

The Difference Between Good Enough and Great: Bringing Interpretive Best Practices to Life

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to illuminate in both a quantitative and qualitative sense the practices that distinguish great interpretive programs from those that may merely be adequate to satisfy the visitor's basic desires to learn, be entertained, or spend time with a ranger. Great programs, like great works of art, have the potential to impact audiences in a deeper sense by providing memorable experiences that may influence multiple aspects of visitors' lives. This paper draws on experiences from three months of fieldwork, observing 376 interpretive programs across 24 units of the U.S. National Park Service, to illustrate examples of program elements that distinguished what we considered to be the best programs we observed.

Keywords

evaluation, eudaimonic satisfaction, hedonic satisfaction, interpretation, National Park Service, research

Introduction

Effective interpretation may produce multiple positive outcomes for program attendees. These include enhancing their knowledge and/or appreciation for the resource, site, or agency, influencing their behavior both on-site and off-site, and providing inspiration, both in a general sense and a more specific sense to enhance desires to explore further, learn more, or otherwise take self-directed action (Ham, 2009, 2013; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006). These outcomes may result from high-quality orientation, skills-building, persuasive communication, and/or effective storytelling that creates meaningful cognitive and emotional connections (Ham, 1992, 2009, 2013; Tilden, 1957; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006). But what makes the difference between good, or adequate, interpretation and great interpretation? This article serves as the final article in this special issue and focuses on this distinction, both in terms of the outcomes that might differentiate the two and the characteristics that appear to influence those outcomes.

Our research team observed 376 interpretive programs across 24 units of the U.S. National Park Service (NPS), tracking 56 independent variables that we later tested for relationships with outcomes measured in surveys administered to program attendees (Stern & Powell, this issue). The results indicated that certain practices and interpreter characteristics were statistically linked with more positive visitor outcomes. Perhaps the most striking finding of the study, however, was that over 85% of the people we surveyed rated the program they had attended an 8 or above on a 0-to-10 scale depicting their level of satisfaction. This led us to conclude that our results based on visitor surveys could not clearly distinguish good programs from bad programs. Rather, they could only identify characteristics that appear to move the scale from good to better.

Despite these consistently high ratings, our team witnessed dramatic variability in what we perceived to be the quality of these programs. In this paper, we draw upon our qualitative observations and an additional subjective quantitative measure made in the field by the research team about the overall quality of each program in an attempt to draw a clearer distinction between “good enough” and “great” interpretive programs.

We first explore theory relevant to understanding visitors’ generally high levels of satisfaction in the study, elucidating the role of visitors’ expectations on their evaluations of the programs they attended. Second, we contrast visitor expectations with their experiences, drawing a distinction between what it means to meet expectations and what it means to provide a more meaningful experience. We then present analyses of the factors that drove our own judgments of each program. Finally, we provide examples from our field notes of the factors that appear to distinguish between programs sufficient to satisfy visitors’ basic expectations and those that might do something more.

Meeting expectations vs. making meaningful connections

Visitors’ expectations may play two primary roles in their assessments of interpretive experiences (del Bosque & San Martin, 2008). First, they provide a basis for assessing performance. That is, a visitor’s satisfaction can, in part, be based on the comparison of their experience with their pre-conceived notions. If the experience meets or exceeds

their valuation of that pre-conceived notion, we would expect a positive evaluation. Others suggest that expectations may also serve as a direct antecedent to satisfaction evaluations (Szymanski & Henard, 2001). This can be explained by Assimilation Theory (Sherif & Hovland, 1961) as well as the Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Individuals suffer cognitive dissonance (psychological conflict) when their experiences do not match their pre-conceived notions. In these cases, individuals make efforts to resolve the dissonance they feel. One common response is to adjust (or assimilate) their perception of the experience to match their pre-conceived notions. An example would be a family that saved up for an annual vacation that didn't meet their expectations, yet convinced themselves that the vacation was still well worth the effort expended. Del Bosque and San Martin (2008) investigated these two roles of expectations in tourism satisfaction and found that expectations in this latter sense were the dominant drivers of satisfaction. Expectations in the comparative sense were linked to positive and negative emotions. However, positive emotions were more strongly based on expectations alone, rather than how well the program met those expectations.

Understanding motivations for program attendance can help shed light on the likely expectations of attendees. Stern, Powell, and Hockett (2011) explored the primary motivations of visitors at Great Smoky Mountains National Park for attending interpretive programs. The most common motivations included entertainment, a chance to see something the visitor might otherwise miss, accommodating others in the visitor's group, and learning more about a specific topic or place. Other researchers have uncovered similar motivations for program attendance (Veverka, 1978; Srisomyoung, 2000; Galloway, 2002; Irving, 1986; Packer, 2004). These motivations provide insights into the probable expectations of the program attendees in our recent study—that programs should draw visitors' attention to unique resources in an entertaining and educational way.

These basic expectations may be relatively easy to meet. As such, programs may not need to inspire, provoke, or have deep meaning for the visitor to achieve a basic level of satisfaction. Still, we witnessed during our time in the parks what we felt to be some dreadfully boring talks and others where the interpreter struggled to recall facts about the resources they were attempting to interpret. Del Bosque and San Martin's (2008) expectancy theory helps to explain why visitors might still rate a mediocre program with moderately high scores.

We also witnessed programs that brought visitors to tears or clear expressions of elation and/or epiphany. Other programs elicited obvious displays of satisfaction and clear expressions of what one might call "pleasant surprise" or basic "wow" moments indicative of interpreters' clearly exceeding visitors' expectations. Despite the clear differences we observed in visitor expressions, actions, and emotions on-site, only minor differences were apparent in quantitatively measured satisfaction and visitor experience and appreciation scores. However, our qualitative observations and the quantitative assessments shared in this paper indicate to us a meaningful difference between programs that produce basic short-term satisfaction versus those that might approach what positive psychologists call eudaimonic well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Hedonic vs. eudaimonic satisfaction

Ryan and Deci (2001) define two perspectives on assessing human well-being. The hedonic perspective is based on the short-term satisfaction of basic needs and desires (e.g., pleasure attainment and pain avoidance). The eudaimonic perspective is more akin to Maslow's (1943) concept of self-actualization and Tilden's (1957) concept of provocation. In the context of interpretive programming or other similar experiences, eudaimonic satisfaction goes beyond short-term pleasure and enjoyment toward touching the personal values and/or provoking the deeper thoughts of the audience member (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Wirth et al., 2012). Oliver & Bartsch (2010, p. 76) use the term "appreciation" to describe a eudaimonic audience response to a powerful movie as "an experiential state that is characterized by the perception of deeper meaning, the feeling of being moved, and the motivation to elaborate on thoughts and feelings inspired by the experience." This is similar to the psychological concept of elaboration, which is generally seen as a precursor to cognitive changes in a message recipient that can lead to long-term attitude or behavior change (Ham, 2009; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). We posit that, like a great movie, excellent interpretation can lead to this eudaimonic state, and that this process delineates the space between adequate interpretation, which primarily satisfies short-term hedonic interests, and great interpretation.

In short, adequate, or even mediocre, interpretation may achieve substantial hedonic satisfaction, but great interpretation is also capable of achieving eudaimonic satisfaction. Like a great movie or work of art that stays with an audience in some form for days, months, or even years, great interpretation also has the potential to have meaningful influence on how audience members perceive the world after it (Ham, 2013). This distinction may be particularly relevant in interpretive programs in national parks, where visitor expectations may be quite basic for most interpretive program goers (Stern et al., 2011), particularly for those who have never been exposed to a "great" program.

While satisfying basic expectations (e.g., providing some degree of entertainment or satisfying a general curiosity) appears to be common (Stern & Powell, this issue), achieving more meaningful, eudaimonic impacts for the visitor may be more challenging. Yet, NPS training documents and various other textbooks, trainings, and guidance documents regularly reference the importance of meaningfully connecting audiences to resources in ways that go beyond mere knowledge provision (Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992, 2009, 2013; Knudson et al., 2003; Larsen, 2003; NPS Module 101; Lewis, 2005; Skibins et al., 2012; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006). Each program presents an opportunity to do so.

