Understanding Safari Jogging in the Veluwe, the Netherlands: a social practice perspective

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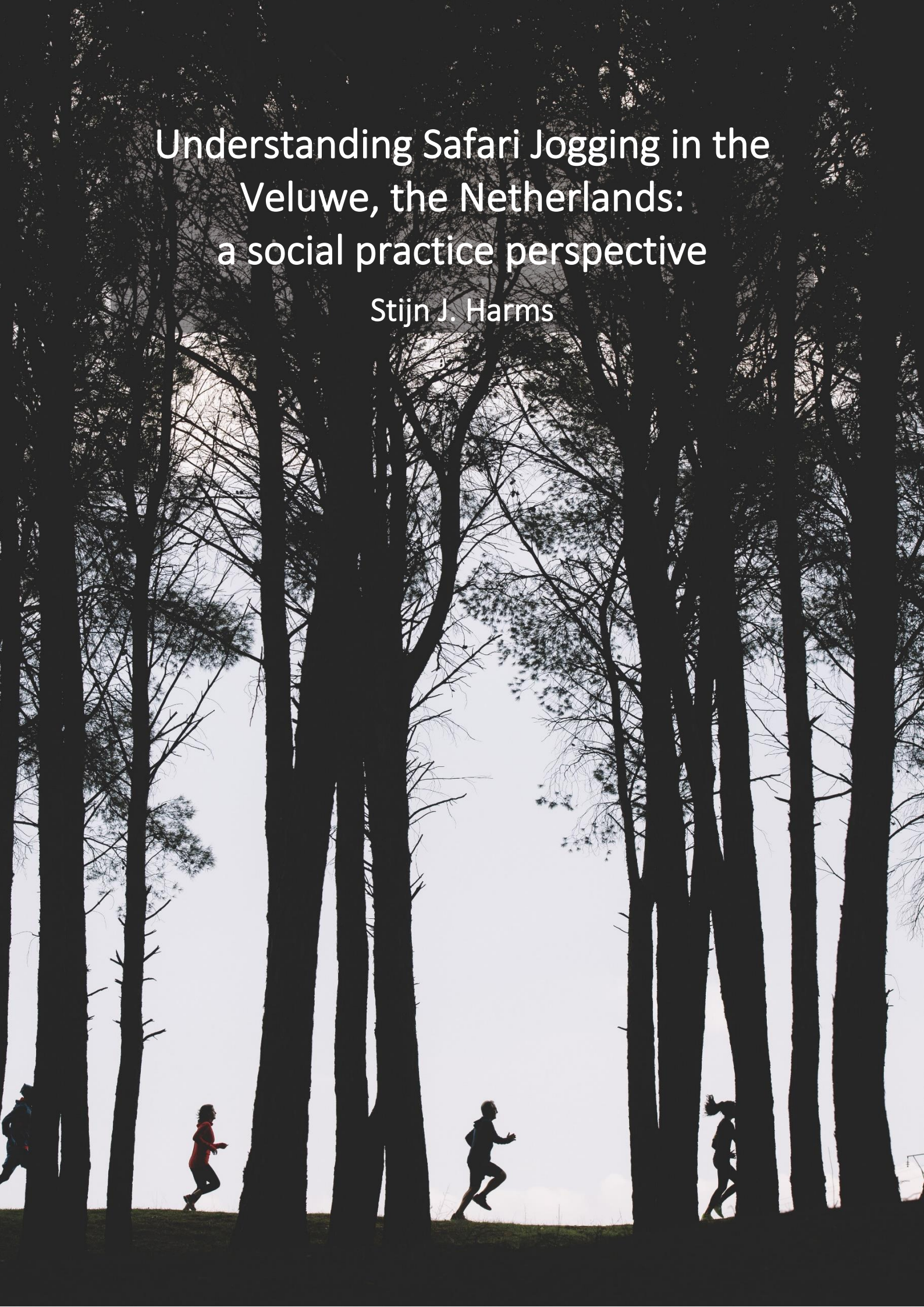

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Master of Science Thesis

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Preface

After a seven month lasting research, it is with both pleasure and pride I present my thesis. As a graduating MSc student to-be in an ever-changing world, the need for new knowledge on how to deal with these changes has pushed me to study a topic of interest from a different perspective; the outdoor recreational activity of Safari Jogging from a social practice perspective. From my experience, the social practice theory is one that requires time and energy to be properly understood, yet deserves more attention and applications in the sociology of tourism and beyond. By reading this report, I hope you will understand why.

By engaging in literature reading, report writing and both collecting and analysing data, my knowledge and skills as a researcher have not only been tested but also improved. Yet in truth, individually executing these steps does not exclude help from others. I would therefore like to thank my supervisors Maarten Jacobs and José Meijer for guiding me throughout the process and stimulating me to remain both critical and resolute. Additionally, an appreciation for the Safari Jogging organisation, with a special thanks to Rob, is in place who gave me permission to study the activity and put me in contact with people to conduct interviews. I therefore sincerely hope my thesis will be of practical use to the Safari Jogging organisation next to being scientifically relevant.

Finally, I hope that you as a reader do find the thesis insightful, may that be for a theoretical, practical or any other purpose for that matter. As my goal of gaining new knowledge regarding both Safari Jogging and the social practice theory has been achieved, my next goal is to share this knowledge here with you. Enjoy.

Stijn J. Harms,

Wageningen, April 2021

Abstract

Introduction: Safari Jogging is a recreational activity in the Veluwe, the Netherlands that combines running with wildlife spotting. As studies on Safari Jogging have yet to be conducted to understand this activity comprehensively, Safari Jogging was investigated here as a social practice; a routinised type of behaviour that is formed through the interlinkages of elements. **Theoretical Framework:** A newly constructed theoretical framework was proposed in this research through which the interlinkages of the materials, meanings, competences and affects of Safari Jogging were investigated. **Methods:** A qualitative study design was used. The data consists of ten conducted semi-structured interviews with Safari Jogging participants (seven) and Safari Jogging guides (three) that were transcribed, coded and analysed for recurring themes. **Results:** Findings showed the various interlinking elements that form Safari Jogging through five key themes: guide-participant relations; mindful jogging; nature-based recreation in the Netherlands; wildlife spotting; and a weather and season-related practice. **Discussion and conclusion:** Interpretation of the findings showed how Safari Jogging cannot be understood as a social practice by focussing on the interlinkages of elements alone. I demonstrated the necessity of a focus on interrelations between Safari Jogging and other social practices to understand Safari Jogging comprehensively. I emphasise the need for more empirical applications of social practice theories in future research. Such a shift in perspective could be useful for understanding recreational behaviour more comprehensively in the context of the activity instead of focussing on the individual alone. I argue that policy strategies on behaviour can also benefit from this shift through new opportunities for intervention and practice-oriented policies.

Keywords: social practice theory, Safari Jogging, routinised behaviour, interlinking elements, tourism research

Table of contents

List of tables and figures

1. Introduction

1.1 Introducing Safari Jogging

> *''Safari Jogging is the most adventurous running activity in the Netherlands and combines in a unique manner running with the spotting of wildlife.''*

Translated directly from their website (Safari-Joggen, n.d.), the quote above illustrates how Safari Jogging (from the Dutch name '*Safari-Joggen')* promotes itself as a unique combination of two activities; running and wildlife spotting. Occurring all year round in the company of a guide, groups with a maximum of eight participants are led through the Southwest Veluwe, the Netherlands, trying to spot wildlife at jogging speed. To increase the chances of spotting the '*Big 5*' wildlife animals of the Veluwe, consisting of the fallow deer, wild boar, badger, fox and red deer, the activity takes place during sunrise or sunset. In consultation with the guide, the participants can choose the preferred areas to jog through as well as the preferred length of their jog, which can vary between 10-25km (Safari-Joggen, n.d.).

The uniqueness of Safari Jogging also has a downside, however, as studies on this recreational activity still remain absent. In contrast to Safari Jogging, a limited number of studies have been conducted on other outdoor recreational activities that are related to Safari Jogging such as various type of walking and running. Walking is a physical activity that can be considered both an ordinary mode of transport and a mode of recreation or exercise (Giles-Corti & Donovan, 2003; Zurawik, 2020a). As walking does not require any special training or equipment, it is an activity that can be performed at people's own convenience (Morris & Hardman, 1997). There are various forms of walking that are all performed for various reasons and are therefore also different in their experience and characteristics. Leisure walking, which is walking as a free time activity that gives people pleasant feelings, can offer an escape of the daily life, an opportunity of reflection, a means of bonding with places and mental relaxation (Zurawik, 2020a). Long distance walking, which are recreational walks that can take up multiple days to finish, is suggested to be associated with experiences of escaping daily life, becoming more relaxed, creating a sense of accomplishment and being challenged (den Breejen, 2007). And hiking, consisting of both long and short walks in rural and natural areas, is suggested to be associated with an enjoyment of the landscapes, a restoration of mental energy, escaping daily life, peacefulness and quietness (Nordbø & Prebensen, 2015).

Another type of walking that has increased in popularity over the last years is Nordic Walking; a form of walking with poles that combines fitness walking with cross-country skiing techniques that finds its origin in Scandinavia (Zurawik, 2020b; Pérez-Soriano et al., 2014). As Nordic Walking is a more stable and faster form of walking, it is considered an intermediate mode of running and walking (Pérez-Soriano et al., 2014). Studies show how Nordic Walking is associated with increases in well-being and physical health, connectedness to nature, forms of relaxation, socialisation and an escape of negative thoughts (Zurawik, 2020b; Knapik et al., 2014). Running is a more physical form of walking done at a higher speed, often for exercise reasons but just like walking performed without needing special equipment (Bodin & Hartig, 2003). While running can be done both indoors and outdoors, running outdoors is perceived as being less strenuous than running indoors (Céci & Hassmén, 1991, as mentioned in Bodin & Hartig, 2003).

To comprehensively understand these activities, Hannam and Witte (2018) argue that it is the context in which these activities are performed that matters. For instance, a short walk through the neighbourhood is not much different from a short walk through natural areas. However, because of the context in which these walks take place, the latter will be perceived as a hike, whereas the former

will be perceived as only a stroll or leisure walk. It is therefore the context of the environment that creates a distinction between walking in the neighbourhood and hiking in natural areas. Shove and Pantzar (2005) also state the importance of context-dependency and show this through the example of Nordic Walking. Here, the use of walking sticks creates an activity where new walking techniques are applied and an image of health and fitness becomes associated with Nordic Walking. The context of walking where sticks are used therefore shapes Nordic Walking into a practice that is not only performed but also perceived differently from other forms of walking.

To this day similar research, or any research for that matter, has not been conducted on Safari Jogging. This is unfortunate as the above mentioned insights are not necessarily applicable to Safari Jogging for several reasons. First of all, Safari Jogging is a group activity, implying there are constant social group dynamics and relations that make Safari Jogging participants dependent on each other for performing the activity adequately. Secondly, as Safari Jogging includes a guide that instructs participants how to behave during the activity and determines the routes to be taken, various tourist-guide interactions impact how Safari Jogging is performed. Thirdly and following up on this, while forms of walking and running are (most likely) performed repeatedly, Safari Jogging is for most participants a one-time event. Hence, participants are depending on the guide for a proper execution of the activity as they lack this expertise and understanding of the activity themselves. Finally, and as aforementioned, Safari Jogging provides a unique combination of two activities; running and wildlife spotting. Whereas the aspect of running is closely related to similar activities, the aspect of wildlife spotting is not. Yet, as Safari Jogging combines these two activities, the running cannot be properly understood if separated from the wildlife spotting. To comprehensively understand Safari Jogging and the context in which it takes place, a study on Safari Jogging is required.

1.2 Research problem

Based on this brief literature review, it has become clear that a research gap exists concerning Safari Jogging, and with that a lack of understanding Safari Jogging as a context-dependent activity. Besides, insights from related activities cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging either. A study on Safari Jogging could therefore provide insights into what makes Safari Jogging and how such a unique recreational combination of running and wildlife spotting works in practice.

To understand Safari Jogging, I will make use of a rather new theory for studying recreational activities; the social practice theory. In the next chapter I will elaborate upon the reasoning behind applying the social practice theory for this study as well as its implications for understanding Safari Jogging.

1.3 Outline of this report

In chapter two an elaboration of the social practice theory is given. Here, I describe the proposed theoretical framework that will be used to study Safari Jogging and end the chapter with the research questions. In chapter three the methodology of this research is elaborated upon. Both the methods of data collection and data analysis will be explained in detail here, as well as how ethical considerations and reflexivity are dealt with. In chapter four, the results of the conducted research on Safari Jogging are given both in detailed description and thematic overview. In chapter five, a discussion and conclusion on this research is given. The findings are discussed in light of the research questions, literature on social practice theory and the proposed framework. Furthermore, conclusions of this research include possible policy implications of this study and its findings, as well as recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical framework to be used in my research will be elaborated upon. First, the social practice perspective will be compared to other theoretical perspectives, along with its usefulness for understanding Safari Jogging (2.1). Then, the social practice theory will be explained (2.2) after which I move on to describe the framework of Shove, Pantzar and Watson (2012) and the three elements that will be built upon in my framework (2.3). After that, the proposed inclusion of a fourth affective element will be discussed (2.4) to eventually provide a conceptual model that visualises the theoretical framework (2.5). Finally, the objective and questions of this research are given (2.6).

2.1 A different lens: the social practice perspective

While slowly gaining terrain in social research, the social practice theory, also described as practice theory, is part of the social theories. The first question to be answered here is then; what are the benefits of using the social practice theory to investigate Safari Jogging? Reckwitz (2002) distinguishes between three social theories to explain action and social order: (1) the purpose-oriented theory; (2) the norm-oriented theory; and (3) the cultural-oriented theory, with the social practice theory being a subtype of the latter.

The purpose-oriented theory of action is closely related to the Rational Choice Theory, and describes individual action as self-interested where decisions are made based on weighing the costs and benefits of different actions in order to decide what action is best for the individual (Scott, 2000). Due to their rationality, individual purposes and self-interest, the individual is also referred to as the 'homo economicus', a concept that has become widely applied to micro-economics as well (Reckwitz, 2002; Scott, 2000). If several participants behave in a similar way, it is because these individuals have all made a rational weighing of the costs and benefits of their possible actions, and all came to the same conclusion to behave in that specific way. The social order, which are the social structures and arrangements that society consists of and determine action, can therefore be seen as ''a product of the combination of single interests'' (Reckwitz, 2002, p245). But even though the purpose-oriented theory provides an explanation for individual behaviour, it neglects the presence of collective action and social norms in society (Scott, 2000). If people always choose what is best for their self-interest, why would they choose something that benefits others more than themselves? And why would they accept to behave in line with certain social norms if it is in contrast with their self-interest? Moreover, the purpose-oriented theory does not provide a solid explanation for the existence of larger social structures that move beyond the actions of individuals and their single interests (Scott, 2000).

Next, we have the norm-oriented theory of action. Here, ''the model of the homo sociologicus explains action by pointing to collective norms and values, i.e. to rules which express a social 'ought'; social order is then guaranteed by a normative consensus'' (Reckwitz, 2002, p245). According to the norm-oriented theory, action is not dependent on the self-interest of the individual, but dependent on what ought to be culturally accepted and is in line with social norms (Hirsch, Michaels & Friedman, 1990). Even though the norm-oriented theory offers an explanation for the existence of collective action and social norms (Scott, 2000), both the purpose-oriented and norm-oriented theory have a blind spot (Reckwitz, 2002); the structure of shared knowledge that legitimises action and enables agents to interpret the world around them in a particular way is not included in either one of the theories. Since understanding shared knowledge is important to understand how and why action is perceived as legitimate, I believe in line with Reckwitz that a third theory could be more useful in comprehending this; the cultural-oriented theory of action. Cultural-oriented theories are best explained the following way:

> The newness of the cultural theories consists in explaining and understanding actions by reconstructing the symbolic structures of knowledge which enable and constrain the agents to interpret the world according to certain forms and to behave in corresponding ways. Social order then does not appear as a product of compliance of mutual normative expectations, but embedded in collective cognitive and symbolic structures, in a 'shared knowledge' which enables a socially shared way of ascribing meaning to the world (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 245-246).

Within cultural theories, action and social order is not individually or collectively driven, but rather dependent on the shared knowledge structures that people have. As a subtype of the cultural theories, social practice theory includes these shared knowledge structures in practices. This knowledge enables and constrains people's perception of the world, thereby resulting in behaviour that is routinised (Reckwitz, 2002). The social practice theory does not necessarily depend on interactions, discourses or symbols through which knowledge is shared, as is the case with other subtypes of cultural theories. Instead, it depends on how the social practice is performed as a 'block' or 'pattern' of behaviours that depends on the interlinkages of elements (Reckwitz, 2002). A practice is therefore social ''as it is a 'type' of behaving and understanding that appears at different locales and at different points of time and is carried out by different body/minds'' (Reckwitz, 2002, p250). Here, the individual is perceived as someone who behaves and performs, or in Reckwitz' words a 'body/mind' who 'carries out', the practice in a routinised manner. As a social practice perspective does not focus on the individual but on the practice in which behaviour is routinely shaped, the social practice perspective can provide insights into not only how various participants are behaving in Safari Jogging but also provide insights into why different participants at different times and locales are behaving that same way through the interlinkages of elements.

Applying a social practice theory to understand Safari Jogging has therefore several benefits. Firstly, social practice theory shifts from a focus on the individual to explain behaviour towards a focus on the context the individual engages in (Bargeman & Richards, 2020; Spaargaren, Lamers & Weenink, 2016). A social practice perspective can therefore provide a more comprehensive understanding of how Safari Jogging is performed, but more importantly, it can also provide insights into *why* particular behaviour is performed and reproduced by different individuals at different locales and different times (Reckwitz, 2002). Secondly, a social practice perspective can provide insights into how Safari Jogging is formed through linkages between elements, but can also provide insights into the relations between Safari Jogging and other practices (Lamers, van der Duim & Spaargaren, 2017; Nicolini, 2012). A social practice perspective can therefore provide a more holistic understanding of Safari Jogging instead of treating Safari Jogging as an isolated activity; one that occurs independently from other activities (Nicolini, 2012). Thirdly, the social practice perspective can provide new intervention possibilities for behavioural change. Applying a social practice perspective can assist in identifying unsustainable elements, linkages and relations with other practices that influence Safari Jogging, and stimulate practice-oriented policies that could steer behaviour into a preferred direction (Shove et al., 2012; Lamers et al., 2017; Spurling et al., 2013). What a social practice perspective exactly entails and how it can be empirically applied to the study of Safari Jogging will be elaborated upon next.

2.2 Social practice: an explanation of the theory

Over the last two decades, social practice theories have become more abundant in social science and tourism studies (Lamers et al., 2017). Social practice theories challenge the standard assumptions and conventional approaches to analyse human behaviour with a focus shift from the individual towards the social practice which these individuals engage in (Spaargaren et al., 2016). According to the social practice theory, human activities cannot be fully understood when social structure and human agency are considered two separate things. Both are influencing each other reciprocally. By participating in a social practice and reproducing it, agency makes use of the structures of practices and renews these

structures (Lamers et al., 2017; Giddens, 1984; Schatzki, 2002). Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens are seen as the founders of this agency-structure relation, which has become a key theme in social theory (King, 2010). Giddens' (1984) structuration theory describes human activity and social structures as recursively related. This means that activities are enabled and shaped by different structures of meanings and rules, while these structures are simultaneously reproduced through action (Shove et al., 2012). Agency and structure should therefore not be seen as two independent sets of phenomena (i.e. a dualism), but as interdependent (i.e. a duality). Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a socialised body also shows this duality of agency and structure, where all practices that individuals engage in show the dominant culture and social structures they live in (Bourdieu 1977; 1984). The habitus is the individual's way of perceiving the world and acting upon it (Bourdieu, 1977). It can be seen as 'a system of dispositions' that forms an objective basis to behave in a certain way, while also allowing for individual agency (Bourdieu, 1984; Reay, 2004). Habitus forms a practical sense for individuals to act or think without hesitation that is in line with their dispositions (Thieme, 2008). The embodiment of habitus by a group occurs therefore in a natural way and not through rational decision making or force from outside (Horolets, Stodolska & Peters, 2019).

