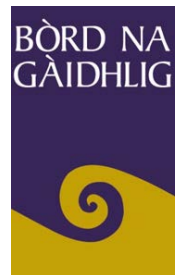


Presentation of Gaelic in Visitor Interpretation

Taisbeanadh na Gàidhlig ann an
Eadar-mhìneachadh Tadhail

Research Report – March 2013



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Contents

Taisbeanadh na Gàidhlig ann an Eadar-mhìneachadh Tadhair	1
1 Executive Summary	1
2 Introduction – Presentation of Gaelic in Visitor Interpretation Research	4
3 Literature Review – Best Practice in Visitor Interpretation	9
4 Literature Review – The Use of More than One Language in Visitor Interpretation	20
5 Baseline Survey of Existing Approaches in Britain and Ireland	38
6 Arnol Blackhouse On-Site Visitor Research	60
7 Stanley Mills On-Site Visitor Research	71
8 Off-Site Testing	81
9 Summary and Conclusions	104
10 Limitations and Further Study	115
Acknowledgements	116
Bibliography	117

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1 Executive Summary

1.1 Research background

This research was commissioned by Bòrd na Gàidhlig and Interpret Scotland to identify how best Gaelic and English can be employed in visitor interpretation, to the benefit of the status and use of Gaelic, and without loss to either Gaelic- or English-medium interpretation. The research looked at issues relating to heritage interpretation, specifically: the profile and status of Gaelic; Gaelic aspects of visitor interpretation; English language aspects of visitor interpretation; and the appropriateness and flexibility of approaches.

1.2 Data collection

Data collection was divided into two main stages and used a variety of methods.

The first stage focused on establishing the background and context of the study and comprised three key pieces of work: a literature review of current best practice in visitor interpretation; a literature review of the inclusion of more than one language in visitor interpretation; and, a baseline survey of existing approaches to language in visitor interpretation in the UK and Ireland. The latter provided an audit of existing strategies and best practice in the use of multiple languages in visitor interpretation.

The second stage involved primary data collection, using a quasi-experimental research method, comprising both on-site research and off-site testing to assess the efficacy of different approaches to the inclusion of Gaelic and English content in visitor interpretation for different audiences.

1.3 Main findings

1.3.1 The profile and status of Gaelic

In terms of the profile and status of Gaelic, the research found:

- Awareness and appreciation of Gaelic among respondents is most apparent when Gaelic is part of the content (message) of the interpretation, rather than solely the language used (medium). This is especially true for respondents with little or no Gaelic language ability
- Both on- and off-site research found that only fluent Gaelic speakers fully engaged with interpretive content delivered in the Gaelic language. Other groups, for example, Gaelic learners, were unable to fully engage with content delivered in Gaelic. As such, identifying the audiences for interpretation and their language abilities and needs is a crucial first step to create effective and engaging interpretation

- The English language–Gaelic language summary approach, which may be viewed as an option to encourage Gaelic learners to engage with content in the Gaelic language, was generally only used by fluent Gaelic speakers. As such, other approaches need to be investigated to identify what is most effective for Gaelic learners
- Fluent Gaelic speakers and learners felt that there were subjects that should always be communicated in the Gaelic language. Although only a small number provided details, themes emerged around Gaelic culture, history and language and place names.

1.3.2 Gaelic aspect of visitor interpretation

In terms of the Gaelic aspect of visitor interpretation, the research found:

- There are a number of practical difficulties in preparing Gaelic interpretation. These include: concerns over patronising the language through inappropriate use (e.g. tokenism); issues over the quality of Gaelic content, as Gaelic writers are not normally trained interpreters; an increase in costs and time required to produce dual-language materials; design challenges in accommodating two languages without giving priority to one language; concerns over the reduction in content for all languages. Many of these impacts may be reduced by forward planning in the interpretation planning process, including ensuring that there are appropriate Gaelic interpretive skills in the project team. Time and cost issues are more difficult to overcome, as are design issues
-
- The research identified that emotional responses are stimulated as much by Gaelic content as by the use of Gaelic language. This was equally true for participants who do not speak Gaelic
-
- It is important that content is to be provided in the Gaelic language, this is written by someone who is fluent in Gaelic; not a Gaelic learner.
-

1.3.3 English language aspect of visitor interpretation

In terms of the English language aspect of visitor interpretation, the research found:

- The inclusion of languages other than English in visitor interpretation will result in reduced content in all languages, including English, unless the amount of media (e.g. panels) are increased, or other methods (e.g. multimedia) are chosen. Although more effective writing approaches may allow for the effective communication of information in fewer words, this will not fully off-set the impact of including more than one language. This impacts on the utility of media in respect of knowledge-gain – a fundamental purpose of interpretation
-
- The emotional response for participants who used the English language interpretation was linked to the content of the interpretation rather than the language
-

- Aspects of Gaelic and other languages in the heritage of a site or subject are best expressed to the visitor using the English language by incorporating it into the content of the interpretation.

1.3.4 Appropriateness and flexibility of approach

In terms of the appropriateness and flexibility of approach, the research found:

- The identification of the target audience(s) for interpretation is a critical first step in the selection of approach and technique. Different audiences have different language abilities and content needs. Interpretation should respond directly to a) local and/or regional demographic data; b) language ability data; and c) Gaelic heritage to maximise its efficacy and value for money
-
- Whilst, ideally, different font colours (of equal weighting) should be used to enable different audiences to identify the language they want to engage with, issues of durability, sustainability and cost may mitigate the adoption of this ideal
-
- The efficacy of interpretation is primarily related to audience engagement with content. Evidence from the off-site testing suggests that regardless of the technique or medium used, both Gaelic speakers and participants who do not speak Gaelic increased their knowledge of the subject. This in part reflects the fact that all Gaelic speakers read and speak English, and so content in the Gaelic language is provided for other purposes than solely communication, for example, providing language options for Gaelic speakers; increasing language awareness amongst all audiences
-

2 Introduction – Presentation of Gaelic in Visitor Interpretation Research

2.1 Research brief

This research was commissioned by Bòrd na Gàidhlig and Interpret Scotland to identify how best Gaelic and English can be employed in visitor interpretation, to the benefit of the status and use of Gaelic, and without loss to either Gaelic- or English-language interpretation. The research brief sought for advice on the most effective approaches to the employment of Gaelic in visitor interpretation in respect of:

- Raising the profile and status of Gaelic among visitors
- Approaches to interpretation in Gaelic which encourages the choice of such interpretation by Gaelic users
- Approaches to interpretation in English which is not negatively impacted by dual language presentation.

In particular the research sought to address the following.

2.1.1 The profile and status of Gaelic

In terms of the profile and status of Gaelic, the research sought to identify:

- How best can awareness and appreciation of Gaelic among visitors be enhanced, without compromising the efficacy of the interpretation?
- How best the choice of Gaelic as the language of interpretation by Gaelic users be encouraged, with cognisance to various groups?
- How do the approaches impact on the different age groups and of varying levels of knowledge of Gaelic?
- Are there sites and subjects which Gaelic users feel should always have information communicated in Gaelic?
-

2.1.2 Gaelic language aspect of visitor interpretation

In terms of the Gaelic aspect of visitor interpretation, the research sought to identify:

- What are the practical difficulties in preparing Gaelic interpretation, and how can these be minimised?
- How do the various approaches enhance the emotional response of the visitor using Gaelic interpretation?
- How best can the aspects of English and other languages in the heritage of the site or the subject be expressed to the visitor using Gaelic interpretation?

2.1.3 English language aspect of visitor interpretation

In terms of the English language aspect of visitor interpretation, the research sought to identify:

- What impact will the various approaches have on the English language interpretation, and how can any detrimental impact be minimised?
- How do the various approaches enhance the emotional response of the visitor using the English language interpretation?

- How best can the aspects of Gaelic and other languages in the heritage of the site or the subject be expressed to the visitor using the English language interpretation?

2.1.4 Appropriateness and flexibility of approach

In terms of the appropriateness and flexibility of approach, the research sought to identify:

- Within the various approaches, what is the most appropriate practice in respect of design issues?
- Is the efficacy of the interpretation related to the nature of the site or the geographical context of the subject?
- What difference do various audience types make to the selection of approach and technique of interpretation?
- Is the efficacy of the interpretation related to the medium or technique used?
- What is the percentage increase in production costs of the various approaches, compared to that of sole language English interpretation, and how can this be minimised?

2.2 Research methods

This research project used a variety of methods for data collection, divided into two stages.

The first stage focused on establishing the background and context of the study and comprised three key pieces of work: a literature review of current best practice in visitor interpretation; a literature review of the inclusion of more than one language in visitor interpretation; and, a baseline survey of existing approaches to language in visitor interpretation in the UK and Ireland. The latter provided an audit of existing strategies and best practice in the use of multiple languages in visitor interpretation.

The second stage involved primary data collection, using a quasi-experimental research method, comprising both on-site research and off-site testing to assess the efficacy of different approaches to the inclusion of Gaelic and English content in visitor interpretation for different audiences.

2.2.1 Literature review – best practice in visitor interpretation

An extensive analysis of international literature relating to best practice in visitor interpretation was undertaken. This included a review of research and guidance within academic journals, books, organisational policies, and practitioner guidelines. The review focused on definitions of interpretation; the aims and objectives of interpretation; approaches to interpretation planning; the use of fixed and live media; audiences, communities and the visitor experience; and the evaluation of interpretation.

2.2.2 Literature review – the inclusion of more than one language in visitor interpretation

A second international literature review was undertaken to identify current approaches to the inclusion of more than one language in visitor interpretation. This review focused on current literature on the wider implications of using multiple languages in public places in general, before reviewing current practice and guidance on the use of multiple languages in visitor interpretation through an analysis of existing research and relevant national and organisational policy and guidance.

2.2.3 Baseline survey of current approaches to dual/multiple language in visitor interpretation

A baseline survey of current approaches to dual language interpretation in Britain and Ireland was undertaken to identify current practices and provide regional context for this research. A list of organisations, national and regional/local was compiled, for Scotland from the *2009 Visitor Attraction Monitor* (Martinolli and Bereziat 2010), for Ireland from *All Visitor Attractions 2006-2010* (Fáilte Ireland 2010), and for Wales from *Visits to Tourist Attractions in Wales - 2010* (Peate 2011), with additional organisations identified for Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man through a literature and internet search.

Two online surveys were created (adapted slightly depending on whether an organisation was responsible for more than one site) and sent out to contacts at each of the organisations identified. In total 129 organisations were contacted and sent the survey. Thirty-seven responses were received, although only 20 were fully completed and provided enough information to be included in this report. These survey responses are reported as case studies, with the information provided through the survey responses augmented, where available, through the inclusion of information from organisational documents.

2.2.4 On-site surveys

On-site surveys were undertaken at two heritage sites which currently provide visitor interpretation content in both English and Gaelic language: Arnol Blackhouse, Isle of Lewis; and Stanley Mills, Perthshire. The on-site pre- and post-visit surveys assessed the efficacy of different approaches to dual-language provision for knowledge gain amongst visitors in an existing on-site context (Hughes and Morrison-Saunders 2002; Tarlton and Ward 2006). The main objective of this aspect of the data collection was to identify:

- Participants' knowledge gain (efficacy) at sites with different ratios of dual-language content, and for participants with different language abilities
- The impact of the inclusion of more than one language on the visitor experience (e.g. does it enhance, detract from, or make no difference).

Conducting the research on-site enabled participants to respond to interpretation in its site context. The surveys sought to identify the efficacy of the current interpretation at the study sites in terms of visitors' knowledge gain in a free-choice learning environment.

The pre-visit surveys comprised twelve multiple-choice statements, based on information contained in the interpretive content, to identify participants' pre-visit knowledge of the site. Each statement was followed by the options 'true', 'false' and 'don't know', with participants asked to mark their response to the statement. As is standard, a number of the statements were false. Knowledge gain was assessed against post-visit questionnaires which repeated the multiple-choice statements, with the statement order randomised to reduce the effects of recall on participant responses (Tubbs 2003: 484).

The post-visit survey included questions on how long the participants spent at the site; what they did while they were there; what interpretive materials they engaged with; overall satisfaction with the visit; whether the Gaelic content and language improved, detracted from, or made no difference to the experience; and responses to a series of statements on the level of information in Gaelic and English languages which participants thought should be provided at the site, and at heritage sites across Scotland. Participants' biographical details, including their first language and any other languages they spoke, were also recorded.

2.2.5 Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited from visitors to the site, with biographical data, including age, sex, employment, and language knowledge and ability recorded. Each pre-visit survey participant was given a number, and asked to complete the post-visit survey at the end of their visit. This enabled a paired survey of participants, ascertaining knowledge gain through pre- and post-visit surveys for each participant.

2.3 Off-site testing

This part of the research methodology sought to assess the efficacy of different approaches to dual-language provision for knowledge gain, specifically for participants with different Gaelic-English language abilities. The main objective of this element of the research was to identify:

- If different ratios of dual-language content in written interpretive media facilitate or inhibit knowledge-gain for participants with different Gaelic and English language abilities.

As such it sought to identify:

- If the inclusion of Gaelic language content in interpretive media enhances appreciation and understanding of Gaelic for participants who don't speak Gaelic
- If the inclusion of Gaelic language content in interpretive media impedes understanding of the content of the media for participants who don't speak Gaelic
- If the inclusion of Gaelic language content encourages/assists with understanding and knowledge gain for Gaelic speakers and learners
- The effects of different (current) approaches to the inclusion of Gaelic language in interpretation in terms of users preferences for design, font, colour and the use of English and Gaelic.
-
-

2.3.1 Participant recruitment

Participants for this phase of the research were recruited as a target-sample based on their level of Gaelic-language ability as follows:

- 167 English speaking, non-Gaelic speaking.
- 138 Gaelic speaking, including Gaelic learners and fluent Gaelic speakers.

Participants were recruited based on their Gaelic-language ability, with fluent Gaelic speakers, Gaelic learners, and those who do not speak Gaelic recruited to participate through the identification of suitable organisations and groups across Scotland (for example Gaelic societies and Gaelic language classes), and the organisation of open drop-in sessions. Testing took place through September and October 2012.

2.3.2 Assessing knowledge gain

As with the on-site survey, this element of the research looked to identify knowledge-gain amongst participants. A series of test materials were developed based on content from the National Museums Scotland's travelling exhibition, *The Lewis Chessmen: Unmasked*.

A pre-test was undertaken by all participants to gauge their existing knowledge of the topic, prior to engaging with the interpretive materials for their group. Participants were then asked to engage with the test materials. A post-test was then administered to gauge knowledge-gain and attitude change.

2.3.3 Provision of Gaelic and English Content at Heritage Sites

Participants were subsequently asked to look at a series of four panels which were examples of dual-language Gaelic-English interpretation from across Scotland and assess these in relation to overall design; efficacy of font style and colour; text position; and value and understanding of Gaelic and English content.

Participants were then asked to identify which of six statements they agreed with relating to the provision of Gaelic and English content at heritage sites in Gaelic speaking areas (*Gàidhealtachd*); and across all of Scotland; and whether there were any subjects that should always be communicated in Gaelic.

3 Literature Review – Best Practice in Visitor Interpretation

3.1 What is interpretation?

Interpretation originated from the conservation movement in the United States of America (Piersenné 1999; Uzzell 1998a). There are numerous definitions of interpretation which revolve around the central tenet that it is an approach to communication which is more than just the transmission of facts (Beck and Cable 2002; Ham 1992: 3; Tilden 1977: 33). From this starting point interpretation has been seen to have an educational function (Beck and Cable 2002: 7); or an emotional focus: “heritage interpretation is a means of communicating ideas and feelings which help people understand more about themselves and their environment” (Interpretation Australia 2011). Or it can seek to do both as a “mission-based communication process that forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the meanings inherent in the resource” (National Association of Interpretation n.d.), although it should also help accomplish the site mission and management objectives (Brochu 2003: 3).

3.2 Aims and objectives of interpretation

All interpretation aims to create successful communication between the organisation and its audiences. Interpretation seeks to explain the significance of places and objects to the public (Aldridge 1975) in a pleasurable, relevant and organised way (Ham 1992: 8).

In terms of content, interpretive objectives can be developed to consider different aspects of the experience, and different aims for the interpretation. Sharpe identified three objectives of interpretation: “to assist the visitor in developing a keener awareness, appreciation, and understanding of the area he or she is visiting [...] to accomplish management goals [...] [and] to promote public understanding of an agency and its programs” (Sharpe 1976: 4). As such, interpretation may seek to achieve any or all of the following with visitors:

- Learning objectives – what the interpreter wants visitors to learn or remember.
- Behavioural objectives – what the interpreter wants visitors to do.
- And emotional objectives – what the interpreter wants visitors to feel. (Veverka 1994: 45-47).

3.3 Learning

Learning, or knowledge gain, is a key objective of interpretation. Organisations want to communicate information and ideas to audiences so that they leave better informed and more knowledgeable about places, issues or ideas. Unlike formal learning institutions (e.g. schools) and formal education approaches (e.g. environmental education), visitors choose to visit places like heritage sites, museums and parks, and 'opt-in' to the interpretive experience (Ballantyne 1998: 82) making them informal learning environments (Ballantyne 1998: 77; Dierking 1998; Peart 1986: 33; Veverka 1994: 2). Interpretation therefore needs to create experiences which are “both enjoyable and meaningful” (Peart 1986: 38).

3.3.1 Traditional approaches

Traditional approaches to the acquisition of knowledge and meaning, for example in museums, saw the meaning and significance of objects and places as fixed and self-evident (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 208; Uzzell 1998a: 17). This positivist approach promoted the transmission of information from the object or expert to the visitor, who acted as a passive consumer of knowledge (Copeland 2004: 133; Copeland 2006: 88; Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 6).

Meaning is not fixed or self-evident though, which is why interpretation is required to enable audiences to engage with and create meaning from what they view and experience (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 208; Uzzell 1998a: 17). Traditional approaches have sought visitors to be involved in meaning-taking; creating more engaging interpretive experiences involves changing the role of audiences to that of meaning-makers (MacDonald and Shaw 2004: 110; Uzzell 1998a: 18).

3.3.2 Constructivist approaches to learning

Visitors remember about 10% of what they hear; 30% of what they read; 50% of what they see; and 90% of what they do (Veverka 1994: 10). Constructivism states that learning is an active process, in which individuals are active in the construction of knowledge, rather than being passive receivers of it (Ballantyne 1998: 83; Copeland 2006: 83-4; Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 118; Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998: 163; Knapp and Benton 2004: 21). Learning takes place through the assimilation of the current situation and past experience (Copeland 2006: 84; Uzzell 1998a: 18). Learners test ideas and theories, through negotiation of their previous knowledge and beliefs, to construct new meanings (Hein 1998). Providing opportunities for visitors to take part in the process of meaning-making puts them in the middle of the experience, enabling them to make choices in how (and how much) they engage.

Providing opportunities for visitors to take part, and get hands-on, in interpretive experiences are key principles of constructivist approaches:

“People operate within three general learning domains. The cognitive domain involves using the rational mind to process information [...]. The effective domain relates to one's feelings [...]. The kinaesthetic domain involves motor skills. Learning occurs through physical movement and skill development” (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 132).

3.4 Attitude and behaviour change

Interpretation may also seek to specifically engage audiences in learning to encourage attitude or behaviour change. Peart argued that the historical focus for interpretation on promoting knowledge gain alone was unhelpful and inaccurate, suggesting that other aspects of visitor engagement; primarily attitude and behaviour, required increased focus (1986: 40; Uzzell 1998a: 13). Changing public attitudes and behaviours is often a key objective for interpretation, particularly when dealing with environmental concerns, which requires persuasive communication (Cable *et al.* 1986: 15-16; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 73). Such approaches are underpinned by cognitive psychology theories (Ballantyne 1998: 84; Ham 1994; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 68-71). Interpretation can seek to encourage behaviour change through “moving people away from sensitive fragile places;

encouraging appropriate behaviour; [raising] issues of conservation; [and] creating careful and mindful visitors” (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 174), although research into the efficacy of interpretation for behaviour change is limited (Munro, Morrison-Saunders and Hughes 2008).

Lee identifies four main variables which influence attitude change:

- The perceived credibility of the message source, e.g. expertise, honesty, attractiveness
 - The message itself, e.g. clarity, comprehension, argument ordering.
 - The media used for transmission
 - The characteristics of the target audience.
- (1998: 228)

Knudson, Cable and Beck refer to Burn (1996) in identifying clear practical ways to enhance the effectiveness of persuasive messages, including:

- The source of the message should be trustworthy
 - The source of the message should have expertise or authority
 - The source of the message should be likable
 - Vivid dramatic information is more persuasive than factual data
 - Emphasising the negative consequence (such as fines) will have little effect unless the individual perceives a high likelihood of receiving the consequences
 - Include information suggesting that behaviour change is socially desirable.
 - Include acceptable reasons for asking that recreationists do or do not do something
 - Tell individuals exactly how to perform any desired behaviours
 - Face-to-face communications are most persuasive
 - Make written communications direct and in their language
 - Tailor your message to your audience.
- (Burn 1996 cited in Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 72)

3.5 Interpretation planning

To achieve its aims and objectives, effective interpretation requires organisation and planning. Interpretation planning can be defined as “the decision-making process that blends management needs and resource considerations with visitor desire and ability to pay (with time, interest, and/or dollars) to determine the most effective way to communicate the message to targeted markets” (Brochu 2003: 3).

The interpretation planning process enables organisations to identify what they want to communicate to visitors; who the visitors are; what the site/place has to offer; and the ways in which this information is going to be provided (Brochu 2003; Piersenné 1999: 163). Brochu (2003: 72-73) identifies three different types of objectives for interpretation planning:

- Management objectives – how interpretation will be used to help achieve wider management targets for a site
- Interpretive objectives – what the organisation wants individual audience members to do and take away from the experience

- Action objectives – used throughout the interpretation planning and delivery process to identify a series of targets and progress indicators.
-

The interpretation plan brings together the various elements which will constitute the interpretation project, including “details about the overall interpretive or education program, thematic guidelines, cost projections for development and implementation, and media descriptions that match selected media to audiences and objectives” (Brochu 2003: 6). Although this is often set out as a linear process of stages of development over time, in practice it is more recursive and iterative (Uzzell 1998b: 236).

Although interpretation planning may be perceived to be time consuming, expensive, or even unnecessary, it enables organisations to develop appropriate interpretive provision for their place, budget and audience(s). Choosing to ignore the interpretation planning process and focusing on easy or cheap solutions will usually result in interpretation which is uninspiring and ineffective (Brochu 2003: 25). Interpretation plans provide clear objectives; identify themes, content and media; estimate costs, funding and revenue streams; provide project timetables and schedules; assign responsibilities; and indicate evaluation for success.

3.5.1 Interpretation planning models

A number of authors have proposed interpretation planning models. Veverka (1994) proposes a cyclical model for interpretation planning (Figure 1) which starts by considering the resources, theme and subtheme (what), with the specific objectives for the interpretation (why), and the audience for the interpretation (who). These ideas are then developed through consideration of the methods and media approaches (how/when, where), the costs of the proposals (I&O) and the evaluation plan (so what). This then informs further discussions on the what, why and who (Veverka 1994: 32).

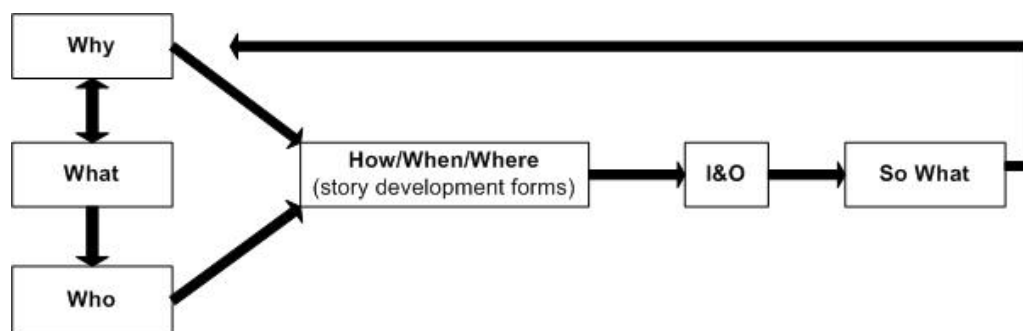


Figure 1 – Interpretive Planning Model (Veverka 1994: 32)

Uzzell (1998b) discusses a themes-markets-resources model (Figure 2) with the interpretive experience at the centre of this. The resources include the tangible and intangible aspects of the heritage to be interpreted, alongside resources available for the project including, for example, existing infrastructure, interpretive media, staff, and skills. The market reflects all aspects of the potential audience base, including location, social and educational context, interests and needs. The themes are not just the theme, subthemes and storylines, but also the ways these messages are communicated. It is the interaction of these elements which informs the interpretation (235-241).

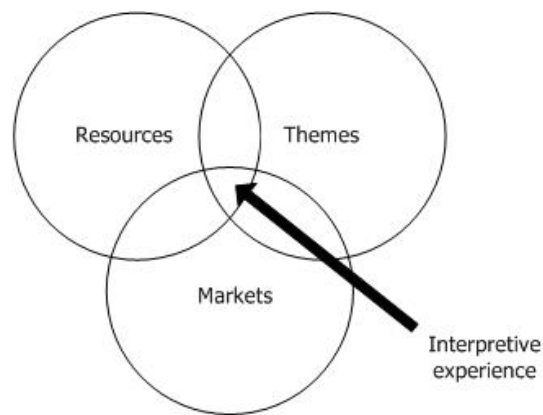


Figure 2 – Themes-Markets-Resources Model (Uzzell 1998c: 240)

Brochu (2003) proposes a 5-M model (Figure 3), relating to management, markets, message, mechanics, and media. Management relates to specific management (organisation) needs and capabilities. Markets reflects the potential audiences for interpretation. Messages relates to the story being told about the resource being interpreted. Mechanics considers the place, and the physical opportunities and constraints (e.g. exhibition space and buildings). Media relates to the methods of communication, which are informed by the other factors (15).

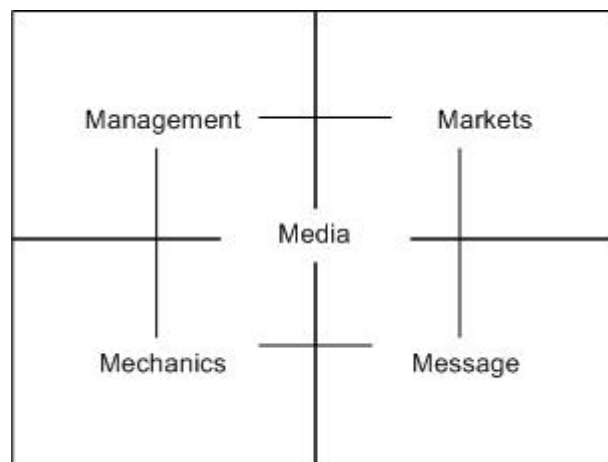


Figure 3 – 5-M Model (Brochu 2003: 63)

All models are necessarily general approaches, with the specifics of the individual project situation influencing how these may be applied to create an effective interpretation plan.

3.6 Thematic approach

These three models propose a thematic approach to interpretation, which reflects broader guidance on best practice interpretation (e.g. Ham 1992; Pierssené 1999; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003).

A theme is different from a topic: the latter is simply the subject of the presentation; the former is the key idea which the interpreter wants to convey about that topic (Brochu 2003: 100; Ham 1992: 21). *“A well-articulated theme expresses a belief about a thing, whether it be a behaviour, event, person or object”* (Ham and Krumpe 1996: 18).

A thematic approach provides structure and organisation to interpretation, enabling audiences to understand what the experience is about (Ham 1992: 21; Knudson Cable and Beck 2003: 197). If the interpretation isn't thematic, "*it seems unorganised, difficult to follow, and less meaningful to audiences*" (Ham 1992: 33), leading to unsuccessful experiences and a failure to achieve the desired outcomes for both audiences and organisations (Brochu 2003: 97).

3.6.1 Central theme statement

Developing a thematic approach to interpretation involves identifying a central or key theme which the organisation or place wants to communicate to its audience (Ham 1992: 38; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 197), and is a 'thread' which runs through and links the different elements (Pierssené 1999: 13). The initial process involves the development of a main theme, which can often be summed up in one sentence (ibid.: 87), which Brochu refers to as the central theme statement (2003: 100). It involves a process of identifying and discarding other themes which may also relate to the place being interpreted (Pierssené 1999: 88). If the central theme is effectively delivered, it will be the key message which visitors take home (Brochu 2003: 100).

3.6.2 Subthemes and messages

From this central theme, a series of subthemes and storylines, can be developed (Brochu 2003: 97; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 208). This can be top-down, working from the theme to develop sub-themes and messages, or bottom-up, identifying the individual stories and then categorising these into sub-themes and ultimately identifying the central theme of the interpretation (Brochu 2003: 93), depending on the approach to planning taken.

At the centre of this interpretation practice is the communication of stories or messages. Brochu (2003: 93) identifies three questions which need to be considered when developing appropriate interpretation messages:

1. What are the most significant natural and cultural heritage stories?
2. What are visitors most interested in?
3. What does management need to communicate?

The use of an effective planning process will enable these messages to be identified.

3.7 Media

Media is a key part of interpretation as it is anything which facilitates the communication of a message (Brochu 2003: 125). The media chosen to communicate these messages are the result of a number of factors which make up each project's context, including: the nature of the remains; scale of the project (including budgets); stakeholders' aims; audience types and numbers; appropriateness in the setting (e.g. in the landscape); and sustainability (in terms of delivery and resource) (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 120). It is important, however, that messages, rather than design or media, lead the process (Brochu 2003: 62; Goodey 1998:147). If media leads the interpretation, this will cause problems later on in the development of a project, necessitating back-tracking, or resulting in an unsuccessful project (Brochu 2003: 60).

Media approaches are commonly divided into two categories: live and static.

3.7.1 Live interpretation

Live interpretation, also referred to as attended (Sharpe 1976: 91-93) or personal interpretation (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 230) involves direct interaction between the interpreter and the audience. This includes guided walks and talks, demonstrations, living history displays, and artefact handling sessions.

3.7.2 Static interpretation

Static interpretation, also referred to as unattended (Sharpe 1976: 92-93) or non-personal interpretation (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 230), is essentially every interpretive medium which does not involve direct communication between the interpreter and the audience. Instead, information is communicated to the audience using a variety of devices which take the place of the interpreter (Sharpe 1976: 92-93), including interpretation panels, leaflets, guidebooks, audio guides, exhibitions, and interactives.

3.7.3 Writing text

Text has two main functions in the visitor experience: “text that orientates or gives practical information, and text that is knowledge-based, concerned with specific subject matters” (Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 124).

As with all media, the audience and the message are the two key elements in writing effective interpretive text. There is no single general public, and “*reading levels, vocabularies and connotations [of words] change with age, education and culture*” (Beck and Cable 2002: 120). There is a variety of guidance on the correct approach to writing interpretive text, though not all of this is based on research data. The following advice is commonly promoted:

- Brevity – keep text short
- Avoid using technical language/jargon
- Text should relate to a message/tell a story
- Text should be engaging
- Text should use metaphors and analogies to link to audiences’ prior knowledge
- Include people where possible
- Use short words
- Vary sentence length
- Use active verbs
- Use concrete nouns
- Use short paragraphs
- Use subtitles
- Use layering in the text to provide structure
- Ask questions
- Personalise the text
- Use language and writing from speech.

(Veverka 1994: 109; Beck and Cable 2002: 122; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 164; Zimmerman, Gross and Buchholz 2008: 34; Uzzell 1998c: 247; Colquhoun 2005: 66; Carter and Hillier 1994: 148)

As with any other part of the content development, writing interpretive text is an iterative process which is undertaken in conjunction with other aspects of the project (Ekarv 1994: 141-2).

3.8 Audiences

Identifying the target audience(s) is an essential stage in planning interpretation that will communicate meaningfully with visitors (Falk and Dierking 1992). There is no such thing as an average visitor or single audience (Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 86; Goulding 1999: 60). Different audiences require different experiences, as people have different motivations and agendas for visiting, though they generally fall into broadly overlapping categories as visits for education and/or recreation and/or entertainment (Copeland 2004). It is also important to remember that visitors may find interpretation settings such as stately homes and guided walks unfamiliar, and potentially daunting (Pierssené 1999: 64).

3.8.1 Interpretation and the visitor experience

Visitor experiences on the ground are directly influenced not only by the interpretive provision, but also through the social context in which people experience them – this is the visitor-centred perspective (Dierking 1998). Visits to interpretive locations are normally undertaken during leisure time, and have a social nature which will have a profound effect on the experience (Dierking 1998; Saxe 2009; Uzzell 1998a: 18). Falk and Dierking identified three contexts to the visitor experience, which form their Interactive Experience Model (1992; Dierking 1998):

- The Personal Context of the visitor: personal characteristics, such as reasons for visiting, learning style, prior knowledge, experience, attitudes, interests and cultural background
- The Physical Context they encounter: the physical characteristics of the site including where it is located, what it looks like, its interpretive features and the 'feel' or site ambience
- The Social Context of the experience: including people with whom they have attended, as well as the staff, volunteers and other visitors encountered during the experience. Another important influence in this context is cultural factors.
(Dierking 1998: 57)

Visitors are therefore often looking to be entertained or engaged rather than educated (Saxe 2009), which provides both an opportunity and a challenge for organisations, who may want to achieve the latter through the former. By creating enjoyable and/or engaging experiences, organisations can start to engage visitors in experiences which achieve organisational objectives (Brochu 2003: 72; Beck and Cable 2002: 118; Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003: 8).

Research has shown that the interpretive elements of the visitor experience can be the primary factor in creating successful visitor experiences (Ham and Weiler 2007) if these address the visitor and their needs (Pearce and Moscardo 2007). Therefore good interpretation is at the heart of successful visitor experiences, as long as it is situated in the visitor's own experience, as:

“it is only in this way that the heritage or the environment and its interpretation will be made meaningful and can be used as a resource on which the visitor can draw to understand further information and interpretation and guide future action” (Uzzell 1998c: 244).

Interpretive experiences do not however, need to be 'enjoyable', as interpretation may seek to engage audiences with difficult or challenging issues; what Uzzell defined as “*hot interpretation*” (Uzzell 1989; Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998). Examples of 'hot interpretation topics include the Holocaust and global warming. Hot interpretation provides a number of benefits:

“First interpretation that has an affective dimension will more adequately convey the meaning and significance of the heritage of people, places, events and artefacts. In a sense, this is the touristic function of hot interpretation. Hot interpretation can, however, be used pro-actively and politically. This is the community development function of hot interpretation” (Uzzell and Ballantyne 1998: 165).

3.9 Community engagement

Community engagement can be a key part of the interpretation process, but local communities are potential audiences which may often be overlooked when planning interpretation (Ham 1992: 191). They are also stakeholders who should be involved in the planning and decision making process at key stages of the process (Brochu 2003: 34).

Curthoys, Cuthbertson and Clark advocate for community-focused heritage interpretation which results from integrating communities more fully into existing interpretation planning processes (2007: 64-65). The authors argue that integrating communities into the planning process can also encourage a “*sense of belonging to a wider community of life*” (ibid.: 64). By moving local community more centrally into the interpretation process, a relationship between the visitor, the host community, and the heritage can be promoted (Wearing and Archer 2003: 8). Involving local communities also provides opportunities to create a lasting legacy and continued benefits, often long after the original project has been completed (Piersenné 1999: 130).

3.10 Evaluation

The process of evaluation provides opportunities to assess the effectiveness of interpretive projects in achieving their objectives (Hein 1994; Knapp and Benton 2004: 10; Screven 1990). It is important to recognise the difference between research and evaluation which, although they may use similar methods, have different objectives (Uzzell 1998b: 186). Evaluation is always context specific, seeking to provide data which can lead directly to the improvement of the interpretation (ibid.).

