
Tourist Activity Experience at Joglo Bu Condro Borobudur: Culinary, Education, and Adventure Tourism

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Abstract: Culinary tourism anchored in traditional architecture is one of the most dynamically growing segments of the global tourism industry, driven by travellers' deepening appetite for genuine cultural encounters. Yet remarkably little scholarship has examined how a single destination can weave culinary experience, cultural education, and adventure tourism into one coherent offer—particularly within the distinctive spatial and symbolic world of Javanese *joglo* architecture. This study addresses that gap by analysing tourist activity experience at Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe, Borobudur, a destination that integrates traditional Javanese cuisine, cultural education, and adventure tourism within an ensemble of authentic *joglo* and *limasan* buildings more than 150 years old. A mixed-methods design was employed: descriptive-exploratory qualitative inquiry as the primary strand, supplemented by a tourist satisfaction survey. Primary data were generated through in-depth interviews with 25 informants, two sessions of Focus Group Discussion, and 30 days of participant observation; satisfaction data were gathered via a Likert-scale questionnaire administered to 120 tourists. Qualitative data were analysed using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (2014), comprising data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. Four dominant themes emerged from the data: (1) traditional culinary authenticity as the principal draw; (2) cultural experience mediated by *joglo* and *limasan* architecture; (3) activity diversification through educational and adventure programmes; and (4) integrative management grounded in local wisdom. Theoretically, the findings extend the experience economy framework and the concept of destination authenticity into the understudied context of multi-activity cultural tourism destinations in Indonesia.

Keywords: Adventure Tourism, Culinary Tourism, Destination Authenticity, Experience Economy, Joglo Architecture

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INTRODUCTION

Culinary tourism has become one of the most buoyant segments of the global tourism economy. In Indonesia, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (2023) estimates that food-related travel accounts for 35 per cent of domestic tourist expenditure and 25 per cent of spending by international visitors figures that underscore the sector's centrality to national tourism strategy. The World Tourism Organization (2023) defines gastronomy tourism as travel motivated by the desire to explore the culinary heritage of a destination, encompassing not merely food consumption but also the cultural, social, and historical dimensions that give a place its distinctive flavour.

The Borobudur area of Magelang Regency, Central Java, sits at the intersection of spectacular natural heritage and one of humanity's most celebrated architectural achievements. Borobudur Temple, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, draws approximately 4.2 million visitors annually (BPS Kabupaten Magelang, 2023). Yet despite this remarkable footfall, the average visitor stay in the surrounding area remains a modest 1.2 days a figure that points to a persistent gap between visitor volume and economic depth. Extending the length of stay, and with it the economic benefit to local communities, depends on developing richer, more diversified tourism products that give visitors compelling reasons to linger.

Scholarly attention to culinary tourism has grown considerably, particularly around questions of authenticity (Cohen & Avieli, 2004), gastronomy and cultural production (Richards, 2002), and the theoretical architecture of the experience economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1998). A consistent finding across this literature is that contemporary tourists seek experiences that are authentic, immersive, and personally meaningful not merely transactional consumption of food (Kim et al., 2009). The use of traditional architecture as a tourism attractor has similarly been shown to enhance destination appeal while simultaneously supporting the conservation of cultural heritage (Putra & Pitana, 2010). What remains underexplored, however, is how a single destination successfully integrates traditional cuisine, cultural education, and adventure tourism within the spatial and symbolic framework of *joglo* architecture and how that integration shapes the totality of tourist experience.

Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe, situated in Candirejo Village on the outskirts of Borobudur, offers a distinctively rich empirical context for exploring this question. The destination brings together authentic Javanese cuisine served within an ensemble of *joglo* and *limasan* buildings dating back more than 150 years, alongside a diversified activity portfolio encompassing village tours, cultural education programmes (gamelan, batik, traditional dance, cooking class, pottery, and *jemparingan*), and adventure tourism (white-water rafting on the Elo and Progo rivers, and Borobudur jeep adventures). This multi-layered offering provides a rare opportunity to examine how varied destination attributes interact to produce and deepen tourist experience.