Despite the fact that social practice theorists build upon this agency-structure relation the label of social practice theory is, from my experience, rather unclear due to the fact that a diverse group of authors, including their conceptualisations, frameworks and scholarly traditions, are covered by it, thereby creating a perceived lack of consensus (Reckwitz, 2002; Nicolini, 2012). Moreover, no general definition of social practice theory exists. Giddens perceives social practices as 'regularized types of acts' (Giddens, 1993, p81) that are routinised, interdependent and performed by knowledgeable actors (Nicolini, 2012). Bourdieu never even gave a definition but perceives social practices as a ''particular, theory-laden way to refer to what people do in everyday life'' (Nicolini, 2012, p53). Social practice theory should therefore not be seen as a grand theory but a theory network that consists of (dis)similarities within (Nicolini, 2012).

An author widely known for his work on social practice theory is Reckwitz (2002). He describes a social practice as ''a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, knowhow, states of emotion and motivational knowledge'' (p249). This definition is still one of the most widely used conceptualisations of a social practice and puts an emphasis on the routinised character of an individual's behaviour and the interconnection of elements that organise this behaviour. Everything we do can be considered a social practice. Examples are walking, eating, showering, discourse and even sleeping (Nicolini, 2012; Valtonen & Veijola, 2011; Rantala & Valtonen, 2014), all depending on the interlinkages of different elements that forms the routinised type of behaviour of these practices.

Another social practice theorist is Schatzki (2002), who argues that social practices consists of material arrangements and the 'doings and sayings' that hang together through practical understanding (abilities to engage in a practice), general understanding (shared idea of the practice meaning), rules (instructions directing people to perform action) and teleoaffective structures or TAS (what ought to be accomplished and in which manner) (Schatzki, 2002). A third description that could be used is the one of Shove et al. (2012), who build upon the work of Reckwitz (2002) and argue that social practices are formed when the elements of materials (such as objects or tangible physical entities), meanings (such as ideas and aspirations) and competences (such as skills and knowhow) are repeatedly interlinked and create a distinctive and recognisable conjunction of elements.

Social practices do, however, not exist isolated but rather interrelated to other social practices. Effectively analysing social practices as well as their interrelations with other practices should

therefore be done twofold; by altering the lens between 'zooming in' on the practice and 'zooming out' on the plenum of practices (Nicolini, 2012). By zooming in on the practice, an in-depth analysis and thick description of the interconnecting elements and details of the practice becomes visible. However, practices do not occur in isolation and are in constant relation to other practices. I therefore agree with Nicolini (2012) that trying to understand these practices should also be done 'relationally' and 'as part of a nexus of connections' (Nicolini, 2012, p229). By zooming out on the plenum of practices then, interrelations of different practices as well as how they influence each other can be identified and provide a more comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging (Nicolini, 2012).

Applying one theoretical framework, including the understanding of what entails a social practice, and disregarding another could have negative consequences for this research. Nicolini (2012) argues that practice research can profit from combining different conceptualisations and instruments of social practice theories that have been used so far. I agree with this statement and do not claim that one framework is better than another but argue a certain framework fits better taking into account the scope of my research. I therefore propose a combination of the conceptualisation of Reckwitz (2002) in which a social practice is a routinised type of behaviour, and the framework of Shove et al. (2012) where a social practice is formed through the interlinkages of three elements; materials, competences and meanings. Building upon the framework of Shove et al. (2012) is done because of the comprehensible empirical application of this framework, as I will demonstrate in the next section. However, I move beyond these three elements only and will include a fourth affective element as suggested by Reckwitz (2017) to deal with the lack of an affective compound in the framework of Shove et al. (2012). Investigating Safari Jogging will be done by altering the lens between zooming in on the practice and zooming out on the interrelations with other practices, as proposed by Nicolini (2012). The next two paragraphs will elaborate upon the decision behind understanding a social practice through the interlinkages of these four elements in my theoretical framework.

2.3 The three elements: materials, competences and meanings

In the proposed theoretical framework here, I describe a social practice as a routinised type of behaviour that is formed through the interlinkages of four elements. These interlinkages are recurrently enacted by different individuals at different times and locales, forming the social practice (Reckwitz, 2002; Shove et al., 2012).

The interlinking elements that will be investigated in this framework to study Safari Jogging as a social practice are based on the framework of Shove et al. (2012). The interlinkages between these elements are constantly sustained, made or broken. Through these interlinkage processes, practices can persist, emerge or shift, depending on the specific connections that (dis)appear (Shove et al., 2012). According to Shove et al. (2012), there are three elements a social practice consists of:

1. *Materials*: This includes 'things' such as tangible physical entities, technologies and objects the practice consists of. Examples are infrastructures, hardware, tools but also the (human) body itself (cf. Shove et al., 2007).

2. *Competences*: This includes the techniques, knowhow and skills that are needed to perform the practice. Examples are background knowledge, shared understanding on how to perform appropriately and practice related skills.

3. *Meanings*: This includes the aspirations, symbolic meanings and ideas of the practice. It represents ''the social and symbolic significance of participation'' (Shove et al., 2012, p23).

In my framework, I argue for seeing these elements as umbrella terms that consist of various 'subtypes' of elements that interlink and form the practice of Safari Jogging. Materials therefore consist of

tangible physical entities, objects and technologies, competences consist of skills, knowhow and techniques, and meanings consist of aspirations, symbolic meanings and ideas. What these elements entail and how they are described in my framework can be found in Appendix C.

In addition, to comprehensively understand the interlinkages between these elements and how these interlinkages can change practices, I argue in line with the work of Franke and Shah (2003) and Shove et al. (2007; 2012) for a focus on innovation in my framework. Innovation should be seen here as an ongoing process of linking existing and new elements that shape the social practice. If changes have become embedded in products, these changes have also become embedded in daily life, society and thus social practices (Shove et al., 2007; Shove et al., 2012). Innovation in communication possibilities on mobile phones, for instance, have created a society that has become more dependent on and attached to their phones, instead of sending letters or talking in real life, changing the practice of communication. However, this innovation in products did not stop at the technological innovation of the mobile phone. It were participants reproducing the interlinkages of the material mobile phone with the competences of calling and texting, as well as the meanings of how easy and accessible this form of communication was that innovated and eventually changed the practice of communication. Innovation is therefore key in understanding Safari Jogging and how changes in elements can or have ignite changes in Safari Jogging.

So why is this focus on interlinking elements useful in understanding a social practice? And how important is the role of innovation really in understanding changes in social practices? Here, I will make my point by using an example. Playing a guitar, can be seen as a social practice that consists of several materials (the guitar itself, sheet music that contains the notes to be played and fingers to play the strings), competences (recognising notes from the sheet, hand-eye coordination and the skills to play a song on the beat) and meanings (perhaps a form of leisure or stress-relieving, the aspiration of making music or the symbolic meaning of being cool when you can play guitar) that are interlinked and together form the practice of playing guitar. Over time, this practice can change when links between the elements are broken or new ones are made. For example, as described in *The Electric Guitar: A History of an American Icon* by Millard (2004), the innovative introduction of the electric guitar in the 1930s with sound not being produced through a sound hole (as is the case with the classical guitar) but through converting the vibration of the snares into electrical signals that become sound when connecting the guitar to an external amplifier, ignited changes that moved way beyond a change in these materials only. The new type of sound that could be produced by playing this instrument was often altered through the use of different effects and skills, such as pedals and string bending. Songs that were produced changed from tranquil to heavy, and in contrast to the classical guitar, playing electric guitar was now usually done standing. Soon the rock ‘n roll scene started to pick up this instrument shift in the 1950s, changing the meaning of playing guitar to being hip and rebellious. Due to the increasing popularity, especially among teenage boys, of the electric guitar that the rock ‘n roll scene brought with it, the industry started to manufacture guitars on such a massive scale that prices dropped and sales rose even more. Nowadays, songs with electric guitars in them can easily overwhelm other sounds due to its indispensable presence, influencing the music industry as a whole where certain instruments such as the accordion or harmonica are not regularly used anymore like they used to.

In this example, the introduction of the electric guitar shows how a change in materials (sound through an amplifier instead of a sound hole) ignited changes in the competences (new type of skills to produce sounds, using effects for sound alteration, standing when playing instead of sitting) and meanings (guitar playing becomes hip and rebellious) of playing guitar through the interlinkages between these elements, as well as the role that innovation plays in these processes. This change also influenced other

practices (harmonica and accordion that were regularly used in the music industry slowly disappeared) through the interrelations of guitar playing with these practices. This supports my argument that practices cannot and should not be investigated isolated but rather relationally to other practices, in line with Nicolini (2012).

However, it is argued by Shove et al. (2012) themselves that reducing a practice to only three elements 'may well' simplify what social practices are about. On the other hand, the design of this framework can provide an in-depth investigation of how interlinkages of elements form and shape Safari Jogging, as well as how the relations of Safari Jogging to other practices can provide a more comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging. I therefore oppose the presumed simplification of my theoretical framework. Instead, I argue that it can provide a comprehensive overview of the different type of elements and relations to other practices that form and shape Safari Jogging, and can also provide a framework that is not only theoretically claimable but also empirically operational. Following up on this, by showing how the ongoing process of interlinking elements, and with that the process of practice forming, is both dynamic and open to change, applying this framework provides means of conceptualising social change (Shove et al., 2012). This is not only useful in showing how changes in the practice do occur, for instance through innovation, but also how changes *could* occur. That is to say, the framework can provide intervention possibilities through identifying unsustainable elements, linkages and relations with other practices that influence Safari Jogging, and stimulate practice-oriented policies that could alter the practice (Shove et al., 2012; Lamers et al., 2017; Spurling et al., 2013).

Still, I do believe one of the biggest bottlenecks of this framework is the rather indistinct role of affects. Shove et al. (2012) argue that emotions are integrated in the element of meaning together with other mental activities and motivation. However, such a rather distinctive inclusion of affect disregards the importance of this concept, as I will discuss elaborately in the next section, nor does this conceptualisation provide means for thoroughly investigating the affective compound of Safari Jogging. In tackling this issue, I argue that adding affects, next to materials, competences and meanings, to the framework can help explain why individuals engage in and care about a practice. Here, I build upon the argument of Weenink and Spaargaren (2016) who argue that emotions are always connected to practices and are interacting with materials and competences in several ways, both positively and negatively, and that ''emotions-in-practices help explain what matters to individuals and how they are set into motion by emotions.'' (p62). A reduction of emotion to only the element of meaning, as simplified by the theory of Shove et al. (2012), therefore does not fully grasp the importance of emotion, or affect in general, in social practices. I propose to move beyond only three elements as advocated by Shove et al. (2012) and include affects as the fourth element in my theoretical framework.

2.4 The fourth element: affects

Recently, a growing interest in emotions and affect has occurred within practice theories (Reckwitz, 2017). Schatzki offers an inclusion of the affective dimension and shows how emotional agency influences all four integrative elements of practices (practical understanding, general understanding, rules and TAS), thereby emphasising the role of human emotion in practices (Schatzki 2002, 2010; Weenink & Spaargaren, 2016). Reckwitz (2017) provides a solid argument for a movement beyond the 'taking into account' of affect, as he states that ''every social order as a set of practices is a specific order of affects'' (p116), meaning that if there is no affect then there is no social practice. Even though this might sound a bit melodramatic, the message behind it is one that I consider true. A social practice cannot be fully understood if we do not include the affective aspects into this practice. Think of being frightened by a scene when watching a horror movie or cheering during a sports match when the team

you support makes a point. These social practices of watching a horror movie or a sports match cannot be explained if we disregard the affect that plays an important role in the way people routinely behave during these practices. This implies that to understand social practices we have to understand the specific affects that are integrated in this practice. Reckwitz (2017) argues that social practices have a built-in affective dimension, and should be placed on the same level of social practices as other dimensions. Reckwitz' conceptualisation sees affect as an integrated dimension of social practices, or in the case of my framework, as an interlinked element. Hence, this conceptualisation is more in line with my theoretical framework than Schatzki's concept of emotional agency. Affect will therefore be included in this framework as an interlinking fourth element that forms the social practice of Safari Jogging.

However, for the purpose of this research it is important to clearly differentiate between the concepts of affect, emotion and mood. Affect can be explained as indicating a valenced feeling state of which emotion and mood are examples (Cohen & Areni, 1991). It is a generic term that covers several experienced feelings of a broad range (Hume, 2012). These experienced feelings can be states of both pleasure or displeasure (Barrett et al., 2007).

Emotions can be described as ''short-lived, subjective feelings that occur in the foreground of consciousness, demand immediate attention, and motivate behavior'' (Frijda, 2007, as mentioned in Lin et al., 2014, p417). They are a complex set of interactions amid both objective and subjective factors that lead to various affective experiences, including feelings of arousal and pleasure (Bigné & Andreu, 2004; Dubé & Menon, 2000; Lin et al., 2014). As emotions happen consciously, they are experienced and felt. This experience of emotion, as defined by Barrett et al. (2007), is the moment when ''affect, perceptions of meaning in the world, and conceptual knowledge about emotion are bound together at a moment in time, producing an intentional state where affect is experienced as having been caused by some object or situation'' (p377). An experience of emotion is thus about something; an intentional affective state (Barrett et al., 2007).

On the other hand, mood can be described as ''a pervasive and sustained emotion that colours an individual's perception of the world'' (Kaufmann et al., 2020, p850). The same authors describe it as the brain's emotional climate. In contrast to emotions, they are usually not directed at something (Hume, 2012). Moods are therefore emotions that have become mood states and can either be described as positive (i.e. pleasure) or negative (i.e. displeasure) affect (Hume, 2012). Differences between emotion and mood are their awareness, duration, intensity and cause. Emotions are short-lived, intense and object specific that the individual is usually aware of, whereas moods are more long-during, subtle/mild and do not have a well-defined cause since they usually take place unconsciously (Lin et al., 2014; Beedie, Terry & Lane, 2005; Goossens, 2000). Moreover, individuals often cannot control their emotions, whereas they can control moods. Related to this is the stable character of moods, compared to the volatile character of emotions. A final distinction is the experience, with moods usually being thought and emotions usually being felt (Beedie et al., 2005).

Furthermore, as individuals do not engage in a practice as a cold or objective person but as someone biased (Reckwitz, 2002), emotions and moods are constantly (re)produced in social practices. Even though these emotions and moods are distinctive in character, they can overlap in situations and shift into each other. Emotions can for instance become moods when attention to the object that caused the emotion is lost, while moods can turn into emotions when an object triggers an emotional response. Moreover, a certain mood can create a stronger emotion towards an object (Hume, 2012). For example, joining the practice with certain expectations influences the mood and subsequently also the emotions that are experienced during the practice. If referring back to the definition of mood (i.e. the brain's emotional climate) as was given by Kaufmann et al. (2020), emotion can be seen as the

weather whereas the mood can be seen as the climate. Weather conditions are short-lived and intense that we are aware of, such as a rain shower or thunderstorm. The climate is the average weather conditions over a period of 30 years, being long-during, subtle and usually not something people are consciously aware of, such as the warmer climates where these types of weather conditions often occur. The climate has an impact on the weather conditions, but if weather conditions start to change and remain this way over a longer period of time, the climate will change as well. I therefore argue that assessing these two affects should not only be done separately as their presence is closely interrelated. In short, both moods and emotions play a significant role in forming social practices. Various elements can trigger certain emotions, while mood prior to and during the practice can influence behaviour and engagement. To properly understand the element of affect in Safari Jogging then, both emotions and moods will be analysed in my theoretical framework to reveal their interlinkages with other elements.

However, affect is not only present through emotions and moods. Reckwitz (2017) argues that participants join a certain social practice with a reason, something that motivates people to participate. And for an individual to become motivated enough to participate, an affective incentive is needed:

> It is not the individual who comes to the practice with their own 'psychological' motivation, but rather the practice itself of which the motivation is already an integral part. Motivation is where affects come into play; there must be some affective incentive to participate in the practice. This can be a positive desire, a defensive incentive to avoid displeasure or a combination of the two. (Reckwitz, 2017, p120).

Indeed it makes sense to see motivation as something that is affectively influenced, as motivation includes some sort of incentive and desire to participate in a social practice. Especially in the case of recreational activities such as Safari Jogging, what motivates people to participate in these practices is not explainable by disregarding affect. A study on recreation by Dillard and Bates (2011) showed how escape (of daily life), enhancing relationships, personal mastery and winning were the four core motivations for people to recreate. The avoidance of displeasure through escaping and the positive desire of enhancing relationships, personal mastery and winning immediately show how these motivations are affectively influenced. Hence, we can assume that motivation and affect are indeed interrelated. The concept of affective will therefore be, next to emotion and mood, part of affect in my framework.

Now that I have discussed the element of affect, I argue that several secondary concepts need to be included in the framework as well to fully understand how and why affect is interlinked with materials, meanings and competences. These secondary concepts are attention, memory and learning. First, social practices have built-in structures to direct the attention to relevant phenomena. Material artefacts play an important role in this process, where strong positive and negative affects direct the individual's attention to a certain material. These artefacts are described by Reckwitz (2017) as 'generators of affect'. Two important artefacts that bear positive or negative affects are reflexive, symbolic or imaginary artefacts (e.g. a brand logo) and atmospheres of place (e.g. the architecture of cathedrals) (Reckwitz, 2017). Moreover, several authors have emphasised the relationship between affect and memory (cf. Levine & Pizarro, 2004). In this overview provided by Levine & Pizarro, it becomes clear that events which include emotion are remembered better than events lacking emotion. Practices where materials create strong linkages with affects will therefore be remembered better and more easily repeated if performed again. Attention and memory therefore play an important role in understanding material-affect interlinkages.

Besides memory, linkages have been found between facilitated learning and different emotions (both positive and negative) that are subsequently linked to an increase in motivation and attention (Tyng

et al., 2017; Um et al., 2012; D'Mello et al., 2014). Attentional components enhance perceptual processing, resulting in an improvement of selecting and organising relevant information (Vuilleumier, 2005). Motivational components induce curiosity that encourages exploration, learning and remembering (Oudeyer, Gottlieb & Lopes, 2016). Learning therefore plays an important role in understanding competence-affect interlinkages. Hence, the concepts of attention, learning and memory will be included in my theoretical framework to understand the interlinkages of elements better.

2.5 Conceptual model

Based on the proposed theoretical framework above, including the four interlinking elements of materials, competences, meanings and affects that form Safari Jogging as a social practice, the following conceptual model can be constructed (Figure 1). As visualised in this model, the social practice of Safari Jogging (the big dotted circle) emerges through interlinkages (the black lines) of the four elements (the coloured circles). These linkages can change, disappear or shift, thereby modifying the social practice of Safari Jogging. The different subtypes of materials, meanings, competences and affects that form the social practice of Safari Jogging that will be investigated in this research are written down in the coloured circles.

An important notion should be made here about the visible exclusion in the conceptual model of the secondary concepts of attention, memory and learning. As mentioned, the use of these concepts are important to understand the interlinkages between affect and other elements, and thereby also important to understand Safari Jogging to its fullest. In addition, the concept of innovation was introduced as an ongoing process of linking existing and new elements, and is therefore key in understanding Safari Jogging and how this practice could or has change(d). However, these concepts are not part of the element of affect, as is the case with emotions, moods and affective incentives, or any other element for that matter. This means that even though these concepts are not incorporated in the conceptual model, they are part of the framework as secondary concepts that play a role in a better understanding of how linkages between elements are formed and with that the social practice of Safari Jogging.