There are four key stages of evaluating interpretation (Screven 1990), which run in parallel with the stages of the interpretation project (Loomis 2002: 33):

- Front-end – at the start of the project
- Formative – during the project

- Remedial – immediately after the project is completed
- Summative – after the project is completed (and beyond).

3.10.1 Front-end evaluation

Front-end evaluation is undertaken at the planning stage of a project (Screven 1990: 38). It allows prospective audiences the project team to test the aims, objectives and themes for the project at the outset, and to clarify the priorities for interpretation. This can be done through consultation with prospective audiences and stakeholders (ibid.). The exact nature and depth of this stage of evaluation is necessarily influenced by timescales and budgets. This stage also be used to identify preferences in the design and media selected. It also provides a valuable opportunity to identify issues which, at the planning stage can be easily rectified, and which will be more costly and time consuming to rectify once the project is further down the line, and certainly once it is complete (Bitgood 1989: 16).

Methods used in front-end evaluation include: individual interviews; focus group interviews; marketing surveys; and interest and knowledge surveys (Loomis 2002: 34).

3.10.2 Formative evaluation

Formative evaluation is undertaken during a project. It provides opportunities to test elements of a project to ensure that the objectives are being achieved (Brochu 2003: 126; Screvens 1990: 41). This can be an iterative process, enabling different aspects of a project to be tested and retested, in either a formal or informal approach.

In this way, models and mock-ups of elements of exhibit design elements, such as typeface and size for labels and panels, graphic style for legibility, and draft content evaluated during the design stage (Brochu 2003; 126-7). Depending on the scale of the project, multimedia and interactives may also be utilised to create a more interactive experience. These too can be tested through the use of prototypes, though this can be an expensive process. Alternatives can often be found to assess the content and interactivity of these types of media, as given the cost associated, it is important that these elements achieve their aims and objectives.

Methods used in formative evaluation include: mock-up testing; individual interviews; focus groups interviews; and observation (Loomis 2002: 34).

3.10.3 Remedial evaluation

Remedial evaluation is undertaken immediately after a project is completed to establish whether the interpretive experience is functioning as planned (Loomis 2002; Screvens 1990). The end of the project is the first time that all of the elements are in place, and it is important to identify whether everything is working, from both a practical and experiential perspective. Many of these issues will be addressed under 'snagging'.

Methods used in remedial evaluation include individual interviews; critical appraisal panels; modified exhibit experiments; and focus groups (Loomis 2002: 34).

3.10.4 Summative evaluation

Summative evaluation is also undertaken after a project is complete, but also refers to evaluation undertaken on projects which are permanent and beyond the remedial stage. Summative evaluation is a reflective process which seeks to identify whether the aims and objectives of a project have been achieved (Brochu 2003: 127; Screven 1990: 52).

Methods used in summative evaluation include: larger samples of observations and surveys; and focus group interviews (Loomis 2002: 34).

3.11 Summary

This literature review has focused on best practice research and guidance for visitor interpretation. It reflects the aims of interpretation in informing visitors and encouraging attitude and behaviour change, and the role effective interpretation planning has in achieving effective interpretive outcomes.

4 Literature Review – The Use of More than One Language in Visitor Interpretation

This literature review explores the wider implications of using multiple languages in public places in general, before discussing multilingualism within the context of visitor interpretation.

4.1 Language visibility as an element of language policy

Linguist Bernard Spolsky identifies three principal components to language policy: language management, language practices and language beliefs. Language management entails targeted actions aiming to change or to reinforce certain aspects of a linguistic situation (2004). Language management usually implies 'top-down' actions, but those engaged in language management could range from authorities, institutions and businesses to interest groups or individuals. Language practices consist of the actual ways in which language is used in a society. In language practices, researchers may pay particular attention to the choices language users make between, for example, different words, codes or languages, as language policy is fundamentally "all about choices" (Spolsky 2009: 1). Finally, language beliefs are made up of the relative values that people or organisations have for different languages, varieties of language or linguistic choices.

Elana Shohamy (2006) expands on Spolsky's model to illustrate the 'mechanisms' that demonstrate 'real' or 'de facto' language policies. The 'real' or 'de facto' language policies revealed by studying these mechanisms can sometimes contradict the line taken by 'declared' language policy, although explicit language policy declarations will usually at least influence the 'de facto' situation.

The first category of mechanism Shohamy describes (ibid.: 59-75) is 'rules and regulations'. This covers overt language policy as expressed through official documents and by official bodies openly and directly trying to influence language use, through such initiatives as language laws or language academies. An example of a language policy mechanism within this category with particular relevance for visitor interpretation in Scotland is the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005, passed "*with a view to securing the status of the Gaelic language as an official language of Scotland commanding equal respect to the English language*". Shohamy's second (2006: 76-92) and third (ibid.: 93-109) categories are 'language education' and 'language tests'. Many visitor attractions play an important educational role, and their language practices through visitor interpretation are therefore of some significance in influencing de facto language education policies. Language tests, which form an especially prescriptive branch of language education, are not of direct relevance to visitor interpretation.

The fourth category outlined by Shohamy (ibid.: 110-133) is 'language in the public space', sometimes also termed 'language ecology', which is of major relevance to visitor interpretation. This subject had long been overlooked in language policy and sociolinguistics since "*most research on language use tends to focus primarily on speakers and not on their environment*" (ibid.: 111), but it is currently inspiring many new interdisciplinary approaches to studies. This field of study, which is essentially concerned with the visibility of languages, will be studied in more detail in the next section. The broad fifth and final category illustrated by Shohamy (ibid.: 130-132)

combines' ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion. These areas are often the least studied in language policy research, but they make up the most essential mechanism of all. Ideologies especially, such as the link between language and nation, can be founded operating in all linguistic cultures. Importantly for the purposes of the present study, the use of language in public spaces, including through visitor interpretation, can be affected by ideologies, myths, propaganda and coercion in such a way that users of certain languages can sometimes be marginalised (ibid.: 129), in particular users of lesser-used or minority languages which in the Scottish context may include both Gaelic and Scots.

4.2 Language Visibility in the Linguistic Landscape

4.2.1 Defining the Linguistic Landscape

In recent years, a growing number of studies have been conducted into the presence and display of multiple languages in (predominantly public) spaces and places, or the 'linguistic landscape', as it has been termed.

“The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25).

The above description by Landry and Bourhis has become an accepted definition of the basic components of the linguistic landscape, and most studies adopting this terminology have looked at such examples of signs, generally seen as *“any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame”* (Backhaus 2006: 55). A number of studies have, however, significantly extended the range of what could be understood as linguistic landscape items or genres, from ancient inscriptions such as the Rosetta Stone (Coulmas 2009) to more transient textual features such as graffiti (Pennycook 2009), whiteboards and sticky notes on the walls of a laboratory (Hanauer 2009), or text on litter (Dagenais, Moore and Sabatier 2009: 265; Kallen 2009: 282).

Hicks, for example, in his consideration of Scotland's linguistic landscape (2002), included place-names even when these are not physically present in the landscape. Not all place-names appear on signs in the physical environment, yet they are an essential link between language and landscape or territory. For instance, the choice of place-names used on maps, and in particular which languages and orthographies are represented in the depiction of place-names, could be seen as part of the linguistic landscape, as maps are intended to interpret and describe the landscape. This becomes especially relevant when it comes to official maps that can have – or are perceived to have – prescriptive qualities (Puzey 2007: 24-27). Indeed, not only can the presence of certain languages in spaces be indicative of linguistic practices; the absence of other languages can be just as telling.

Others have pointed to newer, fuzzier interpretations of places and spaces that could expand the scope of linguistic landscape studies, including into cyberspace (Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 315). Although most studies have referred to written texts, there is also scope for further study into non-written aspects of the linguistic landscape, such as the aural linguistic landscape as experienced in announcements

on public transport, in supermarkets and shopping centres (Shohamy 2006: 127), or indeed in the provision of audio-visual information at visitor attractions.

4.2.2 Functions of the Linguistic Landscape

In their seminal study on the subject, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25-27) describe two main functions of the linguistic landscape. The first function is informational, as the presence or absence of particular languages in signage on local authority buildings, for example, could perhaps indicate which languages a visitor might expect to be able to use in communications with the authorities. The use of a given language in the linguistic landscape might also indicate the location of linguistic boundaries, when these exist. Secondly, the linguistic landscape performs a symbolic function. The more frequent, extensive or visible the use of a particular language in the linguistic landscape, the greater that language's 'subjective ethnolinguistic vitality' is perceived to be (ibid.: 27). Through this effect on language attitudes, the linguistic landscape not only reflects the sociolinguistic situation as it is; it can also influence the perceived status of languages, thereby potentially affecting language practices in the wider society (Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 67-68; Puzey 2011).

Within the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, other research points to the possibility of incorporating a function of place identity and attachment (Puzey 2009: 825). This is highly relevant to the use of language in attractions frequented by tourists and other visitors. This was recognised in the recommendation made to Scottish Ministers in the *First Impressions of Scotland* report of 2005, with reference to international gateways to Scotland: "*Bilingual English and Gaelic signs should be used where appropriate to emphasise the sense of place*" (Scottish Executive 2005). 'Signs', in the broader, semiotic sense, are indeed key to the perceptions of place among tourists:

"The [tourist] gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the connection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real olde England' (Urry 1990: 3).

Visitor interpretation can be a vital constituent in constructing this sense of place, and in Scotland this can be aided by the effective use of Gaelic and Scots, alongside English, not only in signs or interpretation panels, but in other media and communications as well.

4.2.3 The Linguistic Landscape and Gaelic

An important locus for Scottish Gaelic in the linguistic landscape is on road signs, and Gaelic place-names can be found alongside their English counterparts on road signs on both council-owned roads in the Highlands and Western Isles and on a number of trunk roads in Scotland, as well as on some community boundary signs in Nova Scotia (Puzey 2010). An inherent problem in multilingual design is language differentiation; when more than one language is displayed on signs, panels or in any text intended to be bi- or multi-lingual, different "mechanisms of differentiation" are used (Baines and Dixon 2003: 34). These may include colour, character type, size, positioning and spacing. The challenge is that this differentiation invariably establishes a hierarchy favouring one language:

“When a text is in multiple codes (two or three or more languages such as English and Chinese) or multiple orthographies there is a system of preference. The mere fact that these items cannot be located simultaneously in the same place produces a choice system. [...] The preferred code is on top, on the left [at least when using the Latin alphabet], or in the center and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or in the margins” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 120).

Most bilingual road signs in mainland Scotland reproduce Gaelic place-names above the English ones in the same size of text and with the same standard typeface, but in a slightly less prominent colour, which marks “a remarkable step towards equal respect for the two languages” (Puzey 2010: 80). Similarly, bilingual road signs in the Republic of Ireland also position Irish, the minority language, above English, with the Irish text in a pseudo-Celtic italic typeface, although the disparity between the languages is greater than in the colour-differentiated Gaelic-English signs in Scotland, as the Irish typeface is considerably less legible than that used for English. The bilingual road signs of Scotland and Ireland are therefore examples of how ‘code preference’, the favouring of one language or script, especially in terms of positioning or spacing, “can be played off against salience” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 125). Issues relating to impact and comprehension of information and messages when communicating in more than one language are discussed below (section 6).

Beyond the informational and symbolic value of the use of Gaelic in visitor interpretation, previous research has suggested that Gaelic can make a major positive contribution to tourism, especially in creating a more developed sense of place:

“Visual evidence of the existence of Gaelic is an important part of the process of affirming the distinctiveness of the Highlands and Islands to visitors (especially from the continent) as well as to residents. A major, and relatively inexpensive aid to creating this ‘Gaelic Face’ to the product is the provision of Gaelic or bi-lingual signage and written information, including street signs, shop fronts, logos etc. especially in tourist hubs such as Inverness, Oban, Portree and Fort William” (Pedersen 1995: 293).

Jeffrey Kallen suggests four ‘types of anticipated tourist need’ that can shape the linguistic landscape in areas where tourism is a major consideration:

1. The need for an authentic experience of place, to see the ‘real’ foreign land
2. The need to feel secure, ensuring that what is different is not so different as to be threatening or in some way repugnant
3. The need to break away from normal routines
4. The need to return from a journey of transformation, i.e., to create a memory of the experience of travel that stands out from other experiences [...] (2009: 275).

It is important to note that, although Gaelic visibility is of special importance in the Highlands and Western Isles, there is evidence of growing visibility of Gaelic in the linguistic landscape of other parts of Scotland too (Puzey 2011), including railway station signs across the country and the livery of ScotRail trains, and visitor interpretation in places such as the Scottish Parliament. By contrast, the use of

Scots “appears to be perceived essentially as an addendum to Gaelic by the Scottish authorities (McCull Millar 2006: 82).

Visitor interpretation, as a multi-modal means of communicating to visitors, can be viewed as a constituent of 'linguaging' in heritage sites or other visitor attractions:

“Linguaging [...] refers to the multiple ways of representation that are not limited to words but rather include additional ways of expression consisting of a variety of creative devices of expression such as linguaging through music, clothes, gesture, visuals, food, tears and laughter [...] architecture [...] images and numbers [...] silence, art, [...] dance, graffiti, hip-hop, paintings, public signs, billboards, photography etc. These multi-modal representations, each in its own way, contribute new and unique elements and together provide a more complete picture that facilitates endless forms of existence, creation and expansion, messages and mediations in private and public space. It is the repertoire of all these elements combined, that make up communication” (Shohamy 2006: 16).

As a communicative tool, visitor interpretation also needs to respond to language policy considerations, including the visibility of minority languages, not only in text but across the range of media.

4.3 Producing Interpretation in More than One Language

Interpretation in more than one language is undertaken for a number of different, but not necessarily separate reasons, for example as:

- A response to the demand from visitors and local communities for interpretive materials in different languages
- An approach to encourage the use of particular languages (e.g. indigenous and/or marginalised languages):
 - As an identified legal requirement
 - As a philosophical or policy approach by organisations or groups
- An approach to promote wider awareness of/knowledge of indigenous languages:
 - For local communities
 - For visitors.

As such, the provision of interpretation in more than one language may seek to address one or more of the agendas above.

4.4 Language Provision as a Legal Requirement

Approaches to language provision in interpretation are often guided by national or regional government legislation which defines the way that certain languages are treated. Within the context of heritage interpretation, this is generally to promote the use of and engagement with those languages which are often (but not always) minority languages. In Canada, the Official Language Act (1969) gives French and English equal status, and they are required to be treated as such in all activities undertaken by government bodies. In Ireland, the Official Languages Act (2003) recognises Irish (Gaeilge) as the first national language, with English recognised as

a second official language. Likewise in Wales, the Welsh Language Act 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 2006 require all public bodies providing services to the public in Wales to provide those services in Welsh and English (National Museum of Wales n.d.: 14).

4.4.1 **Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 and the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-12**

In Scotland, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 (Scottish Parliament 2005) was created to secure the status of the Gaelic language as an official language alongside English in Scotland. Bòrd na Gàidhlig was created as the organisation to oversee the implementation of the Act, through the development and application of the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012.

Under the Gaelic Act, the functions of Bòrd na Gàidhlig include promoting and facilitating the use and understanding of the Gaelic language, education and culture. In particular, the National Plan for Gaelic states that it seeks to see “an increase in the profile of Gaelic in the tourism, heritage and recreation sectors” (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007: 13). As part of the National Plan for Gaelic all public bodies in Scotland are liable to notification of a requirement to produce Gaelic language plans.

4.5 **Language Provision as a Part of an Organisation's Role and Remit**

As well as responding to legislation, heritage organisations are driven by internal policies, as well as the policies of stakeholders. Even if there is not official legislation demanding it, organisations may view the provision of interpretation in more than one language as one of their aims or responsibilities, to engage with their audiences or prospective audiences (Alaska Native Knowledge Network 2003: 5; Gleeson and Shirakawa 1991: 141; Humphries 2006: 72; Mason 2009, 5; Owens Renner 2003a: 2). Having the choice to provide interpretation in more than one language has been referred to as the 'bilingual dilemma' (Owens Renner 2003a).

As such, language provision can be identified as a social responsibility and aligned with broader social agendas associated with cultural benefits and the role of language(s) in society (DECCW 2009). These may also be identified as key aspects of the visitor experience, for example through engaging with concepts of identity and sense of place (Light 1992; PLB Consulting 2010: 6).

4.6 **Demand from Stakeholders**

Language provision may also be demand-led. Stakeholders, including local communities, may encourage organisations to provide interpretive materials in more than one language (Breese 1991; DECCW 2009; Fienup-Riordan 2009: 8; Museums Australia 2005; Plaza 2009).

Other stakeholders, for example organisations which provide funding for interpretation projects, may also see interpretation in more than one language as a desirable or requisite part of any funded project (Owens Renner 2003a: 2). The Heritage Lottery Fund requires all exhibition materials in Wales to be fully bilingual in Welsh and English (NHMF, HLF and Welsh Language Board 2007), and Scottish Natural Heritage's grants guidance document advises grant holders on how they can include Gaelic in their project (2011).

4.7 Demand from Visitors

Language provision may also be dictated by the nationality and language abilities of visitors to heritage locations. This can take two forms: provision of foreign language content for visitors (language as the medium); and visitor interest in the heritage (including language) of others (language as the message).

4.7.1 Providing Foreign Language Content for Visitors

Heritage sites have a central role within tourism. As such, the provision of interpretation materials in additional languages will often reflect the nationalities of the major visiting groups (Tabraham 2006: 62).

4.7.2 Interest in Heritage of Others

Visitors may also be interested in finding out more about local or regional languages as part of an area's culture, identity and sense of place (Fox 1991; Light 1992; Woodley 1991). Engaging with the local community of the place visited may be a key part of the visitor experience, though this demand may differ between overseas and domestic visitors (Carr 2004: 432). In this way, encounters with local/regional/national languages and dialects may be a part of the visitor experience, including, for example learning how to pronounce particular words (Greathouse-Amador 2005: 55). This firmly situates language provision for the audience within the 'message', or content, of the interpretation.

Increasing interpretive provision in other languages is also seen as an opportunity to increase awareness amongst a wider public about other languages, through increased exposure to these languages. For example in Australia “the use of Aboriginal languages through publications, education, park management and public programs has the potential to positively influence the general public” (DECCW 2009: 5). In Scotland, the Highland Folk Museum at Newtonmore is seen by Highland Council as providing opportunities to benefit visitors with different Gaelic language abilities:

- Visitors who have no awareness of Gaelic gaining an understanding of the Highlands' unique culture
- Visitors with some awareness of Gaelic gaining a richer insight to the culture and traditions expressed through the language
- For Gaelic speakers and learners, the creation of an environment where Gaelic language and culture can be shared, enjoyed and improved. (Highland Council 2007: 2).

4.8 Approaches to Providing Interpretation in More than One Language

Current approaches to providing interpretation in more than one language vary greatly. This may in part be a result of the primary aims of the interpretation (see literature review on best practice for discussion of aims of interpretation). Outwith territories which have specific legislation relating to the inclusion of languages, provision of dual-language interpretation is often undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis, as a response to a variety of demands, including the different language needs of audiences, and efforts to increase awareness and use of marginalised languages (Fienup-Riordan 2009; Mason 2009; Plaza 2009). It is, however, important that any language aims are included in the wider interpretation planning process, rather than

being seen as separate aims with separate goals (Fienup-Riordan 2009; González and Leigh 2009; Mason 2009, 5; Plaza 2009: 3).

There is no one 'correct' approach to providing interpretation in more than one language, as various factors, which are site and project specific, need to be taken into account. What is important is to ensure that any language provision is undertaken for genuine interpretive aims, rather than as a tokenistic effort (Plaza 2009: 3). As such, it is important to ensure that the interpretation team includes members who have relevant skills and abilities for the various different aspects of the interpretation process, including relevant language (and cultural) knowledge:

“A truly qualified translator and a savvy editor make for better text in both languages. The translator's role is to replicate the meaning and mood of the original text as if it were originally conceived and written in the second language. The editor must review the text for grammatical errors and confirm that the structure and style sound authentic from a native speaker's point of view. Remember that a proficient speaker of any language is not necessarily a proficient writer or editor, and a proficient translator is not necessarily equipped to write exhibit text” (ibid.).

As such, each language version should seek to communicate the identified interpretive messages to the audiences in a manner which is appropriate to that language, rather than producing a literal translation from one to the other, which will undoubtedly result in a poorer standard for the second language content (ibid.).

There are various informal guidelines which exist to assist interpreters and the interpretation teams when developing content in more than one language. Owens Renner provides a series of questions which anyone undertaking interpretation and thinking of using more than one language should consider:

- Is equal access to information a priority? How easily can visitors access second-language information?
- Do the chosen media make second-language visitors feel like second-class citizens? Have you asked them?
- What media do visitors prefer? For example, you've planned a second-language gallery guide...will visitors use it?
- Does second-language media (like an audio headset) cut visitors off from their social group?
- Can the community contribute to the interpretive process? Will marketing bilingual exhibits draw more visitors? Can you meet their expectations? Will they leave satisfied?
(2003b: 13-14).

Miami Science Museum, Florida, provides a more direct series of guidelines relating to writing and designing interpretation in more than one language:

Writing Guidelines

- Write in the first language and then convey meaning, not literal translation, in the second language
- Reformulate the text in the first language based on insights gained from interpreting the text in the second language

- Voice, tone, and style should be the same in both languages
- Use universal terms whenever possible and the most familiar regional variations when necessary
- Create concise, digestible chunks of information
- Determine word count based on visitor behaviour, graphic design, and readability
- Test and modify as necessary.

Design Guidelines

- Develop consistent size, arrangement, and aesthetics for all interpretive text
- Give equal weight to both languages in terms of font size, headlines, etc.
- Clearly separate the two languages visually. Consider using different colours for the backgrounds and/or text
- Be consistent with the placement of graphic elements
- Avoid repeating the same images on one panel
- Test and modify as necessary
(Plaza 2009: 3-4).

4.9 Interpreting Indigenous Heritage

In some contexts, the engagement of local communities lies within the interpretation of indigenous heritage and marginalised groups (Interpretation Australia 2006; DECCW 2009; Woodley 1991: 48). As such, consideration is given to the use of indigenous languages and dialects in the interpretation planning process. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Alaska all encourage the involvement of local communities as key stakeholders in the production of content relating to indigenous heritage (e.g. DECCW 2009; Department of Environmental Conservation 2008; Fienup-Riordan 2009; Interpretation Australia 2006; MacGillivray 1991; Woodley 1991: 48 & 56). This may include the use of Aboriginal language when naming places, plants and wildlife (DECCW 2009: 7; Zeppel 1999; Zeppel, Muloin and Higginbottom 2003: 177), with the option of writing indigenous names for objects first (Tairawhiti Museum 2011: 2).

In Australia, the DECCW promotes the use of Aboriginal languages 'where appropriate', with interpretation materials developed in collaboration with the community (2009: 1-2); this may include the provision of audio containing these languages to further enhance the interpretive experience (Batten 2005: 39). Other organisations encourage ongoing consultation with local communities throughout the content development process (Department of Environmental Conservation 2008; DECCW 2009; Interpretation Australia 2006), with local culture retained as central to the messages being communicated (Woodley 1991: 48). Local culture, language and knowledge were central to the development of the *Yuungnaqpiallerput/The Way We Genuinely Live: Masterworks of Yup'ik Science and Survival* exhibition, a joint project of the Calista Elders Council and the Anchorage Museum in Alaska (Fienup-Riordan 2009: 8). This exhibition included:

“Bilingual panels; science interactives featuring quotations from Yup'ik elders, including a language interactive where visitors can learn to speak Yup'ik words and simple sentences; listening stations where visitors can listen to stories in Yup'ik and English; short videos in Yup'ik with English subtitles; two

catalogues (one English and one bilingual); and a web site including elders' quotes in Yup'ik and English" (ibid.).

4.10 **Methods and Media**

Planning interpretation in more than one language should take place within the wider interpretation planning process (see literature review 1 for best practice approaches to interpretation). Planning the methods and media used to deliver interpretation are determined by this process, and share the aims and objectives for the interpretation and the intended target audience(s).

4.11 **The Written Word**

Written interpretation media are the most commonly encountered in the visitor experience. Interpretation panels; exhibition graphics; case labels; guidebooks and multimedia all use text to convey content. When incorporating more than one language in visitor interpretation, various approaches may be used, resulting from a number of factors discussed before, including:

- Equal treatment and provision for all languages
- Majority text in one language with summary in other language(s)
- Majority text in one language with key words paired in other languages
- Majority text in one language with key words paired in other language(s) alongside pronunciation guidance.

Having selected the approaches for the delivery of the written content, a series of design issues then need to be considered. These range from the selection of typeface and font colour, to the arrangement of text in the selected media (Humphries 2006: 72). As Latin-based texts are read left to right, the decision as to which language text is placed on the left can be a contentious – it is the side that most people naturally read first, giving it an immediate advantage.

In New Zealand, Tairāwhiti Museum has proposed that *“Te reo Māori will be displayed on the left hand side of didactic panels with English to the right”* while acknowledging *“dialectical differences in Māori”* (2011: 2). Techniquet, the science discovery centre in Cardiff, provides bilingual interpretation in Welsh and English (Mason 2009). Graphic panels use colour to differentiate between the two languages, with English in red, and Welsh in green, with the colours taken from the Welsh flag to enhance the Welsh context of the centre (ibid.: 9).

4.11.1 **Using Multimedia and New Media**

Multimedia offers the opportunity to provide written materials in (theoretically) as many languages as are desired/required. However, the drawbacks of multimedia lie in the cost of and access to technology required for both creating and accessing this type of media, and also in the reduced 'visibility' of languages through multiple provision.

4.12 The Spoken Word

Whilst live interpretation is recognised as a more effective method of interpretation, issues of cost and practicality often negate its use. Live interpretation is most usually delivered through guides or costumed interpreters. However, it should also be recognised that the spoken word can also be experienced through a variety of other audio media, including audio guides, sound cones, sound posts etc., that enable different levels of content to be delivered in different languages (Humphries 2006: 76). As with multimedia, the opportunities to provide interpretation tailored to different audiences are greater, though in terms of live interpretation they are predicated on guides or interpreters being fluent in those languages and other quality issues.

Interpretation Australia has long recognised the benefit for both visitors and local communities of local guides communicating the heritage of Australia (2006). And Yu highlights that the effectiveness of non-native tour guides in providing a successful visitor experience is related to the level of understanding they have of local culture, for example the effectiveness of Chinese guides for Chinese tour groups visiting Australia:

“The success of tour guides as cultural mediators in facilitating understanding between Chinese visitors and the host destination depends largely on their intercultural competence (IC) formed by three elements: cultural awareness, cultural sensitivity and communication skills” (2003: 189).

4.13 Research into the Provision of More than One Language in Visitor Interpretation

Although the provision of interpretation incorporating more than one language has increased in the past decade, there has been little research into its purpose and efficacy.

4.13.1 Research – Bilingual Interpretation in Wales

The most substantial piece of research looking at language provision in heritage was undertaken in 1987 by Duncan Light, who looked at the provision of bilingual interpretation in Wales (1992). Light's study sought to “investigate the disposition towards, and experience of, Welsh language interpretation among 352 visitors at two heritage (i.e. historical tourism) sites in south Wales” (180). The two study sites were: Cefn Coed Colliery Museum, which provided interpretation primarily in English, with English and Welsh bilingual labels; and Dolaucothi Gold Mine, which provided fully bilingual written visitor interpretation. The survey returned 163 and 189 responses respectively, although only 7% of the Cefn Coed respondents (12 participants) and 5% of the Dolaucothi respondents (10 participants) were Welsh speakers (ibid.).

Light's methodology involved getting visitors to the two sites to react to three statements on a five-point scale:

- 1) Information for visitors should be in English and Welsh.
- 2) A guidebook should be available in Welsh.
- 3) Welsh and English should be provided on separate boards (ibid.).

Visitors were also asked for their opinions on the amount of Welsh they had come across during their visit (ibid.).

Two key groups of participants were targeted in the study:

“holiday-makers, normally resident outside Wales, who form a majority at both sites (59% at Cefn Coed and 82% at Dolaucothi) [and who] will have little familiarity with the Welsh language, [and] Welsh residents, who will be familiar with the Welsh language and who might be expected to have different views about bilingualism” (ibid.).

The main findings of this study were that over 80% of respondents from the two sites supported the principle of bilingual interpretation, as outlined in the first statement; over 65% of respondents supported the provision of a Welsh guidebook, as outlined in the second statement; and over 60% of respondents did not agree with the proposition that English and Welsh texts should be provided on separate boards (ibid.: 180-1).

Welsh residents were more supportive of the statement to provide a separate Welsh guidebook compared to non-Welsh residents, and less satisfied with the amount of Welsh they had encountered during the visit. Light also identified that “of particular importance is the finding that non-Welsh residents indicate equal support for bilingualism *per se* as Welsh residents. Furthermore, this group do not appear to experience any greater problems than Welsh residents when encountering Welsh and English texts together (ibid.).

In his conclusion Light identified three different groups for bilingual interpretation: fluent Welsh speakers; visitors to Wales; and residents of Wales who do not speak Welsh. He also identified a central issue regarding the demand for, and function of, interpretation in more than one language:

“In simple terms of numbers of users, Welsh language interpretation is unlikely to be cost-effective, particularly at sites in south Wales. At both study sites the number of Welsh speaking respondents was low. Even at heritage attractions in the Welsh-speaking heartland of north Wales, Welsh speakers are comparatively few in number since holiday-makers again constitute the largest group. [...] In addition, there is no certainty that Welsh-speakers actually make use of Welsh text where both English and Welsh are provided. Moreover, at some sites in east Wales, Welsh is not the most common second language. A survey at Caerphilly Castle, Mid Glamorgan, in 1988 revealed that 8.2 per cent of respondents were from Europe, while only 1.8% were Welsh-speaking. Thus, in simple demand terms there is a strong case for providing French and German interpretation before Welsh at such sites. However, the value of providing Welsh interpretation transcends simple economic arguments, and many of the benefits are intangible. Such a policy can be considered as an investment in the future of the language” (ibid.: 182).

4.14 Evaluating gaelic and english provision

Other investigations on language provision in interpretation has generally been smaller pieces of evaluation, for example Fuchs (2007), and Forrest (2008) which both evaluated Gaelic and English interpretation provision in Scottish contexts.

4.14.1 Fonn's Duthchas

Fuchs undertook summative evaluation of *Fonn's Duthchas: Land and Legacy*, a travelling exhibit created for the Year of Highland Culture aimed at showcasing “*the history, culture, music, language, geology and geography of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*” (2007: 1). Gaelic and English language were given equal prominence in the exhibition which toured four locations in Scotland: Inverness Museum and Art Gallery; Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow; the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh; and Museum nan Eilean, Stornoway, throughout 2007 (ibid.).

The evaluation used self-completion surveys which were available in English and Gaelic languages. Of 332 surveys completed across the four venues, only four were completed in Gaelic. The evaluation found that the vast majority of participants did not have any Gaelic language ability, with only Stornoway respondents diverging from that trend (from a total 14 people, four were fluent and five knew a little Gaelic). Fuchs acknowledged that the sample size, particularly from the Stornoway survey, was low and not particularly robust (2007: 3).

The survey sought to investigate a number of issues, including views on the importance of providing Gaelic content and language in the interpretation and the best way of representing Gaelic (ibid.: 2).

One of Fuchs's main conclusions was that:

“Despite the low level of Gaelic language skills among respondents, and the low uptake on Gaelic surveys even in venues with moderate to fluent language skills, the majority of respondents supported equal status of Gaelic and English, ranking the inclusion of Gaelic as very important and supporting full translations in Gaelic alongside English text” (2008: 9).

4.14.2 Is Our Gaelic Any Good?

The Forestry Commission Scotland's (FCS) *Is Our Gaelic Any Good* evaluation exercise sought to identify public reaction to the use of Gaelic in written interpretation at FCS sites in the Scottish Highlands (Forrest 2008). The evaluation used self-completion questionnaires to survey a selection of interpretive materials that represented the different ways that FCS provided Gaelic interpretation at its sites (ibid.: 1). Although the selected materials were site specific, the surveys were conducted at two off-site locations: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig Gaelic College, Skye (SMO), and Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow. A total of 78 people participated; 34 from SMO and 44 from Kelvingrove, including 21 fluent Gaelic speakers, 11 Gaelic learners and 46 non-Gaelic speakers (ibid.: 26).

The questionnaire was divided into four sections, which captured the following: demographic data including Gaelic ability; opinions regarding different approaches Gaelic in interpretive panels; effectiveness of FCS objectives for Gaelic use; and, feedback on the different interpretive examples provided (ibid.: 2-3).

The survey concluded that:

“When considering the different methods of incorporating Gaelic into interpretation, the results show that the most favourable option with fluent Gaelic speakers, Gaelic learners and non-Gaelic speaker was English and Gaelic parallel text. Less popular with all groups was English text with some Gaelic written specifically for Gaelic speakers. Least popular with all groups was the English texts with key words translated into Gaelic. However, with all groups and particularly with non-Gaelic speakers the option of including a pronunciation guide [next to the paired words] was more popular than not having one” (ibid.: 24).

4.14.3 Interpreting Gaelic at Inverness Museum and Art Gallery

Following the reopening of Inverness Museum and Art Gallery (IMAG) in 2007, concerns were raised over the interpretive content in the Gaelic language that was available, and also the typographical errors that were present in the Gaelic language content. Due to these concerns, IMAG carried out an evaluation and subsequent re-interpretation of their exhibits, which included a higher level of Gaelic language interpretive content being included, with all interpretive panels now having interpretive content in Gaelic and English languages (Boal 2009). To assess visitor reactions to the re-interpretation, IMAG carried out an evaluation, using self-completion questionnaires in May 2009. The project was based on a random sample, with 177 responses, 2 of which were in Gaelic (ibid.: 4).

The evaluation found that whilst 78.5% of respondents did not speak or understand any Gaelic, 60.9% of respondents felt that the inclusion of Gaelic in IMAG’s galleries was important or very important. Of the 78 respondents who felt their perceptions of Gaelic had changed, 22.5% felt that following their visit they had a greater understanding of the historical role of Gaelic, and 35.4% said they knew more about Gaelic following their visit to IMAG (ibid.: 17).

The research found that:

“...visitor’s perceptions of Gaelic have been changed by interacting with the content in the museum. An overwhelming 44% of people stated that their perceptions had experienced change or some change...Not all visitors to the museum are able to engage with the Gaelic language fully but they are not alienated by the language” (Boal 2009: 18).

As a result of this research, recommendations and guidelines for the inclusion of Gaelic in all Highland museums were written (High Life Highland n.d.)

4.15 Evaluation – Spanish, English and Vietnamese provision

Sue Allen undertook evaluation of trilingual (English, Spanish and Vietnamese) interpretation provision in the *Secrets of Circles* exhibition at the Children's Discovery Museum (CDM) in San Jose, United States (2007; 2009). The exhibition was *“designed to highlight the uses of circles and wheels in everyday life”* (Allen 2007: iii). Allen used a methodology involving unobtrusive timing and tracking of visitors to the exhibition, followed by an exit survey. In total 113 visitors were observed while using

the exhibition, with equal numbers across three age-groups: younger children (3-5 years old); older children (6-10 years old); and adults. In addition 89 children and 107 adults took part in exit survey interviews (ibid.).

The evaluation found that:

“86% [of respondents] said they would recommend that future exhibit labels [at CDM] be in other languages as well as English, and most of these people spoke English at home. A further 11% had no preference, and only 2% recommended English-only labels. [...] Those visitors who spoke Spanish as their home language were especially supportive of the labels, with every person in the sample offering strongly positive comments“.

The survey also showed that visitors used the labels in a number of different ways and for different purposes, including:

“Reading the Vietnamese text in order to understand the exhibit, reading it aloud to help another person, reading both English and Vietnamese versions in order to understand the exhibit better, practicing language skills, or checking the quality of the translation”.

This evaluation highlights the broad utility of Multilanguage interpretation.