We focus the rest of this article on illustrating the characteristics that appear to differentiate programs that merely satisfy basic visitor expectations from those that seize the opportunity to move visitors toward eudaimonic satisfaction.

What makes a great program?

The research effort with which this paper is associated uncovered a number of specific practices that were statistically linked with enhanced visitor experience and appreciation, greater satisfaction, and even reported changes in behavioral intentions in some cases (Stern & Powell, this issue). These included both characteristics of the interpreter and of the program itself:

Interpreter characteristics

- Confidence (comfort, eloquence, and apparent knowledge)
- Authentic emotion and charisma (passion, sincerity, and charisma)
- Responsiveness of the interpreter to the audience's interests, questions, needs, etc.
- Audibility
- Avoiding a focus on knowledge gain as the program's central goal and communicating solely factual information
- Avoiding making uncertain assumptions about the audience

Program characteristics

- Appropriateness for the audience
- Organization (quality of introduction, appropriate sequence, effective transitions, holistic story, clear theme, link between introduction and conclusion)
- Connection (links to intangibles and universal concepts, cognitive engagement, relevance to audience, affective messaging, provocation)
- Consistency of tone and quality
- Clear message
- Appropriate logistics
- Verbal engagement
- Multisensory engagement
- Appropriate pace

To further explore the notion of separating good, or adequate, programs from excellent programs, we make use of an additional measure made by our research team in the field. Immediately following each program, the researcher observing the program scored its overall quality on a scale from 1 to 10. This score was based on two factors. The first was the researcher's personal opinion of the quality of the program. The second was based on the researchers' observations of audience responses. Did the interpretation achieve an appropriate response from the audience? Conversely, was the audience visibly disinterested? Each researcher witnessed more than 90 live interpretive programs over the course of the study. In an effort to ensure reliability, researchers were instructed to revisit their overall quality scores periodically throughout the field season to ensure that the scale provided adequate comparisons from program to program.

To keep consistent with our analyses of visitor responses (Powell & Stern, this issue; Stern & Powell, this issue), we limited this analysis to programs with five or more attendees. Scores ranged from 2 to 10, with a mean of 5.9 and a standard deviation of 1.9. Only three programs were rated a 10 out of 10. The research team collectively agreed that a score of eight represented a clear threshold for what we would consider to be excellent programs, as described in the eudaimonic sense above. Twenty-three percent of the programs we observed were placed into this category (scoring 8 or higher on the overall quality measure).

Table 1. Relationships between visitor-reported outcomes and researchers' overall assessments of program quality.

Visitor-reported outcomes	Pearson correlation with researchers' assessments	Comparisons of visitor-reported outcome scores with programs rated "excellent" (≥ 8) or less than excellent (< 8) by research team				
		Overall score	Means	t	p	Cohen's d
Satisfaction (0 to 10)	.543**	≥ 8	9.36	7.6	< .001	0.97
		< 8	8.83			
Visitor experience and appreciation (1 to 5)	.412**	≥ 8	4.54	3.7	< .001	0.56
		< 8	4.37			
Behavioral intentions (1 to 5)	.218**	≥ 8	3.08	2.3	.024	0.34
		< 8	2.87			

** p < .001

Table 2. Independent samples t-tests comparing means of characteristics for programs that were rated by the research team as "excellent" (≥ 8) or "less than excellent" (< 8).

Characteristic	Overall score	Means	t	p	Cohen's d
<i>Authentic emotion and charisma (1 to 5)</i>	≥ 8	4.38	12.1	< .001	1.57
	< 8	3.34			
<i>Connection (1 to 5)</i>	≥ 8	3.42	8.7	< .001	1.29
	< 8	2.56			
<i>Organization (1 to 5)</i>	≥ 8	3.94	8.2	< .001	1.24
	< 8	3.17			
<i>Confidence (1 to 4)</i>	≥ 8	3.66	9.2	< .001	1.21
	< 8	3.17			
<i>Appropriate for the audience (1 to 5)</i>	≥ 8	4.47	7.2	< .001	1.12
	< 8	3.78			
<i>Humor quality (1 to 4)</i>	≥ 8	2.59	6.5	< .001	0.94
	< 8	1.94			
<i>Clear central message (1 to 4)</i>	≥ 8	2.82	6.3	< .001	0.90
	< 8	2.02			
<i>Verbal engagement (1 to 5)</i>	≥ 8	3.15	6.1	< .001	0.87
	< 8	2.34			
<i>Multisensory engagement (1 to 3)</i>	≥ 8	2.70	5.8	< .001	0.84
	< 8	2.30			
Self-reported level of excitement of the interpreter prior to the program (0 to 10)	≥ 8	8.55	4.7	< .001	0.75
	< 8	7.08			
Humor quantity (1 to 5)	≥ 8	2.44	4.5	< .001	0.65
	< 8	1.99			
Surprise (1 to 3)	≥ 8	1.26	3.5	.001	0.60
	< 8	1.04			
Responsiveness (1 to 3)	≥ 8	2.96	4.8	< .001	0.58
	< 8	2.76			
Novelty (1 to 3)	≥ 8	1.39	3.6	.001	0.57
	< 8	1.12			
Multiple activities (1 to 4)	≥ 8	1.37	2.9	.005	0.50
	< 8	1.13			
Personal sharing (1 to 4)	≥ 8	1.95	3.5	.001	0.49
	< 8	1.60			
Appropriate logistics (1 to 4)	≥ 8	3.41	2.9	.004	0.45
	< 8	3.02			
Consistency (1 to 3)	≥ 8	2.97	3.3	.001	0.38
	< 8	2.85			
False assumption of the audience (1 to 3)	≥ 8	1.08	-2.5	.013	-0.34
	< 8	1.20			
Formality (1 to 5)	≥ 8	2.98	-2.4	.018	-0.34
	< 8	3.26			
Physical engagement (1 to 4)	≥ 8	1.61	2.4	.019	0.34
	< 8	1.37			
Not statistically related to achieving an excellent outcome rating (≥ 8): Prior experience of the interpreter, audibility, sarcasm, multiple viewpoints, quality of the resource.					

Table 3. Differences in binary characteristics of programs that the research team scored as “excellent” (≥ 8) or “less than excellent” (< 8).

Characteristic	Pearson χ^2	p	Direction of relationship
<i>Interpreter identity: friend</i>	35.7	< .001	Positive
<i>Interpreter identity: encyclopedia</i>	13.6	< .001	Negative
<i>Fact-based messaging</i>	13.5	< .001	Negative
<i>Appropriate pace</i>	11.3	.001	Positive
Interpreter’s intended outcome: get audience to want to learn more	9.8	.002	Positive
Program 20% shorter than advertised	8.0	.005	Negative
Props	6.6	.010	Positive
Pace too slow	5.2	.023	Negative
Interpreter’s intended outcome: increase knowledge of audience	5.0	.026	Negative
Not statistically related to achieving an excellent outcome rating (≥ 8): Location of park (urban vs. urban-proximate vs. remote), indoor vs. outdoor program, program 20% longer than advertised, pace too fast, questionable information, other intended outcomes (see Stern and Powell, this issue), whether interpreter was a volunteer, park ranger, or paid concessionaire, professional appearance, inequitable treatment of audience, impatience, interpreter identity: authority, bias, false attribution, unexpected negative or positive circumstances.			

Table 4. Binary logistic regression model predicting an “excellent” overall score (≥ 8) by the research team (Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.57$).

	Predicted score		Percentage Correct	
	< 8	≥ 8		
Observed score	< 8	191	12	94.1%
	≥ 8	19	40	67.8%
Overall Percentage				88.2%
Predictors:		p		Exp (β)
Authentic emotion and charisma		< .001		4.2
Confidence		.034		3.9
Organization		.005		2.9
Appropriate for the audience		.010		2.6
Verbal engagement		.006		1.8

Our subjective assessments of overall quality were significantly correlated with each of the outcomes measured in the visitor surveys (Table 1). Moreover, scores above eight also showed strong statistical relationships with more positive visitor-reported outcomes, particularly for satisfaction and visitor experience and appreciation. As such, our subjective assessments were validated to some extent by the visitor surveys, yet they provide a far more sensitive measure of program quality, accounting for the enhanced expectations of more experienced interpretive program audience members.

