

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background and Research Questions

Sociologists have long been interested in social organizations. From families to religion to work and occupations, sociologists have tried to explain how organizational structures arise and how these structures are maintained. For instance, Weber and Durkheim have been canonized for their respective theories on bureaucracies and the organization of societies.

One aspect of social organization that has received less attention from sociologists than other forms of organization is leisure. Leisure activities and their organization are important to sociology for many reasons. Kelly and Godbey (1992) argue that leisure is important to study because it comprises “an important sector of the economy, a significant dimension of the culture, and a major element of the interlocking social institutions of the society” (p. 1). Other researchers claim that leisure is important to study because our society has more leisure time than ever before with fewer work hours, longer vacations, and early retirement (Argyle 1996; Wilson 1980; Johannis and Bull 1971).

Many studies concerning leisure activities are descriptive (Argyle 1996; Shamir 1992; Mohan 1984). For instance, Mohan (1984) states, “the major difficulty in establishing the sociology of leisure as a science lies in the fragility of its theoretical and conceptual framework” (p. 130). While this study is also descriptive, it utilizes a conceptual framework from work and occupations to examine leisure activities. This study will add to existing literature on leisure groups and will explore the meaning of leisure activities to the participants.

In this study, I focused on the leisure group of clog dancers. Clogging is a form of folk dancing that originated in the southern Appalachian mountains. It was formulated from a mixture of different dance styles such as the step dances of the British Isles, Native American dances, and the solo “buck and wing” dance of African Americans (Mangin 1997).

I approached this research project wondering if a framework used for work and occupations could be used to understand leisure activities as well. My research questions, derived from this approach, include (1) How do clogging groups recruit their members? (2) How are people socialized into their role as cloggers and group members? (3) Do cloggers form a special identity because of this activity?

Theoretical Background

Social Systems Theory

Berrien (1968) defines a system as “a set of *components* interacting with each other and a *boundary* which possesses the property of filtering both the kind and rate of flow of *inputs* and *outputs* to and from the system” (p. 14-15). A social system is “simply a special type of system--one which serves as a model or conceptual framework for building a theory of social organization” (Bertrand 1972).

There are three main assumptions in applying social systems theories to organizations (Bowey

1980; Silverman 1970). First, organizations are “composed of a set of interdependent parts” (Silverman 1970, p. 27). These various components of the system act to “produce a product” for the organization (Berrien 1968, p. 17). Second, “organizations have needs for survival” (Silverman 1970, p. 27). Finally, “organizations, as systems, behave and take actions” (ibid).

Social organizations are seen as open systems which “accept and respond to inputs” as opposed to closed systems which “are assumed to function ‘within themselves’” (Berrien 1968, p. 15). Open systems respond to their environment “with self-regulating mechanisms maintaining the state or structure of the system within definite limits (homeostasis)” (Bowey 1980, p. 78). This condition of homeostasis allows the system and its components to operate effectively.

Structural Functionalism

Functionalism is similar to social systems theories in that they both emphasize the interdependence of different parts of the system. Another commonality focuses on homeostasis or equilibrium within the system.

Functionalists view society as “a system of interrelated parts in which no part can be understood in isolation from the whole” (Wallace and Wolf 1995, p. 18). These parts work together to create and maintain equilibrium (Wallace and Wolf 1995; Bowey 1980). Talcott Parsons argued that equilibrium is preserved through a “value consensus” among the people, which is driven by socialization and social controls (Wallace and Wolf 1995, p. 19).

Conceptual Framework

In this study, I apply sections of Bryant’s (1972) conceptual framework regarding work and occupations to study the leisure group of clog dancers. Bryant’s (1972) framework, which was derived from structural functionalism and social systems theory, focuses on the social processes of work. These social processes illustrate the internal maintaining procedures of work organizations. The sensitizing concepts in this framework include recruitment, socialization, identity, controls, careers, and professionalization.

This study will concentrate on the concepts of recruitment, socialization, and identity. These concepts represent primary involvement with organizations. Betz and Judkins (1975) argue that recruitment and socialization “are two processes assumed to be important for the life of any organization” (p. 228). Betz and Judkins (1975) also state that these processes are important to study because they are “essential to the understanding of both the individual and the organization” (p. 239).

Occupational selection and recruitment refer to the attempts made by the organization to maintain a constant supply of workers. Leisure groups must also recruit for the same reasons. Many leisure groups must retain a certain membership to survive and carry out their goals. People may be recruited into leisure activities in both formal and/or informal ways. For instance, formal recruitment would include an official call for new members, through such methods as newspaper advertisements. Informal recruitment occurs when new members are drafted by friends or family who already belong to the group.

Occupational socialization may also be either formal or informal in nature. Formal socialization in a work setting requires that the worker learn certain skills and “the means by which these skills (at least the technical ones) are to be acquired may be quite specific and highly institutionalized” (Bryant 1972, p. 258). By contrast, informal socialization involves either the proficiency of more unconventional job-related skills or the attainment of skills for more eccentric occupations which are not institutionalized, such as prostitution.

These socialization processes occur within different leisure organizations as well. For example, formal socialization would take place in a chess club in that the members would need to learn the different types of moves possible in the game. In the same group, the members would also be informally socialized to recognize and uphold a certain demeanor of dignity and virtue while playing the game. One goal of socialization is to “transmit the necessary knowledge and techniques and to help the person develop an appropriate self-image, occupational rationalization, and ideology” (ibid, p. 260).

Through socialization, the employee internalizes the organization’s ideology and acquires an occupational identity. This may also occur in leisure groups, depending on the individual’s strength of association with the group. For instance, members of a leisure theater group may identify themselves as “actors.”

Significance of the Study

This study is important to sociology for various reasons. First, the use of an organizational framework to describe cloggers as a leisure group will add to the literature that has applied this framework to the sociology of leisure. Second, this study will compare the characteristics of clogging groups to those of other leisure groups. Third, the study of recruitment will help sociologists understand why people are attracted to and how they become involved in various leisure groups. Fourth, the study of leisure identity formation should illustrate the importance of leisure activities to their members.

Methods

I chose to use qualitative research because of the exploratory nature of this study and its focus on meaning. Qualitative researchers “regard their research task as coming to understand and interpret how the various participants in a social setting construct the world around them” (Glesne and Peshkin 1992, p. 6). Qualitative research is the best way to understand the meaning of clogging to these dancers.

After obtaining approval from the Human Subjects Review Board, I gained entry by discussing my project with the groups’ directors (See Appendix A for Informed Consent Form). I previously belonged to two clogging groups and interviewed members of one of these groups for my research. I also interviewed members of two other clogging groups in Southwest Virginia in order to collect more data. The other two groups were selected through network sampling.

All three group directors, the gatekeepers in this project, were pleasantly surprised when I came to discuss my thesis with them. They remarked that no one had ever interviewed them for a

study such as this before. I explained my ideas to them and discussed with them how I would conduct the interviews, given the group's practice schedule. They seemed very excited about my ideas and were very willing to participate.

After receiving the directors' approval, I attended a group meeting to introduce my research to other group members. Again, I received a warm welcome from group members and sensed more excitement about the project. During the interview schedule and after my interviews were completed, many of the cloggers asked to read my thesis. They all seemed curious about how other cloggers viewed the activity and were interested in their viewpoints and responses.

Since I was already familiar with clogging groups, I had previous insight regarding the cloggers from one group and easily established rapport with other cloggers. I also understood how the meetings were structured and how I should conduct myself during meetings so that I would not disrupt the proceedings.

I conducted structured interviews with the cloggers in order to obtain their views on clogging. I interviewed each dancer once, directly before or after their regular weekly clogging group meeting, depending on their preference. Most of the interviews took place at the same location as the regular meeting. There were a few exceptions when the members were currently inactive members of the group. Some members take an inactive status if they are unable to commit to the group because of unavoidable circumstances. One example would be if a clogger's work schedule conflicted with the group's weekly meetings. To reach inactive members, I asked the group director for their phone numbers and called them to set up an interview time.

The interview questions, formulated from the review of relevant literature, focused on the three domains of recruitment, socialization and identity formation (See Appendix B). In these interviews, I asked why the dancers first were attracted to clogging, how they learned to be a clogger, and what clogging means to them. I recorded the interviews on audio tapes and then transcribed them for data analysis. While transcribing, I assigned false names to each clogger in accordance with the section on confidentiality in the informed consent form (See Appendix A). I also asked the cloggers to complete a background questionnaire of demographic information (See Appendix C).

Data Analysis

I interviewed 20 cloggers. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. All of the dancers were white, and all but one were female. Most of the dancers were married, and their ages ranged from 20 to 69 years. Their educational levels covered a wide spectrum, from less than high school to Master's degrees. Occupational status and income level also varied widely. (See Appendix D for a complete summary of demographic information.)