This study pursues three interconnected objectives: (1) to analyse tourist experience in the contexts of culinary activity, cultural education, and adventure tourism at Joglo Bu Condro; (2) to identify the dominant themes that shape tourist perception and satisfaction; and (3) to examine the integrative management strategies through which the destination sustains its authenticity-based competitive advantage. In doing so, the study aims to contribute a conceptual framework for multi-activity cultural tourism destinations, while offering practical insights for destination managers and cultural tourism policymakers across Indonesia.

METHODS

Research Design

This study employs a mixed-methods design in which descriptive-exploratory qualitative inquiry serves as the primary strand, supplemented by a quantitative tourist satisfaction survey. The design was chosen because it enables a rich, context-sensitive understanding of how tourists experience and narrate their visit (qualitative strand) while simultaneously yielding structured, measurable satisfaction data (quantitative strand). Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) argue that this explanatory sequential configuration is particularly well-suited when qualitative findings can illuminate and contextualise patterns identified in quantitative data, and vice versa a dynamic that this study exploits throughout the analysis.

Site, Period, and Participants

The research was conducted at Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe, located at Jl. Candirejo–Borobudur Km. 3, Candirejo Village, Borobudur Sub-district, Magelang Regency, Central Java. The site was selected purposively because it represents a destination that uniquely integrates traditional cuisine, cultural education, and adventure tourism within an authentic *joglo* architectural ecosystem. Data collection took place over a continuous six-month period, from January to June 2024.

Informants for the qualitative strand were selected through purposive sampling based on direct involvement with, or recent experience of, the destination. Twenty-five informants participated: the owner and principal manager (2), frontline staff (5), domestic tourists (12), international tourists (3), and community leaders from the surrounding village (3). The quantitative satisfaction survey engaged 120 tourists recruited through convenience sampling across the research period.

Data Collection

Qualitative data were generated through three complementary instruments. In-depth interviews, guided by a semi-structured protocol, were conducted individually with each informant; sessions ranged from 45 to 60 minutes, were recorded with participants' informed consent, and were subsequently transcribed verbatim. Two Focus Group Discussion sessions were held, each involving eight participants drawn from tourists and local community representatives, and lasting approximately 90 minutes each. Participant observation extended across 30 days and encompassed the full daily cycle of destination operations recording visitor flows, staff–guest interactions, activity sequences, and the ambient social rhythms of the site.

The quantitative strand employed a five-point Likert scale questionnaire structured around the five SERVQUAL dimensions of service quality: tangibles, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy (Parasuraman et al., 1988). The instrument was piloted before deployment to verify clarity and internal consistency.

Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis followed the interactive model of Miles and Huberman (2014), which treats data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing as recursive rather than linear stages. Coding proceeded in two passes: open coding to identify meaningful units in interview transcripts and field notes, followed by axial coding to group first-order codes into higher-level thematic categories. Data

were displayed in thematic narratives, cross-informant comparison matrices, and process diagrams to facilitate pattern recognition. Conclusions were drawn through interpretive engagement with the data, with competing explanations considered before the most parsimonious and evidence-supported account was adopted. Quantitative data from the satisfaction survey were analysed descriptively (mean scores and frequency distributions). Percentage figures cited in the discussion refer to thematic frequency in qualitative transcripts, not to inferential statistics.

Rigour and Trustworthiness

Profile of Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Café

Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe was established in 2010 by the Condro family, whose founding vision was to preserve Javanese culinary heritage and traditional architecture as a living, inhabited practice rather than a museum piece. The name pays homage to the matriarch of the founding family *Bu Condro* and to the warmth and hospitality she embodied, qualities that the destination consciously cultivates in every dimension of its service. Situated on Jl. Candirejo–Borobudur Km. 3, the destination occupies a strategically advantageous position: just three kilometres from Borobudur Temple, reachable via a well-surfaced provincial road, and equipped with ample parking. Figure 1 illustrates the site's location within the broader Borobudur tourism landscape.