Tables 2 and 3 show the results of t-tests and chi-square tests that examine the statistical differences in interpreter and program characteristics between programs that scored an 8 or above on our overall quality measure and programs scoring lower. Characteristics with statistical relationships are further explained in Stern and Powell (this issue) and in Tables 5 and 6. In Table 2, bold and italicized items are those with a “large” statistical effect on membership in the “excellent” category (Cohen’s $d > 0.8$). In Table 2, bold and italicized items represent those with the smallest probability of occurring by chance ($p < .001$). These characteristics in each table generally mirror those that predicted better visitor-reported outcomes (Stern & Powell, this issue). In this case, however, they explicitly distinguish what we considered to be great programs from all others.

Table 5. Qualitative field notes describing interpreter characteristics observed during programs with statistically significant relationships with measured outcomes.

Characteristic	Examples
Characteristics comprising “confidence”	
Comfort of the Interpreter Degree to which the interpreter presenting the program seems comfortable with the audience and capable of successfully presenting the program without apparent signs of nervousness or self-doubt (Lewis 2005; Moscardo, 1999; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).	<p>HIGH: The interpreter used a very conversational tone when interacting with the audience. At each stop he would sit down on a fence post or lean against a sign while continuing his story. He asked visitors to stop him with questions and to suggest answers to various questions he posed. Following engagement with the audience (or any type of interruptions), he would continue his story seamlessly with effective transitions.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter was clearly unnerved by a large crowd consisting of a mix of adults and very distracted children who were bored by the historical topic of the talk. He mentioned that Civil War history was not his area of expertise and struggled to remember certain numbers and facts. He was unable to answer most visitors' questions and did not maintain the large group very well when moving from location to location. He tried several times to stop visitors from leaving the program and looked clearly saddened each time more people left.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter seemed very nervous and was visibly shaking and had to pause several times to collect thoughts and recall what came next. The interpreter apologized frequently for forgetting what she had scripted and relied on “um, yeah, and like” to fill in the gaps.</p>
Apparent Knowledge The degree to which the interpreter appears to know the information involved in the program, the answers to visitors questions, and has local knowledge of the area and its resources (Ham & Weiler, 2002; Lewis, 2005; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).	<p>HIGH: Not only did the interpreter know facts and scientific details about every plant, but also stories about their connection to humans and how people have used them in the past. She answered every question posed by visitors, including scientific names, habitat ranges, and various vascular functions. She never paused before answering and appeared entirely confident in every response she gave.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter attempted to tell us the name of the man who designed a certain memorial, the date it was commissioned, and who funded its construction, but could not remember any of these things. He referred to his notes continually throughout the program and sometimes spent an extended period of time looking through them, searching for a particular fact to share. When visitors asked questions, he would again refer to his notes and even then could rarely provide an answer.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter mentioned halfway through the program that it was her first time giving it, which was evidenced by her difficulty recalling facts/figures, her regular use of notes, and long walks between stops without talking to visitors at all while she reviewed her notes.</p>
Eloquence The extent to which the interpreter spoke clearly and articulately, and did not mumble or frequently use filler words such as “um” or “like” (Lewis, 2005).	<p>HIGH: Each story told by the interpreter was clearly illustrated through a strong vocabulary and a purposeful use of words. Pauses were only used when necessary for effect and the interpreter never seemed unsure of what to say next. The manner of speaking was concise and to the point but conversational enough to not feel explicitly scripted.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter said “like” often and used “um” as filler every time he paused or tried to think of an answer. He commonly used the phrase “y’know,” followed by long pauses. He mumbled at times when he didn’t seem confident in what he was saying. Visitors were visibly confused.</p>
Characteristics comprising “authentic emotion and charisma”	
Passion The interpreter’s apparent level of enthusiasm for the material, as opposed to a bored or apathetic attitude toward it. The overall vigor with which the material is presented (Beck & Cable, 2002; Ham & Weiler, 2002; Moscardo, 1999).	<p>HIGH: The interpreter explicitly told us that he was excited to share information with us about the natural resources found within the park. He said things like “let me tell you why I love this plant so much” and “I bet you can see why this is such a cool place.” He had the audience look at things and feel them, tell the group what they liked best about it, and share their own reasons why the park was so special to them.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter told us why the park makes him feel inspired, what he loves most about it, and makes him come alive. He had us reflect on our own feelings about the place by sharing stories. He jumped from rock to rock with an obvious excitement in his step and clearly couldn’t wait to share his next story. When the topic called for a more somber and reflective tone he slowed down subtly, removed his hat, and reminded us why we should care about this place.</p> <p>LOW: This interpreter shared facts about the battles that unfolded in the park with a flat tone of voice, very quietly. At one point she apologetically said, “the Civil War isn’t really my area of expertise, but it’s worth knowing something about.” She would point out things along the way and say “I think this is where ___ happened” or “some people find this interesting.”</p>

<p>Charisma A general sense of the overall likeability/charisma of the interpreter, commonly recognized by seemingly genuine interaction with the visitors, including smiling, looking people in the eye, and having an overall appealing presence (Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).</p>	<p>HIGH: The interpreter was kind and smiling throughout the program, like a sweet grandmother figure telling stories about her childhood. The audience leaned in to hear what she had to say and observe what she was doing. Both the interpreter and audience had smiles on their faces throughout the program.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter had a deep laugh that put smiles on the faces of visitors. He used friendly, casual banter throughout the program to keep visitors engaged and to inquire about their specific interests and hobbies. Visitors were clearly engaged throughout the program because of his interactions.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter had a very abrupt manner of speaking to visitors and sounded annoyed to have them on the program. He ignored questions entirely and clearly hurried through the program. He made no effort to engage the audience or carry on a conversation; rather, he seemed focused on presenting what he had prepared and getting away from visitors as soon as he was finished.</p>
<p>Sincerity The degree to which the interpreter seems genuinely invested in the messages he or she is communicating, as opposed to reciting information, and seems sincere in the emotional connection they may exude to the message and/or the resource. In other words, the extent to which the interpretation was delivered through authentic emotive communication (Ham, 2009).</p>	<p>HIGH: While leading a tour of a war memorial, this interpreter maintained a very solemn and respectful demeanor throughout. He told us about the hard work, sacrifice, and heartache of people at home and abroad that made the war effort possible. Upon entering the memorial, he removed his hat and stood silently for a moment to take it all in. As he talked about each feature of the memorial he would touch it gently and slowly shake his head. His emotional connection to the resource was clearly demonstrated.</p> <p>LOW: This interpreter spoke in a very monotone, droning manner. At each stop, she listed several facts and then moved on to the next stop. She didn't wait for visitors to observe or enjoy the various resources and seemed to have no interest in looking at them herself. She seemed bored. Her cold and scripted delivery of facts and numbers about the battle that took place there made her seem almost callous to the topic.</p>
<p>Individual interpreter characteristics</p>	
<p>Humor Quality How funny is the interpreter overall? Does the audience react positively to the interpreter's use of humor and seem to enjoy it? (Ham & Weiler, 2002; Knapp & Yang, 2002; Regnier et al., 1992).</p>	<p>HIGH: The interpreter poked fun at the notorious love life of a Civil War general. He told us about pranks that soldiers would play on one another and had us laughing. This helped the program not only avoid being far too sad/somber, but also connected us with the fact that these were regular people just like us.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter tried to use corny jokes and silly metaphors throughout the program to get laughs out of the audience. The audience clearly did not find these funny. He relied so heavily on these jokes that the rest of his program was largely devoid of worthwhile information. The audience seemed tired and uninterested by the end of the program, but he kept cracking bad jokes anyway.</p>
<p>Responsiveness The extent to which the interpreter interacts with the audience, collects information about their interests and backgrounds, and responds to their specific questions and requests or non-verbal cues (Jacobson, 1999; Knudson et al., 2003; Lewis, 2005).</p>	<p>HIGH: The ranger talked to people ahead of the program to ask them about their specific interests in the tour. He addressed these particular interests on the tour and actually addressed the people by name who were interested in the topic to engage them directly. When asked a question, the ranger gave both the factual answer and another question, which caused the visitor to think.</p> <p>LOW: When a member of the audience raised their hand, the ranger simply said "Please hold all questions until the end of the program."</p>
<p>False Assumption of Audience (<i>negative impact</i>) At any point during the program, did the interpreter make assumptions of the audience's attitudes or knowledge that could have easily been false?</p>	<p>PRESENCE: The interpreter regularly referred to names and dates very specific to events during the Civil War. These were used without any further explanation. The interpreter rather assumed that the audience already had a fairly thorough knowledge of the Civil War. There was a small group of war "buffs" who seemed to follow and enjoy the program, but most of the rest of the audience seemed somewhat lost and disconnected without this extra knowledge.</p>

Table 6. Qualitative field notes describing program characteristics observed during programs with statistically significant relationships with measured outcomes.

