermore there was a shared desire to have the role of archaeology and cultural heritage education better articulated with Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (or Learning for Sustainability). As described by UNESCO (2016) 'Education for Sustainable Development is about enabling us to constructively and creatively address present and future global challenges and create more sustainable and resilient societies'. Archaeology and heritage education in island communities is well placed to explore a range of cultural, social, economic, and environmental sustainability issues in the past and present, and can help us develop the life-long values and attitudes needed to think and behave in a more sustainability-conscious way for the future.

'My Place, Our Heritage' has now seen a programme of activities undertaken in 2014–2015. Further aims of the joint initiative are to establish virtual contact between school pupils and an exchange of findings and experiences, to lead to exchange visits. These activities will be discussed in detail below.

#### 'My Place, Our Heritage' program: Rapa Nui and Orkney

The Orkney archipelago is a Scottish island group situated off the north-east of Scotland. Thirteen of the islands are inhabited and the total population of c. 21,000 people are spread amongst the islands with most people being located on the island of Mainland. The Neolithic settlers of over 5,000 years ago created stone-built villages and erected great tombs and stone circles; some of these monuments are inscribed as The Heart of Neolithic Orkney World Heritage Site and many visitors are drawn to the islands to see these, and the legacy left by the Vikings, in particular. Orkney is the most popular cruise-ship destination in the UK, and receives c. 130,000 tourists per year.

Although obviously having completely different histories, and being widely separate geographically, the two island communities share a number of significant resources and issues which make heritage education, the principles of sustainability and Sustainable Development Goals, especially important. Both Rapa Nui and the Orkney islands

- have World Heritage status; iconic sites, world-important and world-class archaeology
- have extreme density of archaeological sites and rich cultural heritage
- have shared and acute heritage management issues especially through climate change drivers causing coastal erosion, as well as visitor pressure and degradation through agriculture
- have heritage tourism as the significant part of the economy
- are vulnerable to young people leaving, and the non-return of university graduates
- have prehistoric megalithic monuments which are a strong feature of heritage identity in both places
- have equally important tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

Within the four common areas for the whole program listed above, the following four themes were identified as common points based on research around which activities could be set:

## Settling and inhabiting the islands

Mystery still shrouds many aspects of the identity of the first settlers in both Rapa Nui and Orkney, and in both cases these settlers took aspects of the cultures from which they derived to new heights in terms of their architectural and artistic accomplishments. In both places, later instances of peoples from elsewhere had profound and irrevocable impacts on the culture and identity of the peoples, in terms of contact from the western world in Rapa Nui, and the Vikings in Orkney.

# Gathering evidence, doing archaeology

Both Rapa Nui and Orkney have a long history of research in the archaeology of the islands, and teams of researchers have been attracted to these places for the quality of the remains and the 'big questions' to be answered. In both places it is important to develop and maintain locally based professionals equipped and to foster the development of 'situated research', whilst at the same time recognising the value of collaboration with researchers and professionals from elsewhere. The process of 'doing archaeology' has number of recognised transferable skills, and engenders an engagement with the historic environment which will often be life-long.

# Agricultural practices and resources

In both places the settlers employed novel and successful techniques in agriculture and resource exploitation, the archaeological traces of which tend to be overshadowed by the megalithic monuments. Furthermore, in both cases the effects of the nineteenth century 'Clearances' of people from their land for sheep farming were felt. This occurred variably in Orkney, but some islands share with Rapa Nui the drastic effects of clearance and have large numbers of ruined houses where families previously lived. The archaeological traces and oral histories of these events in both places are under-recorded.

## Environmental change and sustainability

Island populations each have unique circumstances of resource management and sustainability; the popularised story of 'ecocide' in Rapa Nui is being countered by research but in the popular imagination is hard to shift. In both places, research into the links between environmental and cultural change need to be better integrated into interpretation. Pressures on and threats to the historic environment through climate change, tourism, development, and livestock are shared concerns (to varying degrees) in both places; heritage education focussed on exemplars of for example the impacts of climate change through coastal erosion provides an effective tool for considering sustainability and sustainable development.

Within these themes, the following topics of mutual applicability were identified upon which activities for 2014–2015 were based:

- Settling and inhabiting the islands
- Archaeological techniques and interpretation

- The legacy of 'The Clearances'; 19<sup>th</sup> century land clearances for sheep farming
- Climate change effects of coastal erosion

The different seasons, timetables, resources and needs in Rapa Nui and Orkney resulted in different programs being established, although both adhering to the established themes, methods and approaches. Rapa Nui has an extended summer holiday from December to March and a shorter two-week winter holiday in July, in contrast to the long summer break July–August in Orkney, so it was not possible to arrange events entirely in parallel.