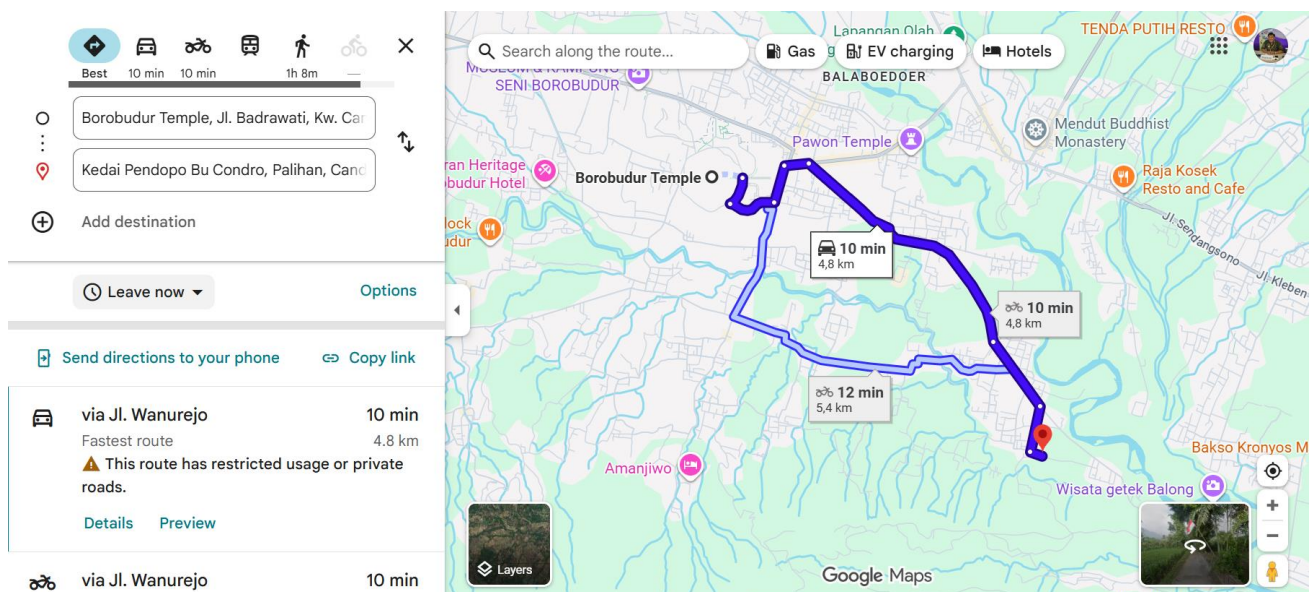


Figure 1. Location of Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe, Candirejo Village, Borobudur Sub-district

Source: Researcher's documentation, 2024 (adapted from Google Maps)

The destination's most striking physical feature is its ensemble of authentic *joglo* and *limasan* buildings, each more than 150 years old, relocated from Yogyakarta and surrounding villages in the Magelang area. The main *joglo* structure, which serves as the principal dining hall, retains its original *soko guru* four load-bearing columns of aged teak, richly carved with floral and faunal motifs characteristic of the Mataraman tradition. Across a total site area of 2,500 m², the complex accommodates up to 300 guests, distributed between an indoor *joglo* and *limasan* dining area and tiered outdoor terraces that exploit the natural topography to frame views of the Menoreh Hills,

Mount Merapi, and Mount Merbabu. A Javanese garden dense with shade trees, gamelan ornaments, fish ponds, and wayang murals completes an atmosphere that renders every corner of the site a compelling setting for photography and quiet contemplation.

Visitor arrivals at Joglo Bu Condro have grown consistently, reflecting both the destination's expanding reputation and the broader post-pandemic recovery of domestic and international travel. Table 1 below presents visitor data from 2021 to 2024.