In order to analyze the data, I used Bogdan and Biklen's (1982) "cut-up-and-put-in-folders approach" (p. 166). This approach involves first organizing the data by theme. After transcribing the interviews, I made several copies of each interview and cut them up according to theme. The themes for this study, created by the literature review and interview questions, are recruitment, socialization, and identity. After organizing the data according to theme, I used a

coding scheme to incorporate similarities and differences in responses. Then, I created folders according to different questions and responses given by the dancers.

Chapter 2: Recruitment

Literature Review

How do people choose which activities to pursue during their leisure time? How do they become interested in and involved in these activities? Argyle (1996) argues that one's choice in leisure activities is affected by three processes. First, one's choice in leisure activities is based on one's abilities. This applies to certain types of leisure activities, such as music and sports (Argyle 1996, p. 145). Second, one's choice is based on the actual leisure opportunities available to him/her. Finally, one's choice is based on socialization prior to entering the field of leisure. Some researchers agree that social networks of family and friends are important influencing factors in choosing a leisure activity (Argyle 1996; Kelly 1983). For instance, Kelly (1983) states that one's choice in leisure activities "is most directly developed in interaction with our immediate communities of family and friends" (p. 49).

Other researchers agree that people are mostly influenced by their social networks (Argyle 1996; Hoff and Ellis 1992; Kelly 1977). For instance, Argyle (1996) states, "recruitment of new members is often by invitation; indeed many groups are difficult to find except via the social network. It follows that those recruited will be similar to the existing members" (p. 117). Argyle (1996) continues his argument by discussing the specific effects of family and peer groups on one's decision to join various leisure groups. For instance, he declares that, "parents have a strong influence on the leisure activities of their children, and that a proportion of their adult leisure activities derives from early family influence" (Argyle 1996, p. 147). Peer groups are also important to recruitment into leisure groups during and after adolescence (Argyle 1996; Hoff and Ellis 1992). Argyle (1996) states,

young people often identify with, and accept, the influence of the peer group as part of the process of becoming independent of their parents. Where the two influences conflict, it has been found that the peer group most often wins in the field of leisure (p. 147).

Some researchers argue that people are mostly affected by mass culture rather than social networks. Dannefer (1981) argues that individuals are influenced to join various leisure groups by "the internalization into consciousness of powerful social and cultural images ... the individual is bombarded directly by the glamorized images of the mass media" (p. 406).

Most of the existing research on selection and recruitment is found in literature on work and occupations. For example, in his study of newspapers and reporters, Sigelman (1973) found that newspapers spend little time recruiting new reporters and most of them had no personnel departments. Instead, the newspapers relied on voluntary applications. Usually, the applicant initiates contact with the newspaper, undergoes an interview, and is told that he/she will be contacted if any openings become available. So, instead of recruiting people into the reporting profession, the newspapers count on reporters themselves to select the profession.

While news reporters depend on the process of selection, other occupations rely heavily on social networks to recruit new workers. For example, Bryan (1965) found that prostitutes usually enter

their profession through social networks. In fact, “immediately prior to entrance into the occupation, all but one girl had personal contact with someone professionally involved in call girl activities (pimps or other call girls). The one exception had contact with a customer of call girls” (Bryan 1965, p. 289). The nature of the recruit’s previous involvement with other call girls varies. They may have been close friends or only acquaintances. After the recruit contacts the professional and the experienced call girl agrees to help the beginner learn the profession, it is also assumed within this occupation that the professional is responsible for training the new call girl.

Brown’s (1991) study of professional counselors in substance abuse centers also shows the importance of social networks in recruiting. Brown (1991) found that many counselors were previously abusers themselves. He then analyzed how these abusers were recruited into the counseling profession. Brown (1991) argued that 3 different elements contributed to their recruitment into the profession. First, these “professional ex-s” learned the dialogue of treatment so that they could understand and discuss their own abuse. Second, while in treatment, many of these abusers acted as counselors in role-playing. This type of role-playing gave them a “sense of usefulness” that they previously lost because of their addictions (Brown 1991, p. 165). Third, the professional ex-s were encouraged by other peers and staff members while performing role-playing as counselors. As one counselor explained,

I think my therapist saw that quality in me because he always used to tell me what a good job I had done in group ... He told me that I would make a good counselor if I stayed sober and got the necessary training. Well ... [laughs] as you can see, I did just that ... We need good counselors in this field, and when I see those qualities in one of my patients I encourage them to enter the field (ibid).

Van Maanen’s (1973) study of policemen shows the influence of both social networks and the media. New recruits stated that they were attracted to the adventure of police work as portrayed in the media. Van Maanen (1973) states, “the out-of-doors and presumable adventurous qualities of police work (as reflected in the popular culture) were perceived by the recruits as among the more influential factors attracting them to the job” (p. 409). Also, most new recruits had some type of prior connection with the police department. Van Maanen (1973) found that

Since virtually all recruitment occurs via generational or friendship networks involving police officers and prospective recruits, the individual receives personalized encouragement and support which helps sustain his interest (p. 409-10).

This feedback aids in recruitment since it links the recruit to the organization before he actually becomes a member of the force.

While most of the literature on recruitment comes from work and occupations, some studies on leisure also emphasize recruitment. For instance, Olmsted (1988) performed a study on the controversial leisure activity of gun collecting. This type of leisure is considered to be controversial because of stereotypes associated with gun collecting, such as obsessions and compulsions. Because of this, little recruiting is done by gun collecting clubs or organizations.

Concerning recruitment, Olmsted (1988) found that many gun collectors were involved in the activity from a young age. Gaining entry as an adult is very difficult because gun collecting clubs enforce strong boundaries between “insiders” and “outsiders” (ibid, p. 279-80). Olmsted (1988) found that people who wanted to join the club were interviewed by the club president who asked questions concerning the applicant’s “technical knowledge, skills, and general attitudes” about guns (p. 280). Also, new members were required to have two sponsors who knew them well and who were also associated with gun collecting (ibid).

Dannefer (1981) performed another study on leisure recruitment, focusing on antique automobile enthusiasts. In his study, Dannefer (1981) creates a typology of four different avenues of entry for old-car enthusiasts (p. 398-405). The first category, youth fascination, includes those people who have a “strong and abiding interest” in cars and have always been interested in cars, as long as they can remember (ibid, p. 398). Dannefer (1981) attributes this to “a process of self-generated commitment that leads to social participation” (p. 400). This type of selection runs counter to the organizational approach used in this study which states that participation in the group activity leads to commitment. Dannefer’s (1981) second category, late bloomers, includes people who were also interested in cars at a young age but their enthusiasm fizzled from about age 20 until middle age, when they picked up the hobby again. The third category, family heirs, consists of people who trace their interest in cars back to a “childhood influence” (ibid, p. 402). The family heirs grew up in families where one or both parents had an interest in cars, either in leisure or work. The last category, hitchhikers, consists of those who became interested in the activity because of a more casual interest in cars. The hitchhikers’ concern with the world of automobiles stems from a social relationship or interest in an “acknowledged desire for sociability” (ibid, p. 404). Hitchhikers may be retired and join a car club for companionship. They may also be friends of car enthusiasts who were informally recruited by friends to join in the club.

This literature review of diverse studies illustrates that, while recruitment strategies vary by what is being studied, similarities can still be drawn between different occupations and leisure activities. For example, many of the studies reviewed here describe the significance of social networks in recruiting new members into an organization. The studies described here focus upon the individual’s motivation to enter an organization because of social influence from friends or family. Organizations may also maintain their structure with recruits who are similar to its current members.

Clog Dancers and Recruitment

I asked clog dancers four different questions about recruitment. Each of these questions, derived from the literature review, tried to capture the recruitment process and discover how each clogger was drawn to the activity. I will address each question below and then summarize the results.

How did you first become interested in clogging?

The most popular answer given by cloggers to this question involved social networks. Six of the cloggers in this study first became interested in clogging through a friend who was already clogging or wanted to begin taking clogging classes. For instance, Wendy explains how her co-worker sparked her interest. She said,

Another lady I worked with ... had seen in the paper that they had clogging lessons and she said, "Would you be interested in taking those?" I thought it looked like fun. So I said, "We'll give it a try." So, when I went to the first practice, I was hooked. It didn't take me long to get hooked.

Other cloggers, like Eileen and Angela, were drawn to clogging through friends who were already involved in clogging classes. Angela said,

I first became interested in clogging because I had some friends that were going to a dance studio, just for the exercise, and I started going with them. When I saw what a good time they were having, I really got into it and from then on, I was hooked.

Three cloggers in the study attributed their interest to media influence, whether through the television or newspaper. Christina's interest in clogging stemmed from seeing a clogging performance on television. She stated, "I saw it on TV and I wanted to learn to do it." Debbie was attracted to clogging through the newspaper. She said, "I just saw the ad in the newspaper, I think. It just sounded cool." Elizabeth was also influenced by a newspaper advertisement after moving to Southwest Virginia. She explained, "When [my family] moved down here, I read the paper like it was my lifeline and there just happened to be ads in the paper at that time for beginner clogging lessons ... so, I decided to go on down and try it out."