Characteristic	Examples
Characteristics comprising “organization”	
Intro Quality Degree to which the introduction captured the audience's attention and oriented (or pre-disposed) the audience to the program's content and/or message (Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992; Jacobson, 1999).	<p>HIGH: Interpreter began the program by saying “It is the morning of the first battle of - _____. It's hot and muggy. You've just finished breakfast and you're preparing for a long march over these fields you see before you. But before the day is done, half of your company will be brought down by confederate cannon and musket fire...” This captured our attention, set the tone for the program, and led directly into the theme of the program.</p> <p>HIGH: As the program began, the ranger asked the visitors to close their eyes and imagine themselves transported back in time. She painted a picture with words, describing a battle at sea and the sound of munitions exploding all around. She caused visitors to jump when she yelled “Man overboard!”</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter arrived just in time to start the program and did not interact with the audience at all or provide any information about the program before it started. The first thing he said to the audience was “OK, let's get started,” at which point he walked off to our first stop. When we arrived at the first stop, while much of the group was still walking, he started talking about trees and listing facts about them. There was no introduction to the talk, nothing to capture our attention, and nothing to let us know that we were even on the right program.</p>
Appropriate Sequence Degree to which the program followed a logical sequence (Beck & Cable, 2002; Ham, 1992; Jacobson, 1999; Larsen, 2003).	<p>HIGH: This program was about the life cycle of a giant sequoia tree. The program itself followed a storyline that described the life of a tree and everything it saw during its lifespan. Each stop was related to the next stage of life and provided a clear example of that stage. We moved from an area full of cones and seeds, to a stop with several tiny saplings, to young trees, and on up to full size giants. We followed the growth of a sequoia from birth to death and understood everything it must overcome in the process.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter discussed several different animals that lived within the park, using the food chain to pair an animal to each corresponding stop on the walk. Transitions were provided between each stop that described how each animal had an impact on the next, giving the program a clear sequence and appropriate clarity and demonstrating the complexity and hierarchy of the food web.</p> <p>LOW: The talk provided a random assortment of facts and stories about both the War of 1812 and the Civil War. Each stop was disconnected from the next and jumped back and forth between the two wars. There was no logical sequence to the stops and seemed to be representative of whatever was on the interpreter's mind at the time. At a single stop we talked about iron clad battleships during the Civil War and a tavern that was located on the grounds during the War of 1812 with no connection drawn between them or any of the other stops.</p>
Transitions Degree to which program used appropriate transitions that kept the audience engaged and did not detract from the program's sequence (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992; Jacobson, 1999; Larsen, 2003).	<p>HIGH: As we prepared to leave each stop, the interpreter said “I want you to be on the lookout for ____ as we head to our next stop and think about how it relates to ____.” This kept the visitors curious, engaged, and thinking about the theme of the talk even while the interpreter wasn't talking. These transitions provided a logical flow from the topic of one stop to the next.</p> <p>LOW: At each stop, the interpreter would talk for a bit and then just stop. We would walk to the next stop in silence and then he would pick up right where he left off. It felt very much as if he were stopping halfway through a paragraph, waiting a bit, and then continuing without any explanation of why we had moved. It likely would have been more effective to just stay in one place and deliver a talk, as these long pauses left the audience bored and distracted from the program itself.</p>

<p>Holistic Story Degree to which the program aimed to present a holistic story (with characters and a plot) as opposed to disconnected pieces of information (Beck & Cable, 2002; Larsen, 2003; Tilden, 1957)</p>	<p>HIGH: This interpreter used the unique and sometimes valuable natural resources of the park to illustrate why native people originally settled here, why it inspired people to move westward, how they used these resources to settle and live off the land, how this led to their over-exploitation, and ultimately to their protection. Each stop taught us about a new resource (trees, rock, grazing fodder, minerals, water, etc.) that played a part in this story. As we moved along, so too did the plot of the story being told.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter made it very clear that he wanted to tell us a story during the program to help us understand the people who once lived here. He introduced different historical figures (generally fictionalized composites of people from the time period) and told us a bit about them. He then used them as vehicles to demonstrate the historical significance of what happened in the area and how the daily lives of people were affected by these events. The story progressed linearly through time and each stop represented a new time period. Every stop was tied back to the central theme and was relevant to the story being told. He used the repetition of certain ideas and interactions with the audience to build a story that came to its conclusion at our last stop.</p> <p>LOW: The talk was a jumble of dry facts about an otherwise interesting animal. There were several moments of "Hmm, what else can I tell you..."</p> <p>LOW: During the tour of a historical home, the interpreter listed off different facts and stories as we walked through each room. A piece of furniture or book would cause her to say "Oh, this reminds me about..." None of what she told us seemed to be connected, and although the facts were interesting, she did not tell us a story about the place or why it was worth preserving. The greatest focus was on which furniture pieces were original or reproductions rather than on the people who lived there and their stories.</p> <p>LOW: As we wandered along the path of our guided walk, the interpreter pointed out random trees, buildings, or objects. Each one was described in a manner unrelated to the last. There was no clear topic or point to the talk and visitors seemed disconnected and bored by the talk.</p> <p>LOW: The ranger provides a description of a native species that can be found in the park, detailing its appearance, unique traits, and status as a threatened species. The ranger continues working his way through species after species.</p>
<p>Clear Theme Degree to which the program had a clearly communicated theme(s). A theme is defined as a single sentence (not necessarily explicitly stated) that links tangibles, intangibles, and universals to organize and develop ideas (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992; Jacobson, 1999; Knudson et. al, 2003; Larsen, 2003; Lewis, 2005; Moscardo, 1999; Sharpe, 1976; Veverka, 1998; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006)</p>	<p>HIGH: This program focused on the power of this particular site and the influence it has had in so many people's lives throughout time. The interpreter described how it had a spiritual power for native people, was a place of unrivaled beauty and reflection for early explorers, and a place of relaxation and escape for people today. Every stop supported the idea that the park is a unique and powerful place worth preserving, which he reinforced by reminding us that future generations have a right to experience and gain from this place.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter on this program told us explicitly that he was going to tell us why a historical building was a unique place. We then walked around and through the hall. He told us where various treaties were signed and where historical figures sat. This was the extent of the program. He did not tell us how those documents have shaped our history, what role those figures played in founding our country, or why preserving the building itself should matter to us. The program was a collection of dates and names, but little more.</p>
<p>Intro/ Conclusion Linkage Degree to which program connected conclusion back to the introduction in an organized or cohesive way (i.e., program "came full circle") (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Larsen, 2003)</p>	<p>HIGH: Before our first stop, the ranger told us a bit about what we were going to learn and why it was important to know. He taught us some basic facts about the war, how it came to the area, and some key players in the battles, but mostly he focused on the story of one young man and how the war affected him. We stopped at the house where the young man grew up, learned about the kind of education he received, and the trade he learned in his youth. Our final stop took us into a large cemetery, where the ranger pointed out all the other young men who had been buried there. Then he looked down at his feet and pointed out the grave we were standing around: the final resting place of the very man we had spent the past hour learning about. The sadness we all felt was very real and he had taken us full circle to truly connect us to the people and events here.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter went so far past the designated end time of the program that he did not get the chance to wrap it up in any way. Visitors had to leave the program while he was still talking so they could catch the bus back to the visitor center.</p> <p>LOW: While it seemed like the interpreter was in the middle of his talk, he simply stopped, looked at the audience, and said "ok, well that's it." The program ended very abruptly, with no conclusion at all, leaving the audience wondering what the point of the program was. He had all the opportunity in the world to tie things together and leave us with a lasting message to think about.</p>