4.16 Issues and challenges when producing interpretation in more than one language

A number of issues and challenges arise in the creation of interpretation in more than one language. What is clear so far, is that the single most important issue is that of balancing or prioritising interpretation or language aims.

4.16.1 Demands for Different Languages and Dialects – the linguistic landscape in practice

Hodge and D’Souza highlight that there can be demands for different languages (and dialects) from different stakeholders (1994: 43).

This can result in the inclusion of some languages in visitor interpretation but the exclusion of others (not just local, regional or national languages and dialects, but also foreign languages). This clearly influences the linguistic landscape, for example, in the case of language use in Québec city:

“The various agencies managing and promoting the sites and versions of historic and contemporary Québec city therefore adopt subtle and not-so-subtle interpretations through choice of language(s), signing, re/naming and emphasis. Whilst the British-French-Canadian periods of military and social history are most apparent, the role of First Nation and non-anglo/francophones (e.g. Irish) is largely absent” (Evans 2002: 131).

This situation is reflected in New Zealand, with different Māori dialects and Pacific Islander languages (Tairawhiti Museum 2011; Te Papa Tongarewa n.d.), and in the Australian context with regards to Indigenous Australians, and the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and dialects (Museums Australia 2005). Within Scotland, this can be seen in the provision of English, Gaelic and

different Scots dialects; and in Northern Ireland in relation to English, Irish (Gaeilge) and Ulster Scots.

The heritage of places encompasses language use, and this is often an evolutionary and political process. The selection of a single language over other languages and dialects can be exclusionary.

4.16.2 Demand for Language

There is a clear issue of demand for language in visitor interpretation. For example, as Owens Renner suggests “*not all speakers of other languages want, require, or demand bilingual exhibits*” (2003a). This is also suggested by the findings of Light’s (1992) research and is equally true for foreign visitors, as it shouldn’t be assumed that they will want interpretation in their own language (Tempest 2002: 3). Even if there is demand for content in foreign languages, decisions have to be made about “*what proportion of foreign language visitors to a site would be needed to justify interpretation in their mother-tongue? 5%? 10%? 20%?*” (ibid.). Whatever the percentage, it is clear that for Historic Scotland, a major element in its strategy to attract foreign visitors to its sites is to provide foreign language visitor interpretation – both for existing and emerging tourism markets. Whilst many visit as part of organised tours, supported by native-language speaking guides, this language promise helps promote a welcoming Scotland. It also caters for the large number of independent foreign visitors to Scotland.

In the Scottish context, the provision of interpretation in Gaelic for Gaelic speaking communities has raised some challenging discussions:

Caroline Tempest of the National Trust for Scotland (see 'Mind Your Language', Interpret Scotland, Spring 2002) poses the question 'Is Gaelic interpretation an essential service to the Gaelic speaking community?' but not the equally absurd question 'Is English interpretation an essential service to the English-speaking community?' It seems the rights of the English-speaking community are taken for granted, but not those of the Gaelic-speaking community. [...] A language is not just a means of communication: it is a vehicle for an entire world view, and it encapsulates the definition of culture. A language that dies takes with it a way of seeing, and a way of thinking (Elis-Gruffydd 2003: 9).

It is the requirement to consider language demand, and balance the needs of the heritage, local communities and visitors in the context of heritage tourism and language policy that this research has its focus.

4.16.3 Taking a Flexible Approach to Language Provision

What is clear is that a flexible and responsive approach is required that is able to respond to the specific needs of a site or its audience. Inflexible regulations would remove a major creative element from the interpretation process:

“Naturally, there would be implications of an inflexible translation policy – it’s easy to imagine the absurdity of bureaucratic regulations insisting that every interpretive panel should be translated into 5 languages. Design quality would be greatly compromised, thus failing every visitor including those who speak

English. Indeed, interpretation covers such a vast array of media and materials that this would be nigh impossible” (Tempest 2002: 3).

4.16.4 Literal Translation of Texts

Literal translation should always be avoided when producing content in more than one language (Glen 2001: 3; Owens Renner 2003b; Plaza 2009). This can be achieved by using interpretation professionals with appropriate language abilities or a qualified translator and editor team (see 4.8):

“Find a bilingual writer who can negotiate the subtleties of language and meaning. Seek a writer who understands the unique demands of exhibit text and has knowledge of the exhibit content to avoid misinterpretations” (Owens Renner 2003b: 15).

4.16.5 Cost and Time Implications

One of the most significant issues in providing interpretation in more than one language is cost, both in terms of time and money (Owens Renner 2003a; Te Papa Tongarewa n.d.). As Woodley identifies, the process of producing interpretation in more than one language is much more resource intensive (1991: 53). At the same time, organisations that seek to create interpretation in more than one language will not necessarily be able to allocate/access additional funds to cover these costs, unless there is a projected increase in visitors to generate the additional income to cover the costs. This is generally the business case put forward for the provision of foreign language materials at historic sites.

However, as Light suggests *“in terms of numbers of users, Welsh language interpretation is unlikely to be cost effective”* (1992: 182). Therefore, without an initial and on-going subsidy to cover such costs, cuts will be required in other areas of provision/services. For heritage organisations, whose role is closely allied with wider tourism development policies, there is a clear need to identify a mechanism through which to balance competing audience needs.

4.16.6 Impacts on Space for all Texts

The inclusion of more than one language in written interpretation will generally reduce the amount of space available for all texts, regardless of which approach is chosen, so as to avoid a 'wallpaper of words' (Owens Renner 2003a: 4; Plaza 2009: 4). Even when providing equal content in each language, there will generally be one version which requires more space due to word length (Owens Renner 2003a). The necessity to produce interpretation in more than one language may benefit the interpretation process in terms of “providing a powerful inducement towards brevity”, which is a useful process (Humphries 2006: 72; Plaza 2009). Attempts to include too much text, however, will “overwhelm the core provision”, and alternative media “such as publications and audio-guides should be considered” (Tabraham 2006: 62). As such, difficult decisions must be made regarding the nature of provision in each language, as Te Papa Tongarewa in New Zealand acknowledges:

“Due to the diversity of languages and the many communities we represent, most of our body text is in English. It is not practical to provide language translations for all texts in the languages of each of the island groups we

represent – space for labels and expense of signage and translation are the key issues“ (Te Papa Tongarewa n.d.).

4.17 **Summary**

The use of more than one language in heritage interpretation can be viewed as part of broader language visibility and linguistic landscapes. In this sense language is bound up within perceptions of culture and sense of place, with the use of language being seen as associated with the messages being communicated rather than solely the medium of communication.

Producing interpretation in more than one language may be undertaken as a response to legislative requirements, audience demand, or as a means of raising awareness and visibility of a language where it is deemed to be culturally relevant. In this way language provision may be used to address very different issues and demands.

The provision of visitor interpretation in more than one language creates a number of issues in terms of aims, including language priority, demand and use, alongside production issues such as text length, writing quality, design and layout, and time and cost. This review reflects that very little research has looked into these issues.

This review has primarily focused on the broader context for language provision in interpretation. The specific Scottish context and current approaches will be discussed in more detail in the results and discussion of the baseline survey.

5 Baseline Survey of Existing Approaches in Britain and Ireland

A baseline survey of current approaches to dual language interpretation in Britain and Ireland was undertaken to identify current practices and provide regional context for the research.

5.1 Approach

A list of organisations, national and regional/local, was compiled for Scotland from The 2009 Visitor Attraction Monitor (Martinolli and Bereziat 2010), for Ireland from All visitor attractions 2006-2010 (Fáilte Ireland 2010) and for Wales from Visits to Tourist Attractions in Wales – 2010 (Peate 2011), with additional organisations identified for Northern Ireland and the Isle of Man.

Two online surveys were created (adapted slightly depending on whether an organisation was responsible for more than one site) and sent out to contacts at each of the organisations identified. In total 129 organisations were contacted and sent the survey with 37 responding. Only 20 of the 37 responses received were fully completed and provided enough information to be included in this report. These survey responses are reported below as case studies, with the information provided through the survey responses augmented, where available, through the inclusion of information from organisational documents.

5.2 Scotland

In Scotland, the provision of more than one language in visitor interpretation is undertaken to address different demands: to provide overseas visitors with interpretive content in their own languages; and to increase the use of other languages, primarily (at present) Gaelic, but increasingly Scots dialects. The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 is implemented by Bòrd na Gàidhlig through the development and application of the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012, and seeks to promote and facilitate the use and understanding of Gaelic language, education and culture. The National Plan for Gaelic seeks “an increase in the profile of Gaelic in the tourism, heritage and recreation sectors” (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007: 13). As part of the National Plan for Gaelic, all public bodies in Scotland may be required to produce Gaelic language plans.

The promotion of Gaelic alongside English as Scotland's national languages has, however, drawn concerns over the impacts on other languages, particularly in this context the use and promotion of Scots dialects:

“The Scots Language Centre believes that in developing Gaelic plans institutions must take into account the prior existence of Scots-speaking communities in many regions of the country. Policy initiatives should be developed in such a way that existing Scots-speaking communities are not disadvantaged in terms of provision of services and resources, either at present or in the future” (Scots Language Centre n.d.: 1).

The following sections provide the context for current language provision and policy in Scottish heritage interpretation.

5.3 Forestry Commission Scotland

The Forestry Commission Scotland (FCS) is part of the Scottish Government's Environment and Forestry Directorate, and advises Scottish Ministers on forestry matters (Forestry Commission Scotland 2010: 7).

FCS has developed a Gaelic Language Plan, to fulfil its obligation under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act. The Plan includes a section relating to on-site visitor information and interpretation (Forestry Commission Scotland 2010: 25-26).

5.3.1 Approach to Language Provision in Interpretive Media

FCS currently delivers the majority of its visitor interpretation in English language, with some provision in Gaelic and Scots languages (including Doric). English is prioritised having been identified as the language that the majority of its audience can understand. This is followed by Gaelic, then Scots, and then other languages, depending on the site, subject and audience. A level of Gaelic is always included, at some locations Scots may have equal or greater prominence than Gaelic.

Gaelic content and language is included for a number of reasons: it is part of the organisation's obligations under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005; there is a perceived demand for Gaelic content (e.g. where Gaelic is more widely used); it is seen to be particularly relevant to the content of the interpretation (the message). Scots is also provided in respect of the latter two reasons.

5.3.2 Approach to Gaelic in Interpretive Media

FCS has five different approaches to producing interpretive content in Gaelic:

- Content written in English and rewritten in Gaelic by a Gaelic writer
- Content on the same subject written separately in Gaelic and English
- Different content in Gaelic and English
- Content written in Gaelic and translated or rewritten in English
- Specifically relating to poetry, original Gaelic poetry commissioned with literal English translation provided.

These five approaches provide dual-language content at three different levels:

- Fully bilingual
- English content with Gaelic summary
- A 'flavour' of Gaelic: e.g. titles with or without simple summary text.

Dual-language interpretation is mainly delivered in the written form, as text on-site panels, leaflets and websites. Live interpretation in Gaelic language is occasionally provided, and there is a limited amount of audio content delivered by sound boxes at some sites and MP3 files available online.

Interpretive design is undertaken by a mix of in-house designers and external contractors.

5.3.3 Implications and Issues

FCS identified a number of issues when producing dual-language interpretive content:

- The audience for the interpretation has to be identified in order to establish which languages should be used, and the level of content for each language. This is not a simple process
-
- There are concerns over 'patronising' languages, through inappropriate use or tokenism
-
- The move towards greater use and visibility of Gaelic could lead to provision of content in other languages, particularly Scots, being marginalised
-
- Gaelic writers are often not trained interpreters and so there are issues relating to good interpretation practices and the application of interpretation principles in the production of content. It is difficult for non-Gaelic speaking FCS staff to judge the quality of the Gaelic language content they are supplied with
-
- Although the process of creating standard Gaelic orthographic conventions (e.g. *Ùghdarras Theisteanas na h-Alba 2005*) continues, FCS sometimes uses local Gaelic words and spellings
-
- There is a challenge in trying to both make content in Gaelic language helpful to learners, and informing visitors about Gaelic
-
- The process of including more than one language in interpretive media creates a number of particular issues:
 - It takes more time to create materials
 - The costs are much higher
 - It creates challenges for designers, in terms of presenting content which is attractive and readable
 - The quantity of content that can be presented, using best practice interpretation principles, will almost inevitably be reduced for media such as on-site panels.

Most of these issues are managed by considering them in the interpretation planning stage of a project, and subsequently allocating more time and money to projects. This stage also identifies the most appropriate approach to the use of more than one language. The default position for FCS is they are happy to use Gaelic, but not to the detriment of interpretation, aims and organisation purposes.

5.4 Historic Scotland

Historic Scotland (HS) is an executive agency of the Scottish Government, responsible for safeguarding the historic environment and promoting its understanding and enjoyment (Historic Scotland/Forestry Commission 2010: 2).

HS has recently released its Gaelic Language Plan, after a draft plan was put out for consultation (Historic Scotland 2012).

5.4.1 Approach to Language

Historically, Historic Scotland has provided languages in visitor interpretation according to visitor demand. This has led to a focus on the use of foreign languages at the key sites, for example Edinburgh, Stirling and Urquhart Castles where interpretive media including panels, guidebooks, leaflets and audio deliver interpretive content in French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Japanese and Mandarin, in addition to that in English, Gaelic and Scots.

5.4.2 Approach to Gaelic

In 2012, as part of the National Plan for Gaelic, HS launched its *Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017*. This plan recognises Gaelic as a fundamental part of Scottish culture and sets out the aims of HS to support the learning and use of Gaelic within the organisation, and the promotion of Gaelic in the organisation's communications and interactions with other organisations, stakeholders and customers (2012: 2).

The *Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017* includes a number of provisions for the incorporation of Gaelic into the daily operations of HS, including the use of new bi-lingual signage; new practices in dealing with enquiries in Gaelic; and the increase of the number of Gaelic speaking staff across the organisation.

However, the plan makes clear that there will not be an organisational standard for the use of Gaelic across the sites under HS care. Each site will be evaluated using a methodology based on Interpret Scotland guidance, which will take into consideration a number of markers, both symbolic and physical, to gauge the level of Gaelic provision required at the site. These markers include:

- Concentration of Gaelic users in locality
- Bi-lingual policies of other public bodies in area
- Provision of Gaelic-Medium Education (GME) in local schools
- The importance of the site to the history or heritage of the Gaels (ibid.: 23).

Until this methodology is finalised, all interpretation materials produced by HS will take the *Gaelic Language Plan* into account, and ensure that a suitable level of Gaelic is included.

5.4.3 Implications and Issues

This Plan continues to reflect HS's focus on providing Gaelic content and Gaelic language where there is real demand or where it is considered particularly appropriate. HS identified a number of issues relating to the production of dual-language content:

- It takes more time to produce the materials
- Costs are higher
- Design issues relating to 2 dimensional interpretive media:
 - Space and the amount of content in each language
 - The order in which languages are printed and how to design content (arrangement)
 - Font, colour etc.

5.5 Scottish Natural Heritage

Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) is the Scottish Government agency focused on promoting care, sustainable use, understanding, and awareness of the natural heritage of Scotland (Scottish Natural Heritage 2011a: 3).

The current approach to interpretation is informed by *Provoke Relate Reveal: SNH's Policy Framework on Interpretation* (Scottish Natural Heritage 2001). SNH has a separate Gaelic Language Plan (Scottish Natural Heritage 2011b) which was developed as a response to the Gaelic Language Act and the National Plan for Gaelic.

5.5.1 Approach to Gaelic

SNH provides interpretive content in English and Gaelic languages on-site panels, leaflets and booklets. Traditionally, SNH has sought to embed Gaelic words and phrases into English language text. More recently, the organisation has also created bilingual provision. In some parts of Scotland Gaelic language is given equal status to English language in SNH signage and interpretation, reflecting perceived use and demand. SNH has carried out no detailed research onto Gaelic use and demand.

5.5.2 Implications and Issues

SNH identified a number of issues and implications when producing interpretive content in more than one language:

- Costs double when using more than one language
- Design issues:
 - In terms of layout and placing of each language
 - In terms of space for text – this may lead to the reduction of content in each language; in the increase in provision e.g. more site panels and larger leaflets, which increase cost and time
- It takes much longer to produce bilingual interpretive media
- There are quality issues relating to making information as relevant and of good quality in each language.

As the delivery of Gaelic language content is seen as an organisational objective, SNH staff have no choice in this matter, with less work being undertaken as a result of the increased costs and time relating to dual-language projects.

5.6 National Trust for Scotland

The National Trust for Scotland (NTS) is an independent conservation charity and Scotland's largest membership organisation, with 308,000 members (National Trust for Scotland 2011a: 3).

NTS has an existing Gaelic Policy (National Trust for Scotland 2005) and are working on draft Guidelines for the Use of Scottish Gaelic Language in Interpretive Projects (National Trust for Scotland 2011b).

5.6.1 Approach to Language

The NTS approach to language provision across the estate varies greatly depending on visitor demand at individual sites. As such, provision varies from English-only to

content in 10+ languages. For example, the Georgian House, Edinburgh, provides interpretive content in French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Hungarian, German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish and Arabic. European languages tend to be prioritised as this reflects the audience demographic, and also the knowledge of English which visitors from the different countries tend to have.

Interpretive content in Scots is provided alongside English at the Robert Burns Museum in Alloway, Ayrshire, with equal emphasis placed on both languages. Some additional content is also provided in German and Italian.

5.6.2 Approach to Gaelic

The current approach to Gaelic, alongside the provision of content in other languages, is to write content in English and then commission translations from external providers (National Trust for Scotland 2005). The guidelines currently in development will inform future NTS policy.

5.6.3 Implications and Issues

Like all other organisations, NTS identified the increased cost and time implications of producing content in more than one language and explained that such issues are managed by allowances in project budgets and programmes.

NTS identified creating downloadable content as one approach which may be employed in future to enable NTS to provide content in more than one language without impacting on place through increasing on-site media. However, this presents resulting issues of access and equivalence

5.7 Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park Authority

Loch Lomond and The Trossachs National Park Authority (LLTNPA) was created in July 2002 under the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000 to safeguard, conserve, enhance, and promote the sustainable use and enjoyment of an area of outstanding and diverse landscapes, habitats and communities, (LLTNPA 2011: 7).

LLTNPA has an interpretation strategy: *The Spark in the Park* (LLTNPA 2006), and a Gaelic Language Plan (LLTNPA 2011).

5.7.1 Approach to Language

LLTNPA currently delivers interpretive content in English, with limited Gaelic language content. The interpretation strategy describes an approach to “*the style and nature of language in its expressive sense including, importantly, the use of Gaelic and Scots*” (LLTNPA 2006: 29). The strategy includes a section on “the use of Gaelic, Scots and other languages” which states “*the use of Gaelic, alongside English, is important in presenting the National Park and its landscape areas*” (ibid.: 50). In relation to Scots, the strategy states: “*the Scots language is similarly an integral part of the heritage of the Park [...]. To a much greater extent it is used in modified forms by many of those who live in the Park although it is less often used in written form*” (ibid.).

5.7.2 Approach to Gaelic

LLTNPA currently provides the majority of its visitor interpretation in English language with a limited amount of content in Gaelic language also provided. The English language is prioritised, followed by Gaelic. In terms of content creation, content is created in English with the text then being translated to Gaelic.

The LLTNPA *Approved Gaelic Language Plan* identifies that in respect of publications the Authority is “committed to increasing the use of Gaelic in these areas where the subject matter is of most interest to the general public or relates specifically to Gaelic issues” (LLTNPA 2011: 22). In terms of visitor publications, a National Park leaflet is provided in Gaelic, and the Park has plans to create a new leaflet to explain Gaelic place-names and their origins. The Park also has plans to produce guidance for staff in relation to how to include Gaelic elements across all publications.

5.7.3 Implications and Issues

LLTNPA identified a number of issues relating to the production of dual-language interpretive content:

- Huge cost implications in producing print materials, which has led to a reduction in the amount of multilingual materials produced, with LLTNPA now only producing English and Gaelic language print materials
- The current staff resource prohibits multilingual translation
- There is limited demand for interpretive content in Gaelic language.

5.8 Cairngorms National Park Authority

The Cairngorms National Park Authority's (CNPA) statutory purpose is to lead and co-ordinate the collective delivery of the National Park aims as set out in the National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000 (CNPA 2011: 5).

CNPA have an interpretation guidance document *Sharing the Stories of the Cairngorms National Park: A Guide to Interpreting the Area's Distinct Character and Coherent Identity* (CNPA 2009) and a *Gaelic Language Plan* (CNPA 2011).

5.8.1 Approach to Language

The CNPA interpretation guidance document does not provide guidance on language provision and content.

5.8.2 Approach to Gaelic

The CNPA Gaelic Language Plan identifies current procedures relating to the use of Gaelic language in visitor communications and future plans. CNPA's current Gaelic language provision is limited, with the organisation producing *The Place Names of the Cairngorms*, a ‘visitor publication celebrating the Park's Gaelic place names’ (CNPA 2011: 19-20). The Gaelic Language Plan outlines plans to produce guidance for signage, visitor publications, websites and exhibitions:

“Our commitment to continue to produce and increase Gaelic content in our publications and website will increase the usage of Gaelic both in the home and in education by enabling Gaelic users and learners access to more resources” (ibid.: 26).

5.9 Royal Zoological Society of Scotland

The Royal Zoological Society of Scotland (RZSS) was founded in March 1909 and has a mission *“To inspire and excite our visitors with the wonder of living animals and so to promote the conservation of threatened species and habitats”* (RZSS 2009: 43). The Society operates two facilities in Scotland: Edinburgh Zoo and the Highland Wildlife Park, as well as undertaking direct field work in Scotland and abroad, including the Scottish Beaver Trial (Argyll) and Highland Tiger (Cairngorms).

5.9.1 Approach to Language

RZSS currently delivers the majority of its visitor interpretation in English language, with a small number of exhibition information sheets at Edinburgh Zoo also available in Mandarin, French, Spanish, and German, reflecting the zoos visitor profile. With the arrival of the two giant pandas at Edinburgh Zoo in December 2011, Mandarin Chinese has been prioritised within visitor interpretation.

5.9.2 Approach to Gaelic

RZSS currently delivers no content in Gaelic language at its two main sites. However, at the Scottish Beaver Trial in Argyll, which is a partnership project between RZSS, Scottish Wildlife Trust and hosts Forestry Commission Scotland, a bilingual Beaver Detective Trail has been installed.

5.9.3 Implications and Issues

RZSS identified a number of issues relating to the production of interpretation content in more than one language:

- Limited resources means that language provision has not been given a priority for funding
- There are issues relating to poor translation of material – RZSS would rather be sure that anything produced in another language is of a high standard
- RZSS do not receive many requests for information in other languages, although it is recognised that this is not necessarily indicative of what visitors would use if it were available, or that other people would be attracted to their sites if, for example, web information was available in other languages.

5.10 The Auchindrain Trust

The Auchindrain Trust is a charity which owns and runs Auchindrain Township, an open-air museum comprising an almost complete Highland farm township (Howdle 2007).

5.10.1 Approach to Language

The Trust currently delivers the majority of its visitor interpretation content in English language. There are also trail guides in Gaelic, French, German, Italian and Spanish, although they admit this is at times poor-quality and fragmentary. Costumed interpreters occasionally deliver interpretive content in Gaelic language.

5.10.2 Approach to Gaelic

The Trust does not currently have a Gaelic policy, but intends to produce one in order to provide appropriate customer services and also to promote Gaelic. It currently creates interpretive content by first writing content in English and then translating it into Gaelic, or other languages, as required.

The Trust's Learning Plan 2007-2009 (Howdle 2007) identified two areas for development relating to Gaelic provision:

- *“Learning activities that use and promote the Gaelic language will be developed in conjunction with local Gaelic speakers and Argyll & Bute Council’s Gaelic Development Officer during the period covered by this Plan*
- *During the period that this Plan covers the Museum will improve the physical and intellectual access to the Museum with a particular emphasis on establishing greater use of the Museum and fostering a feeling of ownership within the local community. This activity will include the use of the Gaelic language in all PR and interpretative material”.*

It is clear that to date these have not been fully implemented.

5.10.3 Implications and Issues

The Trust identified that the main difficulty for producing dual-language content is accessing native Gaelic speakers to produce good translations.

5.11 Summary of the Scottish Context

The case study responses clearly suggest a wide variation in language provision in visitor interpretation across Scotland, with all highlighting competing demands on resources and differing organisational priorities.

Most national organisations have either created or are in the process of creating Gaelic language plans which will inform their use of Gaelic across the organisation.

Although the case studies demonstrate difference in the creation of content in more than one language, all prioritise creating interpretive content in English and translate this content into other languages, including Gaelic. Only FCS creates content in Gaelic and translates into English language, and creates separate Gaelic and English language content.

The case studies also revealed varying levels of language provision across Scotland, influenced by perceived demand i.e. number of language speakers/visitors to an area. This helps to explain the increased use of Gaelic content and Gaelic language in the west and north of Scotland and the Western Isles, although even in these area

Gaelic is not consistently given equal status to English, with other approaches including Gaelic summaries, different content, and paired words sometimes being used. In other areas of Scotland a perceived lack of demand and lack of cultural heritage context for Gaelic results in lesser use of Gaelic content and/or language.

For those organisations that currently produce interpretive content in more than one language, the following implications and issues were identified:

- There can be challenges with identifying the key audience for visitor interpretation
- There are concerns over 'patronising' languages through inappropriate use
- An increased use of Gaelic content has led to the marginalisation of other languages, particularly Scots
- The quality of visitor interpretation in Gaelic language is variable as Gaelic writers are not always trained interpreters
- Although Gaelic orthographic conventions are being created, local words and spellings are often still used
- Including more than one language increases the amount of time needed to produce visitor interpretation, reducing team outputs, and arguably, the perceived effectiveness and value of teams
- Including more than one language increases cost (up to twice that of single language visitor interpretation)
- Dual-language content creates design issues – it is difficult to present content which adheres to interpretation best practice while giving each language equal status treatment
- It is impossible to avoid giving one language 'priority' by placing it first or to the top/left
- Including more than one language means there is less space for content in all languages than with single-language media
- For heritage organisations whose primary purpose is not language promotion but conservation, tourism, recreation etc., these issues place great pressures on teams.

5.12 Wales

In Wales, the Welsh Language Act 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 2006 require all public bodies providing services to the public in Wales to provide those services in Welsh and English (FCW 2011; National Museum of Wales n.d.: 14). In 2003 the Welsh Assembly Government published *Iaith Pawb*, a 'national action plan for a bilingual Wales' to help preserve, sustain and promote the Welsh language in Wales (Welsh Assembly Government 2003).

5.12.1 Welsh Language Board Guidance

The Welsh Language Board have produced *A Guide to Bilingual Design* document (2001), and a *Best Practice for Bilingual Signs* guidance, “to promote a consistent treatment of Welsh and English on signs in Wales” (Welsh Language Board 2009: 3). In Wales “bilingual signs are optional for anybody that is not notified under the 1993 Welsh Language Act”, although “many organisations choose to erect bilingual signs, and doing so is increasingly expected” (ibid.: 5).

The latter document provides guidance on the graphic design of signage, with “the Welsh language appearing to the left or above the English language” (ibid.: 6), and different font and background colours used for each language. The guidance also states that the languages should not be distinguished through: the use of “italic text for one language and normal for the other” or “different font sizes for each language” (ibid.). It also suggests a preference for keeping both languages together, or if two separate documents are produced, that the documents are equal in terms of weight, quality and treatment.

The following sections provide the context for current language provision and policy in Welsh heritage interpretation.

5.13 Forestry Commission Wales

Forestry Commission Wales (FCW) is the Department of Forestry for the Welsh Assembly Government, and is part of the Forestry Commission GB (FCW 2011: 7).

5.13.1 Approach to Language

FCW produces all interpretive content in Welsh and English language.

5.13.2 Approach to Welsh

FCW has a Welsh Language Scheme which seeks to provide equal status for Welsh and English across all communications. Interpretive media including site panels and visitor publications are provided in Welsh and English languages, and the Welsh language is given priority over English in an attempt to promote the Welsh language. All interpretive content is developed in accordance with the Welsh Language Board's best practice guidelines. The FCW Welsh Language Scheme identifies that:

- Signs should be fully bilingual, with the Welsh language appearing to the left of or above the English language
- Both Welsh and English must be equally visible and eligible, and easily distinguishable from one another – design elements like different font colours can be used to achieve this
- Signs should not include a mix of italic and normal text – or different font sizes – to distinguish between the languages
- Where there is a relationship between a number of signs – for example at the same location – they should all use the same method of distinguishing between Welsh and English (FCW 2011).

5.13.3 Implications and Issues

FCW identified no issues or implications with creating dual-language interpretive content as it is a part of organisational policy.

5.14 National Library of Wales

The National Library of Wales (NLW) was established by Royal Charter in 1907 “to collect, preserve and give access to all kinds and forms of recorded knowledge, especially relating to Wales and the Welsh and other Celtic peoples, for the benefit

of the public including those engaged in research and learning” (National Library of Wales 2011: 3).

5.14.1 Approach to Interpretation

The NLW provides visitor interpretation in Welsh and English languages. Priorities for interpretation are determined by curriculum, funds available, and audience needs.

5.14.2 Approach to Welsh

Visitor interpretation in both English and Welsh languages are provided to give visitors choice. Welsh is given priority over English, in an attempt to promote the Welsh language, which is an organisational agenda:

“The Welsh language is the 'natural' language of the Library and it occupies an important and prominent place in the administration, governance and activities of the organisation. It could be maintained that the Library is a stronghold of the Welsh language: it is the main medium of communication within the organisation” (National Library of Wales 2006: 2).

The process for the creation of interpretive content involves text being written in one language and then translated into the other. The language of origin depends on the individual author's preference.

5.14.3 Implications and Issues

The NLW identified that producing interpretive content in more than one language created issues relating to:

- Space for text
- Effective design
- Increased cost

As a fully bilingual approach is part of a wider policy imperative, these issues are anticipated and do not create any additional problems in delivery or resourcing

5.15 National Botanic Garden of Wales

The National Botanic Garden of Wales (NBGW) is a charity supported by the Welsh Government, the Countryside Council for Wales and Carmarthenshire County Council, which focuses on research, conservation, sustainability, and lifelong learning (National Botanic Garden of Wales 2011).

5.15.1 Approach to Interpretation

The NBGW currently provides dual-language visitor interpretation in English and Welsh languages.

5.15.2 Approach to Welsh

Interpretive content in dual language Welsh-English is provided as required by national legislation. NBGW is one-third funded by the Welsh Assembly Government

and as a national institution, has a duty to provide equal treatment for English and Welsh languages. NBGW also seeks to reflect the cultural context of Wales and encourage the use of the Welsh language.

The process for producing written interpretive content usually involves writing content in English and then translating it into Welsh. In terms of design, the two languages are presented separately, with the Welsh language on the left or top, but the English presented in a more dominant font.

In the case of audio-visual interpretive media, NBGW create separate language versions which are shown consecutively. If the audio interpretive media includes spoken conversation, this is translated and rerecorded in Welsh by an actor.

5.15.3 Implications and Issues

NBGW identified a number of implications and issues when producing dual-language interpretive content:

- Producing content in more than one language takes longer and costs more
- There are a number of design issues – for non-Welsh speakers, signs/panels can look intimidatingly long and this acts to discourage engagement
- Space on panels and labels is limited, resulting in content being reduced to incorporate two languages
- Some non-Welsh speaking visitors have been critical about having to sit through the Welsh versions of audio-visual presentations
- Creating Welsh language interpretive content requires careful attention to dialects and accents
- There is a suggestion from guidebook sales that there is possibly greater demand from visitors for oral rather than written Welsh.

These issues are managed through forward planning and providing appropriate time and resources for the production of content in Welsh and English.

5.16 Countryside Council for Wales

The Countryside Council for Wales (CCW) was established by an Act of Parliament in 1991 and is the Government's statutory advisor for the environment in Wales (CCW 2009).

5.16.1 Approach to Interpretation

CCW provides bilingual interpretive content in Welsh and English languages (CCW 2009: 12).

5.16.2 Approach to Welsh

CCW provides interpretive content in both languages to comply with national legislation. The process for producing interpretive content usually involves writing copy in English and then translating it into Welsh, although parallel texts are increasingly being used. Design is informed by the Welsh Language Board's guidance, with Welsh language interpretive content preceding English, or placed to the left (CCW 2009: 11).

5.16.3 Implications and Issues

CCW identified a number of issues and implications when producing dual-language interpretive content:

- It is more expensive
- The process is more complex
- Written material looks text heavy, so necessitates a reduction in text to maximise engagement.

As these issues are recurrent, they are anticipated and planned for as part of the statutory obligations of CCW.

5.17 Canolfan Owain Glyndŵr

Canolfan Owain Glyndŵr (COG) is a National Heritage Centre sponsored by Cadw and the Welsh Government, which focuses on life in medieval Wales and the Owain Glyndŵr uprising (Canolfan Owain Glyndŵr n.d.).

5.17.1 Approach to Interpretation

COG's currently provides bilingual visitor interpretation in English and Welsh language.

5.17.2 Approach to Welsh

Given the nature of the Centre, and its focus on the life of Owain Glyndŵr, COG views it as natural that interpretive content is delivered in Welsh language, with English language translations provided for non-Welsh speakers. This language preference is applied across all interpretive media, including: exhibition; website; audio guides; and computer interactives.

5.17.1 Implications and Issues

No issues were identified by COG given that it was conceived as a bilingual facility from the outset.

5.18 Summary of the Welsh Context

The case study responses indicate a much more standardised approach to language provision in visitor interpretation in Wales. Legislation and guidelines inform the practices of all national organisations as well as many regional and local bodies, with the Welsh language always given priority through its position to the left or above the English language. Font types and colour are required to be of equal emphasis, with font colour and background colour used to enable readers to visually identify the content they prefer to use.

In the bilingual context of Wales, it is interesting to note that most organisations create interpretation content in English and translate it into Welsh.

The key implications and issues identified by respondents were:

- There is reduced space for text when producing content in more than one language, necessitating a reduction in content overall
- There are challenges for design when adhering to interpretive best practice and giving both languages equal status.

Although these issues were identified by respondents they do not appear to have any wider implications for projects because they are factored in to project planning and managed within standard work planning processes and programmes.

5.19 Ireland

In Ireland, the Official Languages Act (2003) recognises Irish (Gaeilge) as the first national language, with English recognised as a second official language. The Irish Government's Department of the Taoiseach has also produced a language scheme which covers the government's approach to the Irish language in communications (Department of the Taoiseach 2009). A guidance document has been produced by An Coimisinéir Teanga to help public bodies and national organisations deliver language provision as set out in the Official Languages Act 2003 (An Coimisinéir Teanga 2003). The guidance advises public bodies that public communications; publications of major public importance; signs; and recorded oral announcements should be provided in both Irish and English languages (*ibid.*). It also provides specific guidance on the layout and design of bilingual content:

- The text in Irish shall appear first
- The text in Irish shall be as prominent, visible and legible as the text in English
- The letters in the text in Irish shall not be smaller in size than the letters in the text in English
- The text in Irish shall communicate the same information as the text in English
- A word in the text in Irish shall not be abbreviated unless the word in the text in English, of which it is the translation, is also abbreviated
- If there is a Place names Order under Section 32 of the Act in force, a public body must use the official Irish language version specified in the Order on signs placed by it at any location (*ibid.*: 14).

The following sections provide the context for current language provision and policy in Irish heritage interpretation.

5.20 National Library of Ireland

The National Library of Ireland's (NLI) mission is to collect, preserve, promote and make accessible the documentary and intellectual record of the life of Ireland and to contribute to the provision of access to the larger universe of recorded knowledge (National Library of Ireland 2011).

5.20.1 Approach to Interpretation

The NLI provides visitor interpretation in English, Irish, French, German, Italian and Spanish languages. NLI follow the Irish Government's strategy on the provision of Irish and English language material. The process for producing bilingual interpretive content involves writing the content in English and then translating it into other languages.