In March 2014 an open meeting was held in at Orkney College<sup>1</sup> to publicise the initiative, and to engender participation. The meeting was well attended, attracting teachers, archaeologists, museologists, archivists, cultural resource managers, folklorists and ethnologists, artists, filmmakers, amongst others. A Working Group was established, comprising representatives from key bodies engaged in heritage and education: Orkney College UHI Archaeology Institute, Historic Environment Scotland Ranger Service, Orkney Museums, Pier Art Centre, and Orkney Islands Council Department of Education and Leisure Schools and Youth Work. As in Rapa Nui, the Working Group in Orkney decided the 2014– 2015 program would be 'non-formal education' with a similar aim in the longer term to produce resources and materials for the schools' curriculum. Thus events would be undertaken over weekends and in school holidays, and would comprise a mix of events already scheduled, and additional events created for the program. This was both to ensure themes and topics were covered and to make best use of the collaborating bodies' resources; again as with Rapa Nui an important aim was to establish active collaboration between the partners. One aim was to raise awareness of heritage education, and to provide 'taster' events across different islands in Orkney to assess levels of interest in different islands. A second aim of the 2014–2015 program was to test methods of heritage education, varying group types and sizes, types of activities on offer, and length of activities. The series of events included activities ranging from survey and excavation, to re-enactment and feasting, and proved popular with up to 125 students attending the largest event.

## Figure 1

The Manu Iri program in Rapa Nui was well-supported and has proved very popular with children as a result of which numbers have risen to 40, and the age range has been extended to 6 years old to satisfy demand. To cater for the age range and the associated differences in learning skills and interests, in 2016 it was thought necessary to split the group into two according to age: from ages 6–8 the group is Manu Iri, and the group of 9–12 years olds has taken a new name of 'Manu Rangi'. As the same children continue to attend the program new content and activities must be devised which are suited to their age.

In Orkney, the 'My Place, Our Heritage' activities showed beyond doubt that there is an appetite for heritage education. Interest from teachers will lead to more schools-based activities underpinned by practice in both Orkney and Rapa Nui World Heritage Sites. A Young Archaeologists Club<sup>2</sup> is being established in Orkney to act as the focus for, and the infrastructure for, future 'My Place, Our Heritage' activities outwith school time. As a connected result of the program, Orkney schools are now starting to teach Spanish, and

connections with Orkney children will help develop English language skills for Rapanui children.

Methods of establishing linkages between the working groups establishing the programs in Rapa Nui and Orkney have been by contacts through visits connected with ongoing research, and through video link (Skype). Challenges are inherent in making the connections remotely and/or virtually between the young people in both places, and recognition has to be given to several constraints, for example, time differences, and internet coverage and speed in both locations, especially when considering sharing experiences of field-based activities. Access to communication methods that many of us now take for granted can be limited, but also educational policy and practice on the usage of such methods differs significantly between countries. Methods to date have been based making connections between young people in both places by video footage: a video introducing Orkney was shown to Manu Iri participants (as part of the 'Today we are archaeologists' workshop, see above), introductions made by Manu Iri participants to video, and questions asked to Orkney children were edited by MAPSE staff and taken to be shown in Orkney at various of the 'My Place, Our Heritage' events; video footage of introductions from Orkney children and replies and further questions were again edited into a video and shared with Manu Iri children upon a return visit to Rapa Nui (by Downes and Welham).

#### Figure 2

#### **Outcomes and future developments**

The first phase of the 'My Place, Our Heritage' program has demonstrated the huge potential for collaborative learning, and the benefits of joint working between small islands' communities. The partnering of two such distinctive and extraordinary island communities bring new insights into past communities, and the challenges these communities face today. Gill Chitty (2015: 111), albeit in a review of heritage *higher* education, emphasises 'the importance of the international context for research and practice' as being 'central to the learning for all students' and further identifies the critical place of 'global issues like sustainability and inter-cultural dialogue' in this context. In the current era of climate change emergency, the centrality of the role of heritage education is recognised as being key to engendering action on climate change (ICOMOS 2019): 'Embedding climate change and cultural heritage knowledge in schools and higher education' is identified as key to high ambition in achieving global climate change action (op. cit., 21).

The means by which such relationships between different communities can be sustained can take a substantial commitment of staff and investment of resources. The laudable example of a joint heritage education initiative on Samoa between archaeologist Helene Martinsson-Wallin, of the Swedish island University of Gotland, and the National University of Samoa was underpinned by a program funded by the Swedish government that enabled sustained faculty and students exchange from 2005–2013 (Martinsson-Wallin 2015). The exchange program supported the development of higher education modules in Archaeology being developed and run from 2006, and a permanent archaeology lecturer to be appointed in 2007 (ibid).

A significant outcome of the heritage education programs is that in both Rapa Nui and Orkney particular schools are being worked with (Lorenzo Baeza Vega College and Kirkwall Grammar respectively) to produce educational material, to incorporate part of the educational content of the field trips and archaeological activities into the classroom. At present this is complementary to official curriculum, but in Rapa Nui it is hoped to transfer the materials into the formal education system, and in Orkney the materials will fit well into the 'Curriculum for Excellence'. The overall aim in both places is to see these materials as models of curriculum development with wider applicability.