Characteristics comprising “connection”	
Cognitive Engagement Degree to which the program cognitively engaged audience members in a participatory experience beyond simply listening; i.e. calls to imagine something, reflect, etc. (Knudson et al., 2003; Moscardo, 1999; Sharpe, 1976; Tilden, 1957; Veverka, 1998).	<p>HIGH: The interpreter asked visitors to consider whether former inhabitants could have imagined what this valley is like today and whether the audience could imagine what it would be like in the future. The interpreter asked us to picture how the valley has changed over time and how strange and foreign it would look to us 100 or 1,000 years from now.</p> <p>HIGH: The walk focused much of the audience’s cognitive abilities on imagining what the landscape used to look like, what features used to be there and how they played a role in the battle that took place there. At each stop and walking between them, the interpreter regularly reminded visitors to imagine themselves in the places of the soldiers who were there, walking the same lines that they did, and considering the emotions/decisions they faced during the battle.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter took time to describe what we would have seen if we were sitting with our family having a picnic and watching the battle, or what it would have looked like from the perspective of one of the soldiers.</p>
Relevance to Audience Degree to which the program explicitly communicated the relevance of the subject to the lives of the audience (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992, 2013; Jacobson, 1999; Knapp & Benton, 2004; Lewis, 2005; Moscardo, 1999; NPS Module 101; Sharpe, 1976; Tilden, 1957; Veverka, 1998).	<p>HIGH: The interpreter clearly made it a priority to connect with and learn a bit about each program participant. He carried on conversations with various visitors between stops, using the information he gathered to shape what he talked about next. He related each story he told to something of particular interest to someone in the audience.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter compared people coming together in the 1800s after events at this historical site to people coming together after September 11, 2001 and other recent events. The interpreter described the Civil War as something that took place in back yards and town squares, had us imagine what life would be like now if war broke out in the United States.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter’s main approach was connecting complex geology to something most people would understand: pizza.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter provided massive amounts of factual information about the battle that took place here and the strategies used by either side to gain the upper hand. However, the program was entirely a lecture. The interpreter made no effort to connect the visitors to the resource, either through something of particular interest to them or by creating some relevance between what happened here and the lives of the audience.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter attempted to connect black bears breaking into cars for food to how desperate we would be if we were hungry. If you’ve ever been starving hungry, you know that you’d be willing to break into a store or steal somebody’s lunch...the audience’s reactions suggested that this analogy did not connect at all.</p>
Affective Messaging Degree to which the program communicated emotion (Jacobson, 1999; Lewis, 2005; Madin & Fenton, 2004; Tilden, 1957; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).	<p>HIGH: The interpreter discussed with us the heartache and suffering that went into sending a son off to war or finding out that a loved one had been killed in action. He spoke of the dedication to each other and to country that these soldiers displayed, the determination with which they fought, and the camaraderie on which they relied to keep their spirits up and keep fighting. He lowered his voice and explained the importance that their service should have to us. Rather than focusing on numbers or specific dates/battles, he focused on the emotional toll that war took on everyone.</p> <p>LOW: This interpreter relied solely on historical information to tell the story of FDR and his presidency. He told us the various offices FDR held, explained what polio was, and gave us descriptions of the design/construction of the monument itself. He told us about the impact that war and economic depression had on our country, but only in terms of money and power. He did not include any emotional connection to the struggles of poverty, the despair that people faced, the joy we felt after winning the war, or the emotional toll that polio must have taken on FDR and those around him.</p>
Provocation Degree to which the program explicitly provoked participants to personally reflect on content and its deeper meanings (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Knudson et al., 2003; Tilden, 1957)	<p>HIGH: The interpreter told a very emotional story about how the coast Miwok tribes were torn away from their homes and lifestyle. He reminded us that their descendants are still alive today and that they can no longer visit the historic sites of their families. He asked us to think about the impact this must have on their culture and pride.</p> <p>HIGH: The ranger spent the majority of the program talking about different cultural groups that had populated the area throughout time. He gave us a glimpse into their daily life, their religions, and the things that were most important to them in life. He used vivid descriptions to get the audience to imagine the imagery of the time periods being described. He asked what we had in common with these people and how we were different. At the end of the program, we sat and watched the sunset, while the ranger asked us to think about our daily lives, what we are contributing to the world around us, and the things that make us feel truly alive.</p> <p>LOW: At one point during this program, the interpreter mentioned that urban sprawl is slowly taking over habitat and surrounding national parks in different places across the country. This was stated as a fact and then he moved on to the next subject. Rather than digging deeper or encouraging us to think about the effect that this might one day have, he just mentioned it and did nothing more with it.</p>

<p>Connection to Universals Communication that connects tangibles to intangibles and universal concepts. Intangibles are stories, ideas, meanings, or significance that tangible resources represent.</p> <p>Universals are concepts with which most audience members can identify (NPS Module 101; Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992; Knudson et al., 2003; Larsen, 2003; Lewis, 2005; Moscardo, 1999; Tilden, 1957; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).</p>	<p>HIGH: During the program, the ranger told stories about the daily lives of early native people. At each stop he asked the same poignant questions: "What did life mean to these people? Why was this place important to them? What made them feel alive?" As we worked our way to the last stop of the walk, the ranger pointed out that we (the visitors) were now the inhabitants of this park. As we quietly watched the sun set, he asked us those same questions: "Why were we here? Why was this place special to us? What made us feel alive?" He connected us on the deepest levels with the people who had once inhabited this park and with the very essence of what made it important to us as visitors.</p> <p>LOW: The ranger provided a description of a native species that can be found in the park, detailing its appearance, unique traits, and status as a threatened species. The ranger continued working his way through species after species and did not field any visitor's questions or try to connect the topics to them in any way. He did not seem particularly interested in the topic, but instead like he was reciting a series of facts he had memorized. No attempts were made to reveal deeper meanings or connect us with the wildlife found in the park.</p>
<p>Individual program characteristics</p>	
<p>Appropriate Logistics Degree to which basic audience and program needs were met (i.e., restrooms, weather, accessibility, shade, etc.) (Jacobson, 1999; Knudson et al., 2003).</p>	<p>HIGH: The interpreter arrived before the program was scheduled to begin and announced several times what the program was and when it would be starting. This gave everyone the chance to get ready and know they were in the right place. Once the program began, the interpreter told the audience how long we would be gone, what we would be doing, and what supplies they should have. He reminded everyone to use the bathroom before we went out on the trail and to wear sunscreen. Once on the trail, he made sure to keep the group together and maintain a reasonable pace. We stopped at spots along the trail that were out of the way of other hikers, quiet, and cool. Once the program ended, he walked with the group back to where we had started.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter kept the audience standing in the very hot sun for extended periods of time despite ample opportunity for shade.</p> <p>LOW: During the walk, we stopped at a historical structure and the interpreter allowed the group to explore inside the building and around the grounds for an extended period of time. This broke up the flow of the program and left 15-20 people behind as we moved on to the next spot. The interpreter made very little effort to round up the group and did not announce when we would be leaving.</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter showed up to this program three minutes after its designated start time. He told the group that it was his first time ever giving it and that he wasn't sure exactly what we were supposed to be doing. The program was scheduled for an hour, but only lasted 30 minutes. The tour only had two stops, one at the parking lot and one about 100 yards away, even though it was advertised as a walking tour.</p>
<p>Appropriate for the Audience Degree to which the program aligned with audience's ages, cultures, and level of knowledge, interest, and experience (Beck & Cable, 2002; Jacobson, 1999; Knudson et al., 2003).</p>	<p>HIGH: The ranger made an explicit effort to gear this campfire program toward the mix of families and older adults in attendance. The ranger included songs and activities that everyone could enjoy and made content relatable to children and adults alike. The content was relatable to children, but also included novel stories and facts that adults were unlikely to know. For parts of the program, adults were given specific roles helping to guide the kids through activities.</p> <p>LOW: There was only one woman with two very young children on the tour. The interpreter did not adapt the program at all to the kids and instead seemed impatient when one was running around. She dealt with the matter by picking up the child and holding her.</p> <p>LOW: Some gory descriptions of Civil War soldiers, their injuries, and medical treatments of the time period may have been too graphic for some of the younger children in the audience.</p> <p>LOW: Although the audience consisted of a dozen adults and only one child, the interpreter spent the entire program speaking only to the child. He used very basic language and got down on one knee to tell her certain things. This was certainly a great experience for the child, but left the rest of the group wanting more. The program was advertised as a history of FDR's life and his role in preserving the United States during war and economic depression, but everything was limited to a very basic level.</p>
<p>Multisensory Engagement Degree to which the program intentionally and actively engaged more than just basic sight and sound (Beck & Cable, 2002; Knudson et al., 2003; Lewis, 2005; Moscardo, 1999; Tilden, 1957; Veverka, 1998; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).</p>	<p>HIGH: Visitors were actively engaged in the program in a number of different ways. Their hands and backs were used to complete tasks around the farm and help the ranger close up for the day. They could smell the fire in the fireplace, feel the roughness of the handles they were meant to use, and had to struggle to see certain things in the fading light. It truly immersed all of their senses in not just seeing, but also experiencing life on the farm and understanding where it has gotten us today.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter told people to stoop down and feel the sidewalk, because that's how smooth the carved faces of the presidents are.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter organized her talk around the five senses, providing opportunities throughout the talk to smell, see, hear, feel, and even taste.</p>