5.20.2 Approach to Language/Irish

NLI does not have an Irish language scheme, but as a national organisation follows the guidance provided by the Government for public bodies as set out in the Official Languages Act 2003.

5.20.3 Implications and Issues

NLI identified that there were a number of issues and implications when producing interpretive content in more than one language:

- It is more expensive
- There are design implications for print and virtual media where two versions are required.

As these issues are recurrent and anticipated, they are fully accounted for within budgets, project planning and programming, and work flows.

5.21 National Gallery of Ireland

The National Gallery of Ireland (NGI) is an autonomous National Cultural Institution operating under the broader remit of the Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht Affairs. NGI collects, conserves and displays fine art dating from the 14th to mid-20th century (National Gallery of Ireland 2011).

5.21.1 Approach to Interpretation

NGI provides visitor interpretation in English, Irish, French, German, Italian, Polish, English Braille, and Irish Sign Language.

5.21.2 Approach to Irish

As a national organisation, NGI is required through the Official Languages Act 2003 to produce all informational, directional and practical materials in printed/audio formats bilingually in Irish and English languages. NGI is required to prioritise Irish as the first official language of the state, in printed interpretive media. English, as a second official language, is given second priority. All other languages are given equal standing according to demand.

The process for producing interpretive content normally involves the production of content in English language which is then translated into Irish in-house or by an external agency. In-house translation takes place on an *ad hoc* basis, with more substantial translation requirements being met externally.

5.21.3 Implications and Issues

NGI identified the following implications and issues with producing dual-language interpretive media:

- There is a cost implication, which is offset by NGI's mission to present the gallery as an institution of national and international standing

- Practically, the language in most demand in interpretive materials is English
- NGI provides materials in Irish as required by statutory regulations. The purpose of these regulations is to meet the constitutional requirement, to serve a presumed latent demand and to generate a further demand for services in Irish.

5.22 **Músaem Chorca Dhuibhne/West Kerry Museum**

Músaem Chorca Dhuibhne (MCD) is a regional museum which focuses on the natural and cultural heritage of the Dingle peninsula.

5.22.1 **Approach to Interpretation**

MCD provides visitor interpretation in Irish, English, French, German, Polish, Spanish and Norwegian languages, with the majority being in Irish and English languages. Irish is prioritised over English, which is followed by other languages according to demand.

5.22.2 **Approach to Irish**

Irish is prioritised by MCD to promote the use of the language in the area among both native speakers and newcomers. As the museum is situated within the Gaeltacht it is the main and traditional language of the area.

The process for producing interpretive content generally involves the creation of content in English language (as not all experts/commentators may have fluent Irish) which is then translated into Irish. Other language translation take place as funding allows.

5.22.3 **Implications and Issues**

MCD identified a number of issues and implications when producing interpretive content in more than one language:

- It takes much longer to produce content in more than one language
- Finding Irish translators, particularly with expertise in the technical language that might be necessary to accompany any particular subject, is the main difficulty
- Similar difficulties apply when finding translators into other languages – the technical language of, for example geology, or archaeology, with terms often specific to Ireland, can cause many challenges
- There is an issue over using the local Irish dialect or the official version of the language.

These issues are managed by taking more time over content production, with increased time spent on proofing, re-writing, and getting other opinions.

5.23 **Castlecomer Discovery Park**

Castlecomer Discovery Park (CDP) comprises a discovery park and visitor centre situated within an 80 acre site. CDP includes the 'Footprints in Coal' Experience and coal mining museum which focuses on the coal mining heritage of the area.

5.23.1 Approach to Interpretation

CDP provides visitor interpretation primarily in English language, with summaries for the 'Footprints in Coal' exhibition in French, Spanish, Italian, German and Portuguese languages. Future plans include the development of audio guides for the exhibition in different languages, though this is subject to funding.

5.23.2 Approach to Language/Irish

The above languages are prioritised as they reflect the audiences which visit CDP. A high percentage of visitors every year come from language schools which take European students to Ireland to learn English. There is currently no Irish language provision.

5.23.3 Implications and Issues

The main issue identified by CDP in producing interpretive content in other languages was the need to use external translators. CDP identified that none of the current staff speak a second language apart from Irish.

5.24 Summary of the Irish Context

The Irish case studies reflect a similar situation to that of Wales, where national guidelines stipulate the appropriate use of Irish and English in national organisations' public communications, including interpretation. Irish is prioritised over English, to promote the use of Irish.

The key implications and issues identified by respondents were:

- It is more expensive to produce interpretive content in more than one language
- There are increased challenges in creating effective design
- Irish is included to follow national guidelines and to encourage demand for the language rather than responding to audience demand (at present)
- It takes much longer to produce content in more than one language
- It is difficult to find good translators for the Irish language
- There are issues over the use of regional Irish words and spellings over the official language versions.

As all of these issues are known and anticipated, they are fully accounted for and managed within budgets, project planning and programming, and workflows.

5.25 Northern Ireland

Section 28D of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 (Act of Parliament 1998) identifies requirements for the Executive Committee to adopt "*a strategy setting out how it proposes to enhance and protect the development of the Irish language*" and "*a strategy setting out how it proposes to enhance and develop the Ulster Scots language, heritage and culture*".

The Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Bill 2006-7 made a number of amendments to the Northern Ireland Act 1998. One of these was a statement that the Government would produce an Irish Language Act for Northern Ireland which would reflect “*on the experience of Wales and Ireland and work with the incoming Executive to enhance and protect the development of the Irish language*” (House of Commons 2006: 45) although the Bill does not provide for equal provisions (ibid.). The Bill also stated that “the Government firmly believes in the need to enhance and develop the Ulster Scots language, heritage and culture and will support the incoming Executive in taking this forward” (ibid. : 46).

The Northern Ireland Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure and the Irish Department of Arts, Heritage and Gaeltacht jointly sponsor the North/South Language Body, which comprises Foras na Gaeilge (the Irish Language Agency) and Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch (Ulster-Scots Agency), the two agencies tasked with promoting the use of Irish and Ulster Scots respectively (Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure n.d.).

The following section provides context for current language provision and policy in Northern Irish heritage interpretation.

5.26 **Department of Environment, Northern Ireland**

The Department of Environment, Northern Ireland (DOE) comprises two Executive Agencies and eight supporting policy, operational delivery and resources Divisions, with an overall aim to protect and improve the environment, promote well-being and deliver a strong and effective local government to support a thriving economy (Department of the Environment Northern Ireland, 2011). DOE's remit includes “the protection, conservation and promotion of the natural environment and built heritage” (ibid.).

5.26.1 **Approach to Language**

DOE follows the Northern Ireland Civil Service guidance on language provision and provides visitor interpretation variably in English, Irish, Ulster Scots, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Polish, Portuguese and Chinese languages. European and Chinese languages are prioritised in response to visitor demand.

5.26.2 **Implications and Issues**

DOE identified the main implication for producing content in more than one language was the need to outsource translations. Cost dictates the creation of interpretive content, with the organisation working on a just in time basis.

5.27 **National Museums Northern Ireland**

National Museums Northern Ireland (NMNI) comprises the Ulster Museum, Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, Ulster American Folk Park, Armagh County Museum, and W5. NMNI remit is to preserve, interpret, promote and research collections focusing on “*art, history and science; the way of life and traditions of people; the migration and settlement of people, with particular reference to the heritage of Northern Ireland*” (National Museums Northern Ireland 2009: 7).

5.27.1 Approach to Interpretation

NMNI currently have a draft interpretation strategy, but this does not encompass languages.

5.27.2 Approach to Language

NMNI provides a range of resources at each of its sites which are used for both educational and general visitors. It provides interpretive content in English, with some interpretive media also delivering content in Irish and Ulster Scots languages. The process for producing interpretive content usually involves producing content in the English language which is then translated into Irish and Ulster Scots with the help of two members of in-house staff who have expertise in these languages. Decision about which content is translated into Irish and Ulster Scots are made on a case-by-case basis.

5.27.3 Implications and Issues

NMNI identified a number of implications and issues relating to providing interpretive content in more than one language:

- There would be major cost implications if the museum decided that Irish and Ulster Scots were to be used equally alongside English
- There would be design issues relating to the incorporation of, and amount of, content in three languages.

5.28 North Down Museum Service

North Down Museum Service (NDMS) aims to:

“champion the natural and built heritage of the Borough; [and] record, reflect and promote the 'story' of North Down for the benefit of the present and future generations, as well as the Borough's cultural tourists” (North Down Borough Council 2007: 18).

5.28.1 Approach to Language

NDMS provides visitor interpretation primarily in English language, with some provision in French, Spanish, German and Italian languages. Interpretive content is produced in English language and then translated into other languages. Languages used reflect audience demand.

5.28.2 Implications and Issues

The main issue identified by NDMS is the changing demands of visitors.

5.29 Summary of Northern Ireland Context

The Northern Ireland case studies reflect the developing situation in Scotland, with growing demand for the promotion/use of three national languages. In addition, although legislation has sought to encourage the use of both Irish and Ulster Scots

alongside English in wider public communications, organisations are not required by law to do this.

The key implications and issues identified by respondents were:

- There can be problems accessing good quality translation services from English into Irish and Ulster Scots
- Decisions on language content are based on the content (message) of the interpretation and cost of production
- Costs are much higher when producing content in more than one language.
- There are issues with design, particularly when accommodating three languages
- The incorporation of more than one language in interpretation results in the reduction of content for each language
- Visitor demand for specific language content varies and can make planning more difficult.

5.30 **Summary of Approaches in Britain and Ireland**

The case study responses reflect a wide variety of strategies to provide more than one language in visitor interpretation in Britain and Ireland. This variety appears to reflect competing demands on resources and differing national and organisational priorities, with national organisations in Ireland and Wales required by law to provide content in Irish and English, and Welsh and English respectively. In Scotland the situation is different, with organisations adopting different strategies to Gaelic content and language (alongside other languages, including Scots) as a result of different organisational objectives and audience demand. In Northern Ireland, English language content is prioritised, although the use of both Ulster Scots and Irish languages are encouraged.

5.30.1 **Approaches to Language Prioritisation**

In both Wales and Ireland, English is viewed as the second national language with Welsh or Irish given priority. This prioritisation has been made to encourage use and awareness of these languages. In terms of delivery, this prioritisation results in these languages being placed to the left or above the English language, and in the use of font styles and colour, equal emphasis is given to the languages.

In Scotland, organisations have adopted a variety of approaches to language provision, which appear to be largely based on the geographic area and perceived demand. Approaches vary from bilingual materials to English materials with a Gaelic summary, to different Gaelic and English content, and the use of paired words. Gaelic content and language in visitor interpretation is most prevalent in the west and north of Scotland and the Western Isles, with less provision in other areas of Scotland, reflecting a lesser Gaelic cultural heritage and perceived demand. This is also the situation in Northern Ireland, where English is generally the language of interpretation, and Ulster Scots and Irish used only when there is a perceived audience demand.

5.30.2 **Implications and Issues of Creating Content in more than One Language**

The case studies reflect a number of implications and issues when creating interpretive content in more than one language:

- There are challenges in identifying the key audience(s) for visitor interpretation and demand for language content
- There are concerns over 'patronising' languages through inappropriate use.
- There are issues with the quality of interpretive content in Gaelic, Irish and Welsh language writers and translators, as they are not always trained interpreters
- Although orthographic conventions for Welsh, Irish and Gaelic exist or are being created, local words and spellings are often still used to give a local 'flavour' to interpretation
- Including more than one language increases the amount of time required to produce interpretive content
- Including more than one language increases the cost by up to twice as much as single language interpretive content
- It is difficult to adhere to interpretive best practice while giving each language equal emphasis
- It is impossible to avoid giving one language 'priority', as one language will always be presented top left or 'first'
- Including more than one language in visitor interpretation means there is less space for content in all languages than with single-language media, unless the quantity of the media is increased.

5.30.3 Managing Issues and Implications

In Wales and Ireland, where Welsh and Irish are prioritised over English as the first language and where public policy mandates bilingual provision, there is clear evidence of standardised practices and design, supported by guidance. This enables organisations to plan budgets, workloads and projects in accordance with statutory requirements.

This contrasts with Northern Ireland and Scotland where use of minority languages are promoted, but policy allows greater flexibility in language strategy. This results in a variety of approaches to the use of Gaelic language in visitor interpretation. Whilst organisations favour this flexibility, all acknowledge the issues and the need for responsibility and accountability that result. Resultantly, it is clear that organisations in Scotland feel the need for a clear and robust framework for decision-making with regard to dual language interpretation.

6 Arnol Blackhouse On-Site Visitor Research

6.1 Background

Arnol Blackhouse is a traditional Western Isles thatched house with associated agricultural outbuildings in the care of Historic Scotland. A staffed site, it is open to the public throughout the year and receives around 11,000 visitors per year. The site features interpretive content in Gaelic and English language delivered in site panels, a visitor centre exhibition, and guidebook.

6.1.1 Research Approach

Paired pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires were completed by visitors to Arnol from 29 July-1 August and 1-15 September 2011. At the point of entry visitors were advised about the research and asked to participate by completing the pre-visit questionnaire, and to complete a post-visit questionnaire at the end of their visit.

6.1.2 Demographic Data

In total 103 participants took part in the Arnol Blackhouse survey, although 17 participants did not complete the post-visit survey and their data has therefore not been included in the analysis and reporting. Of the 86 participants who completed the pre- and post-visit surveys, 48 were female and 36 were male, with two 'no responses'. The majority of participants were in the 40-59 age group (n=44, 51.2%), followed by the 60-79 (n=19, 22%) and 25-39 (n=13, 15.1%) age groups (Figure 4). Participants were also asked what their profession was, which was subsequently classified by NRS social grade. The largest single group of participants were from group E (n=28, 32.6%) followed by C1 (n=21, 24.4%) groups (Figure 5). The number of participants in socio-group E can be directly related to the number participants aged 60 years and over, classed as pensioners, and not in active employment.

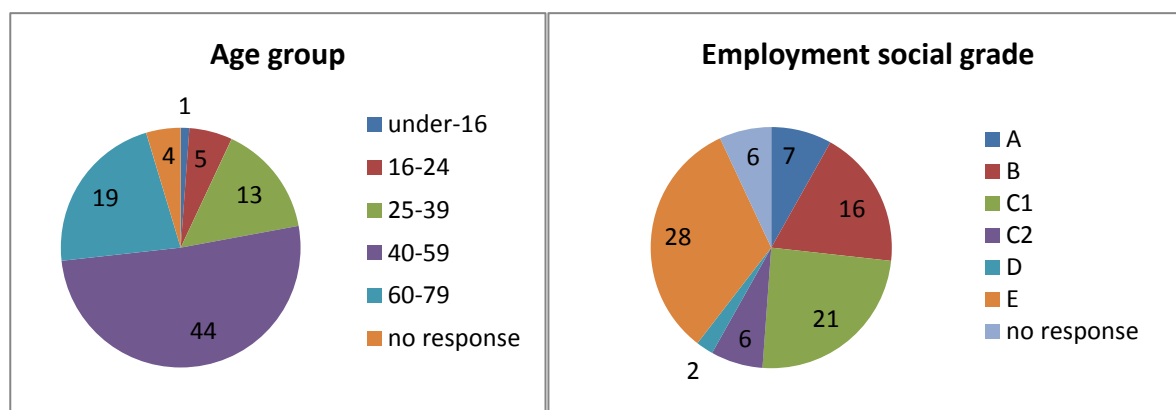


Figure 4 – Participant Age by Group

Figure 5 – Participant Group by NRS Social Grade

6.1.3 Language Ability

Participants were asked to identify their first language, with the vast majority (n=60, 69.8%) indicating English, and only three (3.5%) indicating Gaelic (Figure 6). Participants were also asked if they spoke any other languages, with 44 (51.2%) speaking at least one additional language (conversational or fluent), with

two participants (2.3%) identifying that they spoke some Gaelic. In total five respondents (5.8%) understood Gaelic to some degree.

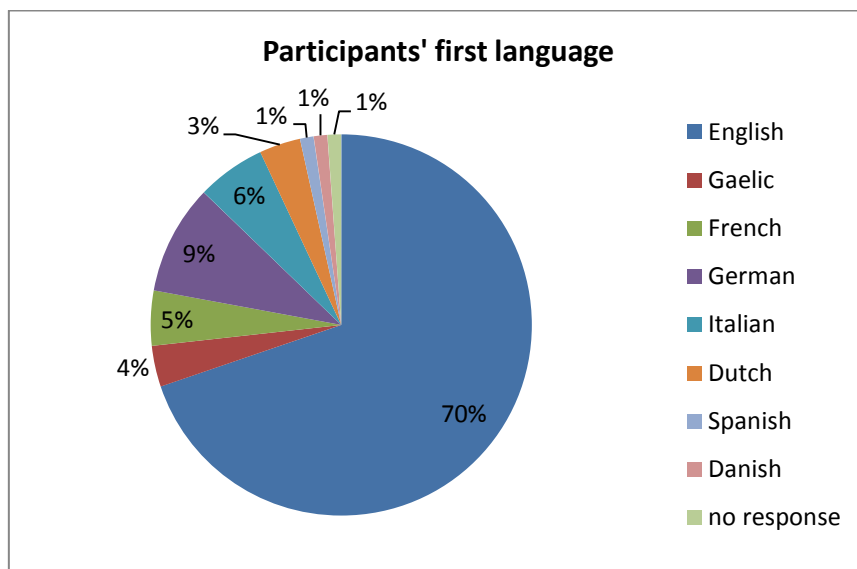


Figure 6 – Participant First Language

6.2 Visiting Arnol Blackhouse

Participants were asked a series of questions relating to their reasons for choosing to visit Arnol Blackhouse. Participants were asked how they had heard about the site, with 19 respondents (21.8%) having visited the site before. Of the remaining participants (n=67), the highest proportion (n=33, 49.3%) found out about the site from a leaflet (Figure 7).

Respondents were also asked to identify the reason(s) they had chosen to visit from a list of options. The most popular response was 'a general interest in history' (n=45, 52.3%), followed by 'interest in culture' (n=44, 51.2%).

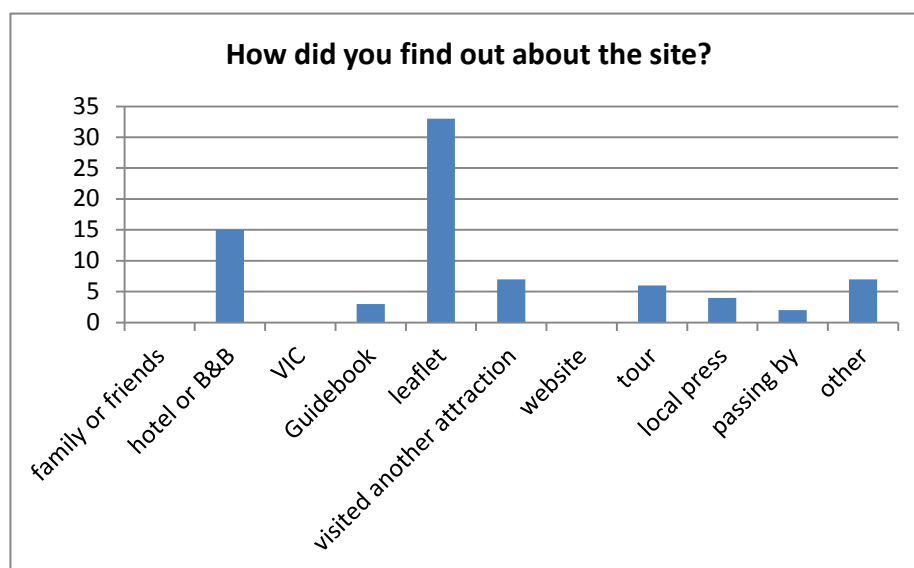


Figure 7 – How Participant's found about Arnol Blackhouse

6.3 Activities on the Visit

Participants were asked how long they spent at Arnol Blackhouse, with the largest proportion staying for 20-30mins (n=36, 41.9%), followed by 40-50mins (n=15, 17.4%) and 50-60mins (n=14, 16.3%).

They were then asked a series of questions relating to what they did during their visit to Arnol Blackhouse. The majority (n= 45, 52.3%) identified that they had read the content of some of the exhibits in the visitor centre; 37 respondents (43%) asserted that they had read the entire exhibition; with the remaining respondents (n= 4, 4.7%) stating that they had not read any of the exhibition content. Nearly all participants reported that they had read the information panels on-site (n=76, 88.4%), and seven (8.1%) also stated that they had used a guidebook for a self-guided tour.

6.4 Satisfaction with the Visit

In the post-visit questionnaire participants were asked to circle one of five options on a Likert scale (two positive, one neutral, and two negative) identifying their satisfaction with the visit (Figure 8). The majority of respondents noted that they were either very satisfied (n=38, 44.2%) or satisfied (n=29, 33.7%). No respondents stated that they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied. Nineteen of the participants (22.1%) did not respond to this question.

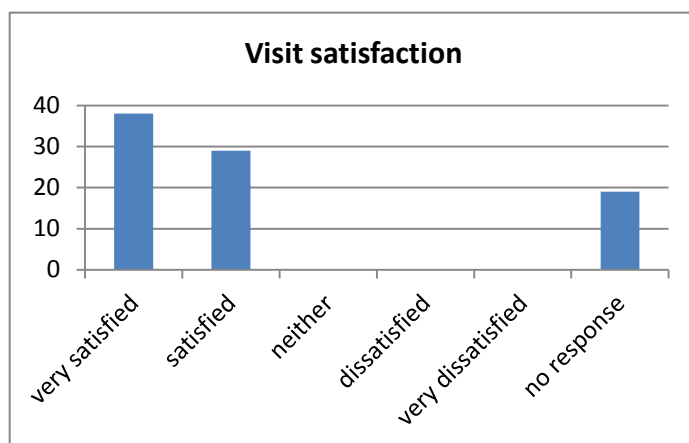


Figure 8 – Participant Satisfaction with the Visit

6.5 Knowledge Gain

As part of the pre- and post-visit questionnaires, participants were asked to identify whether 12 statements relating to the interpretive content at this site were true, false or don't know, to assess knowledge gain in the visitor experience. Further detail can be found in the research methods (section 2.2). Nine of the statements were true, with three statements false. The order of the statements was altered between the pre- and post-visit questionnaires to reduce the chance of recall. Scores were assigned to the options as follows: correct response = 1; incorrect response = 0; don't know = 0.

6.5.1 Pre-Visit Knowledge

Participants' pre-visit responses were scored to identify their individual pre-visit knowledge (out of 12). Four pre-visit surveys had incomplete responses for this section, and so data for this section is calculated on 82 valid responses. The lowest score recorded was 0 (n=1, 1.2%), with the highest score 11 (n=5, 6.1%). The most common score (mode) was 7 (n=17, 20.7%), with the median score 6.5 and the mean score 6.33.

6.5.2 Post-Visit Knowledge

Participants' scores for the post-visit knowledge statements were calculated as above. Three post-visit surveys had incomplete responses for this section, and so data for this section is calculated on 83 valid responses. The lowest post-visit score was 3 (n=1, 1.2%), with the highest score 12 (n=3, 3.6%). The most common score was 10 (n=20, 24.1%), with the median score 9 and the mean score 8.48.

6.5.3 Knowledge Gain

Seventy-nine surveys had data for both the pre- and post-visit knowledge elements which enabled comparison to identify knowledge gain scores. The results suggest that the vast majority of participants (n=60, 75.9%) increased their knowledge of Arnol Blackhouse through their visit; ten participants (n=10, 12.7%) reflected no knowledge gain; and nine (n=9, 11.4%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was a median increase in score of 2 and an increase in the mean score of 2.19.

This suggests the effectiveness of the interpretation at Arnol Blackhouse in increasing visitors' knowledge of the site and its cultural heritage.

6.6 Gaelic Content and Language

After completing the knowledge gain section, participants were then asked to respond to a number of statements relating to the Gaelic content of the displays and exhibits.

6.6.1 Impact of Gaelic Content and Language on the Visitor Experience

Respondents were initially asked about what impact the Gaelic content at Arnol Blackhouse had (if any) on their experience by ticking one of three options: improved experience; made no difference; detracted from experience (Figure 9). The majority of participants (n=48, 55.8%) identified that the content delivered in the Gaelic language at Arnol Blackhouse made no difference to their visit. Twenty-five (29.1%) stated that it improved the experience, and four participants (4.7%) identified that it detracted from the experience. Nine participants (10.5%) did not respond to this question.

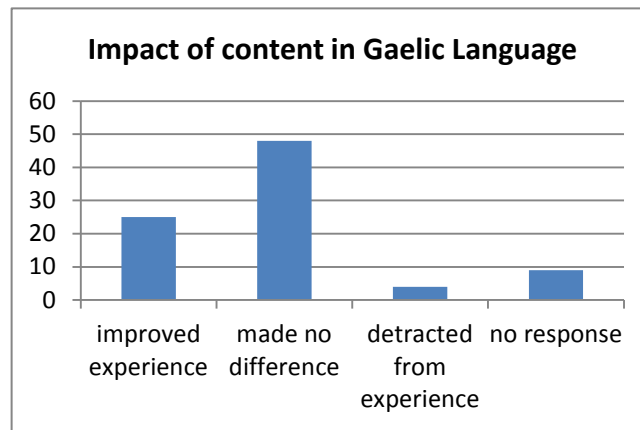


Figure 9 – Impact of Gaelic Content on Visitor Experience

6.6.2 Comments

The questionnaire also provided an open response section to allow respondents to clarify or provide more detail on their response to the impact of content delivered in Gaelic language on their visitor experience. Additional comments were provided by 27 participants (31.4%), which were coded as to whether they were positive, negative, indifferent or not relevant (i.e. did not relate to the impact of the Gaelic language).

Fourteen comments were categorised as positive, with the main focus of these the additional context setting which the Gaelic content provided for Arnol Blackhouse, and the importance of representing the language of the area:

“Although I have no understanding of Gaelic, it adds to the ‘feel’ of the visit, the focus on heritage, culture etc. Also good to see both English and Gaelic together to identify differences in language construction.”

“It makes it seem like a local ‘real’ site rather than a ‘Disney’ experience.”

“I like to see English and Gaelic words. It improves your knowledge and I think it is important to continue the cultural heritage.”

“Made it realistic given that Gaelic was (and is!) the first language here.”

“It is fantastic and absolutely right that Gaelic should be a major feature – unfortunately as a Borders girl, we don’t use the language.”

“As a Gàidhlig speaker it was good to have information in the native language of the island.”

“To attempt to read another’s language in their country helps to learn about them. The more I see names of places the more I can recognise words like upper, lower etc. – even though my pronunciation is probably very bad.”

One comment was critical of the inclusion of Gaelic:

"I couldn't read the Gaelic explanations. Linguistics is only one element of cultures."

The indifferent comments generally related to participant's lack of knowledge of Gaelic language, stating that as they didn't speak the language, it did not affect or impact on them.

6.7 Response to Statements to Gaelic Content and Language

Participants were then asked to respond to a series of statements relating to the inclusion of content in Gaelic language at Arnol Blackhouse, followed by a statement relating to the inclusion of Gaelic language at heritage sites and museums across Scotland (Figure 10).

	Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
All information and displays at Arnol should be in Gaelic and English.	1	2	3	4	5
Some information at Arnol should be in Gaelic with the majority in English.	1	2	3	4	5
Some information at Arnol should be in English with the majority in Gaelic.	1	2	3	4	5
The information at Arnol should only be in Gaelic.	1	2	3	4	5
The information at Arnol should only be in English.	1	2	3	4	5
All Scottish heritage sites and museums should have information in both Gaelic and English.	1	2	3	4	5

Figure 10 – Response Statements

6.7.1 All Information at Arnol Blackhouse Should be in Gaelic and English

Over three-quarters of responses to this statement were positive (n=68, 79.1%), with participants responding either 'strongly agree' (n=56, 65.1%) or 'agree' (n=12, 14%) (Figures 11 and 12). Eleven respondents (12.8%) neither agreed nor disagreed, with two negative responses (2.3%) both disagreeing and five (5.8%) not responding. Overall, there was clearly strong support to use English and Gaelic, despite the relatively low number of respondents able to understand Gaelic.

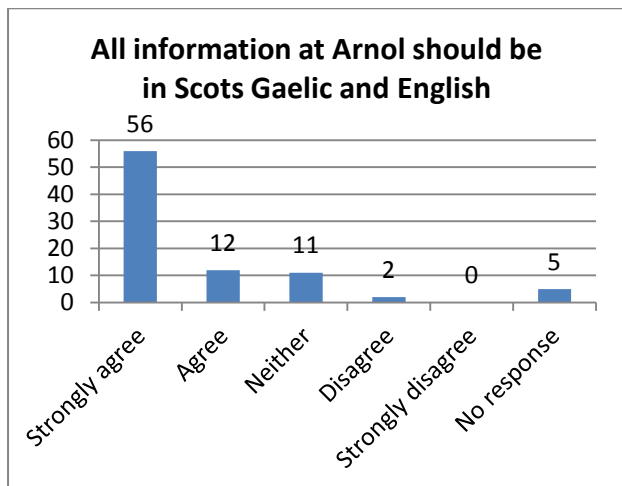


Figure 11 – All Information Should be in Gaelic and English

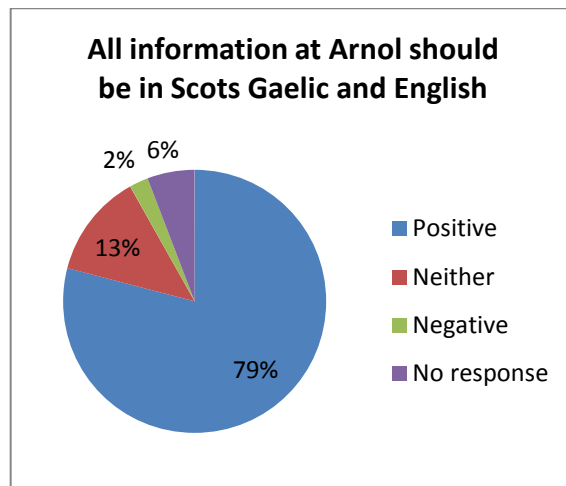


Figure 12 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.7.2 Some Information at Arnol Blackhouse should be in Gaelic with the Majority in English

The highest response to this statement was 'neither agree nor disagree' (n=26, 30.2%), followed by those responding negatively, either 'strongly disagreeing' (n= 24, 28%) or 'disagreeing' (n=13, 15.1%) (Figures 13 and 14). Fifteen participants responded positively to this statement, either 'agreeing' (n=9, 10.5%) or 'strongly agreeing' (n=6, 7%), and eight (9%) not responding.

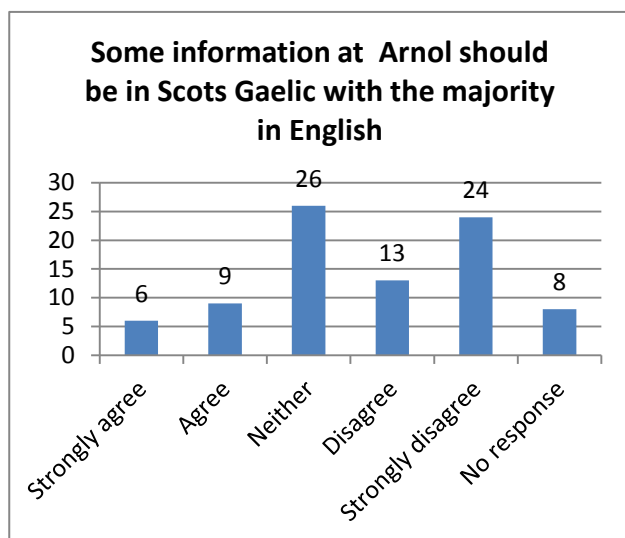


Figure 13 – Some Information Should be in Gaelic and English

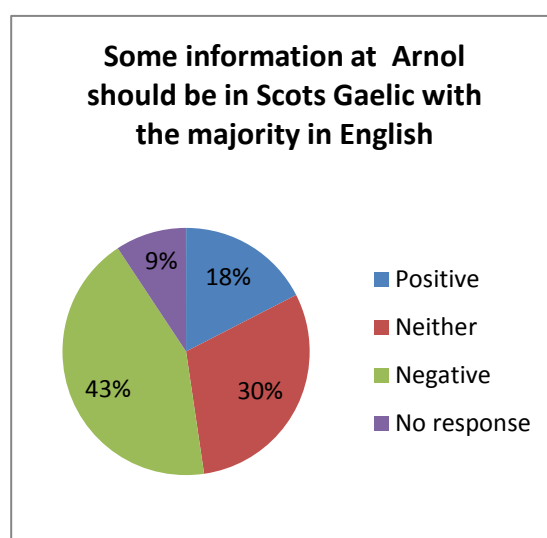


Figure 14 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.7.3 Some information at Arnol Blackhouse should be in English with the majority in Gaelic

Well over half of responses to this statement were negative (n= 54, 62.8%), with the highest responses to this statement 'strongly disagree' (n=33, 38.4%) and 'disagree' (n=21, 24.4%) (Figures 15 and 16). There were neutral responses from a further 15 participants (17.4%). Only seven participants (8.1%) reacted positively to this statement, with four participants (4.7%) 'agreeing' and three (3.5%) 'strongly agreeing'. Ten participants (12%) did not respond.

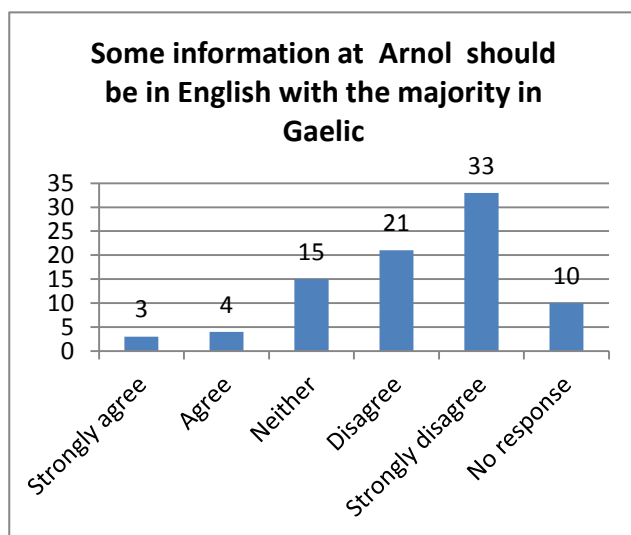


Figure 15 – Majority Information in Gaelic

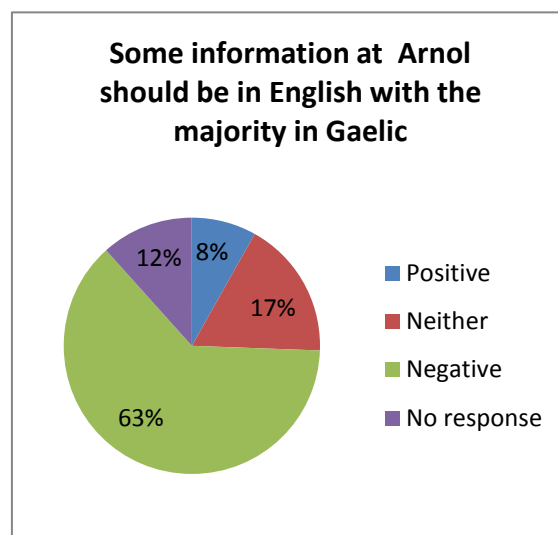


Figure 16 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.7.4 The Information at Arnol Blackhouse should only be in Gaelic

Over three-quarters of participants responded negatively to this statement (n= 70, 81.2%), with 65 participants (75.6%) strongly disagreeing and five (5.8%) 'disagreeing' (Figures 17 and 18). Six respondents (7%) stated they 'neither agreed nor disagreed', with ten no-responses (11.6%).