Some cloggers became involved with this type of dancing because of previous interest in other dance styles. Tracy started out as a tap dancer and moved into clogging after another dancer showed her some clogging steps. Elizabeth was also previously involved in modern jazz and tap dancing. Other cloggers started out as square dancers. For example, Laura stated, "Well, I've been interested in [clogging] for quite a while. My sister and I liked square dancing and the jitterbug and that sort of thing. When we heard about clogging classes, ... we decided to go ahead and go down and join." Alan was also involved in square dancing prior to learning clogging. He said, "After I finished college, I started square dancing. Then, from there, I knew a little bit about clogging but I learned more about it ... so I took a class."

Some cloggers began clogging through rather unique avenues. Kimberly was interested in using clogging as a talent in pageant shows. Rita began clogging because of her love of dance and, more importantly, respect for her husband's decision to stop drinking. She said,

I love to dance and [my husband and I] used to go dancing all the time and he used to drink. He quit drinking for me so I couldn't go dancing anymore. I felt like I shouldn't take him back into that environment. So, I felt like if I started clogging that I'd be doing something that I really loved.

Finally, Lucy had originally “despised” clogging when she was younger because it tied her to a heritage that she found embarrassing. As she grew older, however, she began to appreciate her background. She explained,

I’m from West Virginia and we did flatfooting. After leaving West Virginia, there was a friend that I worked with [who was learning to clog]. She kept on and kept on and kept on [talking about it]. So, to shut her mouth, I went to her classes for exercise only ... Now, I don’t miss. I go everywhere. I was just bitten and that was it. I think it has a lot to do with the heritage, you know. Even though I wanted to get away from it. You know, I’ve got to get away from those mountains. I’ve got to get into a civilized world ... I came from the coal fields. I think that was it. Getting away from your heritage and then all of a sudden, here you are an adult and getting back to it.

Does this group advertise for new members or do people seek out clogging themselves?

This question was posed to see if newcomers follow the same recruitment processes as those interviewed. It also helps to uncover the organization’s part in attracting new members.

Ten cloggers answered that most people seek out clogging themselves, usually at performances or through social networks with cloggers. For instance, Elizabeth stated, “they seek it out themselves when they see us perform places because there’s always people that come up and inquire or comment on our dance and then they start asking questions.” Alison, one of the group leaders, explains how she keeps track of those who are interested. She said,

What I’ll do, like when we clog, a lot of times, people will come up and want to know about taking lessons. I’ll take their names and put them in a file. When I get enough names to have a class, then I just call them. Then I’ll tell the cloggers if they know of anyone, they can call me. But I don’t advertise in the paper.

Alan attributes new membership to pre-existing social networks with cloggers. He stated,

We do not advertise for new members ... I think it’s more word of mouth from the current members and from past members who have moved out of the area. [They] find friends that are coming to this area who are interested in clogging and might want to contact someone.

While social networks and personal initiative by newcomers was the most popular response given, groups also use advertising to recruit. This is done in three ways. First, clogging groups sometimes advertise in the newspaper when classes are being held. Eileen mentioned that the leader of her group ran an advertisement in the newspaper to announce beginner’s classes. Another form of advertising was brought up by Jessica. She discussed posters that were placed in local stores and on bulletin boards that announced classes. She said, “Well, the only advertising that I know of is the notices that are put up that there are clogging classes available. That’s the only one I have seen.” The last form of advertising involved announcing classes after

a performance. For example, Susan said, “Sometimes, at performances, [the director will] say, ‘Anyone interested, come see me. We’re going to start a beginner’s class.’” Of course, any combination of these recruitment methods can be used together. When asked about her group, Christina said that, “we advertise and I have people to come and sign up when we have performances.”

Why did you choose clogging over some other type of activity?

I asked this question to reveal part of the uniqueness of this activity. With all the other leisure activities available to these dancers, I wanted to find out why they chose clogging. The answers varied widely from fun and exercise to stress relief and heritage.

There were three prevalent responses to this question given by the cloggers: love of dance, fun, and exercise. Laura wrapped up the common sentiment when she said, “Well, [I chose clogging] because I like to dance and I like music. Also, you can get your exercise and have fun all at the same time.”

The most widespread reason given for choosing clogging, given by ten dancers, was the simple love of dance. Amy simply responded, “I enjoy it. I’ve always loved to dance.” Kimberly described her weaknesses in other leisure areas but found that dancing appealed to her. She stated, “Well, I can’t sing and I’m not too much on musical instruments. So, I love to dance and that’s about it.” Alison chose clogging because she “really like[s] the style of dance.”

Other cloggers talked about the fun environment of clogging and the enjoyment they received from the activity. For example, Jennifer said, “It looked fun and I needed a stress release ... pound my feet into the ground instead of pounding somebody else.” Tracy described how she thought clogging was fun and energizing. She said, “It’s fun ... It’s exciting sometimes, some of the places we get to go and perform. I’ve always liked doing that type of thing ... being able to entertain.”

Some of the dancers stated that exercise was an important factor in their decision to clog. Angela mentioned both the mental and physical benefits from clogging. She said,

[I chose clogging] because I think it is a good form of exercise, number one. It keeps you mentally and physically alert. It is as good as aerobic exercise. Just all around, it was the better of any type of activity that I found that I could do. And I really enjoy it more.

Judy also began clogging because of the exercise. She stated, “[I chose clogging] because it was more upbeat. It seemed like you got more exercise out of it. I also line dance too, but line dancing, to me, is simple where clogging is a challenge.” Susan mentioned both fun and exercise in her response. She said, “I like dancing and this is dancing plus exercise ... I’ve done aerobics and I do some running once in a while. But this is a different type of exercise. It’s fun.”

Finally, one dancer, Elizabeth, listed heritage as a reason to choose clogging. I was surprised that only one dancer mentioned heritage because clogging is such a traditional form of dance. Elizabeth explained how heritage affected her decision to choose clogging.

It's part of my roots. My mom and dad were from Appalachia. They were born and raised in West Virginia, way up in the mountains and they used to do some rough kind of flatfooting back then. I just felt like that was part of my heritage. It's one of the few things here in America that are indigenous to our becoming a country and I just felt like that's what I should be doing.

What was it about clogging that appealed to you the most?

I asked this question to find out more about the unique qualities of clogging and how these qualities attracted the dancers to the activity. Like the last question, I also received a wide range of responses to this question.

The two most common responses to this question were exercise and fellowship. For example, Wendy was drawn to clogging for the companionship as well as the challenge of learning something new. She said that clogging was appealing to her because of "the companionship of the other people in the group and just the satisfaction of making my feet do something ... It was a real challenge. I was like, 'Hey, that's cool. I've got that step. That's really neat.'" Eileen found "the exercise and the companionship" of clogging to be the most appealing. Lucy was also attracted to clogging because of the "exercise [and] fellowship with the girls and other teams." The friendly atmosphere between cloggers has also convinced Lucy that there is no such thing as "a 'bad' clogger."

Some dancers were charmed by the sound of the clogging taps. Laura was interested in "the sound that you get when you're clogging." Kimberly also liked the sound of the dance. She was impressed by

the way those people's feet moved so fast ... it really was. It wasn't the music. It was the sound, the sound of the taps. I've always admired tap dancing. To me, it was the closest thing to tap dancing that I could get ... I never got to [take tap lessons]. So, this was the first opportunity for me to have taps on my shoes.

Contrary to the responses of the last question, more cloggers mentioned that they were drawn to the traditional heritage linked to the dance form. For example, Alison stated that she was influenced by "the fact that it was traditional. I considered it to be more authentic than other styles of dance, more traditional, something I wanted to do." Angela was also interested in the heritage and her family connection behind the dancing. She said,

I think it was the history of it. When I got into it, when I watched the ones that could dance, I realized how close it was to things I had seen my grandfather and uncle and different members of my family do. When I was very young, I would see them dance in this manner and, at the time, this is actually what they were doing. They were clogging.

Other dancers found clogging appealing because of previous interest in dance and the simple enjoyment of it. For instance, Jessica has been involved in different styles of dance throughout her life. She said that clogging interested her because

It was lively. I have always enjoyed dance. I've been involved in dance of one sort or another since I was a little child. It started out very early in life ... I was enrolled in acrobatic tap and ballet classes. I loved the acrobatic. The tap was okay. I hated ballet. I was only four years old ... Dance has been an interest that has continued all through my life.

Jean was attracted to clogging simply because of "the fun of it. Just all of it. If you have a good song and you like it, you just have fun with it."