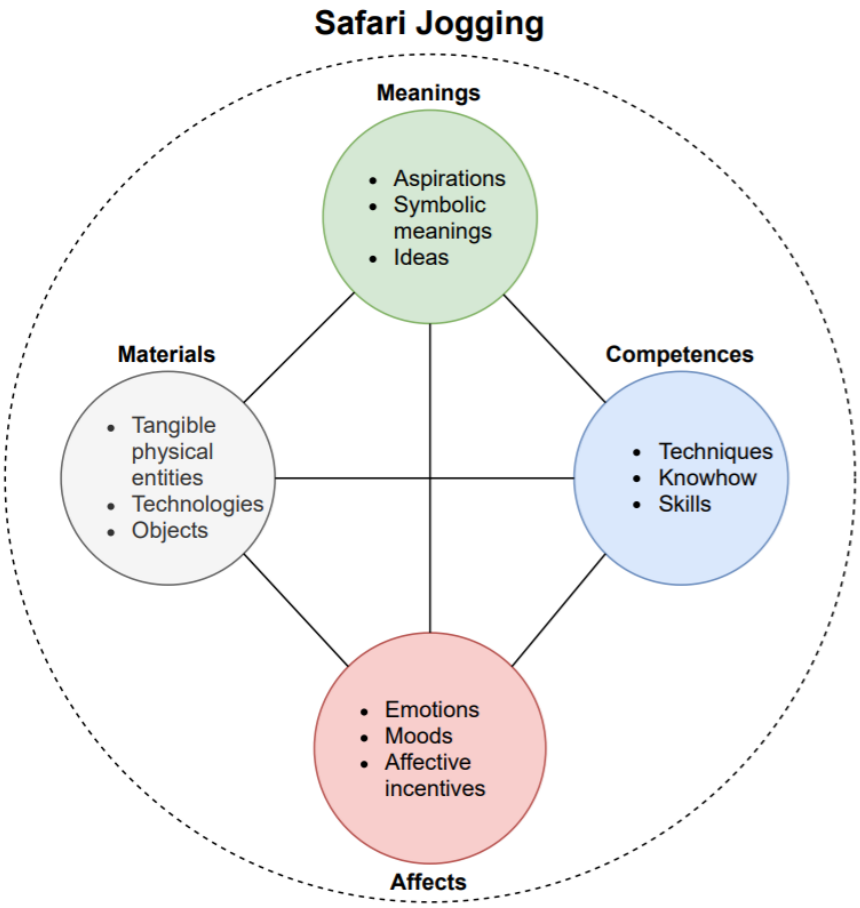

Figure 1. The conceptual model: Safari Jogging as a social practice

2.6 Research objective and question

As elaborated upon in this chapter, the present study aims to understand Safari Jogging from a social practice perspective. Based on the proposed theoretical framework, the research objective is to study Safari Jogging as a social practice by investigating the interlinkages of materials, competences, meanings and affects. This gives us the following two research questions:

> *1. Which materials, competences, meanings and affects form the social practice of Safari Jogging?*
>
> *2. How are the materials, competences, meanings and affects that form the social practice of Safari Jogging interlinked?*

How this research will be conducted to answer these research questions will be elaborated upon in the methodology chapter next.

3. Methodology

This chapter will describe in detail how the research was conducted. First the data collection, including the overall design, research context, participants and method used are described (3.1). Second, the data analysis, including the transcribing, coding and interpretation are elaborated upon (3.2). Finally, the reflexivity and ethical considerations that were taken into account are mentioned (3.3).

3.1 Data Collection

3.1.1 Overall methodological design

A qualitative study design was used to answer the research questions. According to Kumar (2011), qualitative research is useful in understanding, exploring and clarifying the experience, situations and attitudes of a group of people in a flexible way. Qualitative studies are therefore useful for studying social practices as they can reveal the details that form the practice. In other words, they can provide the researcher insights into the different elements that are involved in the practice, the context in which these elements interlink and unfold as well as how these elements are configured (Lamers et al., 2017; de Souza Bispo, 2016). Qualitative methods are also useful in investigating and describing emotions as well as allowing reflection from the participants on the practice, both characteristics which are necessary to understand Safari Jogging as a social practice (Lamers et al., 2017). Therefore, an ethnographic study was applied here. Ethnography consists of research methods ''which are used to understand people's daily lives and how these are shaped by practices and interactions of various kinds'' (White & Featherstone, 2005, p208). Ethnographic methods such as interviews or participant observation enable me as a researcher to gain detailed insights into the practice of Safari Jogging, including the involved material elements and their interlinkages that form the practice (Lamers et al., 2017; de Souza Bispo, 2016).

To gain in-depth insights into the social practice of Safari Jogging, it was intended to use two different but interrelated methods; participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Within ethnographic studies, the combination of these two methods are common to legitimise the findings (Behar-Horenstein, 2018). However, due to the Covid-19 measures and as will be elaborated upon in the limitations section of chapter five, participant observations could not be conducted. The data that was collected and analysed therefore only consists of semi-structured interviews. Still, semi-structured interviews are useful in gaining detailed behaviour information where key topics are addressed while leaving room for unforeseen and in-depth discussions (Boyce & Neale, 2006; Leech, 2002). The collected data was therefore still sufficient to answer the research questions. Any methodological limitations that occurred when conducting the research, as well as how this could have influenced the findings, will also be addressed in the discussion section. The interviews consisted of several focus strategies and follow-up questions that were used and applied to the interview guides (see Appendices A and B). As the collected data is qualitative, data analysis consisted of transcribing, coding and data interpretation.

3.1.2 Research context

The study of Safari Jogging was conducted in the Southwest Veluwe, the Netherlands, where the National Park Veluwezoom is located. As already briefly mentioned in the introduction, Safari Jogging combines running with wildlife spotting. The activity is organised in groups of a maximum of eight people plus a guide. In consultation with the guide, the participants can choose the preferred areas to jog through as well as the preferred length of their jog, which can vary between 10-25km. As the name already reveals, Safari Jogging is done by jogging and not by running. Jogging is a moderate variant of running, meaning professional running skills at high speed are no prerequisite for participation. Safari Jogging takes place all year round during sunrise and sunset in the summer and during sunrise in the

winter to increase chances of spotting the *Big 5* animals to be found in the Veluwe, consisting of the fallow deer, wild boar, badger, fox and red deer[1], as well as other big wildlife such as the roe deer. Besides helping participants with spotting animals, the guide provides information on both the flora and fauna that is found as the group moves through a variety of landscapes. The activity takes place with respect for nature, meaning wildlife is disturbed as little as possible through being quiet and staying on the trails (Safari-Joggen, n.d.).

A period of six weeks in November and December 2020 was set out to collect data. This six week period was chosen due to my own time schedules of being able to conduct the research. The semi-structured interviews took place online via Skype and over the phone due to the national travel restrictions and safety measures that were in place because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

3.1.3 Participants

The participants were contacted prior to the interviews via mail or WhatsApp with cooperation of the Safari Jogging organisation. As the participants can decide themselves to be interviewed, the sampling design is non-random (Kumar, 2011). Moreover, no characteristics of participants were required for them to be picked for an interview. No distinctions were made regarding age, gender or other categories, since these categories can be conceived as both a result and a precondition of ongoing practices (Schmidt, 2017). This implies that participants are the effects of practices, and investigating the identity of a participant is done through investigating the practice instead of through hierarchies or differences (Pichelstorfer, 2017). The sampling was based upon convenience and the ease to access participants (i.e. those who responded to the mail and were willing to participate). Therefore, the type of sampling used was accidental sampling (Kumar, 2011). As not enough participants responded to the mails through this type of sampling only, snowball sampling was conducted as well by using the network of participants to contact more people (Kumar, 2011). Data collection stopped when the point of data saturation was reached, meaning that I kept on collecting data until no new information was added (Kumar, 2011).

Two types of participants can be distinguished; participants that have joined Safari Jogging over the last couple of months and guides that have led the groups during Safari Jogging. Interviewing both participants and guides compensates for the lack of doing participant observations and made methodological triangulation possible. This is preferred as data source triangulation of two types of data sources ensures a more comprehensive view of Safari Jogging as well as different understandings of the phenomenon (Thurmond, 2001; Jick, 1979). Especially the materials and competences involved in Safari Jogging were investigated from a guide's perspective as participants can easily lack these insights, yet are inevitable in understanding Safari Jogging comprehensively.

3.1.4 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews can provide in-depth data that is contextualised and provides an understanding of phenomena through the use of follow-up questions (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). Moreover, to back up the lack of doing participant observations where ''access to accounts in action'' is provided, interviews can provide ''access to accounts about action'' (Halkier, 2017, p198). That is to say, interviews provide information about how the practice is formed that is indirect (i.e. not

[1] Which animals the *Big 5* of the Veluwe consists of is still undetermined. Some describe the *Big 5* as only those animals that are by definition wild, therefore excluding domesticated animals such as the Highland cattle. *Staatsbosbeheer* only describes the *Big 5* animals in the Netherlands, consisting of the beaver, red deer, roe deer, wild boar and seal. Since the beaver and seal cannot be spotted in the Veluwe, Safari Jogging provides their own list of the *Big 5* to be spotted in the Veluwe, including the fallow deer, wild boar, badger, fox and red deer. The five animals described here are referred to when mentioning the *Big 5.*

observed), yet useful for understanding social practices as it also provides through narratives of interviewees layers of interpretation *about* the practice (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003, as mentioned in Halkier, 2017). This is especially useful for investigating the meanings, affects and competences, as these elements are not always observable yet are indispensable for understanding Safari Jogging.

The interviews were conducted in Dutch. The point of data saturation was reached after a total of seven participants and three guides were interviewed. The interviews ranged between approximately 30 to 75 minutes, depending on the amount of (follow-up) questions and answers the interviewees gave. The interviews were semi-structured, meaning similar questions among participants were not asked in a strict order but in an individualised matter. This way, room for flexibility was guaranteed while the necessary questions were asked (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). The questions for participants focused on their participation in Safari Jogging, while the questions for guides focused on what Safari Jogging entails as well as the role of guides in Safari Jogging. The interview guides for both participants and guides can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B respectively. Note that the interview guides were susceptible to change as new data can alter the preferred insights to be gained from the interviews. After every interview, the guide was reassessed to see if the right questions were asked and whether topics should be added, deleted or altered (Adams, 2015). The questions asked were open-ended, meaning there were no predetermined answers to select from (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). Depending on the answers given, follow-up questions were asked. Some potential follow-up questions were included in the interview guide, while others were formed during the interviews. Moreover, some of these follow-up questions were asked to gain an in-depth understanding of the practice by zooming in, while other questions aimed to gain insights from a zoomed out perspective (cf. Nicolini, 2012). The interviews took place online via Skype and over the phone due to the current Covide-19 restrictions. The interviews were audio-recorded, for which oral permission was needed. The audio was recorded through an app on the phone or laptop of the researcher. Audio recording gave me the possibility to listen and respond carefully to the interviewee, without being distracted by constantly writing down notes (Stuckey, 2014).

3.2 Data Analysis

3.2.1 Transcribing

After the data was collected it was transcribed. Transcription is when the gathered data in visual or audio form is turned into textual form. This makes it easier to analyse the data through coding (Saldaña, 2018). The audio recordings from the interviews were transcribed manually and not through external software for two reasons; the researcher gains more analytical insights and reflections during the process of repeatedly listening and documenting, and the privacy of participant's data is upheld by not using external software (Saldaña, 2018; Carl & Ravitch, 2018). The transcriptions were non-verbatim and excluding nonverbal behaviour such as vocal tones or utterance since verbatim transcription requires more interpretation of the researcher and can therefore result in biased outcomes (Saldaña, 2018). Besides, non-verbatim transcribing means filler words, false starts and pauses were left out of the transcript as this is time-consuming and irrelevant for the purpose of this research, which focused primary on the informational content (Stuckey, 2014) and made sure the transcriptions are clean and readable. After transcribing the interview, it was thoroughly re-read one last time with the audio recording on to remove irregularities. A copy was sent to the respondents for their validation and confirmation (Kumar, 2011). No identity was attached to the transcripts (or to other data that was used for data analysis), meaning anonymity was granted to the participants. The participants were deidentified through the use of a variable (Stuckey, 2014). This variable consists of the observation number *0* (as no observations were conducted) and an interviewee letter. For instance, an interviewee that was the second person to be interviewed (i.e. *B*) got the variable *0B*.

3.2.2 Coding

Coding is the second step in data analysis and can be described as the process where qualitative data is organised and sorted (Stuckey, 2015). Through coding, the researcher is able to discover patterns in the large amount of data that are not visible on first sight and to gain an in-depth understanding of the social phenomenon (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003; Boeije, 2010). In this step the interview transcriptions were used. Giving codes to different segments of the data is useful for clustering segments that relate to each other and finding links between them, making categorising data comprehensible (Stuckey, 2015). Since manually organising the codes can take up a lot of time, the qualitative data analysis software of Atlas.ti 9 was used. Before starting the coding, the transcripts were thoroughly read to become familiar with the data and to try to understand it from the perspective of the research questions (Stuckey, 2015). The coding consisted of two steps; disassembling and reassembling.

During the first step of disassembling (also referred to as segmenting), data was segmented and regrouped in a meaningful way through coding (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). Here, the collected data was analysed, compared and categorised in segments through the use of codes (Boeije, 2010). The aim was to distinguish relevant data fragments by labelling and conceptualising them (Moghaddam, 2006; Boeije, 2010). The code labels are words or short phrases that distinguish certain categories in the data (Boeije, 2010). Creating the codes was done both inductively and deductively. Inductive codes emerge from the data (Stuckey, 2015) and can be descriptive (basic topic from the data), 'in vivo' (actual spoken words of the interviewee) or interpretive (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018; Boeije, 2010). Deductive codes are based on predetermined codes that have emerged from literature and theoretical concepts (Stuckey, 2015). These codes were decided upon a priori and were based on the elements that form the social practice of Safari Jogging, as is in line with my framework and research questions. The deductive codes are therefore related to the four elements that form a social practice (i.e. materials, competences, meanings and affects) and the secondary concepts of attention, memory, learning and innovation that are used to investigate the linkages between elements. This deductive coding scheme can be found in Appendix C. The same segments were given multiple codes when deemed appropriate. The result of this step was a list of deductive and inductive of codes that showed the assigned data segments.

After all relevant segments were given a code, the data was reassembled. Reassembling is done to look for relationships between the disassembled data and to understand it from a theoretical perspective (Boeije, 2010). It requires the researcher to consider the credibility of the relationship between codes while they are reassembled in main categories and subcategories (Boeije, 2010). Then, the categories were put into context with each other to create themes and sub-themes; patterns in codes and categories that show the bigger picture within the social phenomenon under study (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018). Themes tell something useful about the data and help answer the research questions. This type of data organisation reduces the number of different codes and shows an overview of the thematic landscape of the data on the high-order theme level, as well as similarities and distinctions on the low-order sub theme level (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018). During reassembling, constant checking and reviewing the themes was needed to see if the relationship with codes remained strong, and whether applying codes to a new theme would be more suitable (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018). If needed, new data was collected and coded. Disassembling and reassembling therefore did not happen in a linear way, but rather alternately until the point of data saturation was reached.

During the coding, it was important to involve memos as well. Memos are informal notes where thoughts, impressions and ideas about how the researcher arrived at codes and will use them in the research are written down (Stuckey, 2015; Moghaddam, 2006). These memos were used for my own

insights and helped me with understanding links or differences between codes and themes, as well as why I made certain decisions. Reflecting on my decision-making and demonstrating clarity regarding my thoughts and interpretation through the use of memos was done to ensure trustworthiness of my research (Noble & Smith, 2015; Sandelowski, 1993).

3.2.3 Data interpretation

After the coding was done, the analysed data was interpreted and analytical conclusions were drawn. When interpreting the links within and between codes and themes, thematic patterns were identified. The focus here was on whether the (re-)assembled themes included important insights in relation to the research, as ''themes capture an essence of the phenomenon under investigation in relation to your research questions or purpose of the study'' (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018, p812). A thematic overview was developed to visualise the different (sub) themes and elements at play. The interpretation of the data was written down as detailed and explanatory as possible in the result section. These interpretations provide answers to the research questions by showing the different elements that form the social practice of Safari Jogging and how these elements are linked. Besides the interpretation, the results also included several quotes to show how the data is rooted in the outcomes (Castleberry & Nolan, 2018). The quotes were used to reflect the centralised experiences and ideas of the interviewees (Carl & Ravitch, 2018), and ultimately showed the elements and their interlinkages that form Safari Jogging. Only the elements, quotes and other outcomes that were used in the report were translated to English, the raw data remained in Dutch.

It needs to be noted that transcription, coding and data interpretation did not happen in a linear way, nor did the data collection and data analysis. As already mentioned, data was collected until the point of data saturation was reached. This means new data was constantly compared to old data to look for certain patterns and repetitive themes (Moghaddam, 2006). New data was therefore transcribed, analysed and interpreted right after the data was collected, to see whether it added new information, themes or insights to the research. If this was the case, collection continued until data saturation was reached. This nonlinear way of collecting and analysing data improved the explanatory aim and explorative capacity of the research (Boeije, 2010).

3.3 Ethical considerations and reflexivity

Even though the research did (probably) not result in data that could be sensitive to the participants, several ethical considerations were taken into account. The interview data was handled anonymously and confidentially. This means that no identity was attached to the data and that data is stored and handled carefully (Ravitch, 2018), according to the WUR data policy[2]. The data that is stored and archived consists of the: (1) interview guides; (2) audio recordings; (3) interview transcripts; (4) coding dataset; and (5) the coding memos. Unique variables were attached to the interviewees and used to deidentify the participants (Stuckey, 2014).

Prior to the interviews the interviewees were informed on the purpose of this research as well as how the data was collected, handled, used and stored so they could give their informed consent on their involvement in the research. Moreover, an explanation was given on who has access to the data and what the potential benefits of this research were (Ravitch, 2018). Besides, after conducting the interview an oral invitation for mailing back was included in case participants still had questions regarding the research.

[2] The Wageningen University & Research policy for storage, archiving and registration of research data can be found here: https://www.wur.nl/en/Value-Creation-Cooperation/WDCC/Data-Management-WDCC/Data-policy.htm

Participation in the research was voluntary, as was also explained beforehand. If a participant, for whatever reason, did not want to participate in the research at any point of time or did not want to answer a certain question, the concerned data would be deleted and not used during the analysis. None of the participants used this opportunity. Permission for audio recording was asked, and transcriptions of the interviews were sent to the interviewees for their validation.

When conducting qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument. Within qualitative data collection, a subjective reality of the participants is investigated where characteristics of both the participant and research can influence this reality (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). It is therefore important for a researcher to actively monitor and reflect on his/her interpretations, assumptions and biases (Ravitch, 2018). Being aware of and reflecting on your own role as a researcher, the relationship you have with the participants during the research and how subjectivities can influence the outcomes of the study is called reflexivity (Siegel, 2018). It was taken into account during the research and mitigated through in several ways, as elaborated below.

Throughout the interviews I remained as non-judgmental as possible, both in verbal and nonverbal communication, to make sure the responses were unbiased (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). Through the use of memos, I reflected on both the data-collection and data-analysis. During data-collection, I reflected on methodological limitations and my use of language, both aspects that could have influenced the responses (Ravitch, 2018). During data analysis, memos in the form of informal notes were written down to state the researcher's thoughts, impressions and ideas about the coding and data (Stuckey, 2015; Moghaddam, 2006). These memos were also used to reflect on my own positionality at the end of the study, to explain the decision-making and to be as transparent as possible about how I arrived at the outcomes that I got (Stuckey, 2015).

4. Results

The social practice of Safari Jogging is formed through the interlinkages of materials, competences, meanings and affects. In the result section, these interlinkages will be elaborated upon in detail through the use of different themes. The themes can be divided into: guide-participant relations (4.2); mindful jogging (4.3); nature-based recreation in the Netherlands (4.4); wildlife spotting (4.5); and a weather and season-related practice (4.6). Each theme consists of several sub themes that get into more detail regarding a certain aspect of Safari Jogging. To get a clear overview of the different interlinked elements at play for each (sub) theme, *Table 1* in the thematic overview (4.1) below can be consulted before, while or after diving into the rather extensive description of the findings.