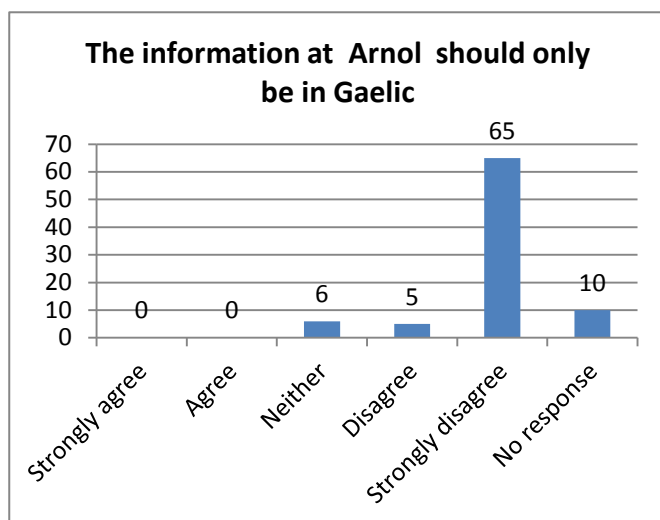


Figure 17 – Information Only in Gaelic

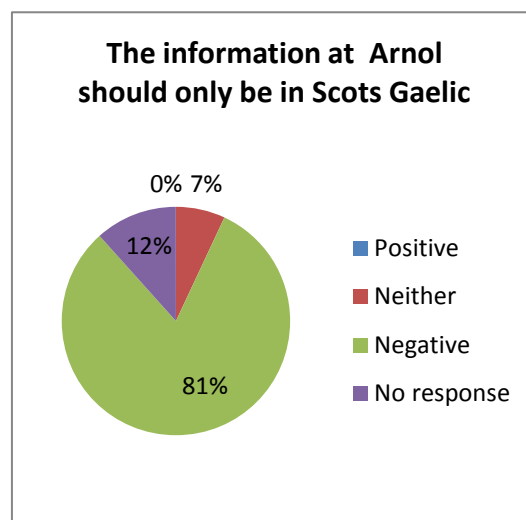


Figure 18 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.7.5 The Information at Arnol Blackhouse should only be in English

Just under three-quarters of participants responded negatively to this statement (n= 63, 73.3%), with 54 participants (62.8%) strongly disagreeing, and nine (10.5%) disagreeing (Figure 19 and 20). Twelve respondents (14%) stated they 'neither agreed nor disagreed'. Only one participant (1.2%) 'agreed' and one 'strongly agreed'. There were nine non-responses (10.5%).

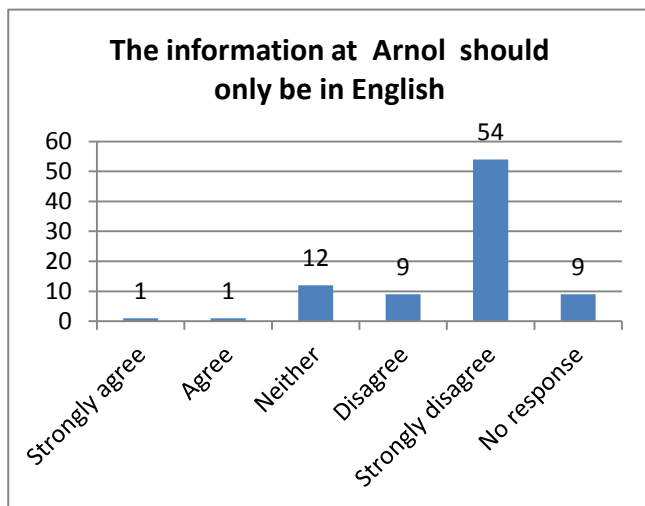


Figure 19 – Information Should Only be in English

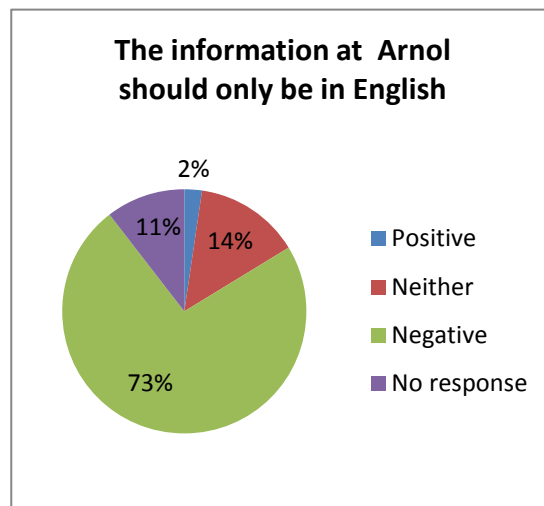


Figure 20 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.7.6 All Scottish Heritage Sites and Museums should have Information in both Gaelic and English

Just under three-quarters of participants responded positively to this statement (n= 62, 72.1%), with 49 participants (57%) 'strongly agreeing', and 13 'agreeing' (15.1%) (Figures 21 and 22). Ten respondents (11.6% stated they 'neither agreed nor disagreed'. In total, 9% (n=8) disagreed with the statement, with 5 of these 'strongly disagreeing'. There were six non-responses (7%).

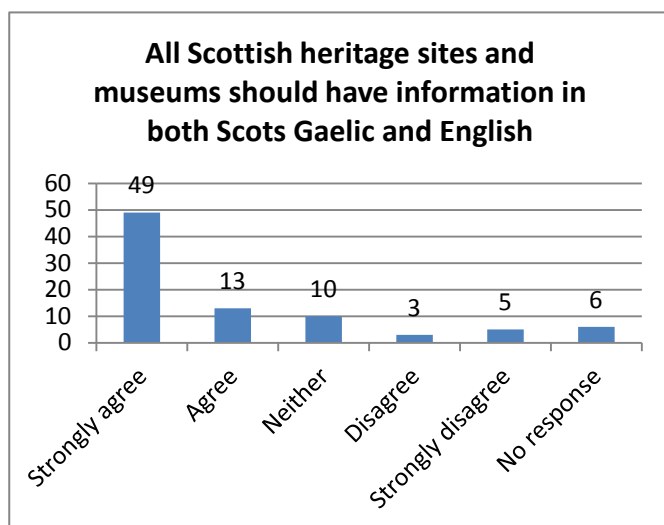


Figure 21 – Information at all Heritage Sites

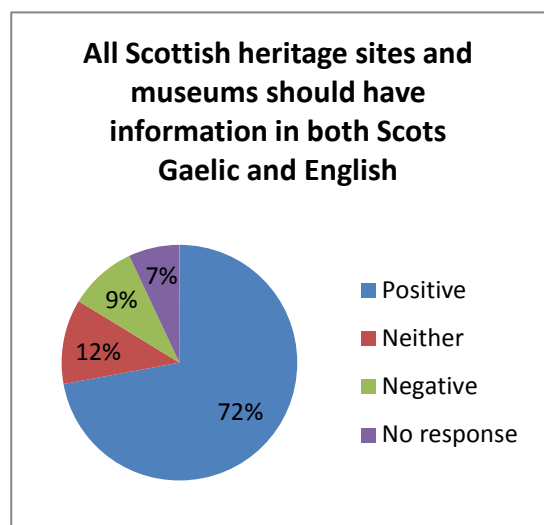


Figure 22 – Positive and Negative Responses

6.8 Summary of Responses to Gaelic Statements

The majority of participants spoke English as their first language, with very few having any Gaelic ability. In terms of the statements, the results suggest that participants are keen for interpretive content at Arnol Blackhouse continue to be provided in both English and Gaelic. Responses to the statements 2-5 were all predominantly negative, suggesting that participants were happy with the current level of language content in English and Gaelic language at Arnol Blackhouse. This may be explained through consideration of some of the open response comments which saw the inclusion of Gaelic language in the visitor interpretation adding to the sense of place, and highlighting its role as the message as opposed to as a medium for communication.

6.9 Summary of Arnol Blackhouse Data

Conducting the research on-site enabled participants to respond to interpretation in its site context. The survey sought to identify the efficacy of current interpretation at Arnol Blackhouse in terms of visitors' knowledge gain in a free-choice learning environment, and the impact (if any) that content in Gaelic language had on the visitor experience.

In terms of the overall visitor experience to Arnol Blackhouse, the majority of participants were either satisfied or very satisfied with the experience (n=67, 77%). The effectiveness of the interpretive approach is reflected in the pre- and post-visit knowledge gain results, with the pre-visit median score of 6.5 increasing to 9 after the visit; and the mean score increasing from 6.33 to 8.48.

6.9.1 Impact of Gaelic Content and Language on the Visitor Experience

The majority of participants could not understand Gaelic and did not feel that Gaelic had any particular impact on their experience (n=48, 55.8%). In spite of this, the majority of participants supported statements to include information in Gaelic at Arnol Blackhouse. This and comments provided by participants, relating to the cultural heritage at the site, sense of place and 'ambience' highlight the complexity of providing Gaelic interpretation, with 25 respondents (29%) stating that it had improved the experience. It is important to remember that the interpretive content in Gaelic language (Gaelic as the medium) may have had little relevance for participants, but that the interpretive content which is created from original Gaelic sources (as the message) had meaning when it was translated into English. Alongside the cultural relevance of Gaelic for the site, this created an emotional response to the message for some participants.

However, given that the vast majority of visitors to Arnol Blackhouse did not understand Gaelic, they generally ignored the Gaelic language content when reading the panels and labels. As such, the Gaelic language content had no impact on the knowledge gain of most participants.

6.9.2 Changing the Level of Gaelic Content at Arnol Blackhouse

In terms of responses to the statements on Gaelic and English language use, the results suggest that participants were happy with the status quo at Arnol Blackhouse. Although the majority of respondents did not speak Gaelic, the value or appropriateness of having dual-language content at the site was acknowledged with three-quarters of visitors stating that all content should be in Gaelic and English.

This suggests that in on-site interpretation there is a lesser requirement for interpretive content in Gaelic language as the site itself delivers an experience which visitors engage with.

The issue then is how to maximise knowledge gain about Gaelic culture and heritage and minimise imparting this knowledge gain by the use of approaches which support understanding and knowledge acquisition. In the case of Arnol Blackhouse, it is clear that the site itself created and added value to a perceived Gaelic experience, whilst most on-site interpretation was provided in English language.

6.9.3 Changing the Level of Gaelic Content and Language at Heritage Sites across Scotland

Sixty-two respondents (n=62, 72%) stated that they thought that all Scottish heritage sites should have information provided in both Gaelic and English. This is a significant response to the question, although the small sample size should be taken into consideration. The site context for the data collection should also be taken into account, as Arnol Blackhouse is a dual-language heritage site on a Gaelic-speaking island and overall results and responses appear to suggest that on-site evaluation of Gaelic language visitor interpretation draws on both intellectual and emotional responses, and the inherent 'affect' of a Gaelic site on visitors perceptions, values and responses.

Clearly, with such a small sample, future research is required to check and corroborate these initial findings. Equally, further research would help to further understand expectations of the use of Gaelic language and English language interpretation across Scotland.

7 Stanley Mills On-Site Visitor Research

7.1 Background

Stanley Mills is an 18th century mill complex on the River Tay, with interpretive exhibitions delivered across the historic Bell and Mid Mills, telling the story of the development of the site and the people who worked there. A Historic Scotland property in care, it receives around 20,000 visitors per year (Martinolli and Bereziat 2010). Interpretive content is delivered primarily in English, with a section of audio and written content (the spinning room, in the Bell Mill) in Gaelic and English language.

7.1.1 Research Approach

Paired pre-visit and post-visit questionnaires were completed by visitors to Stanley Mills from 2-4 and 22-25 September 2011. At the point of entry visitors were advised about the research and asked to participate by completing the pre-visit questionnaire, and to complete a post-visit questionnaire at the end of their visit.

7.1.2 Demographic Data

In total 64 participants took part in the Stanley Mills case study, with 32 females, 31 males, and one no response. The majority of participants were in the 40-59 (n=25, 39.1%) and 60-79 (n=25, 39.1%) age groups (Figure 23). Participants were also asked what their profession was, which was subsequently classified by NRS social grade. The largest proportion of respondents was from socio-group E (n=23, 35.9%) followed by group C1 (n=19, 29.7%) (Figure 24). As for Arnol Blackhouse, the number classified in group E is due to the age of the respondents, with many retired and not in employment.

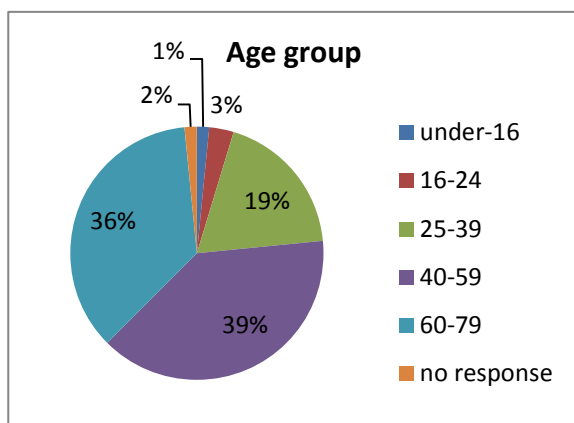


Figure 23 – Participant Age by Group

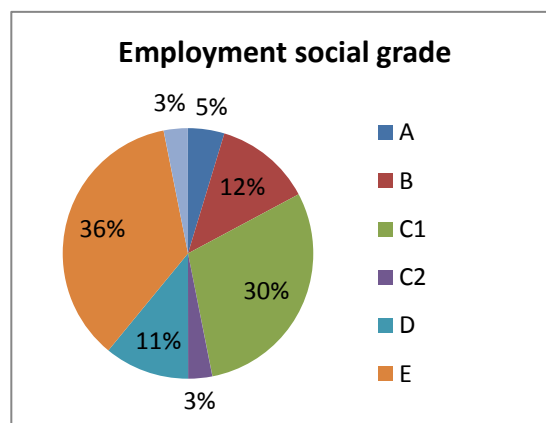


Figure 24 – Participant Group by NRS Social Grade

7.1.3 Language Ability

Participants were asked to identify their first language, with the vast majority (n=55, 86%) indicating English (Figure 25). Participants were also asked if they spoke any other languages, with 41% (n=26) speaking at least one additional language (conversational or fluent). Only one participant identified that they understood some level of Gaelic.

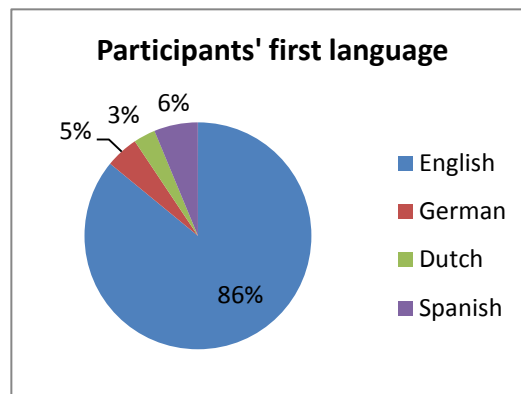


Figure 25 – Participant First Language

7.2 Visiting Stanley Mills

Participants were asked a series of questions relating to their visit to Stanley Mills. Participants were asked how they had heard about the site, with six (9%) having visited before. Of the remaining participants, the highest response (n=19, 22%) were members of Historic Scotland.

Respondents were also asked to identify the reason(s) they had chosen to visit from a list of options. The most popular response was 'a general interest in history' (n=27, 17%), followed by passing by (n=23, 14.5%), and a day out (n=23, 14.5%).

7.3 Activities on the Visit

Participants were asked how long they spent at Stanley Mills, with the majority staying for 40-70mins (n=35, 55%), and 19% of respondents (n=12) staying for 90 minutes or more.

Participants were also asked a series of questions relating to what they did during their visit to Stanley Mills. The vast majority visited both the wider site and the exhibitions in Bell and Mid Mills (n=56, 87.5%), with the remainder only visiting the mill buildings (n=8, 12.5%). In the mill buildings, the majority of participants identified that they had read the interpretive content of some of the exhibits (n=37, 58%); 36% (n=23) asserted that they had read all of the exhibition content; with the remaining respondents (n=4, 6%) stating that they had not read any of the content. Eight participants (12%) also stated that they had used a guidebook for a self-guided tour of Stanley Mills.

7.3.1 Satisfaction with the Visit

In the post-visit questionnaire participants were asked to circle one of five options on a Likert scale (two positive, one neutral, and two negative) identifying their satisfaction with the visit (Figure 26). The majority of respondents noted that they were either very satisfied (n=30, 47%) or satisfied (n=19, 30%), and two participants (n=2, 3%) identifying that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the visit. No respondents stated that they were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied, with 13 participants (20%) not responding.

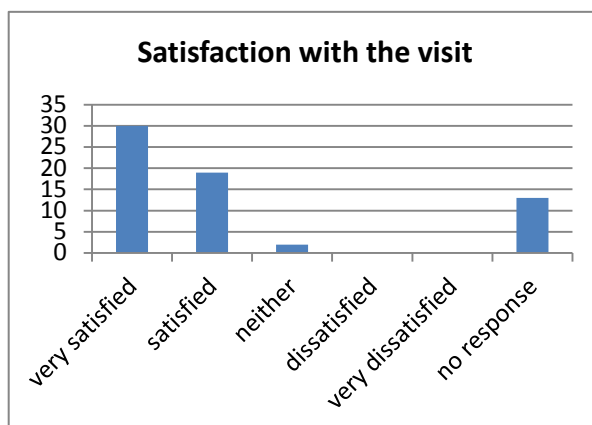


Figure 26 – Visitor Satisfaction with the Visit

7.4 Knowledge Gain

As part of the questionnaires, participants were asked to identify whether twelve statements were true, false or don't know, to assess knowledge gain in the visitor experience. Further details can be found in the research methods section 2.2). Nine of the statements were true, with three statements false. The order of the statements was altered between the pre- and post-visit questionnaires to reduce the chance of recall. Scores were assigned to the options as follows: correct response = 1; incorrect response = 0; don't know = 0.

7.4.1 Pre-Visit Knowledge

Participants' pre-visit responses were scored to identify their individual pre-visit knowledge (out of 12). The lowest score recorded was 0 (n=10, 15.6%), with the highest score 12 (n=1, 1.6%). The most common score was 1 (n=14, 21.9%), with the median score 3 and the mean score 3.64.

7.4.2 Post-Visit Knowledge

Participants' scores for the post-visit knowledge statements were calculated as above. The lowest post-visit score was 0 (n=6, 9.4%), with the highest score 12 (n=4, 6.3%). The most common score was 10 (n=17, 26.6%), with the median score 9 and the mean score 8.34.

7.4.3 Knowledge Gain

The overall results of the pre- and post-visit knowledge tests suggest that the majority of participants (n=54, 84.4%) increased their knowledge of Stanley Mills through their visit, with the results of only seven participants (10.9%) reflecting no knowledge gain, and three (4.7%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall the median score increase by 6, and the mean score increase by 4.7. This reflects the effectiveness of the interpretive approach undertaken at Stanley Mills in increasing visitors' knowledge of the site and its cultural heritage.

7.4.4 Post-Visit Knowledge – Gaelic Content

Participants showed a marked increase in their knowledge in relation to the knowledge gain statement 'English and Gaelic were languages which were commonly spoken at Stanley Mills', with 45% of participants (n=29) changing from a pre-visit incorrect answer to a post-visit correct response. Of the remaining participants, 22 (35%) answered correctly in both pre- and post-visit surveys, with 13 (20%) answering incorrectly on both surveys.

7.5 Gaelic Content and Content in Gaelic Language

After completing the knowledge gain section, participants were asked to respond to a number of statements relating to the Gaelic content and language in exhibits.

7.5.1 Impact of Gaelic Content and Language on Experience

Respondents were initially asked about the impact that Gaelic content and language at Stanley Mills had on their experience (if any) by ticking one of three options: improved experience; made no difference; detracted from experience (Figure 27). The majority of participants (n=42, 65.6%) identified that the use of Gaelic at Stanley Mills made no difference to their visit. A further 16 respondents (25%) stated that it improved the experience, and one participant (1.6%) identified that it detracted from the experience. Five participants (7.7%) did not respond.

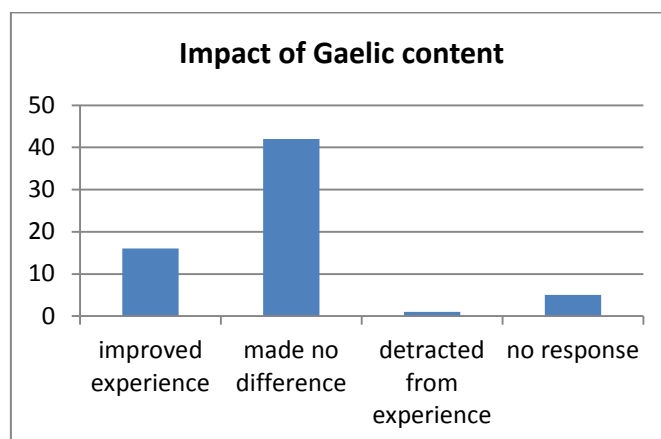


Figure 27 – Impact of Gaelic Content on Visitor Experience

7.5.2 Comments

The questionnaire also provided an open response section to allow respondents to clarify or provide more detail on their response to the impact of the Gaelic content and language on their experiences. Additional comments were provided by 36% of participants (n=23), which were coded as to whether they were positive, negative, indifferent or not relevant (i.e. did not relate to the impact of Gaelic).

Nine comments were positive, with the main focus the additional context setting which the Gaelic content provided for Stanley, including:

“Although not a Gaelic speaker, it added atmosphere and authenticity.”

“It was good to hear the language of the spinning room.”

“Gave support to idea of workers drawn from Highlands.”

Three comments were critical of the inclusion of Gaelic:

“If we're so keen to have different languages why no Perthshire Doric? Also while it's nice to see Aonghis MacNeachils's work it's not the Gaelic that would've been spoken here.”

“Gaelic gave a flavour of the speech but it needs to be kept to a small portion so that frustration due to not understanding is kept to a minimum.”

“Wastes space and adds cost to have Gaelic. In Wales it is very confusing.”

The indifferent comments (n=8, 12.5%) generally related to participant's lack of knowledge of Gaelic, stating that as they didn't speak the language, it did not affect or impact on them.

7.6 Response to Statements to Gaelic Content and Language

Participants were then asked to respond to a series of statements relating to the inclusion of Gaelic content and language at Stanley Mills, and at heritage sites and museums across Scotland (Figure 28).

	Strongly Agree				Strongly Disagree
All information and displays at Stanley Mills should be in Gaelic and English.	1	2	3	4	5
Some information at Stanley Mills should be in Gaelic with the majority in English.	1	2	3	4	5
Some information at Stanley Mills should be in English with the majority in Gaelic.	1	2	3	4	5
The information at Stanley Mills should only be in Gaelic	1	2	3	4	5
The information at Stanley Mills should only be in English	1	2	3	4	5
All Scottish heritage sites and museums should have information in both Gaelic and English	1	2	3	4	5

Figure 28 – Statements Relating to Language Content

7.6.1 All Information at Stanley Mills should be in Gaelic and English

Over half of the responses to this statement were neutral (Figures 29 and 30), responding 'neither agree nor disagree' (n=33, 51.6%), followed by negative responses (n=15, 23.4%), with those either disagreeing (n=9, 14.1%) or strongly disagreeing (n=6, 9.4%). There were 12 positive responses (18.8%), with seven strongly agreeing (10.9%) and five agreeing (7.8%). Four participants (6.25%) did not respond.

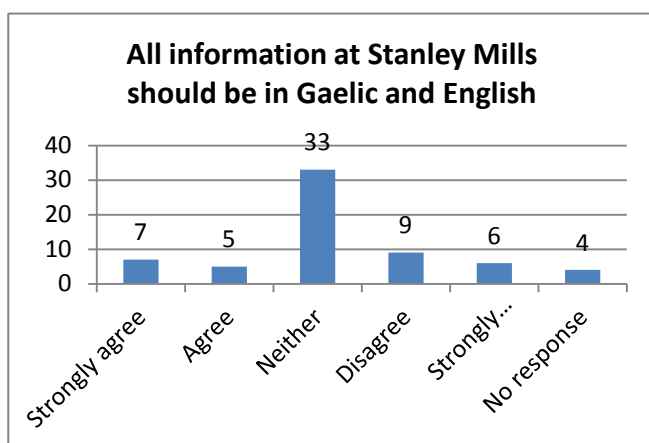


Figure 29 – All Information Should be in Gaelic and English

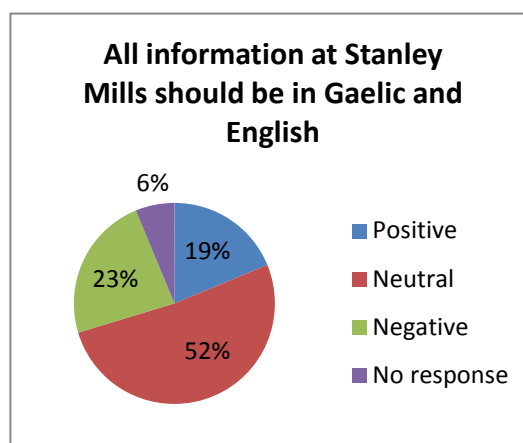


Figure 30 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.6.2 Some Information at Stanley Mills should be in Gaelic with the Majority in English

The highest response to this statement (Figures 31 and 32) was neither agree nor disagree (n=24, 37.5%). This was followed by those responding positively (n=23, 35.9%), either agreeing (n=9, 14.1%) or strongly agreeing (n=6, 9.4%). There were negative responses from 12 participants (18.8%), split equally between those disagreeing and strongly disagreeing.

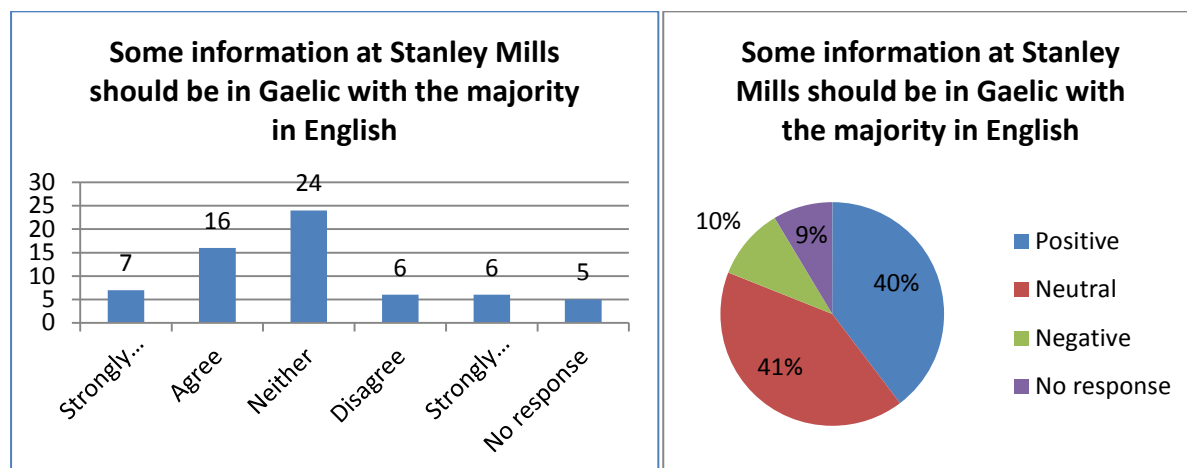


Figure 31 – Some Information Should be in Gaelic and English

Figure 32 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.6.3 Some Information at Stanley Mills should be in English with the Majority in Gaelic

The highest response to this statement was negative (n=42, 65.6%), with those strongly disagreeing (n=26, 40.6%) and disagreeing (n=16, 25%) (Figures 33 and 34). There were neutral responses from a further 13 participants (20.3%). Only four participants (6.25%) reacted positively to this statement with two strongly agreeing (3.1%) and two agreeing (3.1%).

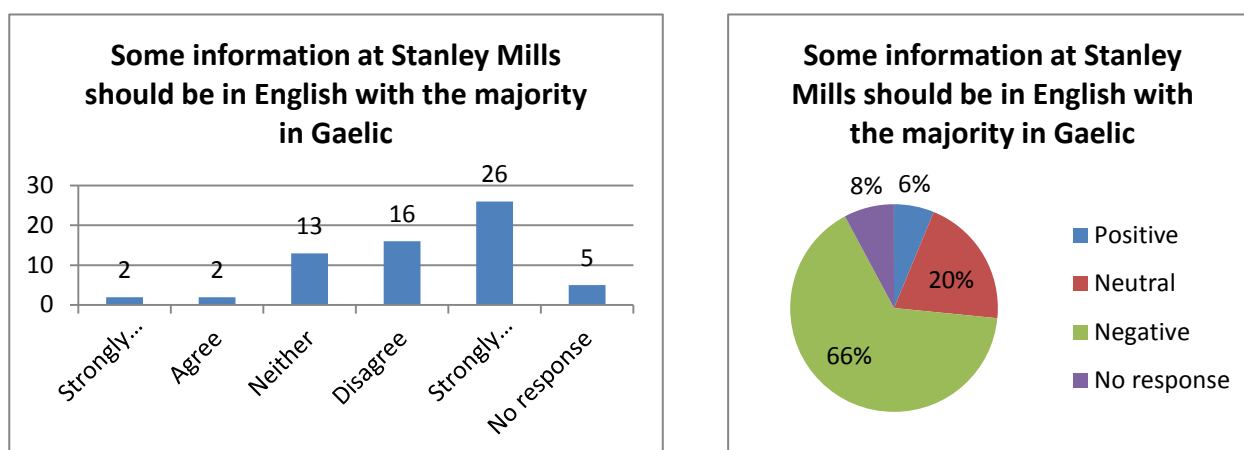


Figure 33 – Majority Information in Gaelic

Figure 34 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.6.4 The Information at Stanley Mills Should Only be in Gaelic

The highest response to this statement was negative (n=53, 82.8%), with 50 respondents (78.1%) strongly disagreeing and a further three (4.7%) disagreeing (Figures 35 and 36). There were five neutral responses (20.3%). Only one participant responded positively to this statement, strongly agreeing (1.6%).

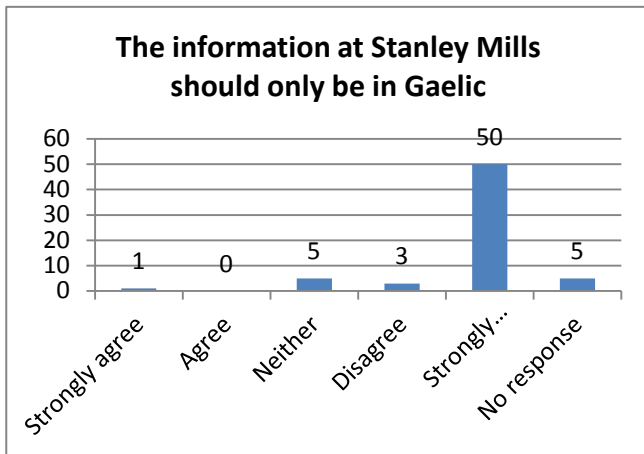


Figure 35 – Information Only in Gaelic

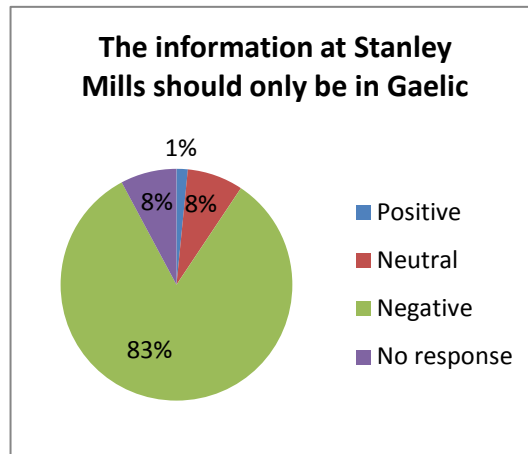


Figure 36 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.6.5 The Information at Stanley Mills should only be in English

The highest response to this statement was neutral, with 28.1% of participants (n=18) neither agreeing nor disagreeing (Figures 37 and 38). Twenty-five participants (39.1%) responded negatively to this statement, with 15 (23.4%) strongly disagreeing and ten disagreeing (15.6%). There were 16 positive responses to this statement (25%), with ten (15.6%) agreeing, and six (9.4%) strongly agreeing.

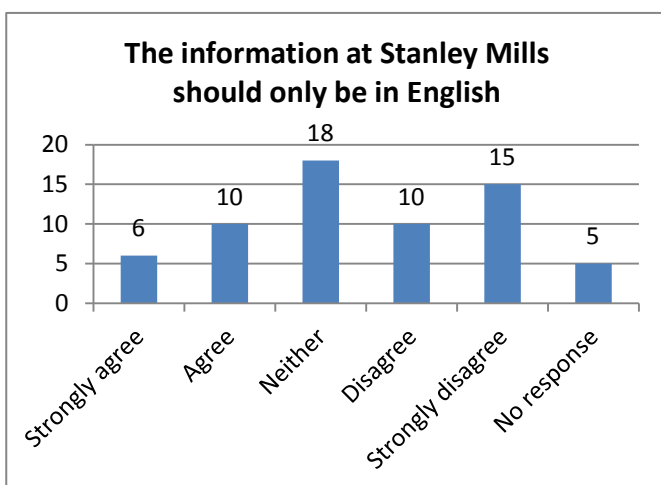


Figure 37 – Information Should Only be in English

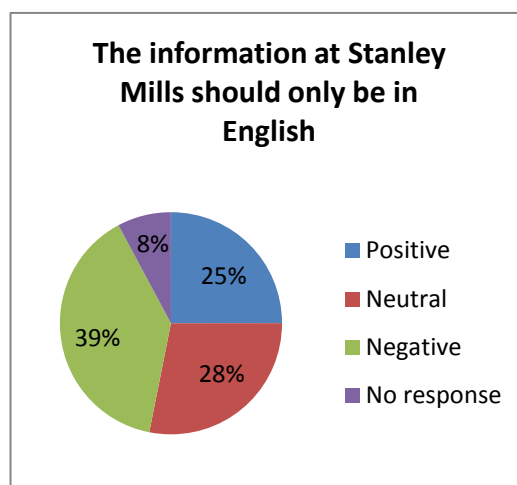


Figure 38 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.6.6 All Scottish Heritage Sites and Museums Should have Information in Both Gaelic and English

The highest response to this statement was neutral, with 48.4% of participants (n=31) neither agreeing nor disagreeing (Figures 39 and 40). Nineteen participants (29.7%) responded positively, with ten (15.6%) strongly agreeing and nine (14.1%) agreeing. A total of 10 participants (15.6%) responded negatively to this statement, with eight disagreeing (12.5%), and two strongly disagreeing (3.1%).