Table 1. Visitor Arrivals at Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe, 2021–2024

Year	Domestic	International	Total	% Intl	YoY Growth
2021	8,420	320	8,740	3.7%	—
2022	14,350	2,180	16,530	13.2%	+89.1%
2023	19,820	7,430	27,250	27.3%	+64.9%
2024*	21,460	8,040	29,500	27.3%	+8.3%

Source: Destination management documentation (2024). *Projected based on January–June 2024 data.

The data tell a compelling story of recovery and growth. The most dramatic inflection occurred in 2022, when total arrivals nearly doubled (+89.1%) as mobility restrictions from the COVID-19 pandemic were lifted. More structurally significant is the rapid expansion of international visitors: their share of total arrivals grew from a modest 3.7 per cent in 2021 to 27.3 per cent by 2023 and 2024 well above the 10–15 per cent average for comparable culinary destinations in the Borobudur area (BPS Kabupaten Magelang, 2023). On ordinary weekdays, the site receives between 50 and 75 visitors; on weekends and national holidays that figure rises to between 100 and 150. The sustained growth in international visitation suggests that the combination of authentic Javanese architecture and depth of cultural programming resonates with international travellers in ways that conventional food-only destinations do not.

The destination's competitive distinctiveness rests on a diversified product portfolio spanning five categories: traditional culinary, village tour, educational tourism, adventure tourism, and accommodation. Table 2 provides a structured overview of the full product and activity range.

Table 2. Product and Activity Portfolio of Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe

Category	Products & Activities	Capacity Duration	/	Target Segment
Traditional Culinary	Authentic Javanese dishes: Gudeg Jogja, Ayam Opor, Sate Klathak, Oseng Kates, Tempe Glepung, Wedang Ronde; seasonal menu (Gudeg Manggar); nusantara, Chinese, and Western options	300 guests; IDR 25,000–65,000/portion; daily 08.00–21.00		All segments; FIT & groups
Village Tour	Dokar (horse-drawn carriage) tour of the village; cycling & walking routes with visits to	Max. 8 pax/carriage; 1–4 hrs/session		Families, international

Category	Products & Activities	Capacity Duration	/	Target Segment
	local micro-enterprises; VW Safari tour of Borobudur area			visitors, senior travellers
Educational Tourism	Gamelan & Javanese traditional dance; batik tulis workshop; Javanese cooking class; pottery (gerabah); jemparingan (traditional Javanese archery); team outbound	5–50 participants; 90 min–3 hrs/session		International visitors, students, MICE, families
Adventure Tourism	White-water rafting on the Elo River (Grade II–III, 12 km) & Progo River; Jeep Adventure Borobudur (off-road routes & sunrise tour)	4–8 pax/boat; 4 pax/jeep; 2.5–4 hrs		Adults, millennials, outbound groups, couples
Accommodation	Bu Condro Homestay: authentic village atmosphere, lush natural setting, strong sense of local gotong royong community culture	1–3 night packages		International visitors, backpackers, study tour groups

Source: Destination management documentation (2024).

Traditional Javanese cuisine functions as the *anchor attraction* the primary motivation for an initial visit. The supporting categories – village tours, educational programmes, adventure activities, and homestay accommodation extend the duration and depth of engagement, converting a single-visit impulse into a multi-day, multi-experience encounter. The availability of homestay accommodation in particular positions Joglo Bu Condro as a multi-night destination, amplifying the economic multiplier effect for Candirejo Village and its surrounding micro-enterprises. Within the Borobudur tourism ecosystem, the destination functions as a *linking destination* a bridge between the monumental grandeur of the UNESCO World Heritage Site and the intimate, human-scaled world of authentic Javanese village life creating synergies that benefit the entire local tourism chain. This positioning is reinforced by a growing digital presence: 45,000 Instagram followers and a 4.6/5 rating on Google My Business make Joglo Bu Condro one of the most visible and highly regarded cultural culinary destinations in the Borobudur corridor.