Although an element of actual exchange visits is being planned as part of the Rapa Nui/Orkney initiative, recurring and prolonged periods abroad are not desirable for younger students, and nor should they be necessary if imaginative use is made of information and communication technologies. The use of such technologies also adds another dimension in terms of transferable skills for students. The creation of electronic as well as physical resources with teachers for schools in Rapa Nui, and Orkney, is a logical extension of the heritage education program, and meets the stated aims to create links with schools and to contribute to curriculum and formal education.

There are some established networks for information sharing, and potential sources of support for joint initiatives, such as ERASMUS+ which funds strategic and educational partnerships including countries outside the European Union, and ERASMUS eTwinning, a free online community for schools which provides school staff and pupils secure online collaboration (ERASMUS 2016). UNESCO provides a generic, site-based resource for teachers in 'World Heritage in Young Hands. An Educational Resource Kit for Teachers' (UNESCO 2002), and the World Heritage linkages provide a significant opportunity for adding to the linkages between Rapa Nui and communities elsewhere. There is also great scope to develop and share educational resources and learning that are related to the archaeological and cultural attributes of Rapa Nui and other World Heritage sites.

## **Heritage Education futures**

As highlighted by one of the interview participants, it is important that for the continued justification of the place of (foreign) fieldwork teams in Rapa Nui that they, in collaboration with local archaeological and museum services, embed meaningful educational outreach and training for the community as a whole in their projects and commit to a program of knowledge transfer done in a wholly collaborative and transparent way. In the interviews participants made a distinction between involving local people in a discourse about the islands archaeology opposed to actually getting local people practically and intellectually involved and contributing to the projects. While both are needed, most participants were keen to see more of the latter take place, and again highlight the importance of foreign fieldwork teams to, from the outset, work with local archaeological organisations and people to ensure this happens.

The value of engaging children in archaeological and heritage education is seen through the avenues of intergenerational learning that open up through families taking part in the programs or children later telling their family about their experience on an archaeological excursion. In Rapa Nui this might be to see the coastal eroding Ahu or in Orkney to see the eroding remains of Neolithic burial tombs on the Rousay coast. Participants also expressed

the hope that by taking children and young people out into the field and exposing them to archaeology that it might spark an interest within them to learn more, which could lead to children growing up and wanting to peruse further education or a career in archaeology, anthropology or conservation: a pathway into the world of archaeology, and an effective means of capacity building. In fact in both Rapa Nui and Orkney, school pupils who have been part of heritage education initiatives in the past have returned to these places after higher education to work as heritage professionals and educators respectively.

The importance of heritage education in all forms of learning, formal, non-formal, and informal, is vital to the continual development of peoples understanding and enjoyment of both Rapa Nui and Orkney's very varied archaeological and cultural history. Helping people become aware of and forming a relationship with the archaeological and cultural heritage of a place was considered by participants in both Rapa Nui and Orkney as a never-ending process and a relationship in constant need of building. It was recognised that it will be a continual and on-going process to help people understand more about their local archaeological heritage in the hope that when plans for the future are being made the past will be taken into account and sustainable forms of action taken. Problems associated with tourism activity and the impacts of globalisation on the island were noted as reasons for running heritage education activities with children and young people in Rapa Nui, and Orkney. Raising awareness amongst the youth about how changes taking place on the islands including importantly climate change, will impact archaeological and cultural heritage was seen as an important aim of the educational programs, as through education, informed decisions can develop about how to best manage and care for the islands' heritage.

For an appreciation of cultural heritage in education it is important to not only acknowledge information as given (as in heritage management) but also the actual contingency of archaeological knowledge of the past. Broader education programmes therefore need to embrace the merits of ongoing research projects as a means to inform and also alter narratives of the past. This is important as at a more general level it shows how dominant discourses of the past can be challenged as provisional and contingent and, specifically, this has clear implications for the stability of social identity as constructed through such discourses. The exposure of students – of all ages and all stages of learning – to archaeological research programmes enables a critical understanding not only of the partial nature of information (archaeological data) informing interpretation of the past, but also of their own past, and their roles as custodians.

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#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> A campus of the University of the Highlands and Islands (UHI) which is comprised of colleges distributed through the Scottish Highlands and islands.

<sup>2</sup> The Young Archaeologists' Club is a network of local clubs across the UK for 8–16-year-olds, run by the Council for British Archaeology.

https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/ Captions

Figure 1. Community mapping activity at the Ring of Brodgar stone circle, part of 'The Heart of Neolithic Orkney' World Heritage Site (photograph D. Lee).

Figure 2. Manu Iri group making links with Orkney children (photograph STP).