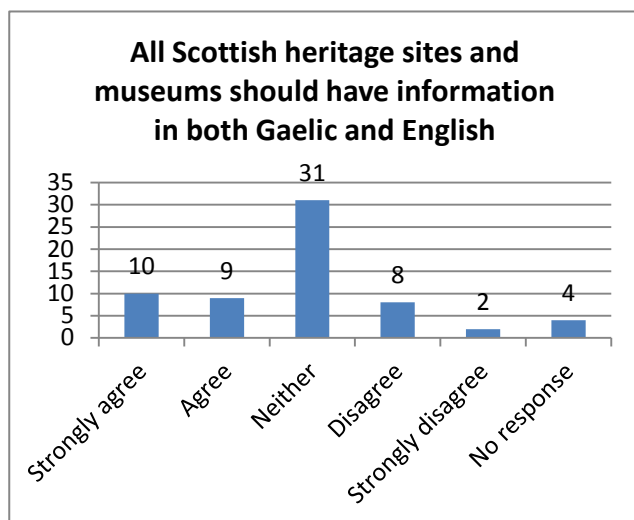


Figure 39 – Information at all Heritage Sites

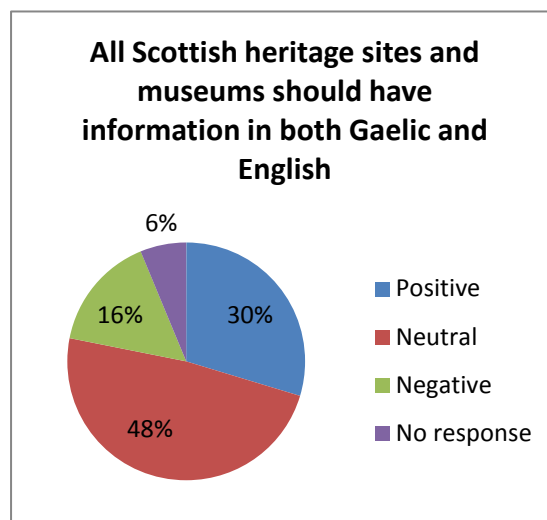


Figure 40 – Positive and Negative Responses

7.7 Summary of Responses to Gaelic Statements

The majority of participants spoke English as their first language, with only one identifying they had any Gaelic ability. In terms of the statements, the results clearly indicate that participants want the majority of information at Stanley Mills to be in English language (statements 3, 4 and 5). However, both statement responses and open response comments suggest that participants were keen for the continued inclusion of some Gaelic content and language (i.e. the status quo).

7.8 Summary of Stanley Mills Data

Conducting the research on-site enabled participants to respond to interpretation in its site context. The survey sought to identify the efficacy of the current interpretation at Stanley Mills in terms of visitors' knowledge gain in a free-choice learning environment and the impact (if any) that Gaelic content and language had on the visitor experience.

In terms of the overall visitor experience to Stanley Mills, the majority of participants were either satisfied or very satisfied with the experience (n=49, 77%). The effectiveness of the interpretation is reflected in the pre- and post-visit knowledge gain results, with the pre-visit median score of 3 increasing to 9 after the visit; and the mean score increasing from 3.64 to 8.34.

7.8.1 Gaelic Content as an Interpretive Message

Participants increased their knowledge and understanding of Gaelic as part of the message at Stanley Mills, as reflected in the increased correct response to the statement 'English and Gaelic were languages which were commonly spoken at Stanley Mills'. With 45% of participants (n=29) changing from a pre-visit incorrect answer to a post-visit correct response, and 35% (n=22) answering correctly in both pre- and post-visit surveys. The data reflects an understanding of the role of Gaelic in the story of the site and its people as one of the interpretive messages at Stanley Mills.

7.8.2 Impact of Gaelic Content and Language on the Visitor Experience

The majority of participants could not understand Gaelic and did not feel Gaelic had any particular impact on their experience (n=42, 65.6%), although a quarter of respondents (n=16) stated that it had a positive impact. Responses to the Gaelic provide more detail on participants' views. They suggest that whilst visitors welcomed Gaelic content as part of the visitor interpretation, they were less supportive of increased use of Gaelic language, and whilst recognising its contribution to 'atmosphere' and 'authenticity', highlighted issues of geographical context and relevance and proportionality

7.8.3 Changing the Level of Gaelic Content at Stanley

In terms of responses to the statements on Gaelic and English content language, the results suggest that participants were content with existing language provision at Stanley Mills; that is the majority of content in English language with some content delivered in Gaelic language. This in part reflects the language abilities of participants, but also the use of Gaelic language in the spinning room, as both the message and medium. There appears to be more polarisation when participants were asked to consider whether all information should only be in English, with 25% of respondents (n= 16) agreeing with this statement, and 39% (n=25) disagreeing.

7.8.4 Changing the Level of Gaelic Content and Language at all Scottish Heritage Sites

When asked whether all Scottish heritage sites should have information in both Gaelic and English, 48% of participants (n=31) neither agreed nor disagreed, with a higher percentage of the remaining participants (n=19, 30%) agreeing rather than disagreeing (n=10, 16%). This suggests that the majority of respondents are either indifferent to this issue, or chose a neutral response to avoid making a choice which they felt would be viewed as more extreme (central tendency bias). The results suggest that further research should be undertaken into public perceptions of the use, benefits and drawbacks of providing Gaelic and English language interpretive content more widely across Scotland.

8 Off-Site Testing

8.1 Background

This part of the research methodology sought to assess:

- The efficacy of different approaches to dual-language provision for knowledge gain, specifically for participants with different Gaelic and English language abilities.
- Different approaches to the delivery of Gaelic and English language interpretation.

8.2 Research Approach

The research was conducted in two parts to assess the aspects outlined above.

8.2.1 Part One

Part one involved identifying participants' pre-test knowledge relating to a set of test interpretive materials which were adapted from the Lewis Chessmen: Unmasked travelling exhibition created by the National Museums of Scotland. Participants then viewed one of three interpretive panels, which presented different approaches to language delivery: fully-bilingual; full English with Gaelic summary; or English-only. Participants then completed a post-test questionnaire to identify knowledge gain with the approach they encountered.

8.2.2 Part Two

The second part involved showing participants four interpretation panels, each of which was an example of approaches to providing Gaelic and English language interpretation by Interpret Scotland members. The example panels varied in their use of type face, font colour, design and general approach to providing Gaelic and English language interpretive content. Three provided dual-language content, and one a Gaelic summary. A maximum of four example panels was determined by a desire to avoid test fatigue in the context of participants already having completed the pre- and post-test and subsequent questions on Gaelic language content and use. Participants were asked to rate the example panels in terms of clarity of design, type face, text positioning and the use of English and Gaelic languages. The test materials used were:

- The Cambus Big 5 (Forestry Commission Scotland).
- Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church (Historic Scotland).
- What would you do?/Dè a dhèanadh tusa? (National Trust for Scotland).
- Beatha air an fhearann/Life on the land (Forestry Commission Scotland).

Participants were then asked to identify which of six statements they agreed with relating to the provision of Gaelic and English language interpretive content at heritage sites in Gaelic speaking areas; and across Scotland. They were then asked if there were any subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic.

8.3 Participation

Participants were selected on the basis of their Gaelic-language ability, with fluent Gaelic speakers, Gaelic learners, and those who do not speak Gaelic recruited to participate through the identification of suitable organisations and groups across Scotland (for example Gaelic societies and Gaelic language classes), and the organisation of drop-in sessions. Testing took place throughout September and October 2012.

8.3.1 Demographic Data

Of the 305 participants, 174 were female and 132 were male. By age, the largest proportion of participants were in the 60-79 age group (n= 128, 42%), followed by the 40-59 age group (n= 81, 26.6%).

8.3.2 Language Ability

Of the 305 participants who took part in the off-site testing, 42 (13.8%) were fluent Gaelic readers, with 96 Gaelic learners (31.5%), and 167 participants (54.8%) who did not read any Gaelic. One Gaelic learner had a first language which was not English (Belarusian).

8.4 Knowledge Gain

As part of the testing, participants were asked to identify whether 12 statements relating to the Lewis Chessmen interpretation panels were true, false or don't know, to assess knowledge gain in an off-site context. Further detail can be found in the research methods (section 2.2). Eight of the statements were true, with four statements false. Participants were asked to mark 'don't know' if they didn't know, rather than attempting to guess the correct answer. The order of the statements was altered between the pre- and post-tests to reduce the chance of recall. Scores were assigned to the options as follows: correct response = 1; incorrect response = 0; don't know = 0.

8.4.1 Pre-Test Knowledge

Participants' pre-test responses were scored to identify their individual pre-visit knowledge (out of 12).

8.4.2 Overall Results

The lowest pre-test score recorded was 0 (n= 30, 9.8%), with the highest score 10 (n=3, 1%). The most common score was 5 (n=50, 16.4%), with the median score 5 and the mean score 4.62.

8.4.3 Gaelic Readers and Learners

For Gaelic readers and learners, the lowest score recorded was 0 (n= 16, 11.6%), with the highest score 10 (n= 1, 0.7%). The most common score was 5 (n= 28, 20.3%), with the median score 5 and the mean score 4.41.

8.4.4 Participants who did not Speak Gaelic

For participants who do not speak Gaelic, the lowest score recorded was 0 (n=14, 8.4%), with the highest score 10 (n=2, 1.2%). The most common score was 3 (n= 30, 18%), with the median score 5 and the mean score 4.79.

8.5 Post-Test Knowledge

Participants' scores for the post-test knowledge statements were calculated as above (section 8.4).

8.5.1 Overall Results

The lowest post-test score recorded was 4 (n= 2, 0.7%), with the highest score 12 (n=19, 6.2%). The most common score was 10 (n=67, 22%), with the median score 9 and the mean score 9.01.

8.5.2 Gaelic Speakers and Learners

For Gaelic speakers and learners, the lowest post-test score recorded was 4 (n= 1, 2.9%), with the highest score 12 (n= 14, 10.1%). The most common score was 8 (n= 28, 20.3%), with the median score 9 and the mean score 9.22.

8.5.3 Participants who did not Speak Gaelic

For participants who do not speak Gaelic, the lowest score recorded was 4 (n=1, 0.6%), with the highest score 12 (n= 5, 3%). The most common score was 10 (n= 39, 23.4%), with the median score 9 and the mean score 8.84.

8.6 Knowledge Gain Overall

The results suggest that the 96% of participants (n=293) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; three participants (1%) reflected no knowledge gain; and nine (3%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.39.

8.6.1 Bilingual Test Materials

For the bilingual materials the 96.3% of participants (n=104) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; one participant (0.9%) reflected no knowledge gain; and three (2.8%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.3.

8.6.2 Gaelic Summary Test Materials

For the Gaelic summary materials 96.2% of participants (n=101) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with four participants (3.8%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.18.

8.6.3 English-Only Test Materials

For the English-only materials 95.6% of participants (n=88) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; two participants (2.2%) reflected no knowledge gain; and two (2.2%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.74.

8.7 Knowledge Gain – Gaelic Speakers and Learners

For Gaelic speakers and learners overall, 95.7% of participants (n=132) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; two participants (1.4%) reflected no knowledge gain; and four participants (2.9%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.8.

8.7.1 Bilingual Test Materials

In total, 42 Gaelic speakers and learners were tested with the bilingual test materials. The majority of participants (n=38, 90.5%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; one participant (2.4%) reflected no knowledge gain; and three (7.1%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.54.

8.7.2 Gaelic Summary Test Materials

In total 50 Gaelic speakers and learners were tested with the Gaelic summary test materials. The majority of participants (n=48, 96%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with two participants (4%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.38.

8.7.3 English-Only Test Materials

In total 42 Gaelic speakers and learners were tested with the bilingual test materials. The majority of participants (n=41, 97.6%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with one participant (2.4%) reflecting no knowledge gain. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 5.6, although this is higher due to an above average number of Gaelic speakers and learners who scored 0 in the pre-test.

8.8 Knowledge Gain – Participants who did not Speak Gaelic

For non-Gaelic speakers and learners overall, 96.4% of participants (n=161) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; one participant (0.6%) reflected no knowledge gain; and five participants (3%) reflected a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.05.

8.8.1 Bilingual Test Materials

In total 62 non-Gaelic speakers were tested with the bilingual test materials. The majority of participants (n=61, 98.4%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with one participant (1.6%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.11.

8.8.2 Gaelic Summary Test Materials

In total 55 non-Gaelic speakers were tested with the Gaelic summary test materials. The majority of participants (n=53, 96.4%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with two participants (3.6%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.

8.8.3 English-Only Test Materials

In total 55 non-Gaelic speakers were tested with the bilingual test materials. The majority of participants (n=52, 94.6%) increased their knowledge of the Lewis Chessmen through the testing; with one participant (1.8%) reflecting no knowledge gain, and two participants (3.6%) reflecting a decrease in knowledge. Overall there was an increase in the mean score of 4.02.

8.9 Summary of Knowledge Gain

Knowledge gain across the test materials and language abilities reflected broadly similar increases, though the English-only versions did return a slightly higher increase in knowledge gain overall, reflecting an above average number of participants who scored 0 in the pre-test. Most of the Gaelic learners did not read the content delivered in Gaelic, and all Gaelic speakers and learners could also read the English language content reflecting similar increases across the test materials. The fact that all of the Gaelic readers and learners could also read the English language text means that it is not possible to distinguish knowledge gain as a result of the provision of content delivered in the Gaelic language. The results suggest that all interpretive approaches were effective in increasing participants' knowledge of the subject, which is a key aim of interpretation, regardless of participants' language ability or the level of Gaelic and English language in the test materials.

8.10 Impact of Gaelic Content for 50:50 and Summary

For those participants who were shown the test materials which included content in the Gaelic language, two additional questions were asked relating to the impact of Gaelic and English language content, and whether it enhanced, detracted or made no difference to their understanding of the subject.

8.10.1 Fully Bilingual Materials

For Gaelic speakers who viewed the bilingual materials (n=16), eleven (69%) felt that the content delivered in the Gaelic language enhanced their understanding of the subject, with five stating that it made no difference (Figure 41). For the English language content, eleven felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject, with five (31%) stating that it made no difference.

For Gaelic learners who viewed the bilingual materials (n=30), six felt that the content delivered in the Gaelic language enhanced their understanding of the subject, with 24 (80%) stating that it made no difference. For the English language content, 27 (90%) felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject, with three stating that it made no difference.

For participants who did not speak Gaelic and viewed the bilingual materials (n=62), all felt that the Gaelic language content made no difference to their understanding of the subject (Figure 41). For the English content, all participants felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject.

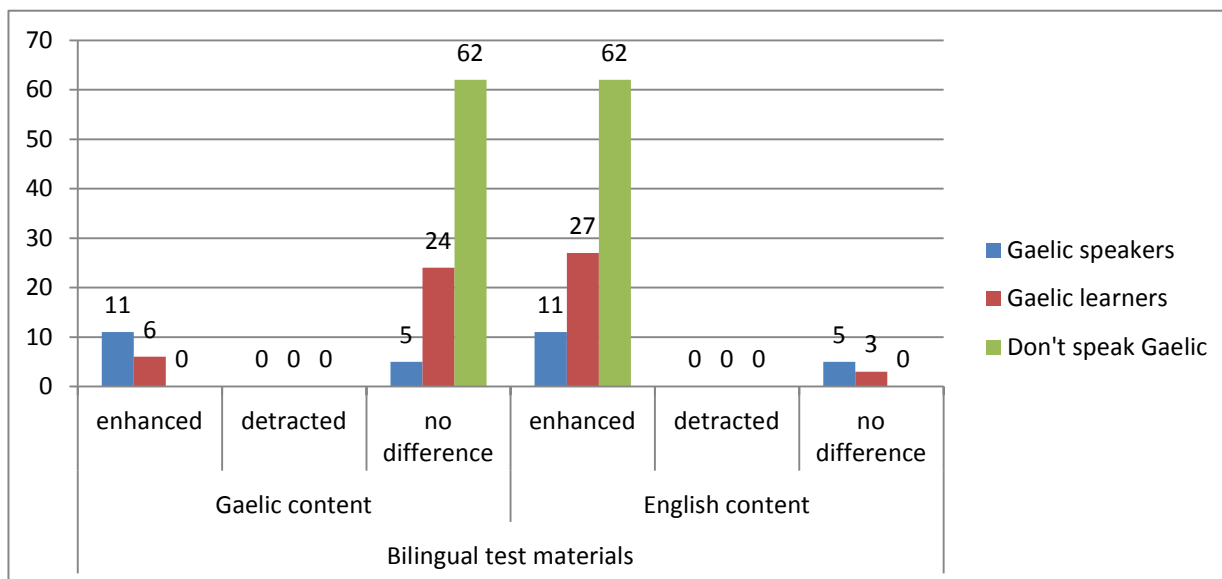


Figure 41 – Bilingual Materials – Impact of Gaelic and English Content

8.10.2 Gaelic-Summary Materials

For Gaelic speakers who viewed the Gaelic-summary materials (n=18), ten felt that the Gaelic language content enhanced their understanding of the subject, with eight stating that it made no difference (Figure 40). For the English content, 13 felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject, with five stating that it made no difference.

For Gaelic learners who viewed the Gaelic-summary materials (n=32), 16 felt that the Gaelic content enhanced their understanding of the subject, with 16 stating that it made no difference (Figure 40). For the English content, 30 felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject, with two stating that it made no difference.

For participants who did not speak Gaelic and viewed the Gaelic-summary materials (n=55), 54 felt that the Gaelic content made no difference to their understanding of the subject, with one participant stating that it had enhanced their understanding. For the English content, 53 participants felt that it had enhanced their understanding of the subject, with two stating that it had made no difference.

8.10.3 Summary of Content in Gaelic Language Questions

The responses to the content in the Gaelic language reflected that Gaelic speakers had a slight preference for the fully bilingual materials over the Gaelic summary materials. By contrast Gaelic learners were more positive about the summary materials than the fully bilingual materials. These results should be read with some caution, taking into account the numbers of participants, and the fact that this data reflects self-reporting on the part of participants rather than testing. It does,

however, suggest that language ability for Gaelic readers and learners is key in identifying which kind of content they engage with.

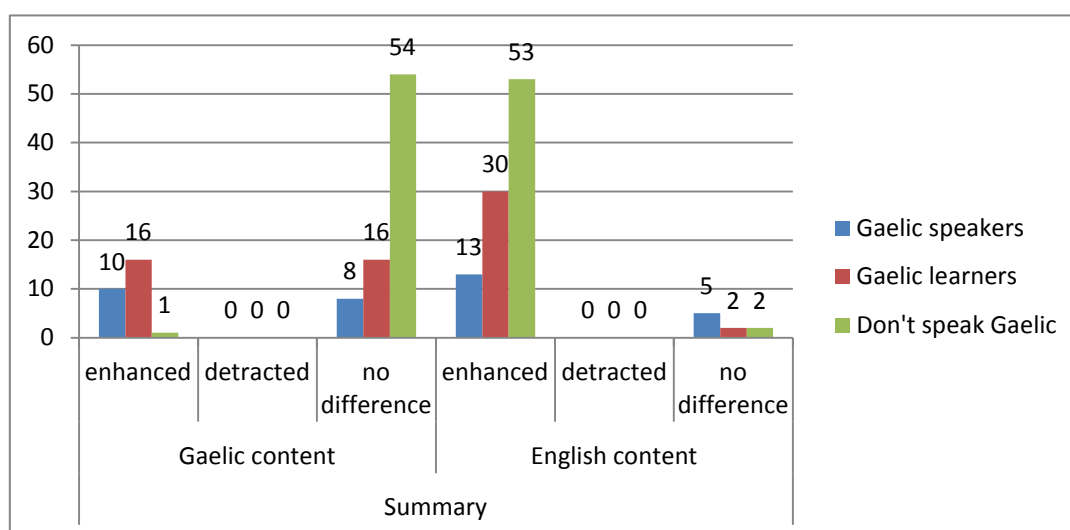


Figure 42 – Gaelic Summary Materials – Impact of Gaelic and English Content

8.11 Assessing Current Approaches and Design

After completing the post-test survey, participants were then shown four examples of interpretation panels from sites across Scotland:

- The Cambus Big 5 (Forestry Commission Scotland).
- Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church (Historic Scotland).
- What would you do?/Dè a dhèanadh tusa? (National Trust for Scotland).
- Beatha air an fhearann/Life on the land (Forestry Commission Scotland).

These panels were chosen to provide examples of current approaches to the use of Gaelic and English language in heritage interpretation in Scotland. Three of the panels were fully bilingual, with the fourth, Cambus Big 5, containing information primarily in English, with Gaelic language 'taster' introductory text.

Participants were asked to rate each panel on a 5-point Likert scale in terms of how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- The overall design is clear and well ordered
- The font and colour make it easy for me to identify the language I want to read
- The position of the text makes it easy for me to identify the language I want to read
- The Gaelic text adds value and improves my understanding of the subject
- The English text adds value and improves my understanding of the subject.

8.12 The Cambus Big 5

The Cambus Big 5 panel is part of a series of interpretation panels produced by Forestry Commission Scotland for the Cambus O'May forest near Ballater in Aberdeenshire (figure 43). The panels use a VAG Rounded-Light typeface (font), with both English and Gaelic language content in black and green (#00673f) (Figure 43). The English language is positioned above the Gaelic language. The title and other text which are only in English are in green (#6eb43f). The panel has a total

word count of 283, with 259 words in English and 24 in Gaelic. The subtitle is in English and Gaelic.



Figure 43 – The Cambus Big 5 © Forestry Commission Scotland

8.12.1 Design and Layout

When asked if the overall design is clear and well ordered, of the 138 Gaelic speakers/learners, 37.7% (n=52) strongly agreed that the overall design was clear and well ordered, with a further 34% (n=47) agreeing with the statement. Of the non-Gaelic speakers (n=167), 19.8% (n=33) strongly agreed, with 50.3% (n=84) agreeing (Figure 44). There were slightly more non-Gaelic speakers who disagreed with the statement (n=20).

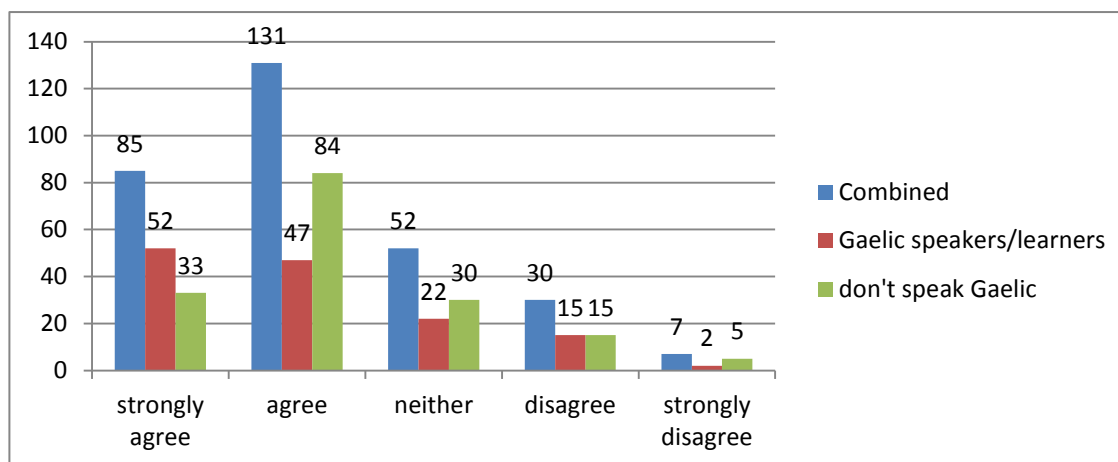


Figure 44 – Cambus Big 5 –Design and Layout

8.12.2 Typeface and Colour

When asked about the typeface and colour, overall 56% (n=170) agreed and strongly agreed that it was easy to identify the language they wanted to read (Figure 45). Gaelic speakers and learners found this less effective than those who did not speak Gaelic, with 27.5% neither agreeing nor disagreeing and 26.1% strongly agreeing, compared to 52.7% agreeing and 28.7% neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

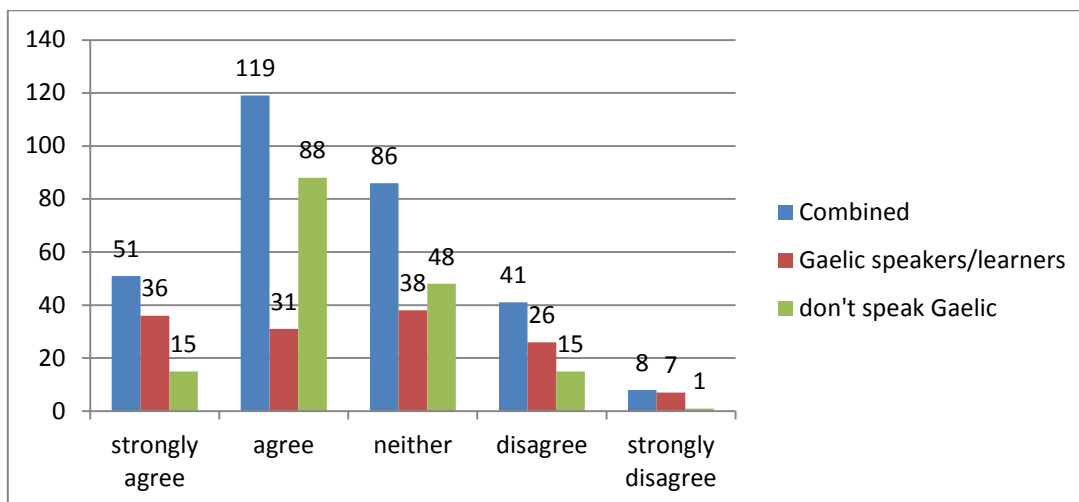


Figure 45 – Cambus Big 5 – Typeface and Colour

8.12.3 Position of Text

Overall, 46.9% (n=143) found that the position of the text made it easy to identify the language they wanted to read (Figure 46). This was followed by almost a quarter of participants who disagreed (n=76, 24.9%). However, Gaelic speakers felt that the position of the text was likely to help them identify the language, with less than half (n=63, 45.7%) agreeing with the statement.

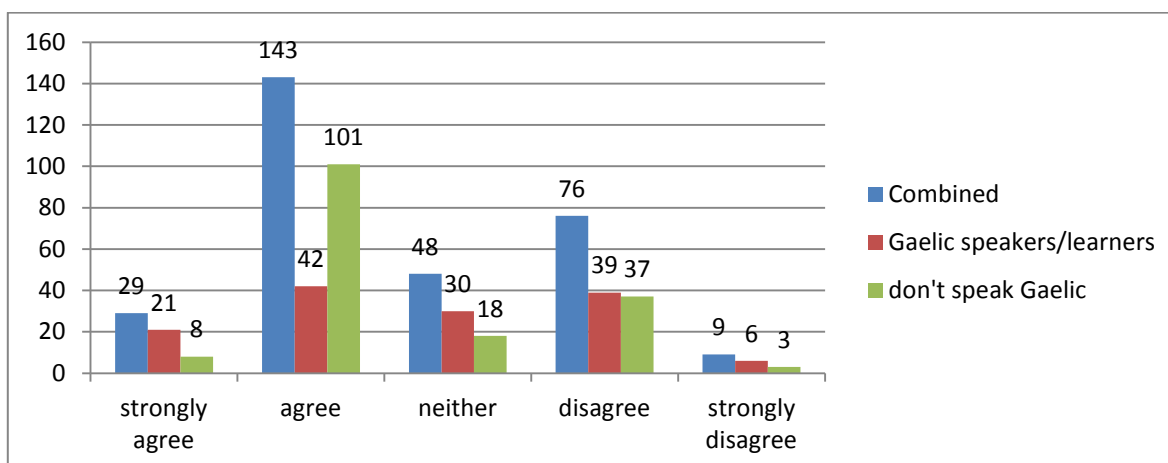


Figure 46 – Cambus Big 5 – Position of Text

8.12.4 Added Value and Understanding from Gaelic Language Text

Over half of respondents (n=172, 56.4%) strongly disagreed that the Gaelic language text added to value or improved understanding to their experience. It must be noted that 144 of these respondents were non-Gaelic speakers (Figure 47). For Gaelic speakers and learners, only 28.3% (n=39) agreed and 19.6% (n=27) neither agreed nor disagreed with this statement. Of the non-Gaelic speakers, only three respondents (1.8%) agreed that they gained value and understanding from the Gaelic language text.

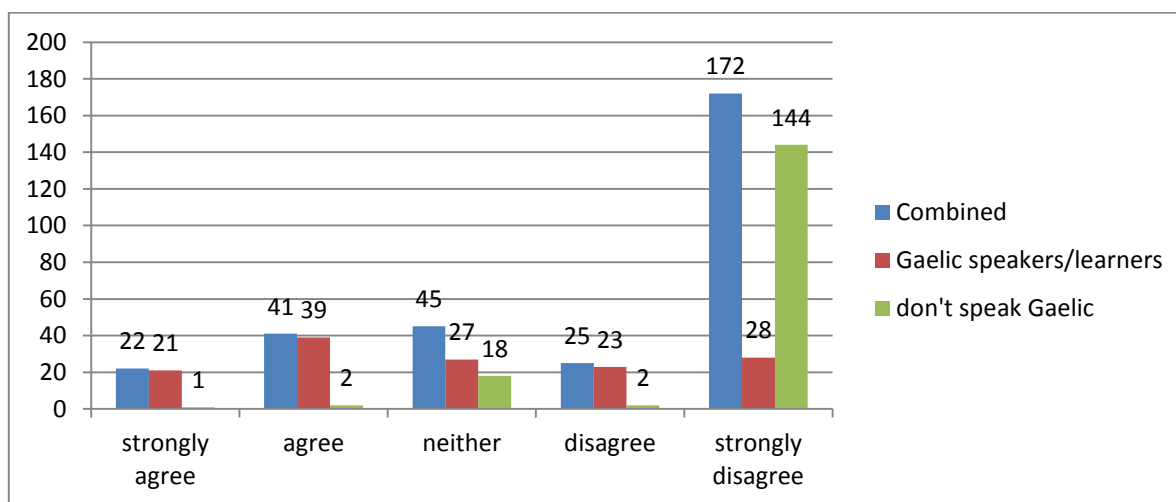


Figure 47 – Cambus Big 5 – Value and Understanding of Gaelic Language Text

8.12.5 Added Value and Understanding from English Language Text

In a reverse of the above results, 78.4% (n=239) of the respondents felt that the English text added value and improved their understanding (Figure 48). Gaelic speakers and learners were less positive, with 43.5% (n=60) strongly agreeing/agreeing and 19.6% (n=27) neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

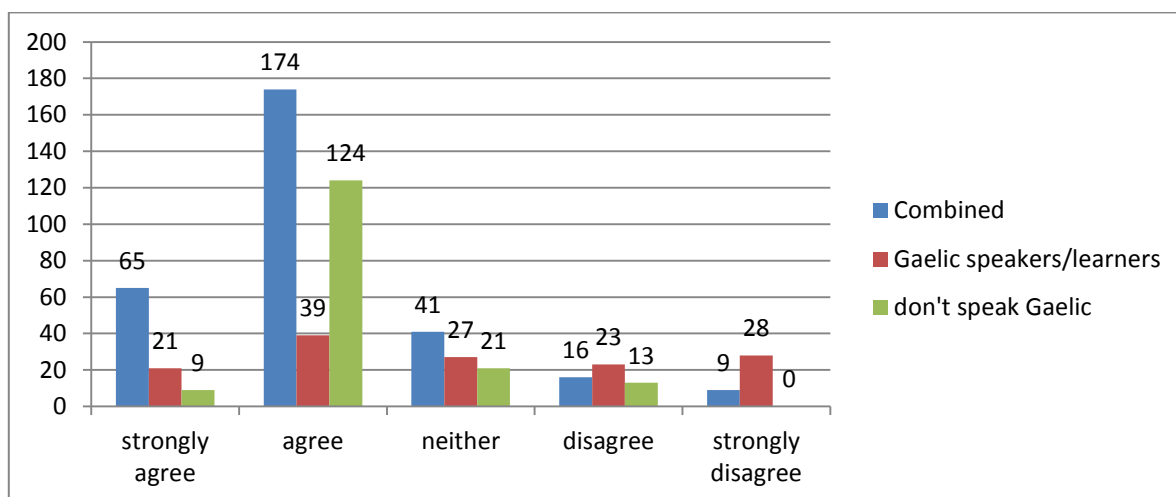


Figure 48 – Cambus Big 5 – Value and Understanding of English Language Text

The results for this panel, as with all of the panels tested, should be considered in their wider context. Participants were asked to rate the panels, reflecting personal preferences and the ease with which they negotiated the panel content. Participants' language preferences, and understanding of the situation relating to

the demise of the Gaelic language and efforts to support the use of Gaelic inevitably influenced participants' responses to the questions.

8.13 Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church

The Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church is part of a series of panels produced by Historic Scotland for St Clement's Church at Rodal on the Isle of Harris. The panels use the Vesta typeface, with the title in white and beige colours for both Gaelic and English languages (Figure 49). The body text for Gaelic is in black, with the English in brown (#643d21). The inset text for Gaelic is in white with English in beige (#e7d2b9). The Gaelic text is positioned above/first the English text. The panel has a total of 344 words, with 151 in English and 193 in Gaelic.



Figure 49 – Tùr Chliamainn © Historic Scotland

8.13.1 Design and Layout

Over three-quarters (n=235) of all respondents felt that the overall design of the Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church panel was clear and well ordered (Figure 50). Slightly more Gaelic speakers and learners (n=55, 39.9%) strongly agreed with the statement than non-Gaelic speakers, with more of them (n=77, 46.1%) agreeing with the statement.

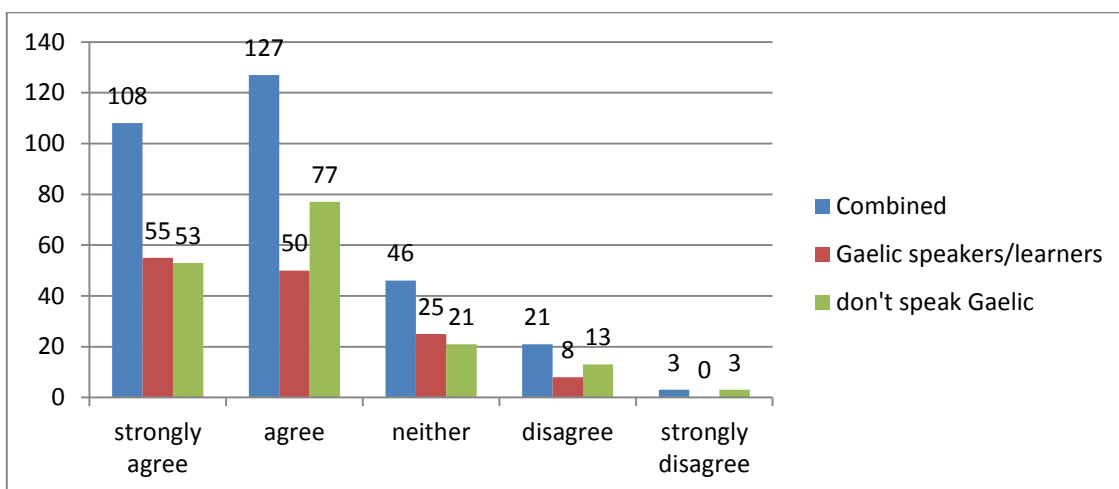


Figure 50 – Tùr Chliamainn –Design and Layout

8.13.2 Typeface and Colour

As can be seen from Figure 51, many respondents felt that the typeface and colour used on the panel made it easy to identify the language they wanted to read. Those with some knowledge of Gaelic were more positive, with 34% (n=47) strongly agreeing and 41.3% (n=57) agreeing, compared to 12% (n=20) of non-Gaelic speakers strongly agreeing and 61.7% (n=103) agreeing.