4.1 Thematic overview

Table 1. Thematic overview of Safari Jogging: the interlinked elements per (sub) theme

Theme	**Sub theme**	**Material elements** *Which tangible physical entities, technologies and objects are used in Safari Jogging and how?*	**Competence elements** [3] *Which techniques, knowhow and skills of both the guide and participants are used (and shared) in Safari Jogging?*	**Meaning elements** *What are the aspirations, symbolic meanings and ideas of participants regarding Safari Jogging?*	**Affect elements** *What are the emotions, moods and affective incentives of participants regarding Safari Jogging?*
4.2 Guide-participant relations	4.2.1 Guide-dependency	Proposed clothes and binoculars to bring; wildlife as point of attention; improvised routes and areas; treacherous trails; GPS system for repetition	*Guide:* instructing basic techniques beforehand; practical explanation; instructing wildlife spotting techniques; knowhow on wildlife; adjusting information to participants' aspirations; enthusiastic storytelling; providing an experience; apply evaluation findings; programme improvisation; ensure safety; reassuring participants; satisfying participants; entertaining participants *Participants:* following and listening to the guide; evaluative skills; repetitive learning	Guide as an expert; aspiration of (not) obtaining certain information; enthusiastic guide makes Safari Jogging independent; Safari Jogging as a lesson and outing; guide provides safety; guide entertains; repetition becomes easier	(Dis)satisfaction; comfort; peacefulness; joy; confidence
	4.2.2 Group-dependency	Safari Jogging website to book activity; skill-dependent routes	*Guide:* determining tempo and distance; programme improvisation; stimulating social contact *Participants*: indicating own jogging skills; actual jogging skills	Expectations of equal group skills; expectations of similar interests among other participants	(Dis)satisfaction; disappointment; annoyance

[3] The guide is not seen as a practitioner but as *part* of Safari Jogging. Yet, as the guide is a central pillar in Safari Jogging through the use and sharing of his competences, the knowhow, techniques and skills of both the guide and participants are included in this overview to understand Safari Jogging more comprehensively.

4.3 Mindful Jogging	4.3.1 Absence of competition	Environment and trails as points of attention; avoidance of human influences	*Guide:* programme improvisation; picking suitable routes *Participants*: jogging skills; awareness of surroundings	Absence of game mentality; expectations of jogging instead of running; Safari Jogging as not performance-oriented; no competitive aspirations	Interest
	4.3.2 New form of running	Nature being both practically used and connected to; new areas stimulating unexpectedness; avoidance of other recreationists	*Guide:* providing information balanced *Participants:* awareness of surroundings; being quiet	Experiencing the now; connected to nature; new way of experiencing nature; different use of time	Relaxation; calmness; joy; amazement; incentive of combining running with experiencing nature
4.4 Nature-based recreation in the Netherlands	4.4.1 Being alone	Avoidance of other recreationists; avoidance of busy trails; small group sizes	*Guide:* programme and route improvisation *Participants:* being quiet	Unique experience; expectations of Netherlands as being crowded and busy; other recreationists as disturbing the experience	Impress
	4.4.2 Dutch nature	Wildlife to be spotted; undisturbed areas of the Veluwe to be visited*;* diversity in landscapes and trails create unpredictability	*Guide:* spotting skills; picking diverse trails *Participants:* spotting skills; repetitive learning	Low expectations of wildlife abundance and landscape diversity; wildlife close to home considered extraordinary; sense of wildness and uniqueness; exceeded expectations of Dutch nature; new ideas of Dutch nature	Amazement; impress; surprise
4.5 Wildlife spotting	4.5.1 Preparation	Wildlife to be spotted; proposed clothing and binoculars to bring; recreationists and other practices to be avoided; wildlife certainty spots to be visited; environment as point of attention	*Guide:* instructing spotting technique; route picking and improvisation; programme adjustment to participants' wants and needs; programme adjustment to morning or evening jog *Participants:* learning spotting skills; awareness of surroundings	Wildlife spotting as an interactive practice; treasure hunting	Excitement; incentive of wildlife spotting

	4.5.2 Spotting	Safari Jogging website to advertise wildlife; wildlife to be spotted; landscapes as indicator for wildlife abundance; use of binoculars and camera when wildlife is spotted	*Guide:* spotting skills; finding wildlife techniques; providing additional knowhow on wildlife *Participants:* following and listening to the guide; spotting skills	Guide as an information source and necessity; Safari Jogging as spotting wildlife while being accompanied by a guide; expectations of wildlife spotting; wildlife spotting as success measurement; wildlife spotting as a unique opportunity; bigger wildlife considered more unique	Incentive of wildlife spotting; (dis)satisfaction; excitement
	4.5.3 Affective stimulus	Safari Jogging website as stimulating expectations of wildlife spotting; environment as point of attention; wildlife as abruptly drawing attention	*Guide:* spotting skills *Participants:* spotting skills; evaluative skills	High expectations of spotting wildlife; spotting wildlife as being unpredictable; spotting bigger wildlife in the Netherlands as being extraordinary; bigger wildlife as being best remembered; amount of spotted wildlife as success measurement	Excitement; curiosity; surprise; fascination; amazement; joy; (dis)satisfaction
4.6 A weather and season-related practice	4.6.1 Weather	Online weather apps to check weather beforehand; extreme weather events cancel Safari Jogging; wildlife movement as weather-dependent	*Guide:* Interpreting weather for possibility of Safari Jogging; providing technique on what to wear; adjusting programme and routes to weather conditions *Participants:* interpreting weather for clothes to be worn; coping with weather conditions	Imperfect weather conditions as not negatively experienced; waiting for others perceived worse in bad weather conditions	Surprise; amazement; disappointment; (dis)satisfaction
	4.6.2 Season	Wildlife abundance as season-related and light-related; environment as season-related; human presence as season-related and light-related	*Guide:* interpreting season for route picking and improvisation; adjusting programme to season; spotting skills *Participants:* nature-trail jogging skills	Safari Jogging idea as season-related	(Dis)satisfaction

4.2 Guide-participant relations

Guide-participant relations are constantly activated during the practice as both actors rely heavily on each other. These relations can be divided into guide-dependency (4.2.1) and group-dependency (4.2.2). Regarding the guide-dependency there are five different guides, each with their own background information and experience of running, nature and wildlife. The main task of the guides is to lead the group through the Veluwe to spot wildlife. However, the role of the guide extends beyond this task only and becomes a central pillar through the use and sharing of his competences, thereby forming Safari Jogging into a practice that is guide-dependent. These competences are in respect of information on the practice, improvisation, reassuring, satisfying and stimulating repetition, thereby interlinking with different meanings and affects among people when conducting Safari Jogging. Moreover, the practice depends not only on guides but also on other participants in the group. Here, participants' (dis)satisfaction is linked to other participants' skills and personalities, making Safari Jogging a group-dependent practice as well.

4.2.1 Guide-dependency

As mentioned above, the guide plays a central role in forming the practice of Safari Jogging through the use and sharing of his competences. Below, these competences will be discussed along five subsections; namely (1) source of information; (2) improvisation; (3) safety and reassurance; (4) satisfaction; and (5) repetition.

Source of information

The guide's information forms a practice that is considered both a lesson and an outing. As the participants often do not possess the required knowhow about wildlife or nature, nor the technique and skills of adequately performing in the practice, Safari Jogging is a practice where the guide becomes more than a source of information. He becomes a key element in the practice that participants rely on to perform the practice adequately. By having the skills of sensing what the participants want and being able to deliver these wants, the guide combines this provision of information with stimulating an experience, thereby shaping the practice of Safari Jogging into one that is guide-dependent.

The guide provides information to the participants before, during and right after the practice. This information has various purposes such as providing instructions, offering explanations or providing additional knowledge. Before Safari Jogging starts, participants receive a confirmation email after they have booked a date to participate in which instructions are given. In this email, participants are told not to wear any fluorescent clothes to increase the chances of spotting wildlife, and not to use perfume to prevent giving away your location to the wildlife by scent. Moreover, binoculars are recommended to be brought along as it provides opportunities for spotting wildlife from a distance. This is due to the fact that the group is not allowed to get off the marked routes and roam freely through the landscapes. These given instructions show how an appropriate performance of Safari Jogging is guide-dependent and already explained to the participants before the activity has even started, making sure participants start the activity with basic techniques.

The day Safari Jogging takes place the group assembles in the parking lot early in the morning or late at night, depending on whether it is a sunrise or sunset jog. Here, guides introduce themselves and give a short introduction to explain what can be expected from the activity. The distance to be jogged, area to be visited and wildlife that is expected to be spotted are explained here to the participants. As most participants are one-time visitors, their own expertise concerning Safari Jogging is low with participants also regularly portraying themselves as such. As the group starts jogging, two types of conversations can occur. When walking through areas where the guide knows wildlife is often spotted,

he gives instructions on how to increase the chances of spotting. These instructions include techniques such as staying low and out of sight, looking for certain characteristics of the animals such as the white rump of a roe deer and making as little noise as possible. When wildlife is spotted, the explained technique is replaced by additional knowledge (or knowhow) on the wildlife. How much and which information is provided on the wildlife depends on the participants' preferences. While some are interested in new information or fun facts, others only join because of the wildlife spotting and would rather experience silence when watching the animals. The guide is therefore combining his knowhow on the animals (or nature in general) with the skills of adjusting their talk to the wants and needs of participants:

> If we spot deer I will explain something about deer; so when do they lose their antlers, when is the rutting season, how many offspring do they have, how long is their gestation period. I also explain something about the trees and landscapes, and if we come across an animal whether it is a black woodpecker or a snake or whatever. So it is actually pretty broad but without constantly bombarding people with information. It is also sensing whether people are interested in that stuff or not. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

When jogging through areas of which the guide knows the chances of spotting wildlife are slim to none, conversations are mostly about stimulating social contact or providing information regarding nature. Stimulating social contact is done to keep the participants both interested during the less compelling parts and improve the group vibe. Providing information about nature, such as landscapes or vegetation, depends on the aspiration of participants obtaining this knowledge. The guide therefore has not only the actual knowhow on this information but also the skills of sensing whether participants want to hear the information or not. While some participants described their expectations of the guide being a forest ranger instead of an experienced and well-informed runner, participants perceive the guide as an expert who possesses the appropriate knowhow to perform the practice.

The knowledge of a guide is considered broad, including information that can be provided on the area in which the activity takes place, the wildlife that is spotted, the vegetation or landscape they are walking through at that moment or how to run properly on nature trails compared to running tracks or asphalted roads. This explanation is constantly improving as the guides are obtaining new information from books, websites and other sources, making this an innovative aspect of Safari Jogging. Practical knowledge of where to find wildlife is also shared between the guides such as pictures of animal tracks and cadavers, or locations of where wildlife was spotted. Innovation is therefore constantly present regarding the guide's knowledge, thereby changing the practice of Safari Jogging over time through improved competences of the guide. Moreover, differences between the guides' knowledge are also present, determining which information can be given by which guide. In short, the provided information is both guide-dependent through the guide's sensing, knowhow and innovation of information, as well as participant-dependent through participants' aspiration to actually obtain knowledge.

The information that is provided by guides is often accompanied by a sense of enthusiasm. To keep the practice as exciting as possible, both guides and participants describe the necessity of this enthusiasm from the guide's part. Even regarding a simple fact about the wildlife, enthusiasm is added to the story to grasp the participants' attention and make them more interested in the topic. This combination of an explanation with enthusiasm forms the idea of how Safari Jogging is guide-dependent and how the guide makes Safari Joggings a practice on its own that is distinctive from others. What Safari Jogging means to participants is therefore guide-dependent as well:

> It is not even that knowledge is important, it is fun that you are doing something like that. […] And if you have got someone with you who is explaining stuff about that [wildlife] with enthusiasm,

> that really becomes a part of what you are doing. Otherwise you can just do a trailrun on your own. (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Finally, guides do not only provide competence-related information such as the mentioned techniques and knowhow. The guides also aim to provide participants an 'experience' and show participants the beauty of nature. Providing new insights on the accessibility of nature, how easy it is to perform this activity without a guide and how to respectfully enjoy it are all part of this information, and were described by the participants as something they learned. This again depends on the guides' skills of sensing what satisfies the participants. Non-competence related information is therefore also guide-dependent and linked to the forming of Safari Jogging into a practice that is not only a lesson but also an outing:

> Especially love for nature. To really enjoy nature, to provide them knowledge about the wildlife we are spotting, but also about the environment. So how are the landscapes formed, but also knowledge on trees and plants. We really want to provide them an experience. And sometimes that is easy, sometimes it is not. But I do have the idea that people leave with a nice feeling. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

At the end of the activity when the group returns to their cars, the provision of information takes place the other way around; information is provided by the participants to the guides. The guide evaluates with the participants what they have seen during the activity and what their thoughts are. Insights from this evaluation are used by the guides to innovate and improve the next jog, as well as innovating their skills as a guide of knowing how to adjust the programme to the wants and needs of participants. This evaluative source of information is therefore both group-dependent through obtaining the information and guide-dependent through innovating and applying the information.

Improvisation

Safari Jogging consists of a programme that is only partly predetermined by the guide while room for improvisation is central in what the activity will look like. The guide's competences are important here by linking his knowhow of the area and skills of adjusting the programme to the picking of routes and areas. The programme of Safari Jogging is therefore guide-dependent, even when improvisation occurs.

Most jogs take place in two areas of the Veluwe, which are the Deelerwoud and Loenermark. The guide's reason for choosing these two areas is multiple. First, they are relatively quiet compared to the more widely known and crowded areas in the Veluwe, such as National Park the Hoge Veluwe or National Park the Veluwezoom. Second, it is located next to a parking lot that functions as both an easily accessible and close-to-nature starting point. Third, there is enough wildlife to be spotted in these areas. Within these two areas, all guides have their own standard route they usually pick. These routes include, as the guides describe them, certainties that meet the wants and needs of the participants such as wildlife hotspots or lookout points. Routes also depend on knowledge that is shared between guides, such as certain locations where a lot of wildlife was spotted only a few days ago. However, variables can cause unpredictability in the programme of Safari Jogging, requiring guides to improvise on the spot to still meet the wants and needs of participants. This unpredictability includes different movements of wildlife, the presence of other people to be avoided, closed trails and preferences of participants such as spotting a certain animal, requiring the guides to pick different routes. Improvising is not new to guides as they have learned to cope with it, therefore being able to determine the route along the way:

> The format is pretty much fixed, we are going to run and spot wildlife. But that is it. Because we never know what we are going to spot, nor do we actually know where we are going to be. I often

> start running and think ''alright, I got a route in my head''. But it is quite possible that after two lefts I decide to take a right next and then at the end another left again, picking the route along the way. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Safety and reassurance

Safety and reassurance are guide-dependent characteristics of Safari Jogging too. Guides do not only play a role in the actual safety of participants by explaining what to look out for, but also in the idea of safety by taking on responsibility of tasks as well as comforting and reassuring participants.

Nature trails can be treacherous, especially during twilight early in the morning or late at night when the amount of sunlight is still scarce. Pits, loose branches or tree roots can cause participants to stumble over them with the risk of serious injuries when caution is not exercised. To prevent this, guides explain in advance that attention needs to be paid to the trails first, while spotting wildlife comes second. As the guide has the skills of running safely through these environments during twilight and the participants often do not, guide-dependency of both the actual safety and spotting wildlife during these periods is present:

> Without a guide we would not have spotted wildlife. In that case you are only looking at your feet as in what will I stumble over, or what might I stumble over. No, you really need a guide, definitely. Because he knows the trails as well, the routes. (Participant 0E, personal interview, November 30, 2020)

What also becomes clear from this quote is how the guide knows the chosen routes. As mentioned, participants perceive the guide as an expert who possesses the appropriate knowhow to perform the practice. Instead of having to take into account where you actually are or where you should be going to find wildlife, guides take on the responsibility of these tasks and give participants a chance to enjoy the activity carefree, which they take. This acquired expert status of the guide therefore also provides the participants the idea of safety and a peaceful feeling.

Next to providing (the idea of) safety and a peaceful feeling, guides can also reassure participants. Even though most participants join the activity with excitement, positivity and curiosity, not everyone is as confident to jog in a group with unknown people not knowing whether they will be able to keep up or not. Guides anticipate on this beforehand and include reassuring words during the introduction:

> People often still have a threshold, thinking like ''can I keep up with the level? Can I run that fast? How fast are we going to run? How far are we going to run?'' There is always a certain despair, so when in the morning I start my morning talk with ''welcome everybody, we are going to jog a bit. Speed does not matter, hopefully we will stop 10 times because that means we will spot wildlife 10 times. If we have to walk some parts we will just walk, I do not mind that at all'', a sort of burden is lightened. […] By removing that threshold, I have experienced that they find that very comforting. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

This comforting feeling is also mentioned by participants:

> Those two less experienced runners were a bit nervous since they were mostly looking at the distance, and they were afraid we might were going to run 15km. I get that, but that is not what I am focussing on at all. So the guide was mostly busy with reassuring them like ''we are here for fun as well, so we will just go and see what happens. We will see what we like and then do that''. So that was actually a really nice, relaxed mentality. (Participant 0B, personal interview, November 17, 2020).

This way, the guide aims to remove or decrease the nerves of participants and replace them with comforting thoughts. Guide-dependency is therefore linked to the emotions of comfort and joy, as guides take on the responsibility of assuring safety and comfort to provide a carefree practice for all

participants. During the activity this reassuring is continued to ensure participants' satisfaction, as will be explained next.

Satisfaction

The practice of Safari Jogging is one where participants' satisfaction is guide-dependent and strongly linked to the guide's skills of sensing preferences, adjusting programmes and entertaining participants. When skills differ more among participants, guide-dependency becomes stronger and more skills of the guide to satisfy participants are required.

As Safari Jogging is a group activity, differences between the participants in jogging skills or their wants and needs can occur. It is therefore important as a guide to make sure all participants are satisfied. During the introduction, preferences of participants are asked. Some would like to spot a certain animal, whereas others would like to see a certain landscape. The guide then tries to adjust the programme in line with these preferences. Aspirations and incentives to participate are therefore taken into account by the guide. However, these preferences are not only asked directly but also sensed by the guide during the jog. The guide possesses the skills of putting himself into the position of others and deciding whether and, if so, how the programme should be adjusted:

> Put yourself in the situation of the participants. So what do they find interesting? Putting yourself in their situation as in what can they manage physically, how fast should we run, what do they find important? Are they here mainly because of the social contacts with each other, are they here solely because of the wildlife, or are they here because of the running? So fill in those questions as good as possible (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Another skill of the guide is adjusting the programme to the jogging skills of the group. A larger group increases the chances of differences in skills between participants. If participants are struggling to keep up with the rest of the group, the guide plays in on this by slowing down or taking a break for people to catch their breath. Moreover, if the guide sees participants struggling with the distance or speed, routes are adjusted. Differences in heights such as small hills are then for example avoided to prevent participants from becoming exhausted and not enjoying the activity anymore. Focusing on group skills and adaptation of the programme are therefore central in the guide's strategy to satisfy participants:

> They are really focussing on how people are running. Of course, if you are not used to running or doing distances you should do it in a different manner or tempo. So they really focus on that which is nice, because people need to be able to keep up. If you are only busy with trying to keep up then of course there is no use in participating. (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

The bigger the differences in skills among participants, the more the satisfaction of participants becomes guide-dependent. The guide then has to come up with adjustments that are in line with all participants' preferences. Participants notice this and describe the guide as one who aims at keeping participants happy and satisfied, both skills-wise and interests-wise. Being enthusiastic, stimulating social contact or providing fun information are all examples of how the guide tries to keep participants interested and deliver them 'an experience'. The guides do therefore not only focus on providing knowledge and spotting wildlife, but also on entertaining participants:

> If people are running slow I will adjust my speed, I will make sure the group sticks together. I really try to make sure it is an amazing experience for everyone. So you have got the knowledge but it is also entertaining, getting into a conversation with people. It should mostly be a fun outing, and it should not be the case that people arrive at the car completely exhausted. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Repetition

Finally, repetition is guide-dependent and linked to learned competences as well as confidence. The guide plays an important role in giving participants the possibility of repeating the activity, as it becomes easier for participants to spot wildlife through learning the techniques provided by the guide. Yet, repeating Safari Jogging often remained an intention only, with only one participant having participated twice.