While some dancers found clogging to be fun from the start, others had a more strenuous time in the beginning. For example, Alan stated,

I really did not enjoy clogging when I first started. It was not an easy thing for me to learn. For me, clogging was very frustrating. I lived in an apartment. I had all carpeted floors. I couldn't hear anything I was supposed to be hearing with taps ... so, it was just real frustrating for me at first. It was later that I began to enjoy it.

Susan also talked about the difficulties of a beginner clogger. She said,

It's not easy. Clogging is not easy. It's a lot to remember and it's a lot of self-discipline, really. If you're going to be here, you have to be dedicated. You have to make a commitment to it before you want to do it. After you make that commitment, it's easier to come. It's, I guess, a commitment to myself to be involved in something, to be a part of something.

Summary of Clog Dancers and Recruitment

In this study, the first two questions about recruitment, aimed at how new members directly become involved in clogging, illustrated the importance of social networks to this type of leisure activity. While some cloggers became involved in the activity through other means, many of those involved in this study were influenced by friends or co-workers. Responses to the second question indicated that, while the group may advertise for new members, many newcomers seem to be affected by social networks also.

The last two questions focused on the distinctive qualities of clogging and why the dancers chose to become involved in this type of leisure activity. When asked why they chose clogging over something else, most of the dancers said that, in general, they liked to dance and that clogging was fun and good exercise. From the responses given here, the most appealing aspects of clogging to newcomers seem to be exercise and fellowship with other people. Other dancers

were also drawn to the sound of the taps and the heritage behind the dance form.

By studying other literature as well as the cloggers' responses concerning recruitment, I learned that recruitment not only varies by what is being studied but it also varies according to different people within an activity. Again, like the literature review, some similarities can be found among different cloggers. For instance, social networks and media influence seemed to be the main recruiting factors for many of these dancers. However, there were exceptions to these mediums which came out in the interviews, such as heritage, love of dance, and the sound of taps. This portion of the study illustrates that, when studying recruitment, it is important to look at both the organization's role in recruitment as well as the individuals' motivations to enter a specific activity.

Chapter 3: Socialization

Literature Review

After selecting or being recruited into a leisure activity, the next stage in the conceptual framework is socialization. Socialization involves "... the learning and internalizing of appropriate patterns, values and feelings" for a particular group or society (Smith et al. 1980, p. 170). Specifically, the type of socialization referred to here is organizational socialization. From the perspective of work and occupations, Hvinden (1984) defines organizational socialization as

... the learning that makes it possible for new employees to know, manage and accept the behaviour that is expected of them in their organizational roles. ... The concept refers to the specific learning the new employee goes through *within* the organization, in contrast to the pre-socialization that has taken place during upbringing, school or antecedent occupational experience (p. 186).

One of the main goals of socialization is to create an identity for the new member within the organization. For instance, Nixon (1976) states

To become a member of any social system, one must be socialized. When a person has become adequately socialized into a social system -- like a team -- he has developed a clear sense of who he is in that situation. He has begun to think, feel, and act in accordance with the rules or behavioral expectations embodied in its culture (p. 9-10).

Brown (1991) reinforces Nixon's (1976) sentiment when he argues that

... technical skills, impression and emotion management strategies, and professional values and attitudes are acquired throughout the process of professional socialization. ... one of the major goals and outcomes of professional socialization is to facilitate trainees' adoption of a professional identity (p. 158-9).

In order to fulfill this goal of identity-building, socialization should begin immediately following entry to the organization and should also be uncompromising. Some researchers found that socialization is most important in the early stages of one's association with the organization (Chatman 1991; Berlew and Hall 1966). Chatman (1991) states, "... although socialization is conceptualized as an ongoing process in organizations, members are particularly susceptible to the organization's influence in the early stages of membership" (p. 463). Chatman (1991) even argues that early socialization within an organization is more significant than selection or recruitment in determining whether or not an individual remains with that organization. She found that "... regardless of selection, socialization experiences contribute significantly to changes in person-organization fit over recruits' first year" (Chatman 1991, p. 476). Socialization should also be uncompromising in order to be effective. Chatman (1991) states that

the more rigorously an organization attempts to influence its members, the more similar members' values become to the organizations', since effective socialization inspires individuals to think and act in accordance with organizational interests (p. 462).

Socialization takes on two different forms: formal and informal. These two forms of socialization describe how new members are taught the culture of an organization so they can function within it. Formal socialization involves transferring knowledge about organizational values, norms, and roles to new members in a deliberate, structured, institutionalized manner, for example, through classroom instruction.

Informal socialization, which is at least as powerful as formal socialization, involves instilling values, norms, and strategies for performing roles through unofficial means. Informal socialization is not always deliberate. The new member learns how to function in the organization by observing others, through trial and error, and by interacting with more senior members.

While occupations and avocations are seen as functional opposites, they are very similar in terms of socialization. Both occupational and avocational groups utilize formal and informal socialization. In both types of groups, informal socialization is not only more prevalent, but also appears more influential than formal socialization.

One example of occupational socialization can be found in Van Maanen's (1975, 1973) studies on policemen. In these studies, Van Maanen (1975, 1973) found that new police recruits are subjected to both formal and informal socialization in their training. Formal socialization for the police recruits takes place in the classrooms of the police academy where recruits are "introduced to the harsh and often arbitrary discipline of the organization" (Van Maanen 1973, p. 410). New recruits are expected to obey departmental rules, sustain extensive physical training, and carry a "ritualistic concern for detail" (ibid).

After spending time in the classroom, the recruits then move on to an apprenticeship with a more experienced officer, known as a field training officer. Under this officer's training, the new recruit "learns what attitudes and behaviors are appropriate and expected of a patrolman within the social setting" (Van Maanen 1975, p. 222). These attitudes and behaviors are usually passed down through "endless hours [of] discussing nuances and implications of war stories" (Van Maanen 1973, p. 411). By listening to these stories, "the newcomer gradually builds a common language and shared set of interests which will attach him to the organization ... the novices begin to absorb the subcultural ethos and to think like policemen" (ibid). Van Maanen (1975) argues that this rigorous socialization process and "the flow of influence from one generation to another accounts for the remarkable stability of the pattern of police behavior" (p. 222).

Other occupations rely mostly on informal socialization to incorporate new members into their culture. For example, Sigelman (1973) found that newspaper reporters have little to no formal training. For these reporters, "the socialization process is highly diffuse and extremely informal" (Sigelman 1973, p. 137). For instance, one reporter stated that "learning policy is simply 'a

process that takes place over time.’ Gradually, reporters ‘just begin to know’ what policy is” (ibid). Another reporter reinforced this statement. He said, “As far as the newspaper coming out with a policy telling reporters, ‘Now this is going to be our policy,’ we don’t have any written, set policy guidelines to go by” (ibid).

Sigelman (1973) found three different means of informal socialization for new reporters. First, the new reporters “stressed informal contacts with more experienced newsmen” (ibid, p. 138). These informal contacts with senior reporters “breed attitudes which are also highly supportive of the newspaper” (ibid). Second, the new reporters are socialized through editorial revisions. One reporter stated, “you can anticipate how they would want you to cover something, after a while” (ibid). Finally, editorial conferences were used to socialize new reporters. Newspaper reporters and management met in editorial conferences to discuss the paper’s news coverage. This is the most organized model of informal socialization available to the reporters. One reporter remarked, “the publisher is a very positive and articulate gentleman ... If you sit in on an editorial conference with him over an extensive period of time, you’re going to know what the policy is ...” (ibid).

Another example from the work and occupations field is Bryan’s (1965) study on prostitution. Bryan (1965) describes how prostitutes are socialized and what they learn. The prostitute recruits in Bryan’s (1965) study participated in an apprenticeship, which was supervised by a trainer, either another more experienced call girl or a pimp. The apprenticeship took place in an apartment, furnished by the trainer, and usually lasted two or three months.

During the apprenticeship, the trainer emphasized philosophical and interpersonal issues. The philosophical aspects of the profession included the learning of a professional value structure. Bryan (1965) explains the value structure as

...maximizing gains while minimizing effort ... frequently, it is postulated that people, particularly men, are corrupt or easily corruptible, that all social relationships are but a reflection of a ‘con,’ and that prostitution is simply a more honest or at least no more dishonest act than the everyday behavior of ‘squares’ (p. 291).

The new recruit was also given “...’rules’ of interpersonal contact with the customer” (ibid, p. 292). These rules mainly consisted of the “...’do’s’ and ‘don’ts’ of relating to customers and, secondarily, to other ‘working girls’ and pimps” (ibid, p. 291). Some of these rules covered issues such as “ ... when and how to obtain the fee, how to converse with the customers and, occasionally, physical and sexual hygiene” (ibid, p. 293). The recruits were also taught fairness to other call girls and faithfulness to their pimp. The recruits are informally socialized about specific sexual techniques. Bryan (1965) states, “the bulk of whatever learning takes place [concerning sexual techniques] seems to take place through observation” of other call girls (p. 294).