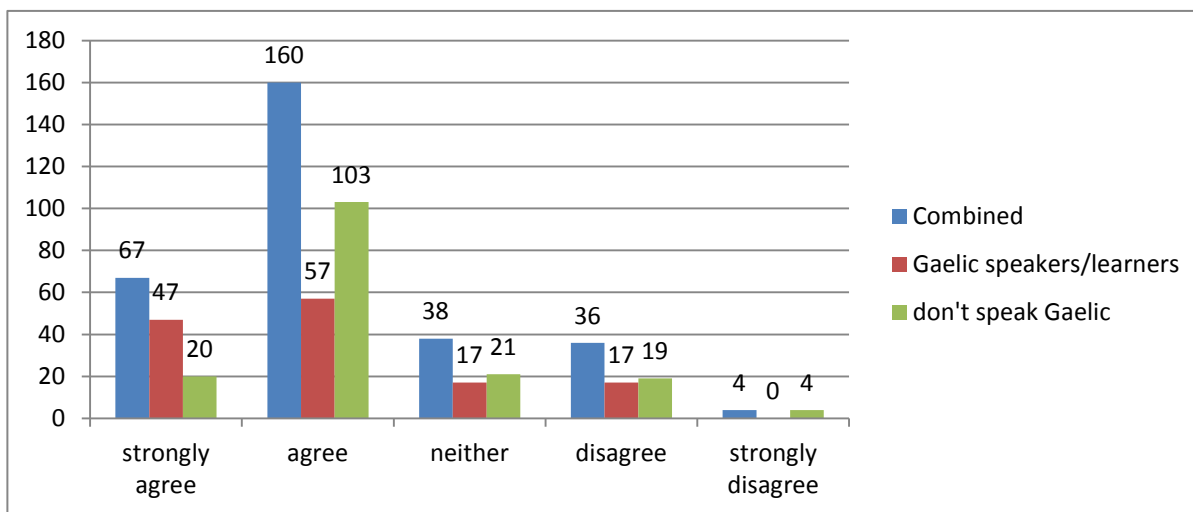


Figure 51 – Tùr Chliamainn – Typeface and Colour

8.13.3 Position of Text

Asked whether the position of text made it easy to identify the language they wanted to read, the majority of both Gaelic and non-Gaelic speakers felt positive about it, with 34.1% (n=47) of Gaelic speakers and 21% (n=35) of non-Gaelic speakers strongly agreeing and 46.4% (n=64) of Gaelic speakers and 64.1% (n=107) of non-Gaelic speakers agreeing (Figure 52).

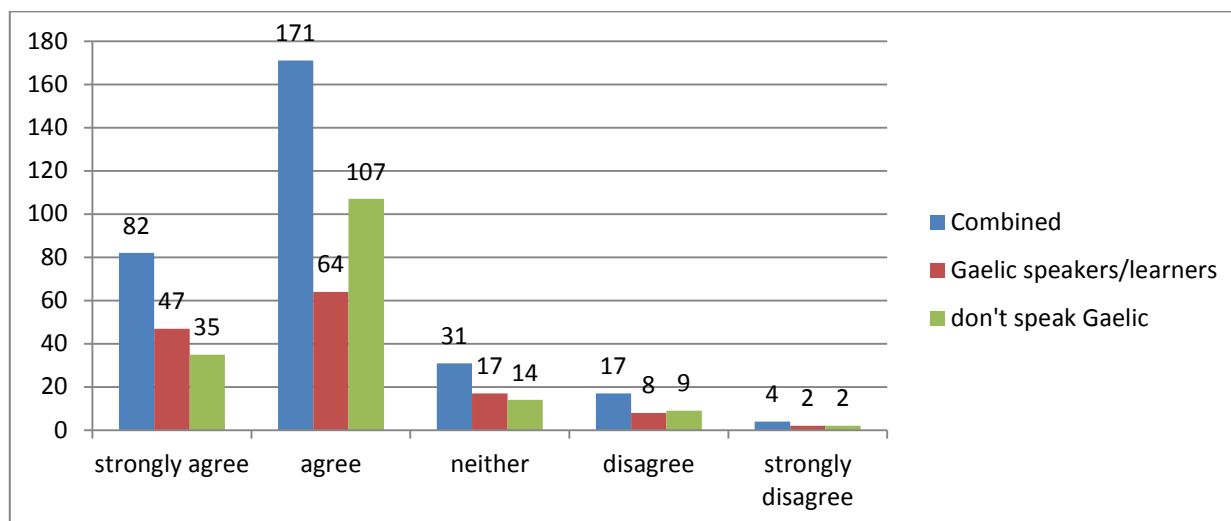


Figure 52 – Tùr Chliamainn – Position of Text

8.13.4 Added Value and Understanding from Gaelic Language Text

As Figure 53 shows, there was a strong disagreement between the Gaelic and non-Gaelic speakers on whether the Gaelic text added value and improved understanding of the interpretation panel. Gaelic speakers felt that the Gaelic text did add value and improve understanding, with 30 respondents (21.7%) strongly agreeing and 56 (40.6%) agreeing with the question. However, 144 (86.2%) of non-Gaelic speakers strongly disagreed that the Gaelic text added any value or improved understanding.

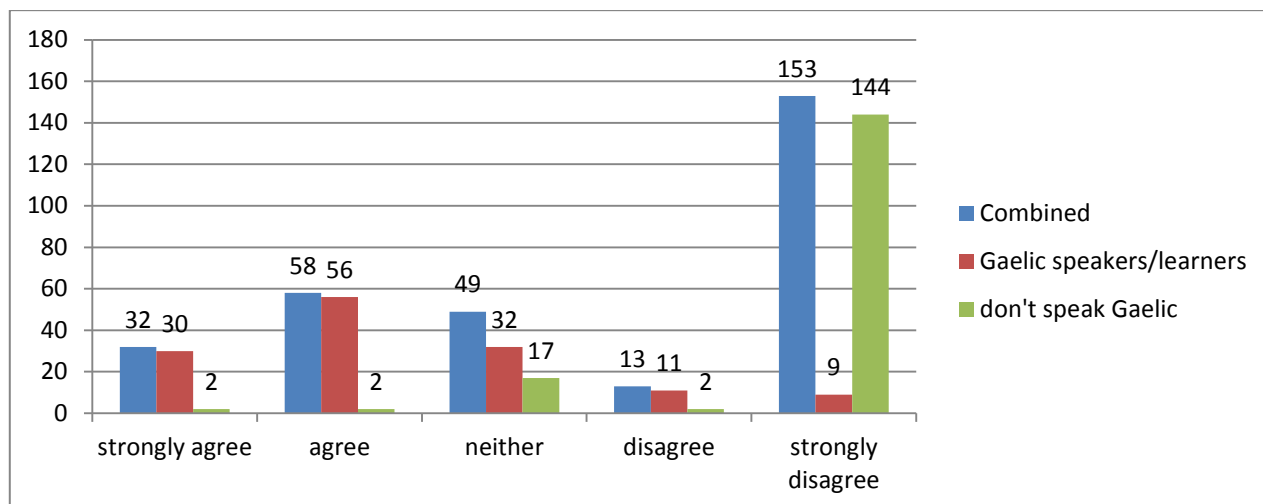


Figure 53 – Tùr Chliamainn – Value and Understanding of Gaelic Language Text

8.13.5 Added Value and Understanding from English Language Text

When questioned about the added value and understanding gained from the English language text, more Gaelic speaking respondents (n=60, 43.5%) strongly agreed than non-Gaelic speakers (n=10, 6%), but this could be explained by the large number of Gaelic learners amongst respondents (n=96). The majority of non-Gaelic speakers (n=136, 81.4%) agreed that the English text added value and improved understanding, with 53 (38.4%) of the Gaelic speaking participants also agreeing.

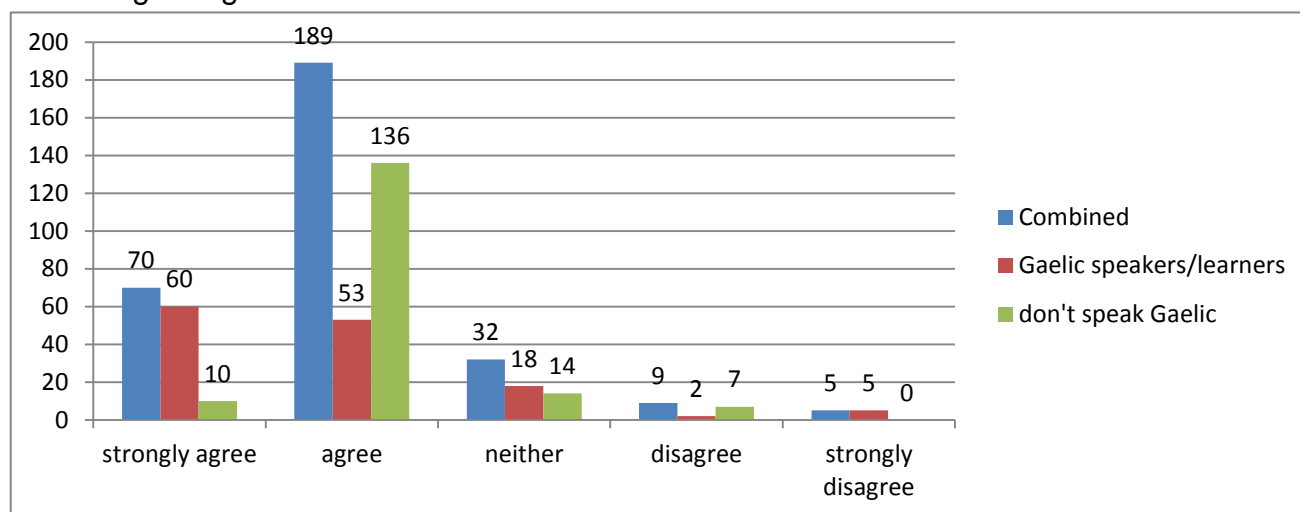


Figure 54 – Tùr Chliamainn – Value and Understanding of English Language Text

8.14 What would you do?/Dè a dhèanadh tusa?

The What would you do?/Dè a dhèanadh tusa? panel is part of a series of panels produced by the National Trust for Scotland for the Balmacara Estate in Ross-shire (figure 55). The panels use the Optima typeface, in both normal and italic. The title and some body text is in black for English language and in green (#575f52) for Gaelic. The additional text for Gaelic is in black, with the English in blue (#336a88). The English language text is positioned above/first the Gaelic language text. The panel has a total of 638 words, with 306 in English (42 for the image caption which is not provided in Gaelic) and 319 words in Gaelic.



Figure 55 – What would you do? © National Trust for Scotland

8.14.1 Design and Layout

Overall, the highest number of participants agreed (n=137, 44.9%) with the statement that the overall design was clear and well ordered (Figure 56). Slightly more of the non-Gaelic speaking respondents (58.7%) responded positively to this question than Gaelic speakers (57.3%), with more Gaelic speaking respondents neither agreeing or disagreeing (n=39, 28.3%).

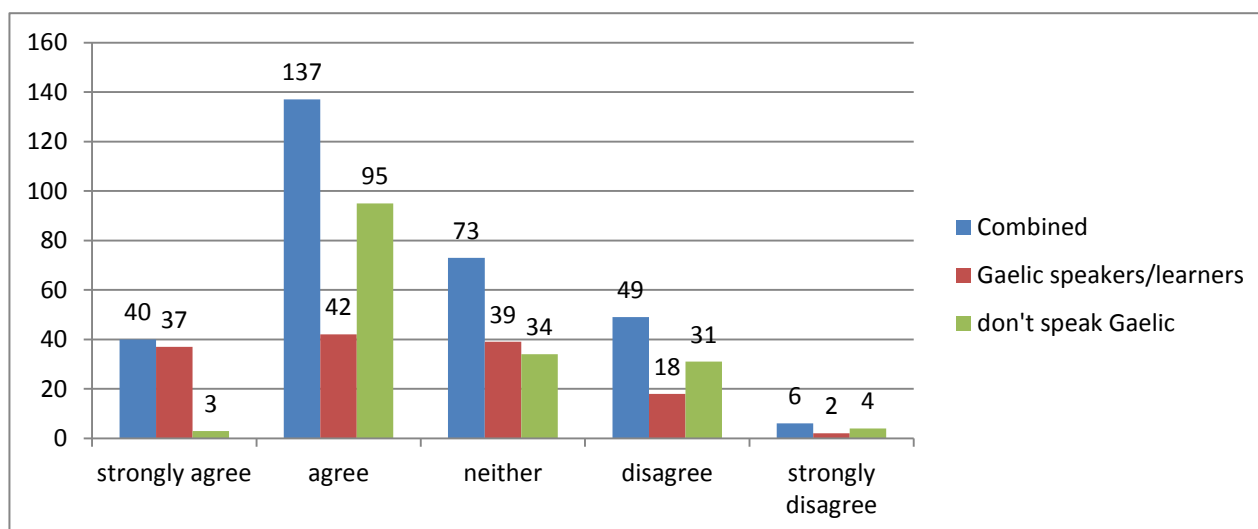


Figure 56 – What would you do? –Design and Layout

8.14.2 Typeface and Colour

The majority of participants (n=193, 63.3%) felt that typeface and colour made it easy to identify the language they wanted to read (Figure 57). Whilst a higher percentage of Gaelic speaking respondents (26.1%) strongly agreed with the question compared to non-Gaelic speakers, just over a quarter of Gaelic speakers (25.4%) disagreed or strongly disagreed.

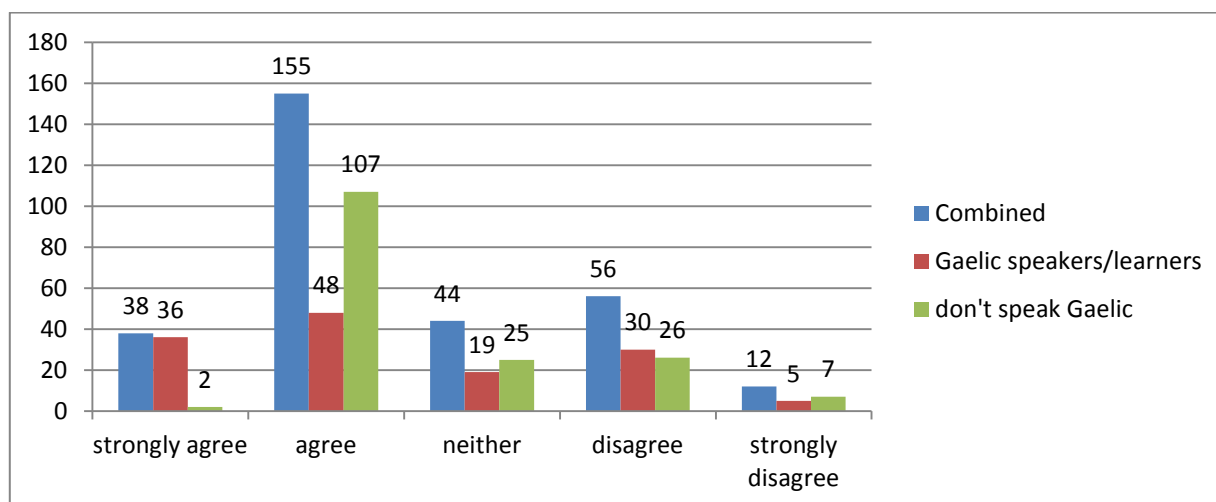


Figure 57 – What would you do? – Typeface and Colour

8.14.3 Position of Text

The highest number of participants agreed (n=144, 47.2%) with the statement that the position of the text made it easy to identify the language they wanted to read (Figure 58). Gaelic speakers and learners agreed (n=45, 32.6%) or strongly agreed (n=39, 28.3%) with this statement, compared to those who did not read Gaelic with 59.3% (n=99) who agreed.

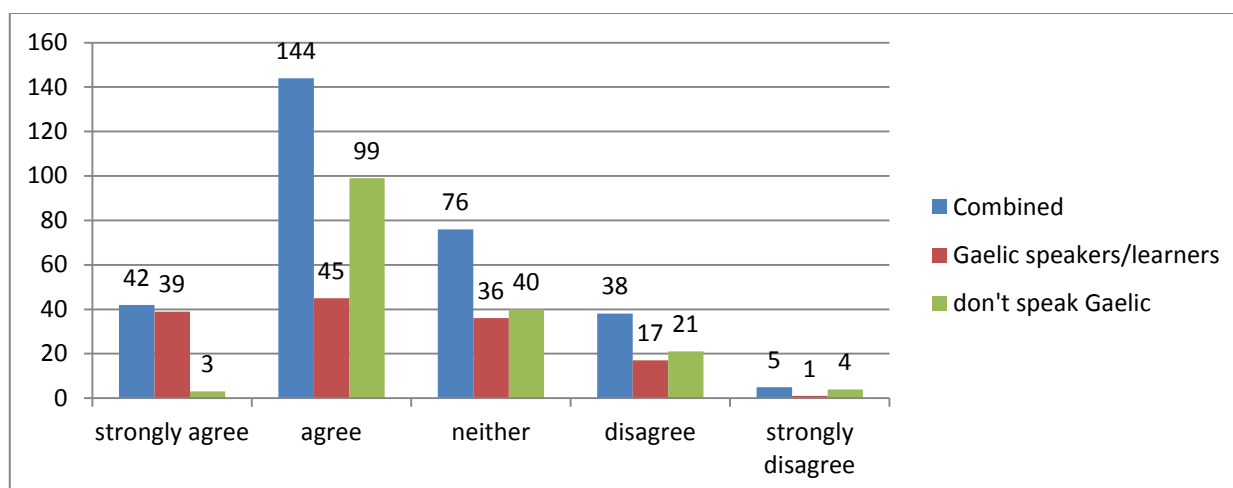


Figure 58 – What would you do? – Position of Text

8.14.4 Added Value and Understanding from Gaelic Language Text

Once again, Figure 59 shows that the majority (n=144, 86.2%) of non-Gaelic speaking respondents strongly disagreed that Gaelic text added value and

improved their understanding of the subject, which can be explained by these participants' lack of knowledge of the Gaelic language.

Gaelic speakers and learners generally agreed (30.4%) or strongly agreed (27.5%) with this statement, although 21 (15.2%) of Gaelic speaking participants disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

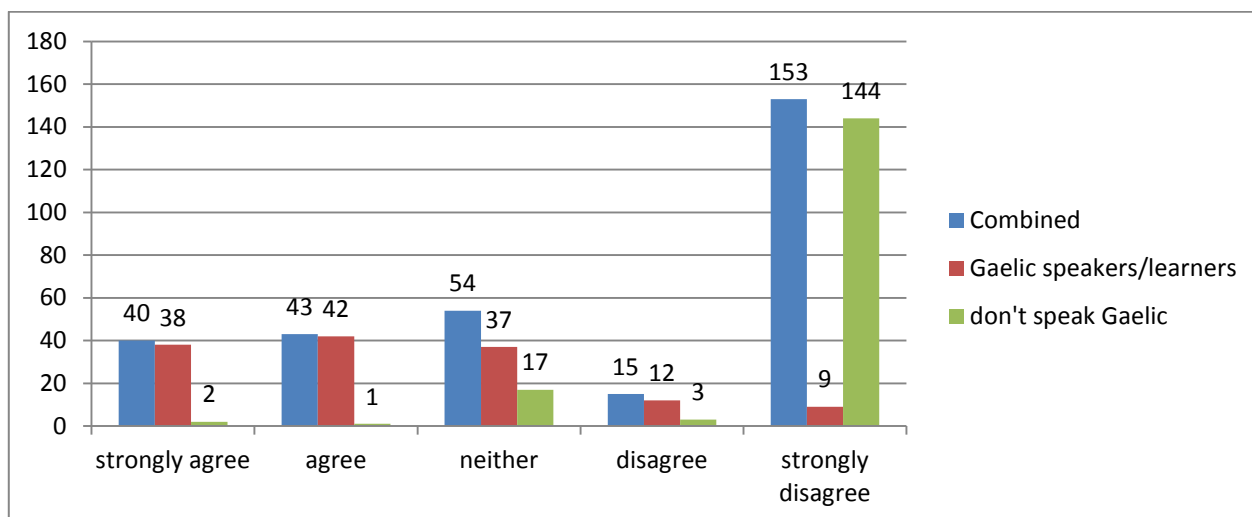


Figure 59 – What would you do? – Value and Understanding of Gaelic Language Text

8.14.5 Added Value and Understanding from English Language Text

As with the previous examples, over three-quarters (n=104, 75.4%) of the Gaelic speaking participants felt that the English text added value and improved their learning of the subject, which can be explained by the number of Gaelic learners in the sample.

Non-Gaelic speaking respondents generally agreed that the English text added value and improved their understanding of the subject, with 130 (77.8%) agreeing with the statement.

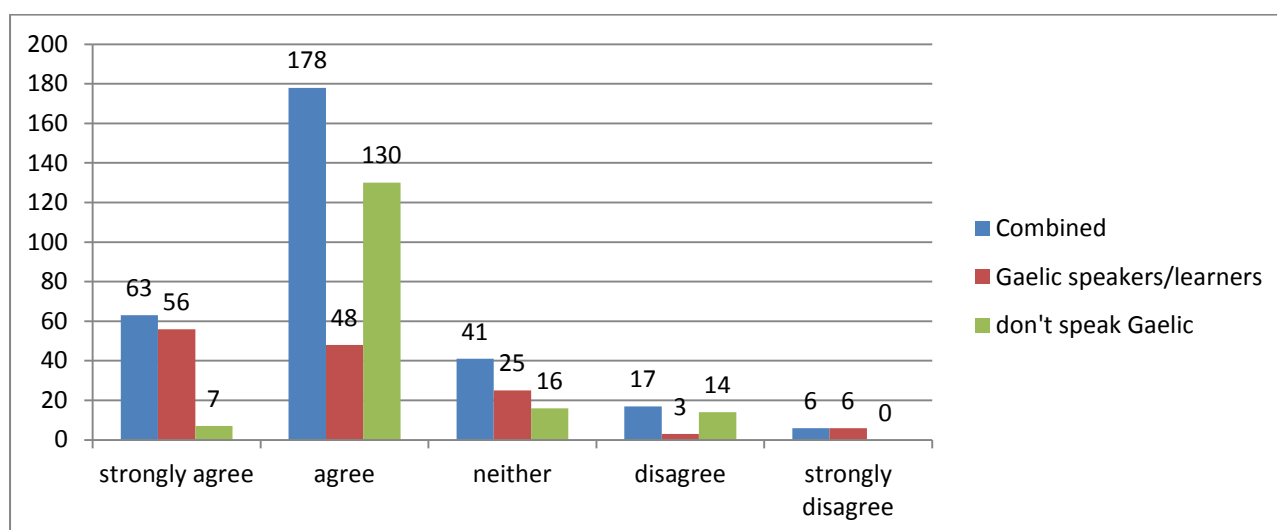


Figure 60 – What would you do? – Value and Understanding of English Language Text

8.15 Beatha air an fhearann/Life on the Land

The Beatha air an fhearann/Life on the Land panel is part of a series of interpretation panels produced by Forestry Commission Scotland for Kinloch on the Isle of Skye. The panels use Gill Sans-Bold Italic typeface for the title (and Gill Sans-Bold typeface for the subtitles), with Helvetica Neue typeface used for the body text (Figure 61). The title for both the Gaelic and English languages is in dark grey (#414142). Subtitles for Gaelic are in sand (#d8be7b) with body text in white on a dark blue background (#3c5c71). The English language subtitles are in red-brown (#b87510) with body text in black on a light grey background (#e6e7e9). The Gaelic text is positioned above/first the Gaelic language text. The panel has a total of 288 words, with 146 in English and 142 in Gaelic.



Figure 61 – Beatha air an fhearann © Forestry Commission Scotland

8.15.1 Design and Layout

The majority of Gaelic speakers and learners strongly agreed (n=64, 46.4%) or agreed (n=39, 28.3%) that the overall design was clear and well ordered. For participants who don't speak Gaelic, the majority agreed (n=112, 67.1%).

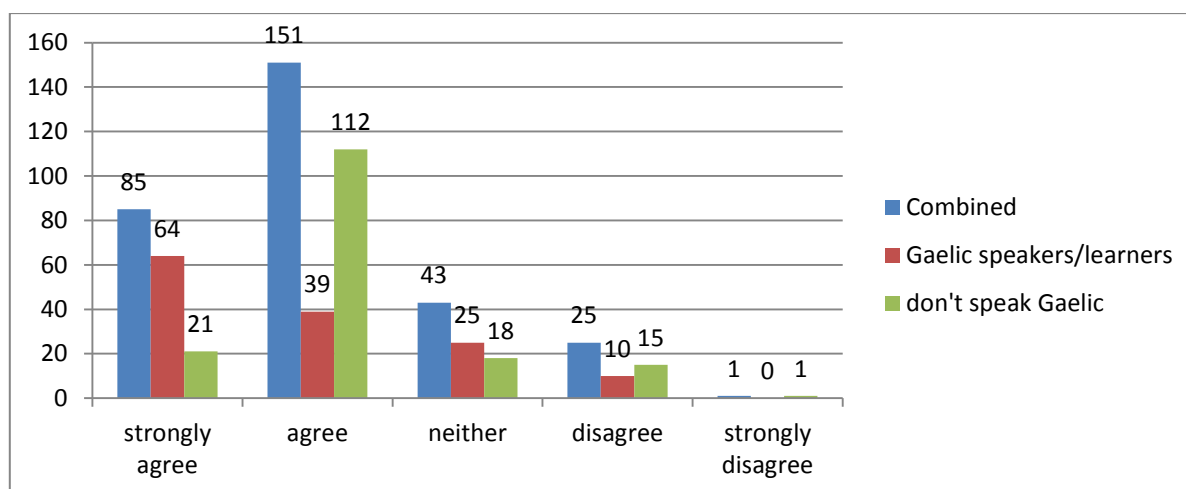


Figure 62 – Beatha air an fhearann –Design and Layout

8.15.2 Typeface and Colour

Figure 63 clearly shows that the majority (n=261, 88.6%) of participants felt that that font style and colour allowed them to easily identify the language they wished to read.

Gaelic speakers and learners responded most positively to this question, with 73 (52.9%) strongly agreeing, whilst the majority of non-Gaelic speaking respondents (n=127, 76%) generally agreed with the statement.

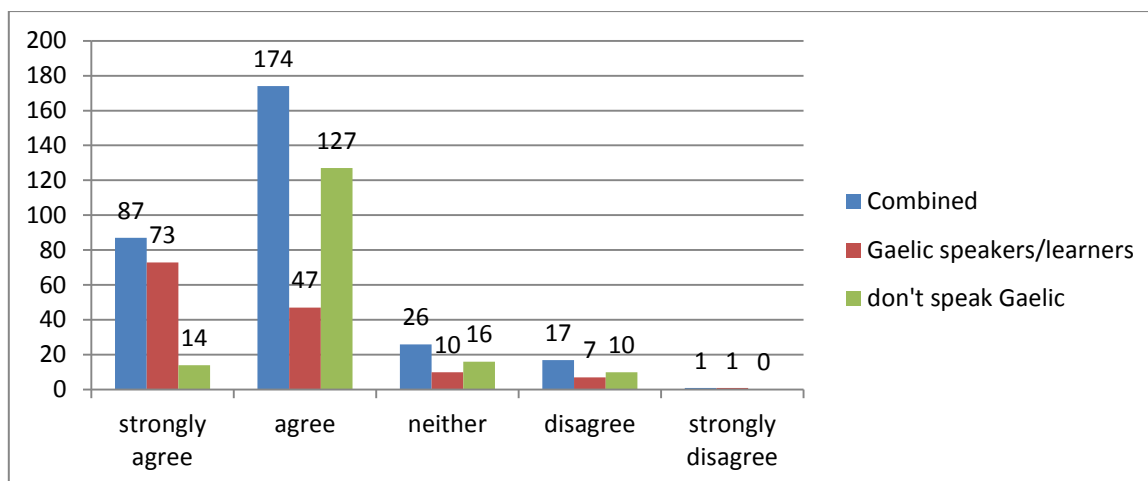


Figure 63 – Beatha air an fhearann – Typeface and Colour

8.15.3 Position of Text

Again, there was an overall positive response to this question, with 247 (81%) of all respondents feeling that the position of the text allowed them to easily identify the language they wanted to read (Figure 64).

Just as in the previous question, participants with some level of Gaelic language felt most strongly about the subject, with 70 (50.7%) strongly agreeing, compared to just 9 (5.4%) of the non-Gaelic speakers. Of this group, 73.7% (123) agreed with the statement.

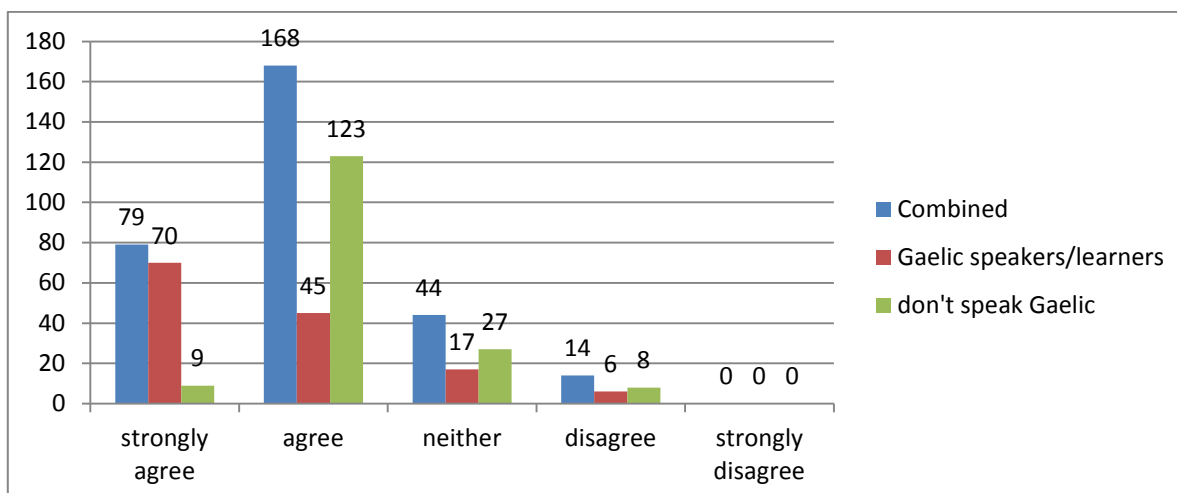


Figure 64 – Beatha air an fhearann – Position of Text

8.15.4 Added Value and Understanding from Gaelic Language Text

Continuing the trend of the other panels involved in this study, 85% (n=142) of non-Gaelic speaking participants felt no added value or improved understanding of the subject from the Gaelic language text (Figure 65). Of the Gaelic speakers and learners, 28.2% (n=39) strongly agreed and 36.2% (n=50) agreed with the statement.

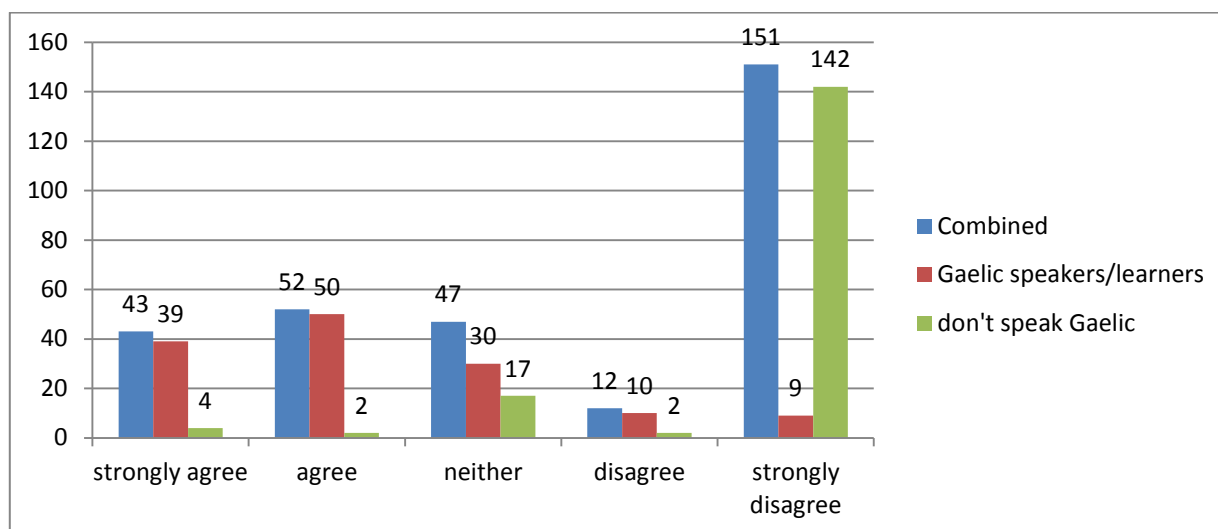


Figure 65 – Beatha air an fhearann – Value and Understanding of Gaelic Text

8.15.5 Added Value and Understanding from English Language Text

Again, there is a much more positive response to the added value and improvement of understanding that the English language text affords (Figure 66). Of non-Gaelic speaking participants, 80.8% (n=135) answered in the affirmative along with 44.9% (n=62) of Gaelic speakers who strongly agreed and 34.8% (n=48) who agreed, which again could be explained by participant's level of Gaelic knowledge.

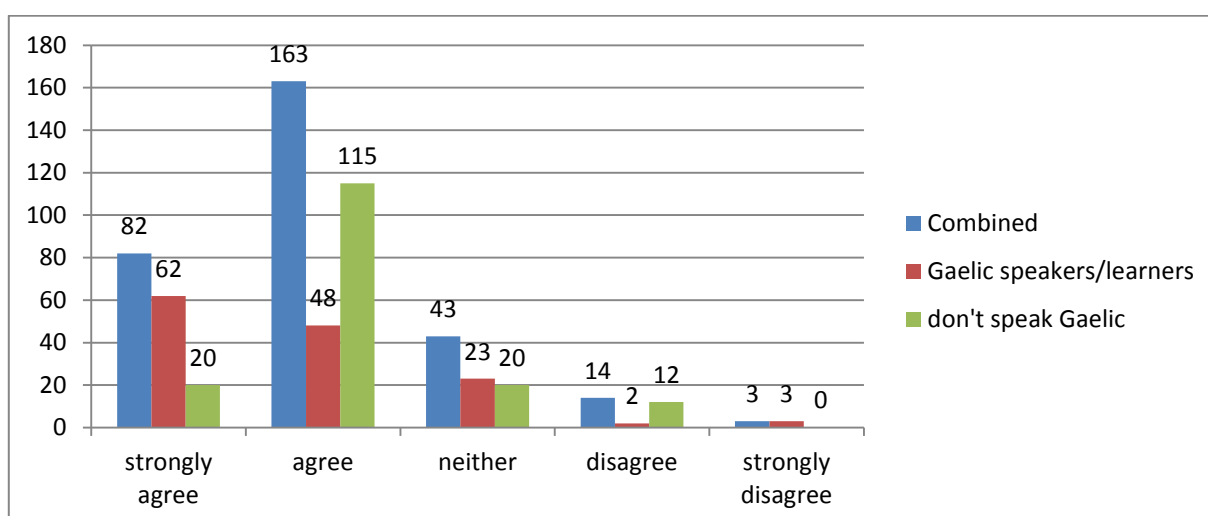


Figure 66 – Beatha air an fhearann – Value and Understanding of English Language Text

8.16 The Inclusion of Gaelic and English Content at Heritage Sites

As the final part of the survey, participants were asked two questions relating to the provision of Gaelic language at heritage sites, and one relating to whether there were subjects that should always be communicated in the Gaelic language.

8.16.1 Information at Heritage Sites and Museums in Gaelic-Speaking Areas

Participants were asked to indicate whether information at heritage sites and museums in Gaelic-speaking areas should be:

- Equally in Gaelic and English
- A majority in Gaelic with a summary in English
- A majority in English with a summary in Gaelic
- Only in Gaelic
- Only in English
- Other.

As can be seen from Figure 67, 73.4% (n=224) of the respondents felt that information at heritage sites and museums in Gaelic-speaking areas should be shown equally in Gaelic and English languages. However, over a quarter (n=45, 27.5%) of the non-Gaelic speakers felt that the information should only be in English.

Interestingly, five (3.6%) Gaelic speakers felt that information should be presented in English with only a summary in the Gaelic language, and there was a nil response to the idea that information at heritage sites and museums in Gaelic-speaking areas should only be provided in Gaelic.