Safari Jogging is for most participants a new practice of which they do not yet possess the skills to execute it on their own. Knowing where wildlife can be found, what to look for when trying to spot it and running on unpaved trails are techniques that were learned through listening to and following the guide. The guide therefore plays an important role in sharing the needs of performing wildlife spotting and natural trail running, making repetition of this activity alone easier. Moreover, guides provide a feeling of comfort and safety that some participants lack when running through unknown forests or other natural environments. By learning several skills and techniques from the guide, this uncomfortable feeling is replaced by confidence and stimulates participants to engage in running nature trails combined with wildlife spotting on their own:

> I think it is easier for me now to go on my own since I have experienced it once and know better what to pay attention to. I am also feeling more confident to find the route back. (Participant 0A, personal interview, November 16, 2020).

Even though knowhow of the area and understanding which routes to take is not something that is learned, participants overcome this by using the GPS from their smartwatch or smartphone to save the coordinates and knowing where to jog to without a guide. Except for one, all participants always wear a smartwatch (with GPS system) when running. This technology has substantially improved over the last couple of years, resulting in these technological innovations stimulating the repetition of Safari Jogging through the ease of saving routes, as the guides mentioned. The intended repetition of Safari Jogging is therefore largely guide-dependent and learned through the sharing of techniques, skills and knowhow, as well as through the use of technology in the form of GPS systems.

4.2.2 Group-dependency

Next to being guide-dependent, Safari Jogging is a group-dependent practice as links between participants' (dis)satisfaction and other participants' skills and interests are constantly present.

Participants often sign up with others such as friends from the athletics club or family members. However, some people sign up individually too. As the group can be as large as eight participants, excluding a guide, differences in jogging skills of participants occur. To prevent a group from being composed of both expert runners that would like to jog long distances at a higher speed and beginner runners that are satisfied with jogging on a moderate tempo, participants are required to indicate their preferred distances beforehand when booking the activity online on the Safari Jogging website. The selection they can choose from consists of 10km, 12-15km or >15km, with 10km being the minimum distance for choosing a proper circular route without having to jog the same trail twice. This way, more equally skilled groups during the activity are compiled with all participants being able to jog the distance that is in line with their skills. In addition, it improves the experience of participants as the chances of having to wait for others that cannot keep up with the group's tempo is reduced, something that is considered unfavourable. Participant satisfaction is therefore group-dependent and linked to the skills of others:

> You need to be able to run about 10km. And that does not have to be fast or in one go. So you do not have to be able to do that much really, but you do have to like to run. If you cannot keep up

> you are a burden to others as the group constantly has to wait for you. You should have a reasonable level of fitness. (Guide 0J, personal interview, December 9, 2020).

The required skills for participation are therefore also group-dependent, as you can choose which type of group (i.e. distance) you would like to join. The tempo, as mentioned in the previous section, is decided upon by the guide while jogging who weighs up what all participants are capable of. Yet it does occur that people are struggling with the distance or tempo, forcing other participants to wait which can dissatisfy them. A factor that amplifies this are the expectations of participants. Indicating your preferences to prevent you from being placed in a group with different skills creates expectations that everyone in that group is similar to you concerning skills. This suggests that there will not be any issues with the distance or tempo, thereby creating disappointment among participants when this expectation is contradicted:

> Beforehand you had to indicate what your average experience was I believe, or your speed or something like that. So then you kind of expect you will be placed in a group where everybody can run 10km. So maybe that is what makes you think ''everybody will be able to do this'', and when someone is not able to keep up it disappoints you even more. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020)

Group skills are therefore linked to the (dis)satisfaction of participants and can influence this both negatively and positively. Especially the ambiance within the group, as big differences in skills between participants can create annoyance, is group-dependent. This link is strengthened by the idea of equality, created through the necessity of indicating your own running skills beforehand. Moreover, the group skills also influence the route as the guide decides what the participants would be physically able to do. If the guide notices some of the participants are not keeping up, he will have to improvise and adjust the route to a shorter or less hilly one. In the case of a shorter route, this can cause the participants to spot less wildlife. If the group has to wait for slower participants, improvisation skills of the guide are required to entertain people which is done by providing information on what can be seen at that point, or by stimulating social contact. The group-dependency is therefore closely interlinked with the guide-dependency within Safari Jogging, as the guide's skills to adjust the programme in such a way that all participants are satisfied is required more often in the case of stronger group-dependency.

Next to the skills of others, group-dependency is also present in the type of participants that one is accompanied by. As Safari Jogging is done with others, the ambiance within the group and the type of people they are running with is considered important by participants. Especially considering the fact that the activity is more than just jogging and spotting wildlife. Social contact and chatting with each other is something that is stimulated by the guides and is part of Safari Jogging. Most participants are enthusiastic and interested in both running and nature. During some parts of the trip where guides know from experience that there is a lack of wildlife, conversations with and between the participants are stimulated. This entertainment element is used to improve the experience and distract participants' attention to spotting wildlife as this can cause disappointment when nothing is spotted. Hence, jogging with participants that have similar interest is considered an important part of the practice:

> It does not have to be the same type of people, but at least people that have some things in common with each other. Because we have been busy for 1,5 hour, even a bit longer I think since you are also standing still now and then, so it is nice then to have people you can chat with. (Participant 0B, personal interview, November 17, 2020).

Participants value these social contacts with others, showing the group-dependent participant satisfaction being linked to both skills and interests.

4.3 Mindful jogging

Over the last couple of years, the concept of mindfulness has seen an increase in popularity among people. Even though there are various interpretations of what being mindful entails, the most common definition focuses on the awareness of the present instead of the past or future, thereby generating calmness. According to the Cambridge dictionary, being mindful can therefore be described as being ''deliberately aware of your body, mind, and feelings in the present moment, in order to create a feeling of calm'' (Cambridge University press, n.d.a).

In Safari Jogging this mindfulness is an important part of the practice and will be discussed through two sub themes; the absence of competition (4.3.1) and interpreting Safari Jogging as a new form of running (4.3.2). The absence of competition shows how Safari Jogging neglects the idea of competitive running and instead becomes a practice that is characterised by a new form of running. One that is formed by the idea of mindful jogging where participants become more aware of their surroundings and landscapes they are walking through, while time and tempo become obliterated. Here, the aspiration of finishing as quickly as possible makes way for the aspiration of enjoying the journey instead.

4.3.1 Absence of competition

Mindful jogging is achieved through the absence of competition where a focus on time and distance is replaced by a focus on surroundings. This absence is linked to an intermittent programme, no performance-oriented meanings, participants' expectations of jogging instead of running and attention to the environment.

Safari Jogging requires a minimum level of fitness and jogging skills to participate, ensuring participants will be able to keep up with the tempo. As this minimum is set at jogging 10km at a moderate speed and almost all people that sign up have experience with running, participants usually feel confident with this distance to be covered. In fact, most participants run at least two to three times per week, with total distances exceeding 10km. As the participants mostly run to improve their running skills or level of fitness, keeping track of the distance covered and time run is of frequent occurrence. Usually done by the use of a smartwatch with an inbuilt GPS, most participants bring this accessory with them to the Safari Jogging activity as well. Participants of Safari Jogging, or runners in general, are therefore used to running with this game mentality where performance is measured by set goals such as a certain distance to cover or a certain time to beat. Their meaning of running can be seen as a competition to become better; to improve their level of fitness and skills through the use of running. Quite contradictory, Safari Jogging does not include this competition element in its practice whatsoever. Instead of focussing on their smartwatch to see how fast they are going or what distance they have covered so far, participants focus more on nature and their surroundings:

> It is not competitive running, it is not trail running or whatever. It is not about time, it is about running in nature. That was clear. (Participant 0E, personal interview, November 30, 2020).

This absence of competition can be seen in several aspects of the practice. First of all, Safari Jogging is not a continuous run without any breaks or stops, as other running activities often are. The jogging part is regularly interrupted by standing still at a viewpoint or to spot wildlife. There is no goal in getting back at the car as quickly as possible, since that would mean less time is spent in nature and consequently less wildlife is spotted. Second, it is not a performance-oriented practice. Even though participants can indicate their preferred distance to jog beforehand, this is easily extended during the activity if everybody in the group is able to keep up with the tempo. Not jogging on time is no issue to participants either, as they already know beforehand that it is going to be a mixture of jogging with standing still and spotting wildlife. Third, the name 'Safari Jogging' has a symbolic meaning as it signifies

the activity will be done through jogging and not running. As jogging indicates a slower or more moderate pace than running, the name Safari Jogging instead of 'Safari Running' does not create false expectations among participants. These aspects ensure justified expectations:

> Really fanatic people who can run very well will not participate in the activity with the idea of ''we are going to run for 80km and spot wildlife''. The people who participate all know that we are going to jog for a bit and look around us. (Participant 0B, personal interview, November 17, 2020).

Participants therefore do not sign up with competitive aspirations. Their expectations are in line with the actual programme, ensuring disappointments regarding the distance or tempo are mostly avoided, independently from the group skills as previously discussed. As participants become more aware of their surroundings during the practice, attention to the environment increases as well. Safari Jogging is an activity that requires more attention to your surroundings than other running related activities. Attention to the trails is required as they can be treacherous during twilight when the scarcity of sunlight prevents participants from seeing pits, branches or roots, increasing the chances of tripping over them. Attention is also stimulated by jogging through various landscapes. Deciduous forests, coniferous forests, pastures, grasslands, heather fields, broad and straight avenues, small trails and hills all play an important part in forming the practice of Safari Jogging, as it makes the journey unexpected and varied. The variety of natural environments constantly directs the person's sense perception towards a different landscape or natural feature, positively influencing their Safari Jogging experience by preventing the participants from losing attention and interest. To keep directing this sense perception towards natural features human influences such as motorways, campsites, fences, deforestation and transmission towers are avoided as much as possible by the guides, requiring their skill of improvisation and picking routes that contain natural features only. As participants are conscious of their surroundings, sudden human influences can disrupt the experience of mindful jogging in nature. This consciousness creates a constant state of alertness among participants that exists until the practice is over. Redirecting attention to the surroundings is therefore important in the absence of competition.

4.3.2 New form of running

Due to the fact that competition is absent, Safari Jogging can be seen as the relaxed variant of running and trail runs. Even though running is a sport, suggesting it can be regarded as a form of relaxation where people blow off steam through training their body and reaching their set goals, relaxation also indicates the absence of worry and presence of calm. Safari Jogging promotes this calmness by providing participants a new opportunity of performing their running activities in a relaxed setting where the focus does not lie on the goal but instead on the journey.

The relaxed setting is stimulated through small group sizes and a balanced provision of information. As the group size determines the sense of being alone in nature, calmness is promoted more easily in smaller groups. Bigger groups means more sound and more people to take into account during the practice, reducing the sensation of relaxation. In addition to the group, the knowledge provided by the guide depends on what is seen or spotted as well as whether participants are interested in this information or not. As mindful jogging includes participants becoming aware of their surroundings at that moment, constantly hearing facts about what is to be seen makes mindful jogging more difficult to accomplish. Safari Jogging is therefore a form of running that includes a balance between receiving information and experiencing the now:

> And I am not really participating because of the knowledge or facts, but more because of experiencing the moment. So I do not need to hear the whole encyclopaedia about wildlife on sight. If you want to know those things you can look them up. At that moment, it is mostly about

> the experience, about what you are seeing. And all the background information, I think that is something for outside of the practice. (Participant 0A, personal interview, November 16, 2020).

As the environment plays a central role in Safari Jogging, combining running with enjoying nature is both an incentive for participation and a key element being learned during the practice. As the goal is to find wildlife through the use of jogging, nature is experienced in a new way. Instead of making use of nature only in a practical way, such as using the trails for running or the forest for quiet routes and clean air, participants start creating a sense of connectedness with it. One participant describes it as the earthly feeling of being part of nature instead of being distanced from nature and simply visiting it. Besides, visiting unknown areas makes the trip unexpected and potentially stimulates amazement among participants. Performing the practice early in the morning without the disturbance of other recreationists stimulates this connectedness with nature too, as it makes participants more aware of themselves and nature instead of other people. The practice becomes a new form of running that makes participants experience nature in a different way; one that moves beyond the practicality and stimulates connection:

> It is the ultimate nature experience. It has got something primal in it, like the primitive man running across the plains chasing mammoths. Of course that is still partly in there, looking for wild. And instead of hunting you are spotting them now. That is actually the synonym, the innocent variant of hunting. And the gratification, the sports experience, simply running early in the morning when nature awakens. Yeah, that combination makes it magical for a lot of participants, still including myself as well. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Safari Jogging is also regarded as a new form of jogging in the sense of combining two incentives for participation, namely running and experiencing nature. Instead of separating them into two distinctive practices, Safari Jogging provides the opportunity to do both simultaneously. This new form of running moves beyond simply running to maintain their level of fitness or increase their skills, and stimulates people to become more aware of the present and become connected with nature. This also determines the symbolic meaning of Safari Jogging, as it becomes a unique way of running where time is used to experience nature instead of using it as a target. However, Safari Jogging does not replace participants' usual running practices. It simply provides a new form for executing running; one that neglects time and goals while promoting awareness and mindfulness. Safari Jogging can therefore be seen as a tool to achieve people's original goals of running in a new and unique manner.

4.4 Nature-based recreation in the Netherlands

Safari Jogging takes place at the Veluwe, a popular destination for Dutch nature-based recreationists. Consisting of two national parks, which are the Veluwezoom and the Hoge Veluwe, and several biotopes ranging from drift sand to heather fields and forests, the Veluwe are considered one of the best places to visit nature in the Netherlands. Moreover, it is one of the few places where you can spot several big land mammals such as the wild boar and red deer. Due to the Veluwe's size and relatively low impact of human influences, this area provides possibilities for nature-based recreation that plays an important role in Safari Jogging and is considered unique.

This perception of uniqueness is stimulated twofold. First, being alone in the Netherlands is considered unlikely and is linked in Safari Jogging to the skills of guides to avoid others, small group sizes and the unique meaning attached to the practice (4.4.1). Second, as the image of Dutch nature includes low expectations among participants, the wildlife and landscapes encountered during Safari Jogging are linked to surprise, amazement and new meanings of what Dutch nature entails (4.4.2).

4.4.1 Being alone

Most participants are from the Netherlands, with a handful coming from Belgium. As both countries are among the most densely-populated countries in the world, participants are not familiar with places in the Netherlands without an abundance of other recreationists. Since Safari Jogging takes place early in the morning or late in the evening at places where few people know their way, coming across other recreationists is rare. Occasionally a photographer, mountain biker or hiker is encountered, yet in many cases nature is experienced alone. Guides also aim to achieve this by avoiding places where recreationists can be easily encountered such as busy trails. Improvisation of the routes and programme to adjust them to unpredicted variables is key, meaning these skills of the guide to make sure other recreationists are avoided are central in forming Safari Jogging. Avoiding others has two reasons. The first reason is spotting wildlife. As other people can disturb wildlife and cause them to leave places where the Safari Jogging group was originally heading to, taking into account the movement of recreationists is needed to spot wildlife:

> For instance, if I see a couple walking ahead of us and I can pick an alternative route, I will. I know the area like the back of my hand, so I can quickly improvise if I see people walking in the distance because you know the chances of spotting wildlife on that trail are now slim to none. So I try to come up with something else for that. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

The second reason is the meaning of being alone. As Safari Jogging is a practice that involves mindful jogging without being disturbed by human influences, avoiding other recreationists is key in effectuating this. It creates the symbolic meaning of a unique experience that only they and a limited number of people (i.e. their group members) undergo. Especially in the morning when human activity is still low, Safari Jogging is seen as a special opportunity to be alone while nature is waking up. Another consequence of being alone is the feeling of getting away from all the hassle back in the cities. As quite some participants are from the Randstad, the most densely populated area in the Netherlands, being able to be alone this close to home impresses people who often associate the Netherlands with a country where there is always other people nearby, no matter where:

> Especially the idea of being there alone, something you cannot experience in a lot of places in the Netherlands of course, is something I find special [about Safari Jogging]. It strengthens the nature experience. (Participant 0A, personal interview, November 16, 2020).

Being alone is therefore interlinked with the skills of the guide, the avoidance of other recreationists and the symbolic meaning of it being unique attached to it. Being alone does however not only relate to avoiding other recreationists, it also relates to the size of the group. As the maximum number of participants in one group is set at eight, the idea of being alone in nature is strengthened. Moreover, a higher number of participants would ultimately result in more people talking and making noise, causing the wildlife to flee. Yet for some, eight participants (including a guide) is already too many and influences the practice negatively. The uniqueness of being alone is therefore important in the practice of Safari Jogging and is linked to both avoiding others as well as the group size:

> Because it is the nature experience of having the feeling that you are there on your own, especially if it is at such an early hour. And if you are there with a group of eight then to me it is just a little too many. Because you are actually there for the feeling that it is special to be almost completely alone in nature. I find that exceptional. (Participant 0A, personal interview, November 16, 2020).

The aspect of being alone is however changing and becoming more difficult. Due to an increasing popularity of nature-based recreation, which is accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic, more recreationists being present in the Veluwe requires more improvisation from the guides to pick new routes as well as areas to jog and spot wildlife.

4.4.2 Dutch nature

Safari Jogging provides the opportunity of experiencing this wildness and diversity among both wildlife and landscapes, as participants do not perceive Dutch nature as being wild in general. Linked to the surprise and amazement that comes with it, Safari Jogging changes participants' idea of Dutch nature beyond the practice itself. However, this is only linked to an intended repetition instead of an actual repetition.

Nature in the Netherlands is often associated with being small, cultivated and lacking wildlife. As most national parks are not bigger than the average city in the Netherlands, people usually do not expect a sense of wildness when recreating. As Safari Jogging takes place in relatively undisturbed parts of the Veluwe, becoming acquainted with wildlife and diverse landscapes creates amazement among participants. Especially wildlife is considered extraordinary, both in size and numbers. As most wild land animals in the Netherlands are relatively small, having the chance to spot the *Big 5* of the Veluwe is considered both unique and exciting. Moreover, participants do not associate the Netherlands with an abundance of wildlife. When during the activity large groups are spotted then, participants are amazed by the numbers in which they can be found together. That means that even though their expectations consist of spotting wildlife, the actual number of spotted animals often exceeds their expectations and amazes participants:

> At the end of the trip there were pretty large groups [of wildlife] which is something you have never seen before, so that is quite special. It really gives you the idea that you have encountered something that you do not encounter easily. So it was honourable, yeah really extraordinary. (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Next to the abundance of wildlife, the low level of difficulty in spotting wildlife contributes too. As the Veluwe is located in the centre of the Netherlands, most Dutch cities are within a two hour driving range. Spotting wildlife in the Veluwe is therefore perceived as spotting wildlife close to home, something that is unexpected and considered extraordinary in a densely-populated country like the Netherlands:

> Such an extraordinary experience. And it is so nice to have so much wildlife in this crowded country, which you can behold with such ease. (Participant 0C, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

Not only wildlife but also the diversity in landscapes plays an important role in Safari Jogging. As nature in the Netherlands is perceived as being cultivated and monotonous, the diversity of landscapes in the Veluwe creates a positive impression and keeps the participants both interested and alert during the activity. It also stimulates the symbolic meaning of uniqueness and wildness as unknown areas without human influences are being discovered and jogged through. Diversity in trails influences the experience as well. Instead of paved, straight trails through the forests, Safari Jogging routes consist of windy, sandy trails only suitable for hikers that some participants do not even perceive as trails but rather as going criss-cross through nature, oaken avenues that are straight but provide idealistic views in front of you as well as behind you, and occasionally wider trails that mountain bikers or other recreationists make use of as well. Participants describe this trail diversity as a positive feature of Safari Jogging, as only straight trails remove the uncertainty of what lies ahead. Hence, trail diversity increases the sense of amazement and surprise when jogging. As expectations are exceeded and a sense of amazement occurs among participants, memories are formed as well. These memories consist of, next to the spotted wildlife, the different landscapes participants have gone through and the excitement it brought them. Finally, as large parts of the Netherlands are at or even below sea level, height differences and hilly landscapes are rare and therefore stimulate a sense of amazement among participants when jogging through the area. This combination of exploring unknown areas, diversity in landscapes, trails and heights forms the symbolic meaning of an extraordinary practice:

> Beautiful, extensive forests and heath. With height differences as well, so that is extraordinary. Drifting sand, height differences, forests, heath, and being gone from everything. You are really going into an area where you would not normally go. That is nice. (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Yet, the changed perception of Dutch nature and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands has only limited impact beyond Safari Jogging. Participants mentioned intended repetitions of going into nature to combine trail running with experiencing Dutch nature and if possible spotting wildlife. They described searching for new trails in natural areas in the Netherlands to experience wildness and encounter new scenery. However, this often remained an intention only even though their perception of Dutch nature had changed and ideas regarding the easiness of repetition were present. Their changed perception of Dutch nature is therefore linked to an intention to repeat Safari Jogging and how jogging and nature-based recreation practices can be performed, but not to actual repetition.