Studies in the field of leisure also illustrate socialization. In Nixon’s (1986) study on swimmers, formal rules for the pool included regulations such as “showering before entering the pool, wearing proper swim attire, and refraining from eating, drinking, and running around the pool

area” (Nixon 1986, p. 322). However, these formal rules were rarely enforced by lifeguards so there was little formal socialization. In fact, the lifeguards were seen as “guardians of life” rather than enforcers of the formal regulations” (ibid).

In contrast, swimmers learned more through informal socialization. Nixon (1986) found that many of the pool rules “tend to be informal ... thus, regular swimmers themselves must enforce most of the rules of pool interaction” (p. 327). The main rule in the pool was to operate by the “mini-max principle of interaction” (ibid, p. 326). The mini-max principle states that “strangers are obliged both to *minimize involvement* and *maximize order*. They must take each other into account while simultaneously protecting their personal privacy” (ibid, p. 323). The mini-max principle, translated into a pool setting, involves the following elements:

... swim according to the most efficient pattern ... swim in the section where others tend to share your skill and intensity levels; ... slower swimmers stay to the right and allow faster swimmers to pass on the left; ... use strokes that do not interfere with the progress of others in the section
(ibid).

The mini-max principle was taught to new swimmers in two ways. Most commonly, new swimmers learned through watching the regular swimmers. However, if a new swimmer continued to violate the mini-max principle, the regular swimmers became “verbal, blatant, and forceful” (ibid, p. 327).

Another leisure activity that trains members through informal socialization is fishing. In his study of trout fishermen, Bryan (1977) created a typology based on the fisher’s “amount of participation and technique and setting preferences” (p. 178). He found that informal socialization, over time, led to greater specialization among the fishermen. Bryan (1977) states

Socialization into the sport is cumulative -- in other words, fishermen typically start with simple, easily mastered techniques which maximize chances of a catch, then move to more involved and demanding methods the longer they engage in the sport ... the tendency is to move toward the specialization end of the continuum (p. 182).

The new fishermen were socialized through interaction with other fishermen at the fishing sites, bars, tackle shops, and through “campfire ‘bull sessions’” (ibid, p. 183).

This literature review illustrates that new members in a group learn the values of that organization through formal and/or informal socialization. While each organization’s values differ, all new members experience formal and/or informal socialization to be incorporated successfully into the group and to form an identity within the organization.

Clog Dancers and Socialization

To discover how cloggers are socialized into their groups, I asked various questions about socialization. Through these questions, I attempted to discover if cloggers are socialized both

formally and informally and how these socialization methods are utilized.

How long did you take classes before you joined a group?

I asked this question to find out if there was a standard time for socialization before integration with a group. Clogging classes can be seen as a type of formal socialization, since cloggers are learning the technical aspects of the dance. Seven of the twenty cloggers in this study took six to eight weeks of classes before joining a group. Five dancers stated that their group formed from their classes so they could not state a specific time frame before entering a group. Other cloggers took from between twelve weeks and three years of classes. In addition, one clogger never took an official class. She began attending clogging group practices with a friend and practiced on her own to advance to other dancers' skill level.

What were the classes like?

When asked about the nature and atmosphere of clogging classes, the dancers interviewed recalled overwhelmingly positive memories. Many dancers mentioned that their classes were small, informal and friendly. For instance, Judy said, "We had very small classes basically because we didn't have a very big meeting place. Even though you walked in and you didn't know anybody, before you left, you felt like they were your best friends." Amy also stated, "It was informal. You could always stop the instructor and say 'I didn't get that. Let's go over that again.'"

Other cloggers remembered the fun and excitement of clogging classes. For example, Christina stated, "Well, they were fun, entertaining. They were really funny sometimes because the instructor would say something to make you laugh. She'd have us in a big circle and we'd holler and whoop and that kind of thing." Kimberly also talked about the excitement and the exercise in her classes. She said that the classes were "a lot of fun. I remember it was just so much excitement. It gave us a good workout though ... But [the instructor] made all the classes fun and she's such a great teacher. She made everything that seemed hard actually seem easier. So, it was great."

Some cloggers talked about the open and relaxed atmosphere in their classes. The dancers remembered feeling very comfortable and at ease in their classes. Carol stated that her classes were "very simple and very repetitive. You would try to pick up your speed and pick up the steps and repeat them again ... So, there was no real pressure to it. You could always ask for help if you felt like you had two left feet on that particular night." Tracy also remembered how the atmosphere in her classes was relaxed. She said, "It got to be silly at times because some things I couldn't do. It was like, 'Why can't I do this?' But it was very relaxed, very jokingly type thing with each other. Very good."

What types of steps did you learn?

All of the cloggers interviewed learned three basic steps during their beginner's classes: singles

or basics, doubles or rock steps, and triples. Many of the cloggers stated that they learned these steps by repeating them in sequence while learning to keep time with music. For example, Carol remembers learning “basics and doubles and triples and chugs. We started out with simple steps, and we gradually added something on. We kept adding on to a step or a sequence of steps. We started out with a really basic dance that had two steps in it.” Eileen also mentioned learning steps with music. She recalled “the basic and the rock step and the triple and the fancy double and general basic stuff. But we learned two songs. I mean, it wasn’t like you were just standing there going through the steps. It was actually to music and actually to a song that we learned.”

Some of the cloggers with previous dance experience compared their beginner’s classes to other dance styles. Elizabeth, who had previously been involved in tap and modern jazz styles of dance, remarked,

we started right from the bottom and learned singles, basics, triples and how to put them together, how to do changes from your left foot to your right foot, you know. A lot of the people had never had any kind of formal dance before and they didn’t know what a ball change, or a weight change from foot to foot, meant and we all learned how to do that ... it was real easy. I mean, I felt it was easy but it was just really good old basic stuff. They didn’t try to teach you how to get fancy or anything.

Tracy, who used to be a tap dancer, remembers trying to change her style of dancing. She said,

I can remember trying to learn the easiest step, which is a basic step, was kind of like a ball change in tap and my instructor kept saying, ‘You’ve got the footwork but you just need to loosen up a little bit. Bend at the knees, don’t be so stiff. Have fun. This is not really as serious as tap.’ Trying to convert over from basic tap to this more freestyle type of dance was interesting.

There seems to be a lot more to clogging than just technical dance steps. What else have you learned about how to be a clogger? Did you learn these things through watching others or did someone tell you about these things?

I asked the first question to discover some other aspects of clogging, besides the dance steps. In other words, what else do cloggers view as important besides the technical dance steps? Through the second question, I tried to discover how the cloggers learned these other aspects. This question was asked to determine whether cloggers learned these attributes through formal or informal means.

The most frequent response to the first question involved projecting to the audience. Over half of the dancers learned that a clogger should look happy and smile. For instance, Carol learned that, “in performances, what a difference a smile makes. Keeping your head off the ground and looking out into the audience. Having a good time.” Wendy also stated,

You’ve got to project [to the audience]. You’ve got to focus. If you lose your

focus, you're in big trouble. You've got to remember to smile all the time. You can never let that smile drop. You need to just plain have fun with it so that it comes easy.

Likewise, Elizabeth stressed the importance of smiling and projecting your attitude to the audience. She remarked,

I'd say better than 50% is not dependent upon your foot skills or your arm skills, it's your attitude, your smile, your getting the audience involved and just your presentation of what you're doing. You have to make the people that are watching you understand that this is fun, you enjoy doing it, it means something to you. And I think that's why they enjoy watching you because you make it seem like such a good thing to be doing.

Other cloggers mentioned that being a team player was an important aspect of clogging. For example, Susan said, "You've got to work as a team. You have to be a team player. You know, you hear that but you really do. And you have to learn to dance with other people." Many clogging routines involve more than one dancer, such as line dances or hoe-downs. Alan commented on the significance of dancing with other cloggers. He said,

To me, the key to being a good dancer is to be a good team dancer. I enjoy the hoe-downs which involve other people. I enjoy line dances, which definitely involve other people. To me, the key is to learn to work well with the group, whether you are working with three other people, four other people, eight, ten other people.

Alison supported the team player attitude and also addressed the distinction of practicing alone to become a better individual clogger. She said,

From a team perspective, which I think is one of the most valuable things that anyone learns from clogging on a team is that you have to be a team player and your team can only be as good as your worst dancer. So it really helps you to become aware of other people in the group and to realize that there's no place for showing off when you're dancing a team routine. You can't be a hot shot ... But the other things I've learned as an individual is, to get good in clogging, it takes a lot of practice. You can't just practice the night of the club if you want to get really good ... You can have people that clog for three months and be great and people who clog for three years and are still mediocre, depending on how much effort you put into it.

These cloggers emphasized the importance of interactive socialization in obtaining a team perspective. Through interacting with other dancers, the cloggers became team players by sharing and working together on dance routines. These dancers became aware of other group members as well as their own abilities to contribute to the group.