<p>Verbal Engagement Degree to which the program verbally engaged audience members in a participatory experience; i.e., two-way dialogue (Knudson et al., 2003; Moscardo, 1999; Sharpe, 1976; Tilden, 1957; Veverka, 1998).</p>	<p>HIGH: After sharing and explaining different sets of data on the giant video sphere, the rest of the program was treated like a discussion session with the audience members talking about what may be causing trends in climate change and how the trends may be reversed.</p> <p>HIGH: Visitors sang along with campfire songs, answered questions, and were allowed to tell stories of their experiences in the park.</p> <p>HIGH: Visitors participated in an exercise similar to what schoolchildren would have done in the schoolhouse where the program took place. We answered questions and repeated lessons back to the "teacher."</p> <p>LOW: The interpreter asked only rhetorical questions that didn't encourage visitor involvement. Eventually the audience stopped thinking about answers to her questions because we knew she'd answer them right away.</p>
<p>Central Message Degree to which the program's message(s) was clearly communicated; i.e., the "so what?" element of the program (Beck & Cable, 2002; Brochu & Merriman, 2002; Ham, 1992; Jacobson, 1999).</p>	<p>HIGH: This program focused on climate change and the impact that it can have on our lives. We were told over and over again throughout the program to think about why we should care. No matter what the science or politics say, the changes that have already occurred are something that will affect us and that we should be thinking about. The interpreter used powerful illustrations of flooding, storm damage, and drought to keep us thinking.</p> <p>HIGH: The interpreter used powerful emotional language ("the struggle for freedom," "the ultimate sacrifice," and "the value of our freedom") to remind us of why this monument exists and why it should matter to us. He convinced us that it deserves our respect and reverence, not because of what the monument is, but because of who it represents.</p> <p>LOW: During the course of this program, the interpreter talked about boats, earthquakes, sea life, and gold. He was very interesting to listen to and taught the audience a lot of things they likely didn't know before. However, these random topics together did not convey a central message. Rather, it left the audience with a feeling of "huh, that was interesting," but without any particular take-home message.</p>
<p>Consistency Degree to which the program's tone and quality were consistent throughout the program (Beck & Cable, 2002; Ham, 1992).</p>	<p>LOW: The program seemed oddly split; the first half was a very engaging, tactile program about buffalo, and the second half was an abrupt switch to plant identification, presented in a scientific manner on the hot prairie.</p>
<p>Fact-Based Messaging (negative influence) The program was exclusively factual (Jacobson, 1999; Lewis, 2005; Tilden, 1957; Ward & Wilkinson, 2006).</p>	<p>HIGH: This program, about the flora found within the park, provided an abundance of facts and scientific names. It did not touch upon why these plants mattered or what relevance they had to us. The interpreter simply listed fact after fact for the duration of an hour long program. After a point, everything began to blend together and lose its meaning.</p>
<p>Appropriate Pace Degree to which the pace of the program allowed for clarity and did not detract from the program (Jacobson, 1999).</p>	<p>TOO FAST: The ranger seemed hurried throughout the scheduled program. One visitor continued to ask detailed questions about the topic. The ranger responded with short, generally unhelpful answers, and even cut him off entirely on a few occasions. When a child in the group tried to ask a series of questions, he told the child he needed to hold his questions until the end so that he didn't "bother the other visitors."</p> <p>TOO SLOW: The interpreter kept the audience standing in the very hot sun while stumbling through long moments of silence punctuated by statements such as "Let's see," and "what else can I tell you?"</p>

We conducted a stepwise binary logistic regression on all interpreter and program characteristics (Table 4) to determine how well the most parsimonious set of characteristics could predict an overall quality assessment of 8 or better. The characteristics in Table 4 predict with over 88% accuracy which programs scored above or below this threshold. We urge some caution in the interpretation of this model. Many of the characteristics observed in the field were highly correlated with each other. The absence of characteristics that were otherwise strongly related to our score of "excellent" does not lessen their importance. Rather, their covariance with the predictors that populated the final model precludes their inclusion. For example, connection is strongly correlated with authentic emotion and charisma, confidence, organization, and appropriate for the audience ($r > 0.4$ in each case). As such, these variables appear in its

place in the model. The primary value of the model, we believe, is in demonstrating the strength of interpreter and program characteristics in predicting membership in the “excellent” category of programming.

We posit that the characteristics highlighted in the bivariate tests (shown in Tables 2 and 3), particularly those in bold italics, help to meaningfully differentiate programs that are adequate to satisfy visitors in a basic hedonic sense from those that may produce eudaimonic satisfaction. Our analyses suggest that each of these practices in various combinations may enhance outcomes across a majority of programs in which they were practiced. In other words, just like any other piece of art, there is no single recipe for success.

What do the practices look like?

Tables 5 and 6 provide definitions and examples from our field notes of the interpreter and program characteristics with the most powerful relationships to positive outcomes. We include only characteristics with strong statistically significant relationships ($p < .01$) with at least three measured outcomes (*satisfaction*, *visitor experience and appreciation*, *behavioral intentions*, and our own *overall quality assessment*). Positive examples in the tables reveal clear efforts to draw deeper connections to program attendees that go beyond mere entertainment and satisfaction of basic curiosity. The interpreters and programs exhibiting these traits seize the opportunity to go beyond the provision of basic hedonic satisfaction and move the visitor toward a more eudaimonic experience. This is not to say that all visitors to these programs experience life-changing moments, but rather the programs provide opportunities for visitors who are open to such provocation to make meaningful connections to the resources being interpreted.

We witnessed a number of brilliant programs over our three months of fieldwork. We’ve chosen one in particular to demonstrate the potential of interpretation to have meaningful longer-term influences on program attendees. This particular program scored an 8 on the overall quality measure.

Following a thorough orientation to the program content and logistics, the ranger told us a little bit about what we were going to learn and why it was important to know. As we walked to the first stop, he also taught us some basic facts about the progression of the war, how it came to this site, and some key players in the battles that were fought here. This was the extent of the “history lesson” about the Civil War. The real meat of the program was the story of one young, unnamed man who lived in this town. We stopped at the house where he grew up, sat in the schoolhouse where he learned to read and write as a child, and visited the blacksmith shop where he learned his trade as a young man. At each place we learned about daily life during the time period: how meals were prepared in the oppressively hot family kitchen, the long walk to school and the cramped conditions inside the single room, the dangers of blacksmithing and the injuries that were regularly endured—all through the eyes of our main character. As such, we were able to frame the Civil War in a very tangible sense and see our character as a real person, similar to us, with real hopes, relationships, and struggles.