4.5 Wildlife spotting

Wildlife spotting forms the 'Safari' part of Safari Jogging. The word safari is defined by the Cambridge dictionary as ''an organised journey to look at, or sometimes hunt, wild animals, especially in Africa'' (Cambridge University press, n.d.b.). As the definition already reveals, Safaris are often associated with spotting wildlife in Africa, and instead of jogging these Safaris often use trucks for transportation. Moreover, the *Big 5* that Safari Jogging refers to as the five biggest animals that can be spotted in the Veluwe also originate from safaris in Africa, with the original five consisting of the lion, leopard, rhino, elephant and cape buffalo. In the Veluwe the *Big 5* consists of the fallow deer, wild boar, badger, fox and red deer.

To spot wildlife, preparation (4.5.1) is required. Here the competences of the guide in both explaining and determining how to spot wildlife, as well as participants learning these competences become crucial. During the spotting itself (4.5.2) these competences are linked to the use of materials, while wildlife ignites positive meanings and affects among participants. Wildlife is however more than a material object to be spotted; it can be considered an affective stimulus (4.5.3). Wildlife spotting should therefore also be seen as an affective compound that is central in forming an affective link throughout the whole practice and beyond.

4.5.1 Preparation

Preparation to spot wildlife is needed from both the guide and participants. While the guide explains spotting techniques and determines the routes, participants learn spotting skills and pay attention to their surroundings as spotting wildlife is an incentive for participation. Competences are therefore central in this part of Safari Jogging.

Preparing for wildlife spotting starts with the guide. As the guide has the skills and technique that are required for spotting wildlife and no other skills than running skills are required for people to come along, participants depend on the guide's expertise to spot wildlife. Spotting techniques are already explained before the activity starts when participants receive the confirmation email with instructions to not wear fluorescent clothes, to not use perfume and to bring binoculars. During the practice, the guide explains participants when to be quiet and when talking is allowed, depending on the possibility of spotting wildlife in the area. Making sure participants stay low and out of sight of the wildlife is another instruction, as well as looking for certain characteristics of the animals such as the white rump of a roe deer, making them easier to find during twilight. As learning new techniques is done in this preparation phase, these instructions help forming an interactive practice where both the guide and participants become part of wildlife spotting. It also links to the idea of treasure hunting among

participants where you have to find wildlife by the use of clues (e.g. tracks or feces) that are scattered among the area, stimulating excitement among participants:

> And it is also a sort of treasure hunting where you are jogging and hear ''they have been here''. But you do not see anything and then further on you hear ''they have been here as well'' and all of a sudden an animal comes out of the forest. That is cool. (Participant 0B, personal interview, November 17, 2020).

Next to instructions for the participants, wildlife spotting includes skills and techniques that the guide decides upon without explanation to participants. Most of these skills and techniques determine the route to be picked. For example, in the occurrence of strong winds the guide chooses a route where wildlife does not pick up their scent and notices the group. The group size is important as well as more people means more noise, causing the wildlife to flee. Other people and practices are avoided as well as they disturb wildlife and reduce the spotting chances. Mountain biking, hiking and wildlife photographing are recreational practices to be avoided by the guide. In addition, nonrecreational practices also influence the route and therefore Safari Jogging. Especially forest clearing limits the spotting possibilities, next to the experience that guides try to provide:

> For two weeks, trees have been cut down and felled there. So a lot of work and action has taken place there. This means the wildlife has been chased away and scenically it is just ugly to see. You see piles of wood, but that is it. If that is the case I think ''well, there are more beautiful spots I want to go to with my participants''. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Routes also depend on what the participants would like to spot. Various locations in the area can be considered 'certainties' where wildlife is almost always spotted and guides know how to find these. Guides can therefore easily adapt the route to these locations to make sure the wants and needs of participants are met. Another skill of the guide is understanding the difference between a morning and evening jog. As wildlife movements differ between these two periods, routes are adjusted:

> The most important thing is that with the morning programme the peak of spotting wildlife is actually in the beginning, so that is when you have to be on high alert. Throughout the day you will see less wildlife. And with evening runs it is actually the other way around, so the peak is at the end of the run. So you have to take that into account, how you are jogging and where you will end up. […] The evening runs end at the place where most wildlife assembles, so you adjust your routes to whether you run in the morning or in the evening. (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Paying attention to your surroundings is another important preparation step for spotting wildlife. Although in the beginning participants are mostly focussing on the trail trying not to stumble over anything, attention to the environment is key in trying to spot wildlife. Being alert to sudden movements, uncommon colour patterns in the vegetation or noticeable sounds and smells direct the attention of participants to their surroundings. Constantly keeping this attention is stimulated by the incentive of spotting wildlife. Since spotting the *Big 5* in the Netherlands is considered a unique experience, this incentive stimulates people to direct their senses towards the environment. A link between the affective incentive for wildlife spotting and attention to the environment therefore exists in Safari Jogging:

> It is nice that you are constantly alert to ''Am I going to see something?'' So you are much more aware of your surroundings, also because you participate for an experience. So you are alert to sounds, scents and things you see. I really liked that. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

4.5.2 Spotting

Spotting wildlife is a requirement in optimally performing Safari Jogging. Here, the necessary competences of the guide and participants to spot wildlife are linked to the use of materials such as landscapes, binoculars and cameras. Moreover, as spotting especially bigger wildlife is both an incentive and expectation among participants, it becomes an important success measurement that is linked to excitement and satisfaction.

As wildlife spotting is both an incentive and expectation among participants, it is central in the practice of Safari Jogging. Next to the *Big 5* of the Veluwe, the website of Safari Jogging also advertises the roe deer as part of the wildlife that can be spotted. As mentioned by the participants and guides, of these six animals the red deer, fallow deer and the wild boar are the ones that are most often spotted while the roe deer, fox and badger are only occasionally spotted. Next to the bigger wildlife, Highland cattle and smaller wildlife such as squirrels, rabbits, pine martens, birds (e.g. owls, kingfishers and dippers) and reptiles (e.g. adders and slowworms) are occasionally spotted as well. Big wildlife that has not been spotted during Safari Jogging yet but might be in the future is the wolf, which has been spotted several times in the Veluwe over the last couple of years.

As well as during the preparation, guide's competences are important in forming this aspect of the practice. First, locations where wildlife is spotted depend on the landscapes. Deer and Highland cattle are usually spotted on open fields such as grasslands or pastures as they provide the group good eyesight of the animals, while the vegetation of especially the latter is rich in food for these animals. Spotting wildlife in forests occurs less as the eyesight is blocked by vegetation and less food is available for the animals. However, wild boars can be found in the forest, especially close to trails where they are rooting up the ground looking for insects or below beeches where they look for fallen nuts. Heather fields do provide the group good eyesight over long distances but usually do not provide enough food for animals to be found here. Spotting wildlife is therefore linked to the physical entities of landscapes in which they can be found and easily spotted. In addition, spotting wildlife is linked to the techniques and skills of guides to understand which landscape is linked to which animal and where these landscapes can be found. Moreover, the guide usually spots most wildlife as he has the technique of knowing where to look and the skills of walking over nature trails, whereas participants pay more attention to these trails during twilight, the time when most wildlife is spotted. When the group (either the guide or participants) spots a certain animal, the guide provides additional information if he senses interest among participants. Knowhow on which animal they have spotted, their behaviour, habitat, what they eat, how they forage and other facts are all given if wanted. As the participants often lack this knowledge, the guide is also seen as a knowledge component. Within Safari Jogging, a guide is therefore both seen as an added information source and a necessity in an optimal performance of the practice:

> You do not have to worry about the route. [The guide] brings you where wildlife is, so where you have the biggest chance of spotting wildlife. Otherwise you would not know that yourself. And he also tells you about nature, the area, the animals and their behaviour, which is of course really amusing. (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

When wildlife is spotted, materials that participants brought along become part of the practice. Binoculars are used in case the animals are too far out to be spotted properly with the naked eye, phones or cameras are used to take pictures and capture the memory physically, and the smartwatch's (or phone's) GPS system is used to save the location in case participants want to revisit the area in the future and spot wildlife. The use of these materials has increased over the years, as innovation in technology has improved the attributes and subsequently made it easier to use them during the practice.

The importance of spotting wildlife in Safari Jogging is also apparent in the idea of what Safari Jogging consists of, repeatedly described by the participant as wildlife spotting while being accompanied by a guide. Wildlife itself can be seen as an object which participants try to spot. However, as an incentive to join Safari Jogging is to spot these animals, they become an expectation and determination of excitement to participants as well. It is therefore expected to spot a certain amount of animals in order to be satisfied. This also counts for the guide, as they mentioned the number of spotted wildlife as being an important measurement for success.

Even though all wildlife that is spotted is perceived positively by participants, there is a difference in their experience of spotting bigger wildlife and smaller wildlife. Participants describe spotting bigger wildlife as being unexpected, unique and fascinating, whereas spotting smaller wildlife is not described with the same level of emotion. Bigger wildlife was also more easily remembered and mentioned first when asked about the spotted animals, while smaller wildlife was often added later on. A strong link is therefore present between the emotions that spotting bigger wildlife evokes and the memories people have of Safari Jogging:

> It is actually cool that those kinds of [bigger] animals are present in Dutch nature, and it also really feels like a unique opportunity. Especially since you do not always expect it, which creates the memory if you do spot them. I therefore cannot tell you now with certainty where I spotted the rabbits, but the deer I can still describe. It really makes the memory. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

Spotting wildlife is also considered a unique opportunity since it is done in small groups. Seeing something that others cannot makes the experience special to participants. The moment when wildlife is spotted, excitement among participants increases. Spotting wildlife becomes a harbinger to participants for more wildlife to be spotted. The guide stimulates this excitement by sharing his expertise that more wildlife will probably be spotted:

> We already spotted two deer in the first five to ten minutes. And then the guide told us that the chances of spotting more were pretty big. So at that moment you get even more excited for that. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

Wildlife spotting is therefore a requirement of Safari Jogging where the material wildlife constantly interlinks with various competences, materials and meanings to form the practice. Moreover and as will be described next, affective elements are central in this Safari Jogging aspect.

4.5.3 Affective stimulus

While several participants describe their participation as a gift from others, combining running with spotting wildlife is often mentioned as an important incentive to actually join. Wildlife spotting should be seen as an affective compound that is central in forming an affective link throughout the whole practice and beyond. Starting with expectations of spotting wildlife and an affective incentive to participate beforehand, moods are formed that slowly change into positive emotions during the practice when wildlife is spotted, resulting in the spotted wildlife being best remembered. This state of emotion remains until the end of the practice, gradually changing in a state of positive moods afterwards when people evaluate the practice with others. Wildlife is therefore more than a material object to be spotted; it is a stimulus of affects.

Because people sign up to spot the *Big 5* of the Veluwe and other wildlife, expectations of what they are going to spot are created among participants. These expectations are strengthened as participants check the website of Safari Jogging beforehand where wildlife is advertised. Even though participants understand the wildness of the term wildlife and spotting them is therefore not guaranteed, high expectations of spotting at least a few of the advertised *Big 5* influence the mood with which the

participants join the practice. While some participants described themselves as not having any expectations, the mood of participants was predominantly characterised by excitement and curiosity:

> I thought it was quite exciting, I was curious. Because everything was completely new to me it made me think ''what can I expect?''. And then I started to think ''with the jogging I will be fine, but how is it going to work and what am I going to see and with whom will I be?''. So really positive but also pure curiosity. (Participant 0E, personal interview, November 30, 2020).

During Safari Jogging, the excitement and curiosity creates attention among participants to the environment, waiting for the first animal to be spotted. As this can take some time, excitement is built up. As soon as wildlife is spotted, the jogging abruptly stops and the group's attention is all directed to the place where wildlife can be seen. At this point, the mood of excitement and curiosity are replaced by various emotions that briefly dominate the other elements. Participants are surprised by suddenly spotting these animals, fascinated by the wildlife and their appearance, amazed by the fact that these animal occur in the Netherlands and can be found this easily so close to home, and joyful that they have found what they were looking for and participated for in the first place:

> I feel a sort of excitement when you spot wildlife. It also makes you more alert to spotting more. And also the fun and enthusiasm regarding what you are spotting makes me really happy. As well as how special it is when you see a little fox and think ''this is actually really nice to experience it this way''. (Participant 0A, personal interview, November 16, 2020).

Spotting a large amount of wildlife does not decrease their excitement. This has to do with the fact that spotting wildlife in the Netherlands is considered extraordinary. It therefore amazes and surprises the participants with every animal that is spotted, especially in the case of large numbers, and keeps the participants in a high state of alert. Moreover, emotions are strengthened in the case of bigger wildlife, influenced by the fact that the presence of these animals in the Netherlands amazes participants more than smaller wildlife. The state of positive emotions remains until the end of Safari Jogging, as participants understand wildlife can still be spotted until the end of the jog. The wildness of these animals makes wildlife spotting a gamble of which you cannot be sure if and how much you will win.

Wildlife is also being best remembered among participants, especially in the case of spotting bigger wildlife. Even though wildlife spotting is only part of a bigger experience that Safari Jogging stands for, it does become dominant in how participants remember Safari Jogging, once more showing a strong link between emotion and memory:

> [I will remember] the animals, not really the people or something. It was nice with them, but if you say Safari Jogging the first image I am seeing are those wild boars, the big ones with the babies in between who are wandering through the woodland edges. That is the first image that comes to mind, I still find it cool to see that. (Participant 0B, personal interview, November 17, 2020).

As it is the guide's task to spot wildlife, measuring the success of their role in the practice as well as wanting to deliver the best experience possible to participants depends largely on the amount of wildlife spotted. Depending on expectations, spotting 'not enough' wildlife can result in disappointment among participants. However, as most participants do not expect an abundance of wildlife to be found in the Netherlands this rarely occurs. After Safari Jogging is done, emotions that were evoked by the practice evaporate and slowly turn into moods. These moods are still predominantly influenced by wildlife spotting, as feelings of satisfaction are often caused by the fact that participants spotted a lot of wildlife. Expectations play a role in this as well as they create standards that should be at least reached, if not exceeded for satisfaction to occur. Moreover, spotting wildlife causes participants to evaluate and tell others about their activity, mainly discussing the

numbers and diversity of animals spotted with great joy. It therefore also plays an important role in the post-activity mood of participants. Overall, wildlife spotting is an affective compound that is central in forming an affective link with expectations, memories and the material objects of animals throughout Safari Jogging and beyond.

4.6 A weather and season-related practice

As Safari Jogging is formed through the interlinkages of various elements that are both mentally and physically constituted, linkages with material elements are constantly present in the practice. Two material elements that greatly influence Safari Jogging and play an integral role in how the practice is formed are weather conditions and seasonal influences. Weather conditions (4.6.1) can be extreme and moderate, influencing Safari Jogging both positively or negatively. Seasonal conditions (4.6.2), influence the wildlife, light, visitor and environmental characteristics that each become linked to different competences and meanings in Safari Jogging.

4.6.1 Weather

As Safari Jogging takes place outdoors the practice is weather-related in several ways. While extreme weather events cause Safari Jogging to be cancelled, moderate weather conditions are coped with by both the guide and participants and do not influence the participants' experience directly, but do indirectly through wildlife absence and waiting for others.

Despite the Dutch climate being relatively stable with extreme weather conditions occurring scarcely, stable weather patterns still influence how Safari Jogging is performed. And even though weather cannot be controlled, it can be coped with during the activity. Taking weather into account already begins days before Safari Jogging takes place. Guides always check online weather apps to see whether any extreme weather conditions can cause problems for the safety of participants or negatively influence the spotting of wildlife. In the occurrence of extreme weather, Safari Jogging is cancelled. These extreme weather conditions consist of thunderstorms that pose the threat of lightning strikes, storms with strong gusts of winds that can cause branches to snap, and extreme cases of fog that makes spotting wildlife nearly impossible. Technology in the form of online weather apps is used here to see whether a proper execution of Safari Jogging can be guaranteed, consequently cancelling the practice if needed:

> It is something you can predict in advance. We have had cases where it turned out to be foggier than expected. So we have been Safari Jogging with fog sometimes, which caused us to see a lot less wildlife. That is unfortunate, but if it is way too foggy we will know in advance and cancel the activity the night before (Guide 0F, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Besides the guides, participants make use of these technologies as well. Weather predictions are mainly checked to decide what type of clothes should be worn. In the case of cold, multiple layers of clothing are brought along to deal with rising temperatures in the morning or dropping temperatures in the evening. In the case of moderate rainfall, participants bring along a rain jacket with them to wear over their running clothing. As most participants have experience in outdoor running, they already possess the technique of knowing how to dress up by looking at these weather predictions. For those who do not, the guide fills up the knowledge gaps by explaining what to wear and what to leave at the car when assembling, ensuring the participants are well-prepared for the run and not being negatively affected by weather conditions.

In contrast to extreme weather conditions, moderate types of weather often do not pose any problems for being able to safely participate. However, moderate weather conditions do constantly influence Safari Jogging. Weather can be considered beautiful or unexpected during the practice, thereby

surprising and amazing participants. At the same time certain weather conditions can reduce the amount of wildlife to be spotted, thereby disappointing participants:

> It could be a beautifully bright morning with a tiny layer of snow on top of the heath, steam coming out of the mouths. And if you reach the open fields with fallow deer walking around or red deer with also steam coming out of their mouths, this weather influence of brightness and a tiny layer of snow causes an even bigger wow-effect. So it can be a positive influence as well. More often it is a negative influence though, mostly rain. Heavy rainfall or trails in the forest being very slippery because it has been raining for three days, and even though the moment we are going it has cleared up it can be so muddy in the forest that you are slipping around and stomping in puddles. We always try to be quiet in the forest, but if at some point you can hear people coming from a distance by stomping in puddles, it will not benefit [wildlife spotting]. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

The guides play in on these weather types and improvise routes to let the participants experience different landscapes and sceneries. Here, weather is coped with by guides and used to improve the Safari Jogging experience. Weather can also influence the experience indirectly through the abundance of wildlife. In the case of heavy rainfall, wildlife often leaves the open fields and finds shelter in the forest. Since most wildlife is usually spotted on these open fields, rainfall reduces the amount of wildlife spotted. Guides take these weather conditions into account and adjust the programme to them by improvising routes through the forests to increase the chances of spotting wildlife. Wind direction is another factor that has to be taken into account by guides. When walking with the wind towards wildlife, the scent of people can give away their position and cause wildlife to flee. Routes are then adjusted to walk against the wind towards wildlife, increasing the chances of spotting wildlife.

With regards to the participants, moderate rainfall and winds do not influence their experience of participants directly. As most participants have experiences with outdoor running, they are used to imperfect weather conditions and therefore do not pay too much attention to it but simply coop through clothing:

> What you do when you go running is; you check the weather and adjust your clothes to those conditions (Participant 0H, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

However, moderate weather can negatively influence one's experience indirectly, for instance when having to wait for others in the cold. Hence group skills are strongly linked to bad weather conditions. Having to wait in the cold or rain is considered a bigger problem than waiting when the conditions are more favourable for standing still:

> So if you have to wait for 5 minutes every kilometre you are running because you have to wait for someone else, I mean you are cooling down a lot as well. So I do not mind waiting for others who are slower, but since you are cooling down so much it is actually less pleasant. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

Weather is therefore a material element that can be dominant in forming Safari Jogging, as is the case with extreme weather events that cause the practice to be cancelled. However, as weather conditions are often moderate, it is an element that is coped with and closely interlinked with other elements to form Safari Jogging.