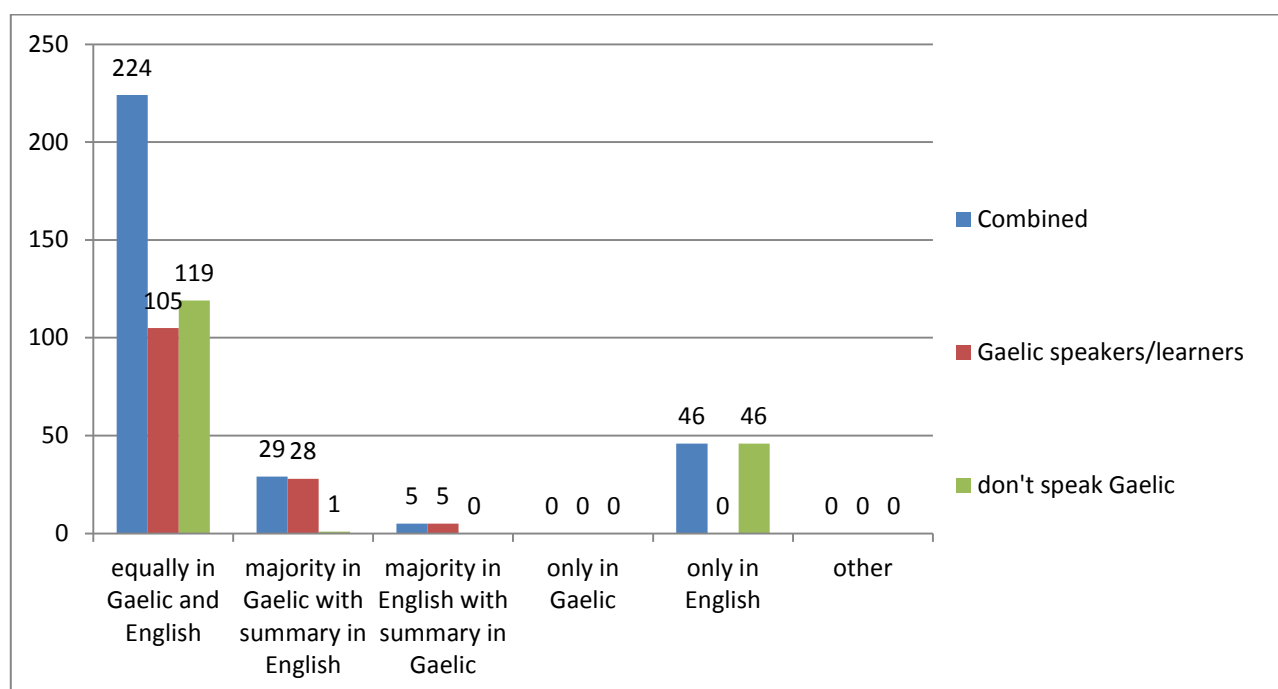


Figure 67 – Information at Heritage Sites in Gaelic-Speaking Areas

8.16.2 Information at Heritage Sites and Museums Across all of Scotland

Participants were then asked to indicate whether information at heritage sites and museums across Scotland should be:

- Equally in Gaelic and English
- A majority in Gaelic with a summary in English
- A majority in English with a summary in Gaelic
- Only in Gaelic
- Only in English
- Other.

When asked about the presentation of information at heritage sites and museums across the whole of Scotland, figure 68 shows a clear divide in attitudes between the groups. Overall, the largest single answer was that information should only be presented in English, with 42.6% (n=130) of respondents choosing this option. This group consisted of 126 respondents who did not speak Gaelic and 4 who spoke some level of Gaelic.

The option of presenting information equally in Gaelic and English was the choice of 41.3% of all respondents (n=126), with 94 Gaelic speakers and 32 non-Gaelic speakers choosing this response. The third most popular response was the majority of information being presented in English, with a summary in Gaelic, which was chosen by 42 respondents (13.8%). Of these, 35 were Gaelic speakers and learners and 7 were non-Gaelic speakers.

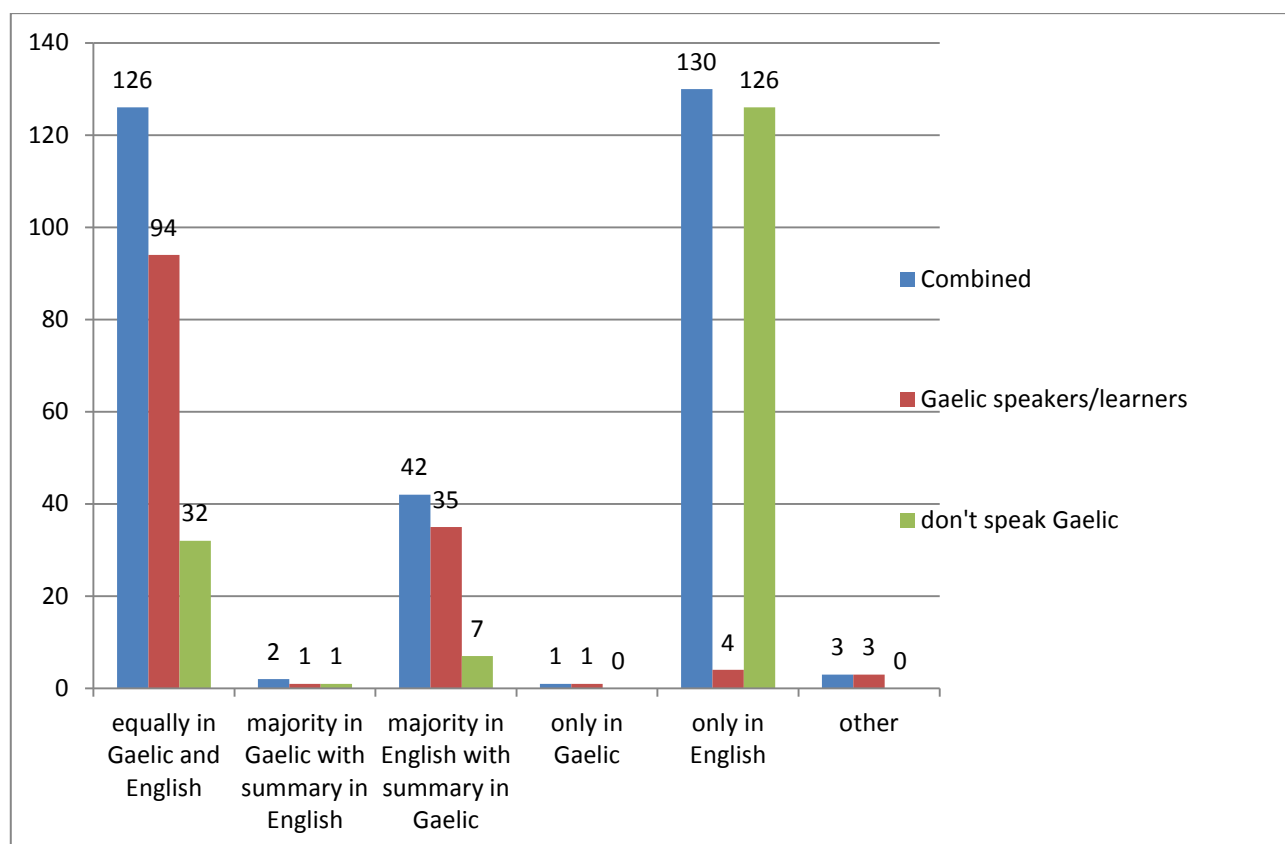


Figure 68 – Information at Heritage Sites Across Scotland

8.16.3 **Are there Subjects that Should Always be Communicated in Gaelic?**

Participants were also asked (by indicating 'yes' or 'no') if there were any subjects that should always be communicated in Gaelic. The majority of participants (n=203, 66.6%) stated that there were not subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic. Analysis of data reflects contrasting views between Gaelic speakers and learners and participants who did not speak Gaelic. Almost two-thirds of Gaelic speakers and learners (n=89, 64.4%) stated that there were subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic, with only 8.4% (n=14) of participants who did not speak Gaelic agreeing with this.

Only a small number of respondents provided details with their 'yes' answers, with Gaelic culture and history and place-names, the recurring responses.

8.17 **Summary of Off-Site Testing Data**

8.17.1 **Lewis Chessmen Test Materials**

The off-site testing suggests that the inclusion of Gaelic language content, delivered by bilingual or summary panels, did not increase knowledge gain amongst participants. As all Gaelic speakers and learners can also speak and read English, the provision of Gaelic language content did not improve their knowledge gain scores. In addition, the majority of respondents stated that Gaelic language content made no difference to their understanding of the subject.

Fluent Gaelic speakers gained most from the content being provided in the Gaelic language, particularly the bilingual approach. However, Gaelic learners found the Gaelic language content difficult to understand based on their limited language abilities. Interestingly, some participants noted that the bilingual materials were not direct translations, reflecting their attempts to use the English language content to understand what was written in the Gaelic language. With more Gaelic learners responding positively to the Gaelic language summary text than to the fully bilingual content, it is important to test these results further, particularly in terms of different interpretation writing styles and levels of language complexity. This will help to clarify which Gaelic language summary approach is most effective for Gaelic learners.

8.17.2 **Interpretive Panel Design and Layout**

The 'Beatha air an fhearann/Life on the land' and 'Tùr Chliamainn/St Clement's Church' panels were the most effective for all participants. Both panels use easily legible and distinguishable typefaces; a clear typeface hierarchy across titles, subtitles, body copy and captions; clear and easy to recognise typeface colours; and uncomplicated backgrounds.

By contrast, the 'What would you do?/Dè a dhèanadh tusa?' panel was the least popular overall. This is reflected in results for both Gaelic speakers and learners, and participants who did not speak Gaelic. The panel is fully bilingual, but uses an italic font for a large part of the text, and the design incorporates significantly more text than the other panels (638 words). As best practice guidance recommends keeping text short, the amount of text or read (in each language) maybe have impact on participants' responses, in this instance.

8.17.3 Gaelic and English Information at Heritage Sites

The majority of participants, both Gaelic speakers and learners and those who did not speak Gaelic, felt that information should be provided equally in Gaelic and English languages at heritage sites in Gaelic speaking areas. This may reflect a wider interest in seeing the Gaelic language used and promoted in areas where it is most commonly spoken.

In contrast, whilst the majority of Gaelic speakers and learners indicated that information should be provided equally in Gaelic and English languages at heritage sites across Scotland, non-Gaelic speakers clearly indicated a preference for information in English language only. Additional comments made by non-Gaelic speakers provide reasons for this difference, including a lack of cultural heritage context; and the use of Gaelic to the exclusion of other languages, for example Doric. Interestingly, this reflects the current debate in Canada (Evans, 2002)

This split of opinion is reflected in responses to the question of whether there are subjects that should always be presented in the Gaelic language. The majority of Gaelic speakers and learners indicated that there are subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic, whereas participants who did not speak Gaelic clearly stated that there were not.

9 Summary and Conclusions

This research project has focused on a wide range of issues and factors relating to the inclusion of Gaelic and English languages in visitor interpretation. The research has explored the complexity and the issues that arise when producing multilanguage content, alongside the roles language plays as a medium for communication and as a cultural identifier within a wider linguistic landscape

9.1 The profile and status of Gaelic

9.1.1 Awareness and appreciation of Gaelic

Language policy is generally enacted through language management, languages practices and language beliefs (Spolsky 2004). Whilst research on language has tended to focus on speakers and not their environment there is a developing field of study in respect 'language in the public space' or 'language ecology' which is essentially concerned with the visibility of languages (Shohamy 2006: 110-133) and has given rise to a growing understanding of language visibility as an element of language policy within a linguistic landscape. A number of initiatives in Scotland reflect this growing awareness: bilingual gateway and welcome signs along border routes; bilingual signs at railway stations signs across Scotland; all raise awareness of the Gaelic language in Scotland.

The purpose of interpretation is to affect meaningful relationships between objects, places and people in support of organisational aims, generally including cultural education and conservation. As such, interpretation seeks to achieve learning; emotional; and behavioural objectives (Veverka 1994: 45-47).

On-site and off-site research findings clearly indicate that the inclusion of Gaelic language content increased awareness of Gaelic language and heritage amongst participants. However, the research findings identified that the inclusion of Gaelic language content had no discernible impact on knowledge gain; a fundamental objective of interpretation. The primary reason for this is that whilst the bilingual test materials provided choice for Gaelic readers and were more popular, all Gaelic speakers also read the English language text. Interestingly, the Gaelic language summary test materials provided little benefit to this, the target group, and as such the utility and target audience of this approach should be reviewed.

The research data also identified that the majority of Gaelic learners did not use the bilingual test materials, instead preferring the Gaelic language summary approach, though only 50% engaged in any way with the Gaelic language text. Most read the English language text. This may reflect the complexity of the language used in the Gaelic summary text (and bilingual text) which is currently aimed at fluent Gaelic speakers – not Gaelic learners.

For non-Gaelic speakers Gaelic, the inclusion of Gaelic language undoubtedly increased their awareness of the Gaelic language as part of a symbolic function relating to the broader linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997), and participants in the on-site testing at Arnol Blackhouse linked language to the 'atmosphere' of the site. However, it has no impact on their understanding of the site and its heritage whereas, in contrast, Gaelic related content delivered in English language text had a significant impact on appreciation and knowledge gain.

Given the purposes and objectives of interpretation, it is evident that English language interpretation is most effective in creating awareness and appreciation of Gaelic heritage and Gaelic language. However, it is also evident that use of Gaelic language can add to the 'sense of place' of a site and increase visitors' awareness of Gaelic culture and heritage.

Given the research question "How best can awareness and appreciation of Gaelic among visitors be enhanced, without compromising the efficacy of the interpretation?", the findings indicate that whilst there is a role for the Gaelic language in raising awareness of Gaelic as part of a wider linguistic landscape, Gaelic language text, as present, plays a far less significant role in increasing appreciation, understanding and perceived value. In addition, the baseline survey convincingly identified the increased cost and resource and decreased content implications of bi- and multilingual strategies. As such not only can the efficacy of a single interpretive panel be effected, but also the wider site, the interpretation team and the wider organisation whose primary role may not be one of language promotion.

It is clear that currently, and in response to audience needs and Gaelic language ability within the population, there remains a requirement for the majority of visitor interpretation to be provided in the English language. However, the utility of the Gaelic summary approach should be reviewed, particularly outside the main Gaelic language speaking areas, where the use of less complex Gaelic language text words may better suit the needs of Gaelic learners, and therefore serve a more explicit educational function.

9.1.2 Promoting choice of Gaelic language interpretation across Gaelic users

Under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 Bòrd na Gàidhlig aims to promote and facilitate the use and understanding of the Gaelic language, including increasing its profile in tourism and heritage (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007: 13). Within this context, the inclusion of Gaelic related content and Gaelic language in visitor interpretation at heritage sites may be viewed as part of the wider Scottish Government strategy to halt the decline in the use of Gaelic. It may also therefore be seen within the developing (or resurging) linguistic landscape which has seen an increase in Gaelic across written media more generally (Pedersen 1995: 293) and as having a role in promoting choice of Gaelic among Gaelic users. The findings from the off-site testing clearly show that only fluent Gaelic speakers engaged with the bilingual Gaelic materials and whilst they also engaged with the Gaelic language summary materials, they showed a preference for the former. In contrast, Gaelic learners did not engage with the bilingual materials and whilst some engaged with the Gaelic language summary materials, the complexity of the language meant that most reverted to using the English language text to help them translate and understand the Gaelic. Non-Gaelic speaking participants engaged only with the English language materials.

These findings suggest that given the choice, fluent Gaelic speakers will engage with Gaelic language visitor interpretation materials. They also suggest that if the choice of Gaelic language is to be encouraged by other groups e.g. Gaelic learners, then interpretation needs to respond to their specific needs.

Literacy of Gaelic readers and learners (in Gaelic) is generally lower than in English (McLeod, 2006: 5) and whilst Gaelic education is becoming more popular and widespread, and the literacy gap closing (O'Hanlon, McLeod and Paterson 2010), it

is still there. And whilst the discussion above suggests that Gaelic language visitor interpretation has the potential to serve a more explicit education function, caution is needed. Whilst literal translation may make this process easier for learners, the resulting content in Gaelic is invariably poor quality and will not adhere to interpretation best practice such as keeping text short, avoiding jargon, complicated words, and formal prose (see section 3.7.3) nor will it benefit other Gaelic users, i.e. fluent Gaelic speakers.

These findings, when considered alongside the fact that participants in both the on- and off-site research were generally supportive of the inclusion of dual-language Gaelic-English visitor interpretation across Gaelic speaking areas, suggest that in Gaelic speaking areas the research question “How best the choice of Gaelic as the language of interpretation by Gaelic users be encouraged, with cognisance to various groups?”, a combination of approaches is used, including:

- Bilingual (Gaelic-English) languages, providing separate texts on the same subject for Gaelic and English audiences. Gaelic is prioritised and positioned left/first
- Bilingual (Gaelic-English) languages with dedicated Gaelic learner content using simplified Gaelic language. As above but including a simplified version of the core text which is also provided in Gaelic and English, or, a separate piece of text, or, captions to images, etc. The utility of this option would be to support Gaelic learning in Gaelic speaking areas, although it would not provide direct translation.

This may possibly be adopted as the format for the welcome and introduction panel to a site/content panel in an exhibition.

Relatedly, it might also be suggested that in adjacent geographical areas, where Gaelic awareness will be higher and where Gaelic is may be more actively promoted and supported, the larger Gaelic learner community might benefit from a combination of approaches, including:

- English with Gaelic summary, providing content mainly in English language but with dedicated Gaelic learner content using simplified Gaelic language. As above, this could be a simplified version of the core text which is also provided in English, or, a separate piece of text, or, captions to images, etc. The utility of this option would be to support Gaelic learning in largely non-Gaelic speaking areas, although it would not provide direct translation.

This may possibly adopted as the format for the welcome and introduction panel to a site/content panel in an exhibition, or, might be the approach adopted for a site panel the subject of which has a Gaelic subject and/or specific relevance

- English language, with titles and/or matched words in Gaelic. The utility of this option would be to raise awareness of Gaelic within the wider linguistic landscape
- Bilingual (Gaelic-English) languages, providing separate texts on the same subject for Gaelic and English audiences. Gaelic is prioritised and positioned left/first. The utility of this option would be to provide bilingual visitor interpretation at sites with a particular Gaelic heritage or significance, with decisions made on a merit and case by case basis

A key factor in selecting the preferred approach is audience need and this should take place within an interpretation planning process with looks and seeks to prioritise all audiences. Future research should test approaches for their efficacy in providing choice and engaging Gaelic learners with Gaelic.

9.1.3 Sites or subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic

The findings of the off-site research show that the majority of Gaelic speakers and learners felt that there were subjects which should always be communicated in Gaelic. However, only a limited number identified subjects, including culture, history, language and place-names. Non-Gaelic speaking participants did not share this view, indicating that Gaelic is perceived and valued differently by these groups and that caution is needed in drawing any conclusions from the data.

In terms of sites, the findings from both on- and off-site testing suggest that, overall, participants were generally supportive of heritage sites and museums in the main Gaelic-speaking areas providing information in Gaelic and English and this seems to reflect the broadly held view that the use of Gaelic language in information is appropriate in geographical areas where there is a strong cultural heritage link and associated Gaelic language use. The findings of the on-site research at Arnol Blackhouse and Stanley Mills corroborate this with participants happy with the varying levels of provision at the two sites - bilingual and a Gaelic language section respectively. As such, it is clear that Gaelic language visitor interpretation is supported where it was seen as an intrinsic part of the place or an individual site or subject's message. These are clear parameters which can be taken forwards into practice.

However, when looking at wider Scotland the data suggests the situation is more complex. Whilst the off-site research findings suggest that Gaelic speakers and learners are supportive of providing Gaelic and English language information at all heritage sites and museums across Scotland, the majority of non-Gaelic speaking participants felt that information should only be provided in English. When looking at the findings of the on-site research, further complexity emerges with the majority of respondents at Arnol Blackhouse supporting the use of Gaelic and English language information across Scotland, whilst the majority of respondents at Stanley Mills were non-committal and demonstrated a central tendency bias in their responses i.e. neither/undecided. Generally, the responses appear to reflect two factors. First, is participants own language abilities. Second, is participants' response to place. What is clear, however, is that participants were aware of the context of the research and, as such, provided nuanced and some negative comments on the appropriateness of the use of Gaelic language in areas where it may not historically have been spoken and/or where other languages may be more relevant e.g. Doric in Perthshire. For this reason it is again worthwhile noting Evans' observations of the exclusionary consequences of the focus on French and English languages in Québec city. Given the small sample sizes, it is not possible to draw a clear conclusion from these findings and further research with a robust sample is clearly required to provide robust guidance on wider Scotland.

Finally, in absolute contrast to the differences of opinion amongst Gaelic speakers and learners and non-Gaelic speakers, with regards to the use of Gaelic and English

language information across Scotland, neither Gaelic speakers and learners, nor non-Gaelic speakers supported Gaelic language only visitor interpretation.

9.2 Gaelic language aspects of visitor interpretation

9.2.1 What are the practical difficulties in preparing Gaelic language content?

A number of practical difficulties arise in preparing Gaelic language content for visitor interpretation and many of these reflect the challenges encountered when producing content in more than one language. Drawing on data from the baseline survey and literature review the following issues and implications have been identified, along with the accompanying mitigating strategies:

Time. Creating visitor interpretation in more than one language increases the amount of time required. Two particular issues arise in relation to the creation of Gaelic language content:

- The need for not only a writer, or, translator, but also an editor to check the accuracy of text. As with any project, the more people involved, the more complex a project becomes and the longer takes to complete
- Primary historical and/or archival research. The creation of Gaelic related and language content in the heritage context can require primary research to be undertaken due to the currently less readily available secondary sources. Whilst this position will change in the long-term, it will be an issue in the short- and medium-term and requires adequate scheduling within projects to ensure equal accuracy and historical detail as within English language content.
- Organisations are learning to allow additional time for both aspects in project and annual work programmes, although opportunities for the sharing of knowledge should be increased.

Cost. Producing visitor interpretation in more than one language will incur additional costs, whatever the language. However, several specific issues arise in relation to the production of Gaelic related and language content:

- The involvement of both a writer and/or translator and editor team to create Gaelic language content, increase the cost of text creation
- The need to involve researchers in primary/archival research as a basis for Gaelic related and language content add additional costs to the content creation process. A point of note is that this research often rests within projects rather than being collected into a central research point for reuse and wider dissemination. The cost effectiveness of this research would be improved if a central storage and access arrangement could be put in place
- Where organisations/sites choose to not reduce English language content and but also provide interpretive media in the Gaelic language, media and associated enabling works, etc add costs to the project and can increase copyright and reproduction licence fees in relation to image use. An important point to note is that in order to avoid the perception of 'patronising' use of Gaelic language, many organisations treat it with equal status to English

language materials, whereas whilst foreign language materials are produced more cost-effectively. This 'fear of offending' underpins some of the increased costs currently encountered. The provision of robust guidance is needed to support staff in their decisions

As more organisations deliver Gaelic related and language content a body of knowledge is being developed and should be widely promulgated through organisations such as Interpret Scotland or the Centre for Interpretation Studies.

- **Competing priorities.** It is difficult to present content in a way which adheres to interpretation best practice whilst also giving each language equal treatment in bilingual interpretation panels. Whilst this research project investigated participant responses to a number of existing interpretive panels that presented different design solutions to the dilemma of dual-language visitor interpretation, an experiment-based piece of research which looked at aspects including, but not restricted to, layout, typeface, typeface colours, text hierarchies, knowledge gain, knowledge retention and affect would provide greater detail from which robust design guidance could be developed that supported both the purposes of interpretation and language policy in Scotland.
- **Language prioritisation.** The research has identified that it is impossible to avoid giving one language 'priority' in interpretation panels and other text-based media, as one language will always be placed to the top left or 'first', creating a perceived hierarchy which favours one language over another (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 120). It is hoped that the suggested approaches to Gaelic languages provided at 9.1.2 help decision-making in this regard. In addition, there is a clear and important distinction to be made between on-site visitor interpretation and its role in knowledge development and wider skills sets, and the role of welcome/orientation signage at the entrance to sites where Gaelic can be prioritised through the use of a Gaelic place-name and/or other text, signifying the Gaelic heritage of the site and locating it within the wider linguistic landscape. Acknowledging the different utility of on-site signage is important in managing visitor interpretation in the developing linguistic landscape.
- **Content reduction and knowledge impact.** Including more than one language in written interpretive media reduces the space available for content in all languages (as compared to single-language media). Using the example of an interpretation panel with a desired word count of approximately 250-300 words, for dual-language this reduces content in each language of c.125-150 words. While this problem can be alleviated through more effective editing and writing to convey the desired interpretive messages in fewer words, this does not wholly mitigate the impact. The consequence is that with less content, knowledge gain will decrease, and given the educational purpose and many heritage organisations this is problematic. Given that this discussion focuses on written interpretive media such as on-site interpretation panels and exhibitions (multimedia and websites are excluded as they can provide exponentially more screens of content) it is suggested that where dual language interpretation is delivered, organisations give consideration to mitigation strategies such as reduced guidebook costs, reduced audioguide cost to support knowledge gain. Any such strategies will need evaluation in the context of the wider visitor experience.
- **Quality of interpretation.** The baseline survey identified issues associated with the quality of content in the Gaelic language. This reflects two issues. First, interpretation

specialists are not normally fluent Gaelic language speakers. Second, fluent Gaelic language speakers are not necessarily trained and qualified interpretation specialists. Given the central role of many heritage organisations and sites in the tourism economy of Scotland and the agenda for quality enhancement in the visitor experience, there is an immediate training need that can be met through the provision of funds for specialist education and/or training.

- **Gaelic quality control.** Although orthographic conventions for Gaelic exist, local words and spellings may still be used to give a local 'flavour' to visitor interpretation. While this may provide additional benefits to local communities in terms of local vernacular being used, it may create additional issues for Gaelic speakers and learners more generally if different words/spellings are used in different locations. Organisations appear to be learning to manage this issue by the use of a Gaelic expert or editor.

- Many of the impacts arising from these issues may be mitigated through work and budget planning and the interpretation planning process itself.

9.2.2 Do different approaches enhance the emotional response of the visitor using Gaelic language interpretation?

The off-site research findings suggest that for fluent Gaelic speakers, the highest levels of knowledge gain and emotional response were generated by both the Gaelic content and language delivered by the bilingual materials and the English language materials. However, when bilingual visitor interpretation was combined with an on-site visitor experience in a Gaelic language speaking area at Arnol Blackhouse, emotional response and knowledge gain were maximised. The Gaelic summary panels were the least effective.

For Gaelic learners, the off-site research findings suggest that the highest levels of knowledge gain and emotional response were generated by the Gaelic content delivered by the English language materials. Although the Gaelic summary materials were more popular than with fluent Gaelic speakers, they failed to adequately meet Gaelic learners needs and, as a result, Gaelic learners engaged with them less. To improve the effectiveness of the Gaelic language summary approach, Gaelic language content needs to be written at an appropriate level.

Overall, emotional responses and support for Gaelic were highest across all groups at Arnol Blackhouse, suggesting that the site itself plays a significant role in generating emotional responses. This is in contrast to the lesser emotional response and support for Gaelic evidenced at Stanley Mills. In combination, these results suggest that geography may well be a factor in determining the approach and level of Gaelic related content and language that effectively adds value to visitor experience and how the combination of heritage site and visitor interpretation can play an active role in raising the profile and status of Gaelic in Scotland. However, it is important to note that even at Arnol Blackhouse where emotional response and support for Gaelic was highest, there was strong disagreement with statements that the majority and all information be provided in Gaelic.

In summary, emotional response to the Gaelic language was highest and most effective where visitors felt its use related directly to intrinsic Gaelic factors associated with the subject and/or location.

9.2.3 How can language-specific aspects be communicated in other Language interpretation?

Language-specific aspects relate to those elements of a heritage resource which have their origin in a particular language, for example literature, poetry and place-names. There are a number of considerations when communicating language-specific aspects. The quality of any 'translation', for example poetry, must be of an equal standard, taking into account different language conventions and structures (Plaza 2009). As such, literal/direct translation will normally result in a poor quality version which is not engaging, and goes against interpretation best practice. It is more important to try to communicate the essence of the content, taking into account the second language's structure and conventions.

At Stanley Mills, specially commissioned poetry and audio is provided in both Gaelic and English. The approach, which provides English versions of the Gaelic content, enables Gaelic speakers to hear and read content in that language, while providing visitors who don't speak Gaelic with an opportunity to understand the content of the exhibition while also experiencing the original language content (if desired). This provides audiences to Stanley Mills with the choice of how much or little they engage with content in each language (though the audio makes complete avoidance of either language impossible). It should be noted, however, that the investment in this kind of provision is not typical for heritage sites more widely, with associated implications for budgets and media options

9.3 English language aspects of visitor interpretation

9.3.1 What impact will the various approaches have on the English language interpretation, and how can any detrimental impact be minimised?

The off-site research looked at three approaches to language provision: English language only; Gaelic summary with majority English language; and, Gaelic-English bilingual. The research evidenced knowledge gain across all three approaches by both Gaelic speakers and learners and those who did not speak Gaelic.

An unexpected finding was that Gaelic speakers and learners knowledge gain was highest from the English language only test materials (97.6%), whilst for those who did not speak Gaelic knowledge gain was highest from the bilingual test materials (98.4%). The former might suggest Gaelic speakers' lack of confidence and ability in the Gaelic language or an inappropriate level of Gaelic language in the test materials, whilst the latter suggests that the bilingual materials captured and held participants attention with a consequent impact on learning, and suggests a previously unidentified benefit of bilingual interpretation. Given that sample sizes and percentage differences are small and the possible significance of this finding, a larger sample is strongly recommended to assess wider broader statistical significance and validity and role in determining future strategies.

In spite of this cautionary note, the suggestion that a decrease in English content within bilingual visitor interpretation does not equate to a loss of learning, opens up the possibility of adopting the Gaelic-English bilingual approach in relevant geographical areas, although a second cautionary note would be that a more widespread adoption of Gaelic-English bilingual interpretation would likely erode the

inherent fascination that captured participants attention and resulting knowledge gain during the testing over the medium- to long-term.

The Gaelic summary materials were the least effective for Gaelic speakers and learners and those who did not speak Gaelic, suggesting an inherent problem in utility of this approach with suggestions for resolving this provided above.

9.3.2 Do different approaches enhance the emotional response of the visitor using English language interpretation?

As noted at 9.2.2, approaches that include English language interpretation content positively affected knowledge gain for both Gaelic speakers and learners and non-Gaelic speakers. In fact, overall, knowledge gain was highest with the English language only test materials suggesting that English language is a key part of any language strategy. It also suggests the underpinning role in comprehension as part of any dual language strategy.

Gaelic learners and non-Gaelic speakers relied on Gaelic related content delivered in the English language only and Gaelic summary materials to develop their understanding of Gaelic subjects and the success of the interpretation at Stanley Mills in regards to knowledge gain and affect, whilst acknowledging that Arnol Blackhouse was more successful in affective terms.

9.4 Appropriateness and flexibility of approach

9.4.1 What is the most appropriate practice in respect of design issues?

The baseline survey identified different approaches in Britain and Ireland. For example, in Wales, Welsh is prioritised in bilingual communications by positioning it to the left and/or above the English text. Text is delivered in typeface of equal size, weight and colour emphasis so that audiences are presented with as neutral a choice as possible in language selection. This practice reflects national bilingual policy across all public organisations. In Scotland, the policy is less prescriptive, and there is evidence of greater flexibility and practice that responds to both sites and organisation corporate design and branding.

The off-site testing suggests people prefer clear, uncluttered designs which enable rapid identification of the preferred language through typeface and colour. For both Gaelic speakers and learners and participants who did not speak Gaelic, the two most popular design approaches both presented the Gaelic and English in the same typeface and weight but in different and easily distinguishable colours. Colour coding is clearly significant in indicating choice and enabling fast visual navigation in dual language interpretation.

In terms of layout, it should be noted that the four design approaches tested were based on existing interpretation materials and that participants were not given different versions of the same approach but with languages arranged differently. As such, it is not possible to suggest that all users would have the same preference for the language order given different choices. What the results do suggest is that the wider issue of design clarity is important in enabling audiences to quickly identify which language they want to engage with. Design clarity not language prioritisation is more important in an environment where there is no mandated language priority.

In addition, both off- and on-site testing suggested that languages are prioritised according to the heritage of the site, its geographical location (and associated language ability), and audiences. This can be dealt with within the interpretation planning process.

9.4.2 Is the efficacy of the interpretation related to the nature of the site or the geographical context of the subject?

The research indicates that whilst both the nature of the site and its geographical context play a role in the efficacy of visitor interpretation, the geographical location and the intrinsic qualities of the site are key factors. As a result, dual language Gaelic-English visitor interpretation is more effective in respect of knowledge gain and affect in areas which are, or are perceived, to have a strong Gaelic heritage and/or are Gaelic speaking. It is less effective in areas which do not demonstrate these characteristics. This suggests that Gaelic-English dual language interpretation be focused in those geographical areas with which Gaelic heritage and language use is most associated and practiced.

A point of note is that given the two test sites were both cultural heritage sites, it will be important to undertake a comparative exercise at natural heritage locations to assess the applicability of this finding in a context where sites intrinsic Gaelic qualities may be less readily apparent.

9.5 Conclusions

This research identified the complex and sometimes competing issues in providing of Gaelic in visitor interpretation. With reference to the research questions and the above summary, the following key points can be made:

- Awareness and appreciation of Gaelic for all users is best achieved by incorporating Gaelic related content in visitor interpretation
- For fluent Gaelic speakers, emotional response to visitor interpretation (affect) is maximised by the inclusion of Gaelic related content and bilingual language presentation. For Gaelic learners, emotional response is maximised primarily through Gaelic related content. For those who do not speak Gaelic, any emotional response is generated by the provision of Gaelic related content
- Different Gaelic users require different approaches and levels of Gaelic language provision to enable them to engage with Gaelic language content successfully
- It is essential that the main audience(s) for interpretation are identified at the outset, possibly within an interpretation planning process. However, the findings of the off- and on-site research clearly suggest that a different approach is required across Scotland that directly responds to the Gaelic heritage and Gaelic language ability of geographical areas
- The efficacy of Gaelic language visitor interpretation appears inextricably linked to the nature of the site and/or its geographic context
- Gaelic speakers and learners feel that there are sites and subjects which should always have information communicated in Gaelic, including Gaelic culture, history, language, and place-names
- There are a number of practical difficulties in preparing Gaelic interpretation, from writing quality to design challenges. These can be reduced through

forward planning and effective writing, though the difficulties will never be fully ameliorated

- As with all interpretation, the quality of the content is paramount. Where information is to be communicated in a language other than that from which it originates, it is important that the essence of the content is communicated through good quality writing, rather than literal translation. This is true for communicating information across all languages
- There are a large number of design considerations when producing dual-language interpretation. However, design clarity rather than language prioritisation is a critical factor in maximising the utility of visitor interpretation
- Producing interpretation in more than one language is more expensive and time-consuming than single language interpretation.

10 Limitations and Further Study

This research sought to address a wide range of questions and sub-questions relating to the provision and efficacy of Gaelic and English visitor interpretation. As such, there were limitations to the research in terms of focus and testing which would benefit from further investigation:

- As the focus for this research was primarily written interpretation, the benefits and opportunities for Gaelic speakers, learners and for those who don't speak Gaelic of live interpretation and multimedia in both Gaelic and English requires investigation
- This research focused primarily on Gaelic and/or English-speaking audiences. Demands from audiences for language content vary, with provision in foreign languages a key responsibility for organisations which sit firmly within the tourism sphere. As such, it is important to investigate further the impact of Gaelic and English language content for visitors who do not speak English as a first language (and do not speak Gaelic), particularly when reflecting back on audience demand and engagement
- It is also important to note that this research did not look at the inclusion of Scots alongside Gaelic and English languages. As with Gaelic, there is increasing support for the promotion of the Scots language and its inclusion in heritage interpretation (for example the Burns Museum in Alloway). Research looking at the use of each of these three languages at heritage sites across Scotland would provide a greater understanding of the use and demand for Scots in linguistic landscape of Scotland.

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