Dominant Themes in Tourist Experience

Theme 1: Traditional Culinary Authenticity as the Principal Attractor

The theme most consistently voiced across interviews and FGD sessions was the authenticity of the culinary offer. Informants described, often with unmistakable emotion, a quality of genuine *Javaness* in the flavours they encountered a quality they explicitly contrasted with the modified, urban-palate versions of Javanese cuisine available in contemporary restaurants. This finding aligns with Cohen and Avieli's (2004) theoretical distinction between objective and constructivist authenticity: the recipes here are genuinely traditional (objective authenticity), and visitors actively construct meaning from them through their own cultural memories and aesthetic responses (constructivist authenticity).

"The taste is truly authentic – just like my grandmother's cooking. The gudeg, oseng kates, tempe glepung, and ayam opor here are genuinely traditional, unlike what you get in modern restaurants that have already been modified. There is a powerful sense of nostalgia when you eat here." (Informant W-07, domestic tourist from Jakarta)

The management's commitment to heritage recipes and locally sourced ingredients including freshly pressed coconut milk prepared daily constitutes the operational foundation of this authenticity. In the terms of Pine and Gilmore's (1998) experience economy, the culinary encounter at Joglo Bu Condro reaches the highest experiential register transformation when tourists report not merely satisfaction with the food but a felt connection to memory, identity, and place that transcends the sensory. Survey data corroborate the qualitative finding: 85 per cent of respondents evaluated the culinary dimension positively, with Gudeg Jogja selected by 78 per cent of respondents as their preferred dish, followed by Wedang Ronde (72%), Ayam Opor (65%), and Sate Klathak (58%).

Theme 2: Cultural Experience Mediated by Joglo and Limasan Architecture

The second dominant theme concerns the role of the built environment in shaping and in important respects enabling cultural experience. Data from interviews and observation consistently demonstrate that the architecture is not a passive backdrop to the dining experience but an active agent within it, generating curiosity, emotional resonance, and interpretive engagement. This finding extends the argument of Putra and Pitana (2010) that traditional architecture functions as a *medium of cultural transmission*, and gives it an experiential specificity grounded in direct visitor testimony.

"This joglo architecture is amazing. It represents authentic Javanese culture that we cannot find in modern restaurants. The wooden structure and traditional design create a unique dining experience that makes me feel like I am part of Javanese history." (Informant W-12, international tourist from the Netherlands)

Analysis of transcripts reveals that the architectural features most consistently appreciated by visitors were the authenticity of the timber structure (mentioned in 90% of transcripts), the cool and tranquil ambient atmosphere (88%), the spatial organisation of the traditional interior (82%), and the intricate carvings (75%). These appreciations reflect a process of constructivist authenticity-making (Cohen & Avieli, 2004) in which visitors, guided by their own aesthetic and cultural sensibilities, construct and narrate an encounter with Javanese civilisation. Destination management actively facilitates this process by training guides to explain the philosophical significance of each architectural element seamlessly weaving cultural education into the dining experience.

Theme 3: Activity Diversification Through Education and Adventure

The third emergent theme identifies activity diversification as Joglo Bu Condro's key strategic differentiator. Data from interviews and FGD sessions reveal that most visitors particularly family groups and international travellers arrive with multiple motivations: not only culinary curiosity, but a genuine appetite for immersive, embodied activity. This motivational multiplicity aligns closely with Kim et al.'s (2009) framework, in which *excitement* and *cultural experience* feature as central drivers of culinary tourism behaviour.

Village tours by horse-drawn *dokar*, bicycle, and vintage VW Safari immerse visitors in the rhythms of rural Javanese life, offering a form of gentle, participatory cultural discovery that is

particularly valued by international visitors and older travellers. The educational programme – spanning gamelan performance, traditional dance, *batik tulis* workshop, Javanese cooking class, pottery, *jemparingan* (traditional archery), and team outbound activities – consistently generated high engagement levels in participant observation, with international visitors frequently identifying a specific learning moment as the highlight of their entire visit. Adventure activities, by contrast, appeal to younger, more adrenaline-oriented segments: rafting the Grade II–III rapids of the Elo River over 12 kilometres, and navigating Borobudur's off-road tracks by jeep, engage a different emotional register while remaining anchored in the authenticity of the natural and cultural landscape.