4.6.2 Season

Strong links with seasonal conditions in Safari Jogging occur as well. All seasons have their own wildlife, light, visitor and environmental characteristics that interlink with the competences of guides to cope with these conditions, running techniques and symbolic meanings among participants of what Safari Jogging entails.

The four seasons of spring, summer, autumn and winter all have their own environmental and wildlife characteristics, as well as differences in human influences. Wildlife spotting is season-related and done best in spring and summer. In spring, nature comes alive and creates higher chances of wildlife to be spotted. As temperatures are favourable and food is in abundance, almost all animals produce offspring in spring. It is therefore considered the best season to spot the *Big 5* and other wildlife, since all animals are active. In addition, wildlife can be found more on open fields as food is present here, increasing the probability of spotting them. In summer animals are still active, but spotting them on open fields is less common due to droughts that have become more extreme over the last couple of years. Animals decide to look for more shelter in forests on days when it is too hot, reducing the probability of spotting wildlife. Different from the *Big 5*, reptiles are more easily spotted in either spring and summer as they are coldblooded and require the heat of the sun to become active. Another animal that is season-related is the tick, also considered a risk of Safari Jogging. Ticks are abundant in spring and summer, causing guides to avoid trails with high grass where they can often be found, thereby requiring adjustments to the programme.

Autumn is commonly known for the rutting season, whereas the winter is the least favourable season to spot wildlife. During these months, animals are less active as temperatures are low and food is scarce. Most animals are also spotted in the forest during these periods, as the open field provides no food or shelter for weather conditions. Reptiles will not be spotted either, as they are in hibernation. These seasonal conditions are closely linked to the routes to be taken, as well as the attention and experience of Safari Jogging. In spring and summer, attention is mostly paid to contours and the movement of animals, whereas during autumn and winter attention is mostly paid to landscapes and scenery. As autumn and winter are less favourable for spotting wildlife, guides describe how participants often mention the beauty of nature that can be found instead of the high number of wildlife that was spotted, as is often the case in spring and summer. Guides play in on this by picking routes that provide a diverse and unique view on the landscapes in the area when they know spotting wildlife is going to be more difficult. This way, the idea of Safari Jogging is season-related as attention shifts from wildlife spotting to natural environments or vice versa:

> Spring and summer are mainly the seasons in which you spot [wildlife] a lot and can show participants the most. Autumn and winter are for nature, such as the autumn leaves or the winter frost. With regards to beholding nature those are great, but less for spotting wildlife. […] With the participants often saying ''wow, what a beautiful run that was''. Solely because of the environment. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Another seasonal influence is the presence of other people. As Safari Jogging is formed by the idea of being alone and not encountering others, certain seasons require more improvisation of the guides to accomplish this and satisfy participants. Especially during the rutting season between September and October, avoiding other people can prove to be rather difficult. The rutting season is the mating season of various mammals, including deer. As levels of testosterone increase in males, so does their interest in females and aggression towards other males. In the Netherlands, the red deer is the most popular animal to spot during their mating ritual. This period is characterised by spectacular fights between males where they use their antlers to bump into each other and show dominance to win the right for mating with females. Another well-known characteristic is the burling noise red deer make to show dominance to both males and females. These factors make it one of the most popular periods of the year for people to go out and get a glimpse of this spectacle. As visitor numbers increase, more pressure is put on guides to improvise and pick routes that avoid other people as much as possible, with especially photographers creating difficulties due to their high presence in the area. Moreover, to give the red deer enough space to perform their rituals without bumping into people several trails are being closed in the Veluwe, making it even more difficult for the guides to pick a proper route:

> And it is so busy in the forest at that point, it is often the time of the year I tell [Safari Guide] to schedule me less. I simply do not fancy it that much. Because on the one hand *Natuurmonumenten* closes a lot of the trails to provide quietness for the animals as much as possible, which I get and would do too. And on the other hand it is getting twice as busy because of all the people looking for the best picture or sound or whatever. So all of sudden it seems to be four times as busy on the trails, as there are a lot more people on less available trails. (Guide 0G, personal interview, December 2, 2020).

Not only during the rutting season are there more visitors to be encountered in the park, as the duration of the day plays an important role too. In autumn and winter the sun rises late and sets early, changing the time of kick off and finishing as well as this occurs during twilight. Twilight, which is the period where the sun is below the horizon but provides some light through the horizon's reflection, are the periods when Safari Jogging starts in the morning and ends in the evening. This means that instead of starting the morning run around 6:00AM in summer, it starts around 8:15AM in winter. As an average run takes about two to three hours, chances of encountering other people in winter is higher than during summer two hours earlier. As this difference is even bigger during evening runs, these runs only take place in summer whereas autumn and winter provide morning runs only. A strong link between the seasonal influence of encountering other people in the area and guides needing to adjust the programme is therefore present in Safari Jogging, with the peak of adjustments in autumn during the rutting season.

Besides coming across more people, the seasonal-related amount of light is also linked to running techniques. As the amount of light during twilight is still scarce, participants find running and the ability to see where to put your feet more difficult:

> It is harder to spot a branch or a pit. So you are more focused on the ground, which makes running more strenuous so to say than when you are running in full daylight. (Participant 0D, personal interview, November 23, 2020).

This link between light and running technique requires attention from the participants to the trails instead of the environment to make sure they stay on their feed. During these twilight periods when most wildlife is spotted as well, the guide becomes central in the spotting of wildlife since he possesses the technique of running in these conditions while the participants pay more attention to the trails. In other words, guide-dependency is also season-related as it becomes greater during the practice when there is less light and more people in the area.

By coping with and adjusting the programme to the possibilities that are present, the practice of Safari Jogging is one that is very much related to seasonal conditions. Besides, seasons form strong links with other elements as well, such as the meaning of Safari Jogging and running techniques. Coping with seasonal conditions has proven not to be affecting the experience negatively, but instead shifting the focus towards other aspects of Safari Jogging. Guides play an active role in this shift, and embrace the seasonal differences to form a practice that is very much season-related.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this final chapter, a conclusion and discussion of the research are given. I will first discuss the findings to create a comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging as a social practice (5.1). Then, I will move on to discuss the proposed framework that was used, including its theoretical and methodological implications and limitations (5.2). Finally, some concluding remarks will be given on the research along with several implications and recommendations for future research on this topic (5.3).

5.1 The social practice of Safari Jogging

In this study, I argue that a comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging can be provided by studying Safari Jogging from a social practice perspective. As I describe a social practice as a routinised type of behaviour that is formed through the interlinkages of materials, competences, meanings and affects, my two research questions are as follows:

> *1. Which materials, competences, meanings and affects form the social practice of Safari Jogging?*
>
> *2. How are the materials, competences, meanings and affects that form the social practice of Safari Jogging interlinked?*

By shedding light on different (sub) themes, the various elements that Safari Jogging consists of were elaborated upon in the findings (see *Table 1* for an overview). As these materials, competences, meanings and affects that form Safari Jogging have shown to be abundant, I refrain myself from repeating all elements in this chapter. A concluding answer to research question 1 can therefore be found in *Table 1.* However, understanding Safari Jogging requires an understanding of how these existing elements are interlinked. Hence, the second research question was formulated. I will therefore use this chapter to discuss the most important interlinkages that form Safari Jogging.

I will discuss the findings in two sections, both equally important for a comprehensive understanding of Safari Jogging. First, I will discuss the most important interlinkages through a zoomed in perspective, and discuss how these interlinkages form Safari Jogging (5.1.1). Second, I will argue how these interlinkages can only be fully understood if we also look at the interrelations with other practices, thereby applying a zoomed out perspective on Safari Jogging (5.1.2).

5.1.1 The interlinkages of elements

The findings of the guide-group relations highlight the central role of the guide in forming Safari Jogging. This is in line with other research on guided tourist practices (Rantala, 2010; Rantala & Valkonen, 2011). Moving beyond a material object to be followed, it became clear from the interviews that the guide and his competences are key in forming and shaping Safari Jogging, especially due to Safari Jogging being a one-time event for most participants. Through the guide's ability to multitask between information provision, improvisation, ensuring safety and comfort, participant satisfaction and repetition stimulation, the guide's competences are being shared with and learned by the participants. These competences are then linked with the material use of physical entities (e.g. the environment and wildlife) and brought along objects (e.g. binoculars and non-fluorescent clothes), the meanings (e.g. the guide being an expert and Safari Jogging being both a lesson as well as an experience), and affects (e.g. satisfaction and comfort). As the guides indicated during the interviews, these tasks are not new to them as they have performed these tasks various times over the years they have been guiding. These tasks can therefore be considered guiding practices; pre-reflexive practices

grounded in embodied knowledge that have become part of the guides' routine by repeating these practices over the years (Rantala, 2010).

These guiding practices determine to a large extent how the elements are interlinked in the practice of Safari Jogging. It is for instance the guide who shares what to focus on when participants try to spot wildlife, thereby forming interlinkages between the environment, attention and spotting skills. And it is also the guide who knows where to find wildlife in which landscapes or environments, thereby determining the routes and forming interlinkages between environments, wildlife and positive meanings and affects.

However, the findings show how not all guiding practices are predetermined and improvisation from the guides regularly occurs. Avoiding other recreational practices such as mountain bikers, hikers and photographers requires guides to change routes while jogging to stimulate the experience of being alone, thereby influencing the nature-based recreation aspect of Safari Jogging. And adjusting the programme midway to the group's skills is needed to satisfy all participants, thereby influencing the group-relations as well. Still, this reflexivity of changing the routes and programmes does occur regularly, as reflected in the results. Occasionally encountering other people stimulates guides to learn how to cope with it. Even though these moments require improvisation, the guiding practice of improvising has become part of the guides' routinised behaviour by repeating this over the years. Guides therefore have the embodied knowledge of acting upon these improvising moments and behave pre-reflexively when dealing with the matter.

Furthermore, the findings also show various interlinkages between materials and meanings. The trails provide possibilities to jog through the area as well as the threat to fall, the environment provides the possibility to spot wildlife as well as connecting to it, and the weather and season influence both the programme and the Safari Jogging experience. These materials do therefore not only provide the physical opportunities for performing Safari Jogging; they move beyond being an objective entity in which Safari Jogging takes place or makes use of and become elements that are constantly interlinked with meanings. These linkages can be explained through the materials being affordances (Gibson, 1979). Materials as affordances are both physical and behavioural. They are as much the material that you see as how you perceive that material and what that material means to you.

In Safari Jogging, all materials can be regarded as affordances. Binoculars are a tool to zoom in but also create a meaning of being able to spot wildlife from a distance. Animals are physical bodies but also provide a unique opportunity to spot wildlife in their natural habitat. Humans are physical bodies but a disturbance of the Safari Jogging experience as well. And the camera is a recording device yet also a way of saving the experience. Understanding materials as affordance is in line with other articles on the role of materials in social practices (cf. van der Poel & Bakker, 2016; Rantala, 2010; Rantala, Valtonen & Markuksela, 2011) and shows how materials that are part of Safari Jogging only contribute to the forming of Safari Jogging when these materials are interlinked with other elements. For instance, Safari Jogging is formed when wildlife becomes interlinked with the meaning of spotting wildlife in their natural habitat being unique and extraordinary. The same wildlife is meaningful in another way for a different social practice, such as hunting where animals are meaningful targets to be found and killed. This creates a social practice that is different from Safari Jogging, even though the same materials are part of that social practice. Safari Jogging is therefore also different from related activities such as hiking, Nordic walking and outdoor running, not necessarily because there are different elements involved in these practices (e.g. they all take place in a natural environment and are done for exercise or leisure purposes), but because the context in which these elements interlink is different.

Moreover, the results indicated how shared competences determine the routes and the orientation of the participants, thereby the perception of affordances by participants as well. This is in line with the findings of Rantala (2010), who shows that materials as affordances are perceived collectively through guide-group interactions. For instance, the guide telling participants to focus on the trail to prevent them from falling forms the affordance of trails being both useful for transportation and a risk factor that requires attention. It can be argued that trails would not have been perceived as a risk if the guide did not point this out specifically, thus influencing the interlinkage between the trail and meanings. Materials and meanings therefore also interlink with the shared competences that arise from guiding practices during Safari Jogging.

Besides linkages between materials, meanings and competences, the findings also show how strong interlinkages of materials and affect form Safari Jogging. For instance, the natural environment is interlinked with amazement, impress and surprise, wildlife is an important affective incentive as well as interlinked with excitement, curiosity, surprise, fascination, amazement and joy, and certain weather conditions are interlinked with surprise and amazement. These interlinkages can be explained through Reckwitz' (2017) concept of materials acting as generators of affect. Materials are used as an affect bearer, both positively and negatively, and direct a person's attention in a certain way. The way these materials are interlinked with affect is, just like affordances, context-dependent; the same materials can generate a different affect in another practice. While Reckwitz argues that materials as artefacts in modernity have this affective function and distinguishes between spatial atmospheres and semiotic-imaginary artefacts, I argue that both artefacts are very much applicable to social practices beyond modernity as well, including Safari Jogging.

First, spatial atmospheres constitute an environment that is rather experienced and 'not so much used', thereby inducing affects (Reckwitz, 2017). The results showed how participants experience the diversity of environmental surroundings induces amazement, impress and surprise among participants. This environmental setting is still used during the practice, as they form the locale in which Safari Jogging takes place and wildlife can be spotted. However, it is the experience of this environmental setting that interlinks with affects and forms Safari Jogging. Second, semiotic-imaginary artefacts generate affect through imaginations and signs (Reckwitz, 2017). From the interviews it became for instance clear that the text on the website page of Safari Jogging where the *Big 5*[4] is advertised generates excitement and curiosity among participants.

Furthermore, interlinkages of materials and affects are not only visible through these two types of affect generators. The weather conditions can form a layer of snow on top of the heath that become interlinked with surprise and amazement, while rain is interlinked with less wildlife and disappointment. This interlinkage of weather with emotions is also in line with other research on tourism practices (Rantala et al., 2011). In addition, the findings show how wildlife is the most important affect generator among participants, especially bigger animals. During Safari Jogging, wildlife moves beyond an object to be spotted and forms an affective compound that is central in Safari Jogging. The results show wildlife is interlinked with not only emotions such as joy, surprise and fascination but also the incentive to participate, moods of excitement and curiosity before, and (dis)satisfaction during and after the practice, depending on the amount of wildlife that is spotted.

[4] On the Safari Jogging webpage 'Meet the wildlife', the *Big 5* wildlife as well as the roe deer are advertised through the explanation of various characteristics of that animal, including a picture of what the animal looks like, its habitat, lifestyle and more.

The findings on wildlife spotting also showed strong interlinkages between meanings, materials and affect. This can be explained through wildlife triggering peak experiences (DeMares 2000; DeMares & Krycka, 1998). Peak experiences are emotional experiences that are meaningful to an individual and where happiness and fulfilment are high (Maslow, 1968, as mentioned in McDonald, Wearing & Ponting, 2009). As the findings show, an important incentive for participants was spotting wildlife. These incentives formed strong linkages with meanings of wildlife spotting being an extraordinary and unique opportunity to have in the Netherlands. When wildlife was spotted, senses of fulfilment and happiness were formed as their incentive has been fulfilled, while the wildlife triggered various positive affects such as joy, surprise, fascination and excitement. If no wildlife, or not enough wildlife was spotted, disappointment in Safari Jogging would occur.

In addition, most of the remembered competences that were shared by the guide were related to the spotting of wildlife. This can be explained by linkages between facilitated learning and strong affects regarding the wildlife (Tyng et al., 2017; Um et al., 2012; D'Mello et al., 2014). As the incentive of spotting wildlife creates curiosity and excitement, learning the required competences to be able to spot wildlife are stimulated (Oudeyer, Gottlieb & Lopes, 2016). Wildlife spotting therefore includes strong linkages between materials, competences and affects. Furthermore, the findings show how especially bigger wildlife spotting is next to being strongly linked to affect also strongly linked to memory. This is in line with several authors who have emphasised the relationship between affect and memory (cf. Levine & Pizarro, 2004). This interlinkage can be explained by the concept of flashbulb memories; enduring and vivid memories of events that are emotionally loaded and unanticipated for (Talarico & Rubin, 2003). Wildlife as a material is therefore central in forming Safari Jogging through its various linkages with meanings, affects, competences. Moreover, the strong interlinkages of wildlife and affect also show how interlinkages with attention, learning and memory are formed. These findings show how the interlinkages of spotting of wildlife are essential in forming and understanding Safari Jogging.

To conclude, Safari Jogging is formed through various interlinkages of materials, competences, meanings and affects. By zooming in on Safari Jogging, I have provided an in-depth analysis of the interlinking elements and how these interlinkages help in understanding Safari Jogging. However, and as I will argue next, analysing the interrelations between Safari Jogging and other practices is also needed to understand Safari Jogging to its fullest.

5.1.2 An interrelated perspective on behaviour

Now that we have discussed the various interlinkages that form Safari Jogging, an important question to understand Safari Jogging as a social practice remains. As the findings show, Safari Jogging is for most participants a one-time only event. But if a social practice is a routinised type of behaviour, how can participants who perform the practice only once behave in the same routinised manner? While I have discussed how the guide has performed the social practice of Safari Jogging various times which makes his guiding practices grounded in embodied knowledge that have become part of the guides' routinised behaviour, a similar explanation on participants is not applicable as they do not repeat Safari Jogging like guides do. Yet, as the findings showed, participants did show routinised behaviour. Part of this behaviour can be explained by the guide who influences the forming of Safari Jogging through the sharing of competences, such as not wearing fluorescent clothing, paying attention to the trails during twilight, being quiet and understanding how to spot wildlife. Participants follow and listen to the guide, learn the competences and apply them appropriately. Still, most behaviour of participants is performed routinised that cannot be explained by these guiding practices. This includes behaviour such as coping with the weather through clothing, exuberant reacting when wildlife is spotted and

responding impressed and surprised to new forms of running and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands.

So how can Safari Jogging as a routinised type of behaviour be explained if repetition of the social practice itself does not occur? To answer this question, we have to alter the research lens to a zoomed out perspective on Safari Jogging and look at the interrelations with other practices. Through this perspective, I argue that behaviour can be explained through the concept of pre-reflexive practices that are formed through the development of cultural stock knowledge (Löfgren, 1999, as mentioned in Rantala, 2010). As this cultural stock knowledge of practices has become embodied over the years, it has been developed into pre-reflexive practices that influence the interlinkages of elements in Safari Jogging. However, while in the article of Rantala (2010) a focus on tourist practices is discussed, such a focus alone cannot account for the routinised behaviour of jogging as well. I therefore argue that in the case of Safari Jogging, the cultural stock knowledge of not only tourist practices but also practices of running and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands are influencing how Safari Jogging. Even though participants do not have the experience of combining jogging and wildlife spotting, most participants are experienced runners who know how to run in groups. Moreover, they have experience with visiting nature, socialising with other participants, appreciating nature, as well as following and listening to a guide through other practices. I therefore argue that it is these pre-reflexive practices of tourist, running and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands that influence the interlinkages of elements in Safari Jogging and the routinised type of behaviour.

Altering the research lens to a zoomed out and interrelated perspective on Safari Jogging can also provide an explanation for the findings of the mindful jogging and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands themes. The behaviour of mainly Dutch tourists that participate in Safari Jogging is shaped by their embodied knowledge of competitive running and nature in the Netherlands consisting of busy areas with no wildlife. As Safari Jogging is performed mindful at a moderate speed while being alone in wild areas, interlinkages are formed that are different from linkages in their 'usual' running and nature-based recreation practices. These new interlinkages are not in line with participants' embodied knowledge on how they should perform these activities, thereby forming interlinkages that include the affects of impress, surprise and amazement and the meanings of experiencing nature in a new way and a sense of wildness and uniqueness that form Safari Jogging. It is therefore the interrelation of Safari Jogging with the practices of running and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands that form the interlinkages of elements during the performance of these practices in Safari Jogging, resulting in a routinised type of behaviour. This shows how the interrelations of Safari Jogging and other practices of running and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands are indispensable for a comprehensive understanding of the social practice of Safari Jogging.