Two other aspects of clogging include commitment and versatility. For instance, Angela

believed that commitment to clogging was important. She stated, “I think you really have to be committed to your friends and to your group, to really practicing hard. You have to really want to do this. You have to commit yourself to do it. If not, you won’t be a very successful or a very good clogger.” Jennifer mentioned group versatility, being able to perform for different types of audiences. She said,

The one thing you learn is that all the audiences are different. What some audiences really appreciate, another audience, they really don’t care for. So, I guess one of the things is that you’ve got to be pretty versatile and read [the audience]... like when we go [to perform], we plan something but on the spur of the moment, we’ve had to change it. Because when you look and you’ve got all these young kids, some of the traditional things don’t work as well, you have to get a little more contemporary. I’d have to say that’s part of it, beyond the dance. You’ve got to be a people person. As a result, when you go, you’ve got to look like what you’re doing, you really enjoy.

The second part of this question: *Did you learn these things through watching others or did someone tell you about these things?:* produced three common responses. Most cloggers learned the other attributes of clogging from experience and through watching other dancers, either at performances or competitions. For example, Christina said, “I think it’s just something that you pick up on from watching other people, especially in competition. I think you pick up on it more there than anywhere else.” Angela also stated that her enthusiasm stemmed from watching others. She remarked,

I really think I learned [these other attributes] from going to competitions and different workshops because most all the instructors would be in front of you and they would always be smiling and always be happy. So, from experience, I think that I picked up on this really ... from experience and from seeing how [others] performed at competitions and how they presented themselves.

Susan remembered watching other dancers as well as hearing feedback from the audience. She said,

... it’s through watching other people dance and hearing feedback from the audience. You have friends that come and say, ‘Who was that lady with the short hair and the glasses? She had such a good time. She was whooping and hollering and laughing and singing along.’ They could care less whether she could dance. It was that she was having a good time.

Besides learning these traits informally through modeling other dancers, some cloggers were taught these qualities by their instructors. Judy remembered using both of these techniques. She said, “Most cloggers or line dancers or whatever I’ve seen, they’ve all smiled the whole time. Even if you know they’re having fun, look at their face and they’re smiling. But it was also told to us. ‘Make sure you smile.’” Jean recalled learning to smile from audience feedback and from her instructors. She said,

Sometimes, I know I catch myself thinking too hard about what I'm trying to do and forget what I'm supposed to be doing ... smiling. So, I think that comes with both parts of it ... the [instructors] telling you and then the feedback from the crowd, too.

Some cloggers carried these qualities with them from previous interests involving entertaining. These dancers stated that it felt "natural" for them to smile. For instance, Elizabeth felt that audience presentation was customary because of previous dance experience. She said,

Back in the days when I was taking tap and modern jazz, we also had to put on a show at the end of our dance here. And our instructors at that time were really big in ballet. Ballet dancers, they all know that it's all presentation ... so, they had, sort of, trained me about that. Plus, back when I was in high school, I was in school plays and presentations of that sort and I was always the ham. I was always the one cracking jokes. So, I just naturally know how to play an audience.

Carol learned to play the audience from prior experience as a competitive roller skater. She said,

Well, I had done competitive roller skating as well as baton in lower grades where projecting to the audience and smiling and pretending like you're having a good time [was important] even if you're feet hurt or whatever. So, those kinds of things I had learned from junior high school.

Tracy came to clogging from a majorette background where she learned to project to an audience. She said, "... coming up with a majorette background, we were always taught to smile, smile, smile. After years and years of that, it just came natural."

If someone came up to you who didn't know anything about clogging and asked you, 'How does someone become a clogger?,' would you tell them that it's a gradual learning process or is it associated with some event, like joining a group or your first performance?

This question was asked to see how cloggers view the process of becoming a clogger. Through this question, I tried to find out whether entering the clogging world could be tied to one event or whether it involves a constant process of socialization and re-socialization.

Twelve of the twenty cloggers stated that becoming a clogger is a gradual process. These cloggers emphasized the importance of practicing and building upon basic steps to be a clogger. They also mentioned that the art of clogging is constantly growing. Because of its changing nature, the dancers are constantly learning new steps and styles of the dance. For example, Angela said,

It's a gradual process, yes. Clogging is something that you just can't learn in six months or a year. In twelve years [of clogging], I can still go to a workshop and I can learn a new step. There are new steps created and made up every day. Every year when there's a workshop, you can pick up new steps and new routines. So,

it's something that doesn't stand still. It progresses along all the time.

Alan agreed with Angela's comments and discussed the various styles within clogging. He said,

[Clogging is] definitely something that is going to build upon. I don't think there is a magic time when you become a good clogger. I don't feel that I'm a good clogger yet. But, yet, I feel very comfortable where I am and knowing that, if I want to continue, there's always new avenues to go into with the different styles.

So, according to Angela and Alan, becoming a clogger is a gradual learning process for each dancer. Also, the art of clogging is constantly changing and there are always new skills to master within clogging. Susan believed that becoming a clogger is a gradual process that requires a great deal of individual commitment. She even compared clogging to marriage. She stated,

I think it's a constant thing and [people who want to become cloggers] need to come to the practices or come to a class to decide if they want to make that commitment. If it's a Saturday and I've committed to a dance, you know, I'll drop boating or I'll drop camping that weekend to do that. It's almost like a marriage ... if you're not committed to it, it's not going to work.

Several other cloggers associated becoming a clogger with a rite of passage, such as his or her first performance. Elizabeth said, "I think, without a doubt, their rite of passage comes once they get their first performance under their belt. Then, it's like a whole new ball game. They definitely have enough confidence after that. They feel they could probably do anything." Alison saw a new member's rite of passage as joining a clogging group. She stated,

Some people will take six weeks of lessons. They wanted to learn a basic and that's all they're really interested in. They're still clogging. I don't know if you would call them a "clogger" or not unless they're doing it regularly. I guess I see a distinction between knowing how to clog and actually being a clogger, someone who does it regularly and performs in public and competes. In that case, I guess [the rite of passage] would be if you joined a team.

A few other dancers believed that becoming a clogger is different for each person. For instance, Laura said that someone becomes a clogger "when he or she feels confident with what they're doing. Each clogger that takes classes or wants to clog reaches that differently. It all depends on them ... how they progress, how they practice." Kimberly was not sure how to answer this question, yet she still had an encouraging response. She said, "Well, I really wouldn't know what to tell them. Basically, the way I feel about any kind of dancing, whether it be clogging or tap or ballet, if you can keep the beat and you can hear the music, you can do it."

Summary of Clog Dancers and Socialization

Like some of the groups and organizations from the literature review, cloggers experience both formal and informal socialization. Formal socialization for cloggers includes classroom

instruction, where the dancers learn basic clogging steps as well as the rules or by-laws of the clogging group. While the clogging classes can be seen as a method of formal socialization, the atmosphere in these classes was described as casual and relaxed. In these classes, all cloggers interviewed learned the same three basic steps and variations on these steps. Formal socialization for new members of a clogging group also includes learning the rules or by-laws of the group. The cloggers stated that the most common rules involved attending practices and performing with the group.

The cloggers were informally socialized about other important attributes of clogging, such as smiling, projecting a positive attitude to the audience, and dancing skillfully with other team members. These attributes illustrate the dramaturgical nature of clogging. While at clogging practice, the dancers prepare backstage for their performances by rehearsing dance routines and learning to be a team player. During a clogging presentation, or the frontstage arena, the dancers' positive expressions aid in an idealized performance for the audience. The cloggers learned these norms through observing other dancers, through their own experiences while clogging, and from audience feedback. In addition, because clogging is a constantly changing dance form, the dancers can observe and learn new steps and styles of dancing. So, even after learning the basic clogging steps and other important traits of cloggers, dancers are continually being socialized.

Chapter 4: Identity

Literature Review

To acquire an organizational identity, one must be effectively socialized to internalize the values of the organization. Many researchers in the field of leisure concur that leisure activity is very important in identity formation (Argyle 1996; Kelly and Godbey 1992; Shamir 1992; Stebbins 1979). Kelly and Godbey (1992) state, “one meaning of any leisure event may be that it provides a setting in which to offer or advance an identity” (p. 319). In fact, Argyle (1996) argues that “leisure is one of the most important sources of identity” (p. 172).

Identity formation is perhaps the most complex aspect of this conceptual framework. There are many different sociological and social psychological theories addressing the concept of identity. One theoretical approach to the concept of identity is identity theory, which stems from symbolic interactionism and holds a very structural view of the self and identity. I have chosen this approach due to the specificity of theoretical concepts and their ability to be used in my study.