Within Pine and Gilmore's (1998) experiential taxonomy, this diversification lifts the destination progressively through all four experiential realms entertainment, education, escapism, and esthetic ultimately achieving the *transformative* level in which visitors report changed self-understanding or deepened cultural appreciation. The CBT dimension (Scheyvens, 2002) is equally significant here: local community members serve as activity guides and instructors throughout the programme, ensuring that economic benefits circulate broadly within Candirejo Village rather than being captured by a small number of operators.

Theme 4: Integrative Management Grounded in Local Wisdom

The fourth and most structurally important theme concerns the management philosophy that holds the destination's diverse elements together. Analysis of interviews with managers, combined with sustained observation of daily operations, identified three interlocking strategic pillars.

The first is a *differentiation-based product strategy*: managers rigorously maintain culinary authenticity through heritage recipes and local sourcing, while simultaneously expanding the menu to accommodate diverse palates including nusantara, Chinese, and Western options without diluting the destination's distinctive Javanese identity. This balance between preservation and adaptation reflects a sophisticated understanding of how to manage the tension between cultural integrity and market responsiveness.

The second pillar is *integrated digital and partnership marketing*: an active Instagram presence (45,000 followers), a highly rated Google My Business profile (4.6/5), and a well-developed network of travel agencies, hotels, and tour operators have collectively extended the destination's market reach far beyond its immediate geographic context, directly enabling the growth in international visitation documented in Table 1.

The third pillar is *standardised service delivery anchored in cultural knowledge*: systematic staff training in the history, philosophy, and symbolism of *joglo* architecture and traditional cuisine; implementation of service standard operating procedures; and an active customer feedback loop for continuous quality improvement. Together, these three pillars produce a competitive advantage that competitors find difficult to replicate, because it is rooted in the intangible assets of authentic heritage buildings and tacit cultural knowledge that cannot simply be purchased or installed.

Tourist Satisfaction and Revisit Intention

The satisfaction survey data provide quantitative texture to the qualitative picture sketched above. Among the 120 tourists surveyed, the overall satisfaction index stood at 4.5 out of 5, with 62

per cent expressing very high satisfaction, 28 per cent satisfied, and only 10 per cent indicating an adequate or below-adequate experience. Table 3 disaggregates these results by service quality dimension.

Table 3. Tourist Satisfaction by Service Quality Dimension (n = 120)

Service Quality Dimension	Very Satisfied (%)	Satisfied (%)	Adequate (%)	Mean (1–5)
Tangibles (Physical Facilities & Ambience)	68	24	8	4.6
Reliability (Service Consistency)	55	32	13	4.4
Responsiveness (Staff Attentiveness)	50	38	12	4.4
Assurance (Trust & Competence)	65	27	8	4.5
Empathy (Personal Attention)	72	20	8	4.6
Overall	62	28	10	4.5

Source: Primary data (2024).

The highest mean scores were recorded for Empathy (4.6) and Tangibles (4.6), indicating that visitors most strongly valued the warmth and personal attentiveness of the staff and the spatial and aesthetic qualities of the physical environment the *joglo* buildings chief among them. The lowest score, for Reliability (4.4), echoes a theme that surfaced repeatedly in qualitative data: during peak attendance periods, the kitchen's capacity is occasionally strained, and service delivery times lengthen in ways that attentive visitors notice. This operational constraint represents the most clearly identified area for improvement, suggesting that workflow optimisation in the kitchen rather than expansion of the physical space is the priority lever for closing the quality gap.

Revisit intention data from interviews and FGD sessions reveal that 78 per cent of visitors expressed a strong likelihood of returning. Their reasons for wanting to return are instructive: 35 per cent said they wished to bring family or friends who had not yet experienced the destination; 30 per cent identified specific menu items or activities they had not yet tried; 25 per cent simply wished to repeat an experience they had found deeply enjoyable; and 10 per cent expressed interest in attending future special events. An intention-to-revisit rate of 78 per cent, in the context of an overall satisfaction index of 4.5/5, is theoretically coherent with Chen and Tsai's (2007) model, in which a strongly positive destination image, generated by high perceived quality and perceived value, reliably strengthens behavioural intention.