However, the findings show how Safari Jogging does not result in changes regarding participants' running and nature-based recreation practices. The interlinkages that form Safari Jogging are therefore only temporary and have little impact beyond Safari Jogging itself. This could be explained by Safari Jogging being a practice-as-performance instead of a practice-as-entity (Shove et al., 2012). As Safari Jogging is for most people a one-time event and repetition often remains an intention, the interlinkages of elements in Safari Jogging are not reproduced. This results in interlinkages that are not enduring or replacing interlinkages of related practices. That is to say, performance-oriented running is not replaced by mindful jogging and nature-based recreation in the Netherlands does not become constituted of meanings of experiencing wild Dutch nature alone. Safari Jogging should be seen as a new and innovative form of executing running and recreation practices. One where interlinkages are formed that are different from the interlinkages formed in participants' usual performances of running

and recreation practices, but not one where these new interlinkages permanently replace the way elements are usually interlinked.

In short, there is a need for understanding Safari Jogging in relation to other practices as well. The interlinkages of elements that form the routinised behaviour of Safari Jogging depend on the embodied knowledge of interrelated practices such as running and nature-based recreation practices. This shows that comprehensively understanding Safari Jogging as a social practice does not only require an emphasis on the interlinkages of elements through a zoomed in perspective, but also requires an emphasis on the relations between Safari Jogging and other practices through a zoomed out perspective.

5.2 A discussion on the proposed framework

Here, the theoretical framework that was used to investigate Safari Jogging as a social practice will be discussed twofold. First, a reflection on the usefulness and implications of the theoretical framework are discussed (5.2.1), whereafter I also shed light on the framework's methodological limitations and implications (5.2.2).

5.2.1 A reflection on the theoretical framework

By building upon Reckwitz' (2002) conceptualisation of social practices being a routinised type of behaviour and the framework of Shove et al. (2012) to explain the forming of social practices through the interlinkages of materials, competences and meaning, while including a fourth element of affect, I have engaged in arguably a 'simplified' way of understanding social practice (Shove et al., 2012). However and as I have shown in my research, applying this framework has resulted in an in-depth understanding of how the interlinkages of these elements form and shape Safari Jogging. Moreover, altering the research lens between zooming in and out on Safari Jogging provided a better understanding of how the routinised behaviour of Safari Jogging as a one-time event can be explained through the interrelation with the practices of running and nature-based recreation. This makes the theoretical framework not only theoretically claimable but, more importantly, empirically operational as well.

Including affect as the fourth interlinked element in Safari Jogging to tackle the indistinct role of affect in the framework of Shove et al. (2012) proved to be essential in comprehensively understanding Safari Jogging. A focus on affective incentives helped explain what motivates people to engage in Safari Jogging. At the same time, moods and emotions provided insights into the memories, experiences and role of materials in Safari Jogging and especially proved to be useful in understanding the centrality of wildlife spotting. However and as became clear from the findings, expectations and affective incentives are closely interlinked in social practices. The affective incentives of wildlife spotting and combining running with experiencing nature resulted in high expectations of these aspects. The link between motivations to participate (i.e. affective incentives) and the expectations of Safari Jogging that these motivations bring with them is therefore indispensable. This interdependency of motivation and expectations has been mentioned before by Leiper (1990), who states that an ''expectation that a need will be satisfied is one necessary condition for motivation'' (p379). Yet, while the proposed framework offers a means for investigating the role of affective incentives, it neglects the expectations of participants that are interlinked with these incentives. This is a limitation of the proposed framework. Further investigation on the inclusion of expectations and their interlinkages with affective incentives, as well as other elements, is therefore needed.

The use of the secondary concepts to understand the interlinkages of elements proved useful as well. Attention, learning and memory each provided a better understanding of how interlinkages of affect with the other elements formed Safari Jogging. However, the usefulness of understanding innovation

in this framework remains unclear due to limited insights into the innovation of Safari Jogging. Investigating practices over a longer period of time or focussing on the history of practices as well can overcome this knowledge gap.

As stated in the introduction, activities such as walking, hiking, Nordic walking are closely related to Safari Jogging. It could therefore be worthwhile to apply the proposed framework to these practices for two reasons. First, the application of this framework might shed light on current knowledge gaps in these activities by studying them from a different theoretical perspective than has been done so far. This can result in a more comprehensive understanding of these practices. Second, while the framework has proven useful in understanding Safari Jogging, knowledge regarding its applicability beyond Safari Jogging is lacking. Applying this framework to walking, Nordic walking or other related activities can therefore also increase our understanding of the framework's versatility.

Finally, even though I have demonstrated the empirical usefulness of my newly proposed theoretical framework, I refrain myself from stating that it is the best nor the only applicable framework to study Safari Jogging from. In fact, as my empirical applications of the social practice theory proves to be useful in comprehensively understanding Safari Jogging, I argue that research can profit from a variety of empirical frameworks and can improve our understanding of social practice theory as well as the recreational activities under study. Whichever framework, or combination of frameworks, is to be applied then depends on the scope of the research and the empirical issues at hand (Nicolini, 2012). Still, the framework proposed here can be of use in understanding how a social practice perspective could be empirically applied on other outdoor recreational activities, and provide insights into some of the theoretical and methodological assumptions that come with such an application.

5.2.2 Methodological limitations and implications

Finally, the findings have to be considered in light of several methodological limitations and implications of this research. Due to the Covid-19 measures, Safari Jogging did not take place while I was collecting data. The original plan of conducting both semi-structured interviews and participant observations to gain an in-depth understanding of Safari Jogging was therefore replaced by semi-structured interviews only. Not conducting observations resulted in a lack of first-hand experiences of Safari Jogging, thereby creating an understanding of Safari Jogging that is based on stories only. The absence of participant observations also limits the possibility for follow-up questions on certain aspects of Safari Jogging that were observed.

To compensate for the absence of observations not only participants but also guides were interviewed. This type of data source triangulation provides a more comprehensive view of Safari Jogging as well as new understanding of Safari Jogging as a phenomenon (Thurmond, 2001; Jick, 1979). Especially the materials and competences that participants lacked insights of due to being one-time participants were compensated for by interviewing guides too. Moreover, interviews provide information about action that is indirect (i.e. not observed), resulting in information that also includes interpretation about that action (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003, as mentioned in Halkier, 2017). Especially regarding the elements of meaning and affect, interpretation of the interviewees is key to understanding their inclusions and interlinkages with other elements. Conducting interviews should therefore be, next to participants observations, be a standard method when conducting social practice research.

Another limitation of the methodology regards the memory of participants. As Covid-19 measures reduced the number of Safari Joggings in 2020 as well as the group sizes from eight to four participants per guide, the target population of this research was limited. Moreover, as no jogs took place when data was being collected, participants were dependent on memories originating from their participation in February until July in 2020. This is a limitation of this research due to problems that

arose with a lack of detailed long-term memories, as was also occasionally mentioned during the interviews by participants. Even the flashbulb memories, the emotionally loaded and enduring memories (Talarico & Rubin, 2003), can cause problems as these memories are characterised by an overconfidence of accuracy yet no consistency. Put simply, extreme events are perceived as being remembered better by people but are in fact suffering from the same memory decay as 'normal' events (Larsen, 2007). The absence of participant observations exacerbated this limitation as no first-hand experiences could be followed up on to recall a moment or pose a question about.

The findings also have to be considered in light of my role as an interviewer. Especially in the first interviews, some questions were closed-ended, meaning a yes or no answer was occasionally given without further explanation. This was also not always compensated for by asking for further explanation. Moreover, sporadically questions were asked in a judgmental manner and the researcher's viewpoint was expressed, meaning some responses could have been biased (Carl & Ravitch, 2018). Still, most questions were asked open-ended and in a non-judgmental way. Also, the semi-structured character of the interview as well as the use of interview guides ensured the necessary questions were asked while room for flexibility was provided.

The Covid-19 measures also disallowed conducting interviews face-to-face, thereby restricting the development of a natural encounter and rapport between the interviewer and interviewee (Shuy, 2003, as mentioned in Irvine, Drew & Sainsbury, 2013). Instead, except for two interviews that were done via Skype, all semi-structured interviews were conducted over the phone. While talking over the phone and not having to show your face is perceived as being more anonymous by the interviewee which can increase the data quality (Greenfield, Midanik & Rogers, 2000), it limits the researcher's possibility to play in on facial expressions and nonverbal communication (Novick, 2008). This 'absence of visual cues' can limit an in-depth understanding of the explanation that is given by interviewees, thereby decreasing the richness of data (Irvine et al., 2013). However, the focus of this research was primary on informational content with transcripts being non-verbatim (i.e. excluding nonverbal behaviour). Besides, the presence of verbal cues did trigger follow-up questions, thereby compensating for the absence of visual cues.

Finally, I believe a brief reflection on my own positionality in this research is in place here. As I have not participated in Safari Jogging nor am I a seasoned runner or wildlife spotter, my positionality in this research is best described as an outsider researcher; one that does not ''share common languages, themes and experiences with their participants'' (Kim, 2012, p264). This lack of sharing was found throughout the interviews, where participants sometimes described aspects of Safari Jogging in a manner where explanation seemed superfluous. For instance, wearing a smartwatch as a runner was occasionally perceived obvious and needless to say. Only by me mentioning it, participants confirmed its presence. This raises speculations regarding what else has been left out intentionally by both participants and guides that was considered obvious in their eyes but not thought of by me as an outsider. de Souza Bispo (2016) has also pointed out this 'taken-for-granted' mentality among practitioners, which can be regarded as a weakness of not doing observations. This again shows the necessity of conducting, next to interviews, participant observations in empirical social practice research to gain first-hand insights into the 'obvious' aspects of a practice that might be left out during interviews.

5.3 Concluding remarks

In this study, I have investigated Safari Jogging from a social practice perspective. Through the empirical application of a newly proposed framework, I have shown how Safari Jogging can be comprehensively understood through focussing on the interlinkages of materials, competences, meanings and affects, as well as through focussing on the interrelations between Safari Jogging and

other social practices. An alteration of the research lens between zooming in and out on Safari Jogging has proven useful for establishing this. This twofold perspective has shed light on the plurality of Safari Jogging and shown how Safari Jogging should not be studied as an isolated social practice but rather as an interrelated social practice.

The findings of this study offer Safari Jogging management a clear overview of which elements form the recreational activity, as well as how and why Safari Jogging is performed by participants in a certain routinised way. Furthermore, by putting behaviour into the context of the social practice and shedding light on how Safari Jogging is formed, I recommend how policy strategies on behaviour can profit from a focus shift from the individual towards the practice that individuals engage in. More specifically, such a shift in not only Safari Jogging but also in other recreational activities could provide new opportunities for intervention and practice-oriented policies that could steer behaviour into a preferred direction effectively by altering certain elements and interlinkages that form Safari Jogging. Examples are the sharing of new competences or altering the materials that are used. In addition, the findings demonstrate that Safari Jogging should not be considered an isolated practice but rather one that is interrelated with other practices. Effective management of Safari Jogging and related recreational activities therefore requires new and innovative management strategies that focus on these interrelations of practices as well.

To this day, similar empirical studies that investigate recreational activities as a social practice are in short supply. I therefore emphasise the need for more empirical applications of social practice theories in future research. Such a shift in perspective could be useful for understanding recreational behaviour more comprehensively in the context of the activity instead of focussing on the recreationists alone. Future empirical research from a social practice perspective could also provide insights into why recreationists behave a certain and similar way instead of only understanding how they behave. Furthermore, several propositions made in this framework, such as the fourth element of affects and focussing on both interlinkages within a social practice and interrelations between practices, require more empirical applications in future research for a proper understanding of their usefulness. Future empirical research on the proposed framework is therefore necessary in order to finetune these concepts and understand the framework's versatility.

In conclusion, both the activity of Safari Jogging and the social practice theory are promising for the future when operationalised. By making my first steps towards a better understanding of both, a fruitful journey lies ahead. One step at a time.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Interview guide - Participant

Observation number:
Interviewee letter:
Date:

Note: Due to characteristics of a semi-structured interview, the order in which the questions are asked differs per interviewee and is therefore not similar to the order below. Besides, this guide only shows possible pre-designed follow-up questions, but during the interview spontaneous follow-up questions may be asked as well (depending on the answers of the interviewees).

Interview questions

Broader introductive questions

1. How would you describe yourself as a Safari Jogger?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- How often do you go jogging?
- How often do you go into nature or wildlife spotting?
- How often have you participated in Safari Jogging?
- When was the last time you participated?

2. Could you walk me through your Safari Jogging participation?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What does the programme of Safari Jogging look like and consist of? (e.g. the assembling, the jogging, the wildlife spotting, chat afterwards)
- What were the features of the activity like? (e.g. number of participants, distance covered, average jogging skills, speed, first timers, signed up with whom, morning/evening)
- What was discussed during the assembling?
- What was explained during the Safari Jogging?
- What was discussed afterwards when the Safari Jogging was over?

3. How did you experience Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- How was it to participate in the activity?
- Which parts of the activity did and/or did you not like?
- How was the ambiance of the group?
- How important is ambiance for you?
- How was it to walk with a guide?

Affect questions

4. What was your reason for participating in this activity?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What motivated you to sign up?
- What were your expectations of Safari Jogging?
- Why did you choose Safari Jogging and not a similar activity?
- How is Safari Jogging different from running or similar activities?

5. How did you feel during the Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- With what attitude did you join the activity that day?
- How did this feeling change throughout the activity?
- What went through you when you spotted wildlife?
- How did you feel when the activity was done?
- How different were the outcomes compared to your expectations?

Material questions

6. What was the environment like in which the activity took place?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What were the routes like?
- What kind of natural surroundings and landscapes did you go through?
- What did you think of the variation in landscapes?
- What kind of wildlife did you spot?
- What was the weather like?
- What was the brightness like?
- What was it like to (not) come across other people?
- What did you encounter that was unexpected?
- How did the previously mentioned …[material] influence your experience?

7. What did you use during the Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What was the added value of the … [mentioned material]?
- What did you bring with you that turned out to be useful?
- What did you not bring that could have been useful?

Competence questions

8. What did you know about Safari Jogging before you participated?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What did you look up about the activity beforehand?
- What did you know about jogging?
- What did you know about the area in which the activity took place?
- What did you know about the wildlife that was spotted?

9. What did you learn from participating in Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What did you learn regarding jogging?
- What did you learn regarding nature/wildlife?
- What did you learn regarding wildlife spotting?

10. What should you be able to do if wanting to participate in Safari Jogging?[5]

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- How do you optimally perform Safari Jogging?
- How do you spot wildlife?

[5] Question 10 has been added from interview 0B onwards to gain extra insights into this topic.

- What comes in handy to already know or be skilled in?
- What part of the activity was easy/difficult?

Meaning question

11. What does participating in Safari Jogging mean to you?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:

- What did you like to accomplish by participating?
- Why was participation important to you?
- How would you describe Safari Jogging to others?

Concluding question

12. Looking back on the activity, which experience of Safari Jogging will you remember best?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:

- What really caught your attention?
- What experience or insight from Safari Jogging do you take with you in the future?
- What did you start doing differently afterwards?
- What would you do differently next time in a similar activity (and why)?
- Is there anything else you would like to say about Safari Jogging?

Appendix B. Interview guide – Guide

Observation number:
Interviewee letter:
Date:

Note: Due to characteristics of a semi-structured interview, the order in which the questions are asked differs per interviewee and is therefore not similar to the order below. Besides, this guide only shows possible pre-designed follow-up questions, but during the interview spontaneous follow-up questions may be asked as well (depending on the answers of the interviewees).

Interview questions

Broader introductive questions

1. How would you describe yourself as a Safari Jogging guide?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- For how long have you been a guide?
- What kind of background knowledge do you use during the activity?
- Why did you become a guide?

2. What do you explain during Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What do you explain during the assembling?
- What do you explain during the jogging?
- What do you explain when wildlife is being spotted?
- What do you chat about afterwards?

Material questions

3. What do you see during the activity?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- What kind of landscapes do you regularly jog through?
- What wildlife is regularly spotted?
- In which landscapes do you regularly spot which animals?

4. How does the weather influence Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- How are extreme weather conditions handled?
- How does the season influence Safari Jogging?
- What is the difference between the morning and the evening programme?

5. What do the routes depend on?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:
- How do other people affect the routes?
- How do other activities affect the routes?
- How does the wildlife affect the routes?
- How does the natural environment affect the routes?
- How do human influences in the area affect the routes?

6. How does Safari Jogging relate to other activities in the area?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:

- How are other people taken into account?
- How are other tourism activities taken into account?
- How is nature (conservation) taken into account?
- What other kinds of activities are taken into account?

Competence question

7. What should you be able to do if wanting to participate in Safari Jogging?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:

- How do you optimally perform Safari Jogging as a guide?
- What should you be able to do if wanting to spot wildlife?
- What do you try to teach the participants?
- What kind of knowledge and information is shared between the guides?

Additional question

8. How has Safari Jogging changed over the years?

Possible pre-designed follow-up questions:

- How has the activity itself changed?
- How have the participants changed?
- How have you as a guide changed?
- How has the area changed?
- How has the spotting of wildlife changed?
- How have the used attributes changed?
- How has Covid-19 changed Safari Jogging?
- How has new knowledge changed Safari Jogging?
- How has new technology changed Safari Jogging?

Concluding question

9. How would you describe Safari Jogging to others?

Appendix C. Deductive coding scheme

The deductive codes that were derived from literature can be categorised in the four elements that a social practice in my framework consists of: (1) materials; (2) competences; (3) meanings; and (4) affects. Besides, secondary concepts that will be used to investigate the social practice, as described in chapter two, are included in the coding scheme. Below, the different codes (i.e. concepts) within each element are given including a short definition of what the code entails in my research, as well as the sources which I base my definition on. A total of 16 deductive codes are used during data analysis.

Material codes

Code 1: *Tangible physical entity*
Definition: Material entities with an independent existence that consist of matter and a single physical location (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 2: *Technology*
Definition: Material use and application of scientific and practical knowledge that influences, stabilises and transforms the social practice (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 3: *Object*
Definition: Material artefacts, bodies and tools that a practice consists of or are used during the practice (Shove et al., 2012).

Competence codes

Code 4: *Technique*
Definition: An understanding of what an appropriate performance of the practice is and knowing how to evaluate it (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 5: *Knowhow*
Definition: Background knowledge and practical understanding of the practice (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 6: *Skill*
Definition: The ability to perform the practice in an appropriate manner (Shove et al., 2012).

Meaning codes

Code 7: *Aspiration*
Definition: The hope of achieving something by performing the practice (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 8: *Symbolic meaning*
Definition: The symbolic significance and status of a practice (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 9: *Idea*
Definition: The idea of what a practice entails and what it means to perform a practice (well) (Shove et al., 2012).

Affect codes

Code 10: *Emotion*
Definition: An affective state that individuals are usually aware of and which is short-lived, intense and object specific (Goossens, 2000; Lin et al., 2014; Beedie et al., 2005).

Code 11: *Mood*
Definition: An affective state that usually happens unconsciously and which is long-during, subtle/mild and doesn't have a well-defined cause (Goossens, 2000; Lin et al., 2014; Beedie et al., 2005).

Code 12: *Affective incentive*
Definition: A positive desire, a defensive incentive or these two combined that forms the incentive to participate in a practice (Reckwitz, 2017).

Additional codes

Code 13: *Attention*
Definition: Directing a person's sense perception in a certain way (Reckwitz, 2017).

Code 14: *Memory*
Definition: A person's ability to remember something (Tyng et al., 2017).

Code 15: *Learning*
Definition: An ongoing process through doing where new competences are acquisitioned (Shove et al., 2012).

Code 16: *Innovation*
Definition: An ongoing process where both new and existing elements are being interlinked (Shove et al., 2012).