Identity theory contains four main theoretical concepts: identity, identity salience, commitment, and psychological centrality (Deaux 1996; Stryker and Serpe 1994, 1982; Howard 1991). Stryker and Serpe (1982) define identities as “more-or-less discrete ‘parts’ of the self--internalized positional designations that represent the person’s participation in structured role relationships” (p. 206). According to this definition, people can have multiple identities because of the multiple structured relationships in which they are involved (Howard 1991; Stryker and Serpe 1982). For instance, a person may hold within her self the multiple identities of mother, wife, friend, nurse, clogger, etc.

One way to organize the multiple identities within one’s self is through the concept of identity salience. Many researchers agree that identity salience provides structure in a hierarchy which organizes identities based on their likelihood of being revealed to others (Deaux 1996; Stryker and Serpe 1994, 1982; Howard 1991; Stryker 1991; Kelly 1981; McCall and Simmons 1966). The higher an identity is on the salience hierarchy, the more salient that identity is and the likelihood is increased that the identity will be revealed to others more often than other identities. To simplify, identity salience refers to the person’s readiness to play the role. Stryker and Serpe (1994) measure salience by asking people which singular identity that they would reveal to other people upon meeting them for the first time.

So, how does one identity become more salient than another? An identity’s salience is based on commitment which is related to social networks (Stryker 1991; Stryker and Serpe 1982). Stryker and Serpe (1982) define commitment as “the degree to which the person’s relationships to specified sets of others depends on his or her being a particular kind of person” (p. 207). For example, a woman is committed to her profession in proportion to the number of important social relationships that are based on that role. If there are a large number of important social relationships based on her profession, she will be more committed to her professional identity. Commitment illustrates “‘society’s’ relevance for [that particular] social behavior” (ibid).

While identity salience and commitment are central to identity theory, the theory would not be

complete without the concept of psychological centrality. According to Deaux (1996) and Stryker and Serpe (1994), a person may not be aware of the salience of his identities. Psychological centrality refers to the significance of an identity based on “what a person regards as desirable or preferred from his or her own point of view” (Stryker and Serpe 1994, p. 19). Stryker and Serpe (1994) measure psychological centrality by asking subjects to compare pairs of identities and indicate which identity “is more important to the way you think about yourself” (p. 21). To illustrate the difference between identity salience and psychological centrality, a person could be both a medical intern and a golfer. The identity of medical intern may be more salient because he or she would reveal this identity to others more often than his identity as a golfer. However, his golfer identity may be more important from his point of view, i.e. more psychologically central to the way that he thinks of himself.

According to Stryker and Serpe (1994), the relationship between these concepts begins with commitment. Commitment to an identity leads to aspects of the self, namely identity salience and psychological centrality. These variables of identity salience and psychological centrality are used to predict role behavior, or time spent in a role.

Piliavin and Callero (1991) elaborate on a different conceptual definition of commitment by reviewing the writings of Howard S. Becker (1973, 1960), about how commitment to a deviant career develops. While this paper does not deal with deviance, this model of commitment is applicable here as well. According to Piliavin and Callero’s (1991) analysis, six stages lead to the development of commitment to an identity. The first stage requires the person to be exposed to an experience related to an identity. Next, the person must perceive that experience as positive, leading to the idea that “it is the kind of thing that one can think of oneself doing” (ibid, p. 65). Third, the person is labeled as possessing the identity by himself and others. After labeling, the person should view further experiences involving the identity as favorable. Fifth, there is “development of a social support group with a private culture” which reinforces the identity for the person (ibid). Finally, with the establishment of the support group, commitment to the identity is achieved. Upon achieving commitment to an identity, the person internalizes the identity and defines himself according to that identity. Another factor of commitment is the notion of ‘side bets.’ Piliavin and Callero (1991) define ‘side bets’ as “related involvements that tie the central activity into the fabric of the person’s social life in such a way that these other aspects could be jeopardized by a failure to ‘follow through’ in the central activity” (p. 66).

According to the model set forth by Piliavin and Callero (1991), Becker’s (1973, 1960) definition of commitment is similar to Stryker and Serpe’s (1994) concepts of psychological centrality and time spent in a role. These terms are similar in that the person regards the identity as positive from his or her own point of view. This positive view of the identity implies that more time will be spent in that role. Also, Becker’s (1973, 1960) notion of ‘side bets’ is actually equivalent to Stryker and Serpe’s (1994) definition of commitment in that both terms are used to describe relationships that would be lost if the person abandoned a role identity. While Stryker and Serpe (1994) argue that these concepts develop in stages, Piliavin and Callero (1991) state that ‘side bets’ and commitment are obtained simultaneously.

Piliavin and Callero (1991) performed an extensive study of Becker’s model of commitment on blood donors. Their analysis of blood donors “provides strong support for the step model of

commitment postulated twenty-five years ago by Howard Becker” (Piliavin and Callero 1991, p. 76). Piliavin and Callero (1991) found that “first-time donors reported a rate of blood donation on the part of members of their families that is well above the national average” (p. 68). This shows that these donors were likely to be exposed to the experience of blood donation. Second, regarding the donors’ positive response to first donation, Piliavin and Callero (1991) found that “donors with family members who were regular donors are also more likely to feel good after donation” (p. 69). The third step in Becker’s model involves labeling the person as a blood donor. The people studied were more likely to label themselves as donors if their donation experiences were “without much difficulty” (ibid, p. 70). Next, according to the model, the donor should interpret further donation experiences as positive. The researchers found that donors viewed further donations as positive if “he or she, a relative, or a personal acquaintance had received a blood transfusion” (ibid, p. 72). The fifth step in Becker’s commitment model involves the emergence of a support group. The donors in this study reported that “recognition by staff [at the donation facility]” was important to their return (ibid, p. 73). Finally, with the establishment of a support group, the donor has become committed to the identity.

Since Becker (1973, 1960) and Stryker and Serpe (1994) measure commitment in different ways, which model is more accurate in describing identity processes? The answer to this question depends on how the individual was introduced and recruited to the group. If an individual was recruited through social networks, he or she already has ties in the activity. In this case, Stryker and Serpe’s (1994) model, which begins with social ties, would be more functional. Becker’s (1973, 1960) model would be more beneficial in studying group members who were recruited through influences other than social networks, such as the media. For these individuals, their first experiences in the activity would be the most powerful determinants of identity formation.

The existing literature on identity in occupations and leisure studies is more limited than that of recruitment and socialization. Many studies that addressed recruitment and socialization do not advance into researching identity. Van Maanen’s (1975, 1973) studies on police officers refer to the meaning of police identity. Van Maanen (1975) found that “by the sixth month of police experience, the job-related attitudes of the recruits begin to approximate those of their more experienced colleagues” (p. 223). By this time, the former recruit has committed himself to the police identity by proving “his willingness to share the risks of police work, his attachment and concern for the welfare of his fellow officers, and his appreciation and involvement for the expressed goals of the organization” (ibid). Van Maanen (1973) also addresses the concept of psychological centrality. He found that the officers tend to accept the police identity more readily when the identity appears more desirable to them. Many officers enjoy the excitement of police work and “the anticipation of the ‘hot call’ allows for the crystallization of his personal identity as a policeman” (Van Maanen 1973, p. 414).

Another study on occupational identity is Brown’s (1991) study of professional ex-s, professional substance abuse counselors who were once substance abusers themselves. Brown (1991) found that professional ex-s gained and maintained commitment to their occupational identity in two ways. First, the professional ex obtains a social network that he or she wants to maintain by upholding standards that are expected of professional counselors. The professional ex-s “identified ... a desire to be validated by patients, professional peers, and the larger community as expert authorities in treating substance abuse disorders” (Brown 1991, p. 168).

Second, the professional ex views this organizational support network as “added insurance for adhering to a prescribed regimen of recovery during times of self-doubt” (ibid).

Brown (1991) found that the professional identity of these counselors has become their most psychologically central identity. The statement from one professional ex illustrates that being a counselor is important to her psychological centrality. She left her old job in order to fulfill a more preferred occupation as a counselor. She stated,

I used to work a lot of overtime, but I told my old boss that overtime jeopardized my program. I finally began to realize that the job just didn't have anything to do with what I was really about. I felt alienated. Although I had been thinking about becoming a counselor ever since I went through treatment, I finally decided that the time had arrived to pursue it (ibid).

Brown (1991) also found that, by obtaining an organizational identity as a counselor, the professional ex-s reinforced the bureaucracy of the counseling profession. He states that the professional ex-s “desired to learn a counseling method congruent with their preprofessional socialization experiences. They sought primarily to perpetuate this system” (ibid, p. 173).

There are also few studies on the impact of leisure on identity formation. In a study performed on poker groups, Kelly (1981) addresses the concept of commitment to the leisure identity and identity salience by explaining how social networks and structure influenced group members. Kelly (1981) states, “... the reciprocal actions of others in the interaction provide feedback ... [and] the structure of the games provides a context for the presentation and establishment of salient identities” (p. 313).