As we moved onto the historic battlefield, the interpreter described how the young man saw the fight coming over the hill and rushed out his front door

to join the Union, without enlisting in any official capacity. As we crossed the battlefield we saw the progression of the battle through the young man's eyes. We could feel his anxiety and excitement, his bravery and despair. As the tour neared its conclusion, we learned the young man's name. We also learned how he remained on the battlefield until the end, providing safe retreat for his Union Army comrades. His heroic actions saved the lives of many but cost him his own.

We entered the National Cemetery, and the interpreter told us of many of the young men who had been buried here. We stopped. The ranger quietly paused and seemed to take it all in. Then he looked down at his feet and pointed out a grave stone near his feet—the final resting place of the young man we had spent the past hour coming to know. The audience's solemnity and sadness was palpable. The interpreter used few words to draw the connections between this young man's story and the magnitude of the Civil War's impact not only on our nation, but also on the people living so close to the battles. We had quite literally walked in this young man's footsteps as strong themes of sacrifice, beliefs, valor, and ordinary people unfolded. The audience stood in silence for quite some time after the program had ended.

This story, and many more like it, will stick with us for months and years to come. Like scenes from a great movie, a line from a song, or a favorite quote or poem, they arise in our minds and shape our decisions in ways that aren't always entirely tangible and for reasons we sometimes can't fully apprehend. Yet, they are there—a piece of our selves. Great interpretation provides this.

So what?

We've identified in both a statistical and qualitative sense throughout this special issue the characteristics of interpreters and their programs that appear to provide the most meaningful experiences for program attendees. We've attempted to demonstrate the difference between meeting basic expectations of the visitor and providing a truly exceptional experience. Sam Ham (2013) describes the endgame of interpretation as provocation, or "making people think and find personal meaning" (p. 62). Connection, stewardship, appreciation, understanding, revelation, inspiration, caring, motivation, and building support (or constituency) are other words commonly associated with the purpose of interpretation (Association for Heritage Interpretation, 2013; European Association for Heritage Interpretation, 2013; Interpretation Australia, 2013; Interpretation Canada, 2013; National Association for Interpretation, 2013; Stern & Powell, 2011; U.S. National Park Service, 2013). As such, satisfying the basic expectations of the visitor, such as orientation or entertainment, may be viewed not only as interpretive outcomes, but also as means to more meaningful and lasting ends (see Ham, 2013). Similar to Pine and Gilmore (1998), who urged the tourism industry to transition from a paradigm of *service delivery* to one of *experience creation*, we urge providers of interpretation to consider the potential of interpretation for meeting these more eudaimonic purposes in their planning and programming.

To meet these ultimate goals, we suggest that interpreters and interpretive organizations, such as the NPS, might consider the findings of this study in light of their hiring, training, and organizational cultures and practices. Many of the characteristics identified within the research effort are already clearly identified in training materials

and books used in classes on interpretation (U.S. National Park Service, 2013; Skibins et al., 2012). The influence of interpreters' expressed personalities and attitudes beg a deeper question, however, regarding how to train for, or otherwise influence, these characteristics.

Hiring and training

We focus in particular on the role of knowledge. We do this for two reasons. First, the hiring process for many interpretive agencies relies heavily on the self-reported knowledge, skills, and abilities (also known as KSAs) of potential hires. Second, we have witnessed interpretive training programs that we feel promote a potentially inappropriate role for facts and knowledge in communications with visitors. As discussed in Stern and Powell (this issue), the interpreter's knowledge of the subject matter is critical to the successful presentation of a program. However, knowledge should not necessarily be the focus of the communication itself. We rather posit that the knowledge of the interpreter serves a more important indirect role to successful communication through the development of confidence. This confidence frees the interpreter to be creative, emotive, and genuine in his or her communications instead of nervous or struggling to remember the correct facts and dates (Daly et al., 1989). Our data suggests that an over-emphasis on resource knowledge has the potential to hinder rather than promote positive visitor outcomes if it becomes the sole focus of the presentation (see also Stern & Powell, this issue).

Clearly, knowledge of the appropriate techniques and end goals of interpretation as well as knowledge of audiences and resources are critical for successful interpretation (Lacome, 2013). Our interviews with interpreters prior to their presentations revealed that those who aimed to provide visitors with new knowledge achieved less positive outcomes than those aiming to inspire visitors to gain a greater appreciation, change their attitudes, or desire to learn more (see also Stern & Powell, this issue). We argue that interpreters' understanding of these eudaimonic goals of interpretation may serve as a meaningful predictor of their success. As such, gauging beliefs about interpretation's appropriate outcomes in the hiring process might serve as reasonable predictors about how one might approach the task. Some assessment of general philosophies about the importance of story-telling and commitment to the mission of the organization might also be useful at this hiring stage. Each of these elements could also form the basis of meaningful training for all interpreters.

Knowledge of the resource, audience, and techniques can be further developed after hire on-site. Providing employees with the ability to spend time forming their own meaningful connections with the resources and stories they will be interpreting may be just as critical as time in the library or archives developing an understanding of the facts about the resource. Without these personal connections, it may prove quite challenging to provide similar connections for visitors. Without a holistic picture of a place or a resource, it may be quite difficult to develop compelling stories that reveal deeper meaning to audiences. Training can provide multiple versions of stories to interpreters, as they develop their own.

We have witnessed various approaches to training. Some have focused on accuracy and education through organizing facts into a coherent order for presentation, similar to what one learns in a college public speaking course—*tell 'em what you'll tell 'em, tell 'em, and then tell 'em what you told 'em*. While this approach can help with organizing information, it does not alone capture what is most important to interpretive

communication. We argue for a more hands-on approach that begins with demonstration of the practices uncovered in our study as well as demonstration of drier, more factual presentations. Without experiencing each, it may be difficult to grasp the difference between mediocre and excellent interpretation. As interpreters practice their own programs, the list of characteristics uncovered within this study can serve as a menu of elements for experimentation and constructive feedback. Perhaps most important would be to stress the desired outcomes of programs to interpreters. Currently, most park units' long-range interpretive plans in the NPS place emphasis on subject matter themes rather than desired outcomes for visitors. A slight shift in what is most prominently communicated to interpreters from the organization could make a meaningful impact.

Organizational support

Elements of organizational culture have been long identified as important drivers of employee performance (Gordon & DiTomaso, 1992; Judge et al., 2001; Schein, 2010). We focus on the concepts of employee empowerment and adaptability, critical task, and attitudinal organizational commitment (AOC). Our study revealed that interpreters tend to produce better outcomes for visitors when they are excited and positive about their work (Stern & Powell, this issue). Similarly, a large body of research suggests that happy employees tend to perform better (Judge et al., 2001). Organizational culture can have a strong influence on such feelings (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985).

We posit that interpreters who feel empowered and supported by their organizations will be most successful in producing positive visitor outcomes. Our qualitative observations, interviews, and casual conversations with interpreters in the field strongly support this notion. The proposition is further supported in the management literature, where the empowerment of employees is equated to feelings of competence, self-determination (freedom to choose how to get the job done), a sense that the work is important, and a belief that the work will have a meaningful impact on the larger goals of the organization (Kirkman & Rosen, 1999; Spreitzer, 1996). Such empowerment, and the adaptability that is associated with it, has been empirically equated with better performance in multiple studies (e.g., Gordon & DiTomaso, 1992; Stern & Predmore, 2012). In our study, elements of confidence and authentic emotion served as critical ingredients of outstanding programs.

Multiple studies reveal that adaptability at the individual level is most predictive of success in organizations and work units that have a clear and consistent sense of mission and a strong organizational culture (Wilson, 1989). Wilson (1989) argues that a clear sense of mission emerges not necessarily from a mission statement, but from the articulation of a "critical task" that is widely accepted and endorsed by employees. A critical task involves the clear definition of the specific outcomes that employees can produce to accomplish the overall mission of the agency. A strong and healthy organizational culture can be defined as one where employees share consistent views about this critical task. They also share relatively consistent views that the organization emphasizes both its human resources and goal accomplishment (Hansen & Wernerfelt, 1989; Gordon & DiTomaso, 1992). This combination can influence high levels of AOC, which indicates the relative strength of an employee's commitment to and identification with an organization (Deery & Iverson, 2005; Mowday et al., 1982; Riketta, 2002). The stronger the AOC, the stronger the employee's motivation to pursue the agency's goals and improve its status (Riketta & Landerer, 2005).