Tensions: Commercialisation, Sustainability, and the Limits of Authenticity

No account of Joglo Bu Condro's success would be complete without acknowledging the structural tensions that the destination must navigate. Data from manager interviews and field observation reveal a persistent pressure to balance preservation of authenticity against the demands of commercialisation. The wide seasonal fluctuation between high-season peaks and low-season troughs pushes managers toward continuous product innovation; yet innovation carries the risk of

gradually eroding the *staged authenticity* that Cohen and Avieli (2004) warn about – where an over-orientation toward market expectation produces a simulacrum of cultural experience that experienced travellers detect and find disappointing. The management team is acutely aware of this risk, but holding the line between culturally grounded innovation and cultural dilution requires ongoing vigilance and institutional commitment.

A second structural challenge concerns human resources. The majority of the destination's staff are drawn from the local community without formal training in hospitality or tourism management. While this is a deliberate choice – consistent with CBT principles of community empowerment – it means that intensive and continuous training is a non-negotiable operational requirement rather than an optional enhancement. The quality and consistency of the cultural knowledge transmitted by guides and instructors is directly implicated in the authenticity experience that visitors value.

Third, the destination's adventure tourism offer is materially dependent on the health of local river ecosystems. The quality and safety of white-water rafting on the Elo and Progo rivers is not simply a business asset – it is an environmental responsibility. Sustained engagement with river conservation and environmental monitoring is not peripheral to the destination's business model; it is integral to the long-term viability of a product category that contributes meaningfully to visitor diversity and length of stay.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that Joglo Bu Condro Resto & Cafe has constructed a distinctive and coherent model of multi-activity cultural tourism by placing cultural authenticity at the centre of tourist experience. Four dominant themes – traditional culinary authenticity, cultural experience mediated by *joglo* and *limasan* architecture, activity diversification through educational and adventure programming, and integrative management grounded in local wisdom – interact synergistically to produce an experience that is widely described by visitors as holistic, memorable, and personally meaningful. The destination's achievement is not simply the aggregation of attractive features; it is the integration of those features into an experiential whole that exceeds the sum of its parts.

Theoretically, the study extends Pine and Gilmore's (1998) experience economy framework into the understudied context of multi-activity cultural tourism destinations in Indonesia, demonstrating that the combination of traditional culinary authenticity, architectural heritage, and diversified activity programming can elevate tourist experience to the level of personal transformation. The findings also enrich the literature on destination authenticity by showing how objective authenticity – residing in heritage buildings and inherited recipes – and constructivist authenticity – actively produced through visitor engagement – operate together rather than in tension. The architecture of a *joglo* is not a stage set; it is a living cultural actor that shapes every encounter within it.

Practically, the study recommends that destination managers prioritise kitchen workflow optimisation to address the service reliability gap identified in both qualitative and quantitative data; that cultural narrative programming be further systematised to ensure interpretive depth and consistency across all staff and guides; and that integrated tourism packages be designed to guide visitors through the full range of activities in a purposeful sequence. For regional government and

tourism policymakers, Joglo Bu Condro represents a replicable model for community-based cultural tourism development—one that demonstrates how the preservation of intangible and material cultural heritage and local economic empowerment can be pursued not as competing priorities, but as mutually reinforcing dimensions of a single sustainable strategy.

The study's principal limitation is its focus on a single site over a six-month period, which constrains the generalisability of findings. Future research should pursue comparative studies across multiple traditional architecture-based culinary tourism destinations in Indonesia; investigate the long-term economic and social impacts of CBT models on local communities; and test the experiential framework developed here using larger-sample quantitative methods, to assess whether the patterns identified qualitatively hold at scale.

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