With all this in mind, certain elements of organizational support may be particularly helpful in enhancing interpreter performance: a recognition and articulation of clear (and meaningful) objectives for interpretive outcomes for attendees, training and immersive time with the resource to enhance feelings of competency, freedom to develop programs creatively with organizationally important outcomes in mind, and appreciative support and recognition from supervisors and managers. In our study, each park unit appeared to have its own unique organizational culture. Our qualitative observations indicated strong influences in some cases of less than healthy organizational cultures upon interpreter performance. While the mood of individual interpreters on any given day may be largely independent of organizational culture, unhealthy cultures may predispose interpreters to falling short of providing the best programs within their abilities. Meanwhile, healthy, empowering cultures may influence higher levels of confidence, passion, and creativity in interpreters, enhancing their connections to both the resources they interpret and the audiences they engage.

Conclusions

The research reported within this special issue suggests that certain characteristics of interpreters and their programs may make the difference between mediocre, or adequate, experiences for visitors and exceptional experiences. In this article, we have tried to delineate the differences between the outcomes of each type of program. Most programs in the study attained positive levels of satisfaction from attendees, suggesting that basic expectations were typically met. Some programs, however, likely influenced attendees in far more meaningful ways, similar to the way a great work of art or movie might be revelatory or inspirational, or provide some new insight or viewpoint that remains long after the experience. We urge interpretive organizations to consider the findings presented within this manuscript and the rest of this special issue when developing and/or revising training for interpreters. We also urge interpretive organizations to reach toward more eudaimonic experiences for visitors by clearly articulating goals that go beyond merely satisfying visitors' basic expectations. Interpretation provides the opportunity to accomplish much more, not only in terms of visitor experiences, but also with regard to building constituencies for the interpreted resources and the organizations that protect them. Finally, we urge interpretive organizations to consider that training alone may be insufficient to create the conditions that produce great programs for visitors and that organizational culture may have powerful influences on visitor outcomes.

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Book Review

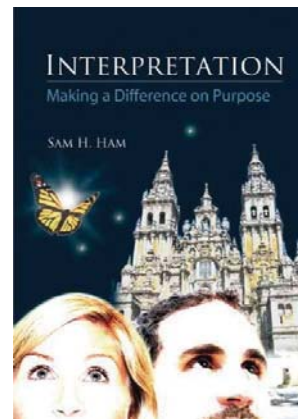
Interpretation: Making a Difference on Purpose

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It has been almost 10 years since I called Sam Ham about writing *Conducting Meaningful Interpretation* with my long-time colleague and friend Alan Wilkinson. I was looking for guidance and for advice about publishing, but mostly I wanted to talk to the person whom I thought had written the most definitive book on interpretation in more than 30 years, *Environmental Interpretation*. I have two copies of his book, one so worn with the dirt-covered fingers of a field interpreter that the spine had long fallen apart and another so highlighted and marked up with the pen of a lecturer that reading it unimpaired was impossible.

When I got my first job as an interpreter at Hungry Mother State Park in Virginia, before I even knew what the term *interpretation* meant, I was handed Ham's book and told that I needed to prepare a program in two weeks. I used it to walk me through the process of program development, to understand techniques and strategies for dealing with a group and to create a program with some meaning. Years later, when I became a professor of interpretation at Humboldt State University, I used his book to teach my students. My students loved it, and dog-eared copies adorned the classroom until the day I left. As my career evolved in the profession of interpretation, I became more immersed in research, evidence-based practice and "proof" of what worked and why. The further away from practicing in the field I moved, the more I wanted to explain and understand that "light in the eyes" of my visitors that I based my own determinations of "success" upon. How



could we be sure that programs were successful? What was success? How could we do better?

So when I picked up the phone that day 10 years ago to talk to Ham about writing a new book on the practice and science of interpretation, it was certainly with some trepidation. Although I did not believe our text would replace Ham's seminal book, I did want to convey more of the science behind the practice and to bound practice in current theory as much as possible. My trepidation fell quickly away, when Ham professed that he not only thought it was time for a new book, but that he would like for it be a part of Fulcrum's acclaimed Applied Communication Series for which he served as the executive editor. He also confessed that he thinking about writing a new book and that he wanted it to be different from his first one. He wanted to springboard from where he left off in *Environmental Interpretation* and assured me that our two "new" books would fit nicely together in the series.

Now, almost 10 years after my phone call, Ham's long-awaited *Interpretation: Making a Difference on Purpose* has been released. Although Ham could have released this book years ago (I remember seeing drafts of a chapter almost three years before actual release), his tenacity and dogged persistence in seeking his colleagues' feedback and refining his work has paid off. After being in the field for so long, in so many different capacities, it is hard to think of reading anything about interpretation that would take me by surprise. But this book made me stop, made me think and made me re-think some of those things which are assumptions and quickly passed over as "basics."

I spent many days pouring over his book in preparation for writing this review and soon became lost in the work itself instead of focusing on how I would convey it in a review. This was to me the mark of yet another seminal work from Sam Ham. I wasn't reading a textbook, as much as having an intimate conversation with the author about the profession of interpretation. He drew me in with his relaxed conversational style of writing and set the researcher in me to rest with the detailed annotated notes that followed each chapter.

Ham is the embodiment of an interpreter. His TORE model (Chapter 2) is not just one he preaches; he practices it in his writing. He does not bore the reader with the citations throughout the text which would deter from the conversation, but instead includes them, along with a glossary, after each chapter for those interpretation nerds like me who want to delve deeper. Although I am sure many captive audiences will read this book in a classroom preparing for a pending test, many more readers like me will enjoy the conversation that unfolds within the pages and will read it for sheer *enjoyment*. The writing is light, funny and engaging.

The *relevance* of the book is without question. Whether the reader is a student, practitioner, researcher, or manager, Ham's book has something relevant to offer. I learned new concepts and terms which are sure to have lasting value and application in the profession for years to come. Ham's introduction and discussion of the Zone of Tolerance (Chapter 8) is a concept that has been missing in the field and provides a real-world solution to practicing interpreters for judging whether or not they are "successful." It is elegantly simplistic and yet well-grounded in theory and reality. Discussions of Thought-Listing (Appendix 3) and the End Game (Chapter 3) are other relevant concepts revealed in the book that are sure to keep readers engaged and leave them enlightened.

Ham's *organizational* style follows that of a honed interpretive program with main concepts repeated throughout and new ideas carefully woven into our schemata. In fact,

Chapter 4 allows readers to digest and reflect on the three previous chapters, assisting readers in building their own scaffolding before moving on to the heart of the matter in Chapter 5, *Making a Difference on Purpose*. Ham's organizational mastery is not only reflected in repetition but in his frequent use of foreshadowing which is applied with the skill of a great storyteller keeping readers captured with the excitement of what the next page will bring.

Although according to Ham the *theme* comes first, I have chosen to cover it last in this review because it is the "So What?" that made me stop and think. Like a good interpretive program, the theme discussions in Ham's book are what bind it all together. And with four chapters, 6, 7, 9, and 10, dedicated to discussing thematic interpretation, Ham clearly supports the notion that it is the critical component of interpretation. The discussion of thematic interpretation is dynamic and detailed and takes the reader on a journey from simplistic understanding to sophisticated application. The theme helps us define the "So What?" and should assist us in determining the Zone of Tolerance (Chapter 8).

Ham's *Interpretation: Making a Difference on Purpose* is the ultimate "end game." It made me think, it made me elaborate on what I already knew, and it provoked me to want to know more. As Ham said on page 65, "making a difference on purpose is both the premise and promise of interpretation," and this book is both.

Manuscript Submission

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The purposes of the *Journal of Interpretation Research* are to communicate original empirical research dealing with heritage interpretation and to provide a forum for scholarly discourse about issues facing the profession of interpretation. The *Journal* strives to link research with practice. The *Journal of Interpretation Research* is published by the National Association for Interpretation, the preeminent professional association representing the heritage interpretation profession.

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Ryan, C. & Dewar, K. (1995). Evaluating the Communication Process Between Interpreter and Visitor. *Tourism Management*, 16(4): 295-303.

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