Robert Stebbins (1979) performed another extensive study involving leisure and identity. Stebbins (1979) studied amateurs who were very involved in the leisure pursuits of theatre, archaeology, and baseball. Stebbins (1979) defines an amateur as a “member of a professional-amateur-public system” (p. 23). While professionals and amateurs serve the same publics or audiences, they are fundamentally different. For instance, “the professional gains at least 50% of his livelihood from his pursuit while the amateur, at the most, only supplements a principal source of income earned elsewhere” (ibid). While amateurs do not make a living from their leisure activities, they do take their leisure pursuits seriously, moving “away from play toward necessity, obligation, seriousness, and commitment, as expressed in regimentation (e.g., rehearsals, practice) and systematization (e.g., schedules, organization)” (ibid, p. 20).

According to Kelly and Godbey (1992), “identity formation through leisure is very clear in the case of serious amateurs” (p. 172). These researchers characterize the amateur as having “a high level of investment in skill development, a personal identification with the activity, and a community of co-participants” (ibid, p. 151). These characteristics also relate to the concepts of identity theory. The amateur spends an extensive amount of time in his leisure role. Stebbins (1979) states that an amateur sometimes feels “the temptation to add time to amateur interests by subtracting it, where possible, from work or family obligations” (p. 41). The leisure activities of amateurs lead to “the development and enrichment of self-concepts and actually becoming more of a person” (Kelly and Godbey 1992, p. 172).

While the literature on identity theory and its concepts is plentiful, there are few extensive studies involving leisure and organizational identity from this perspective. In fact, many of the studies used for recruitment and socialization in earlier chapters do not include identity in their scope. This literature review on organizational identity defines and organizes the concepts in identity theory. The studies examined here illustrate how Becker's model of commitment can be applied to organizational identity as well as the importance of this commitment to an identity's salience.

Clog Dancers and Identity

I formulated questions for this section from identity theory's main concepts to determine how dancers in my study viewed their identity as a clogger. The following questions address the concepts of identity, identity salience, commitment, and psychological centrality.

When you began taking classes, did you find clogging to be a positive experience? [If so,] In what ways?

I asked this question in accordance with Becker's model of commitment. By asking this question, I tried to uncover what aspects of a clogger's first experience motivates him or her to continue the activity and initiate commitment to a clogging identity.

Fifteen of the twenty cloggers interviewed commented that their first experiences with clogging were positive. Many of these cloggers stated that their positive response to clogging was due to the friendly people that they encountered at clogging classes. For example, Judy said, "There were always friendly people to meet. It was never boring." Angela also mentioned that the friendly people were a factor for her continuation as a clogger. She said, "[Clogging] was very rewarding because of the friends you meet and the characters of the people that you meet -- personalities."

Other dancers said that their first experience was positive because clogging was new to them and they enjoyed the learning experience. Susan stated, "[Clogging] was positive for what I was learning. It was something new. I had never been involved in dance steps." Jean also stated that she gained a positive feeling from learning something new. She said, "It was reassuring that you could learn something new, that you didn't know how to do before. You felt good after you accomplished it."

Some dancers enjoyed clogging at first simply for their love of dance. For instance, Laura stated that clogging was "positive because I like to dance." Wendy also said, "I've always liked dancing in some form ... I thought it was a lot of fun. It really interested me because I liked watching people that could clog. So, I kept thinking, 'If I really work at this, maybe I can get as good as they are.'"

One clogger said that her first experience was not positive because "it was very frustrating for me. Very frustrating." The remaining four dancers said that they had mixed feelings about their

first clogging experience. They offered both positive and negative feedback. For example, Jennifer said, "In the very beginning..., it was kind of frustrating but you have to get over that part, like everybody does. But, as soon as you picked up a step, you just wanted to learn that much more; so, it was positive." Christina also had mixed first impressions of clogging. She commented, "I thought I wouldn't ever learn to do it. But, then, as I kept doing it, it got easier and easier."

How much longer would you like to continue clogging?

This question is also loosely tied to Becker's model of commitment. The fourth step in Becker's model states that the person should view future experiences involving the identity as positive. If a clogger plans to continue this activity for a long time, it can be inferred that he or she views future experiences as positive.

One-half of the cloggers responded that they would like to continue clogging as long as their health permits them. For example, Laura said that she wants to clog "as long as my legs and feet will allow me to. I plan to continue to clog as long as my health will allow me to." Angela also stated, "I would like to continue to do this as long as I was physically and mentally able." Kimberly even mentioned that health problems would not hinder her desire to clog. She said that she would clog "until I can't walk. If I could do it in a wheelchair and manage to move my feet enough, I'll do it then, too." Some of the dancers interviewed have already experienced health problems but are not ready to stop clogging. For instance, Elizabeth commented that she will clog "until my feet and legs drop off. I mean, it's not easy for me now because I have arthritis in the hips [and] ... in the knees ... it's becoming more and more difficult but I'm not ready to give it up."

Other cloggers plan to continue clogging indefinitely. For example, Tracy would like to continue clogging "until I can move no more! ... As long as there's somewhere or somebody that's still clogging, I hope to be doing it." Amy also wants to dance for "the rest of my life."

A few cloggers stated that they would keep clogging until the activity interferes with other important identities in their lives, such as work or family roles. For instance, Susan said, "I don't think I'll ever get burned out with clogging ... I won't let clogging interfere with my family. But that's about the only thing that would make me stop--an interference with my children."

While I did not ask any questions directly related to Stryker and Serpe's (1994) concept of commitment, the cloggers stated that social relationships tied to clogging were important to them. For example, Angela said, "I think that I like (clogging) because of the friends that I make." Jennifer also stated that social ties to clogging were meaningful to her. She said, "(Clogging is) very important. I've made great friends, local as well as far away." Finally, Carol commented on the strong relationships she has formed with other clogging group members. She stated,

I think there has been a decent support system (within the group) when there has been a loss in the family or when somebody is having a hard time. I don't really

want to say that it is a shoulder to cry on, but it's other people to help support you for good times and bad times. A good number in this group have been together for ten years. So, we've been through a lot together as friends.

Do you discuss your involvement in clogging with others who do not clog, like co-workers or other friends? [If so] What do you tell them about clogging?

By asking the cloggers if they tell others about their involvement in clogging, I addressed the concept of identity salience. I also asked what the cloggers told other people to reveal what aspects of the activity that the dancers viewed as important to its salience.

All of the twenty cloggers interviewed stated that they discussed their involvement in clogging with others. Over one-half of the cloggers told others how much fun clogging is and how much they enjoy it. For instance, Jessica said, "I tell them what a wonderful experience it is, how much fun it is." Alison tells others how much she enjoys dancing and encourages others to try clogging. She said,

Usually, a couple of times a week, someone will say something about clogging. They've seen our picture in the paper or they used to watch us somewhere and wonder if we still do it ... I tell them that I really enjoy it and that it's a lot of fun. I'll tell them that if they ever want to try it, give me a call, or if they ever want to come out and just see ... I really like it and I will tell anyone.

Some other dancers also encourage others to try clogging. For example, Wendy tells others that they "really ought to try it. You think you can't do it but you don't know until you try it." Kimberly also invites others to join and tells them the difference between clogging and square dancing. She stated,

I tell them that they ought to try it, that they might enjoy it. Some people think, 'Clogging, oh my gosh, no way.' It's like they're thinking [of] square dancing. That's what they think of when they hear clogging. I'm like, 'you'd really be surprised how much you'd enjoy it.'

Some other cloggers utilize their experiences as a conversation piece or an icebreaker when meeting new people. For instance, Jennifer talks to other people about her group's upcoming competitions and new routines. She said,

We might be working on a number, a certain song, and I'll tell them about what new song we're working on. If we've got a competition coming up, I'll talk to them about the competition. Especially if they are people from that particular area and say they're working in our area, I'll say, 'Hey, I'm going to your hometown.' ... So, it's been a great conversation piece sometimes.

Alan tells others about clogging as an icebreaker to introduce himself at business meetings. He stated, "I've clogged for so many years ... it's a real good icebreaker. When I travel, at business

meetings and all, [people ask,] ‘What do you do?’ [I say,] ‘I clog. Do you know what that is?’ Most of them don’t but it’s a good icebreaker. So, yes, I talk about it quite a lot.” Susan also talks about clogging to co-workers. She said that she talks about her involvement in clogging

all the time, yes, all the time. At work, people will say, ‘When is your next show?’ or ... ‘I saw your picture in the newspaper. Tell me about your group.’ So, everybody knows I clog and I have a picture of the group on my bulletin board. People come in and say, ‘Oh, what do you do? Are you a square dancer?’ You know, you hear that a lot. They see the outfits and think you’re a square dancer. [I tell them,] ‘Oh, no, we’re cloggers and let me tell you [about it.]’ So, yes, I talk about it a lot.

How important is clogging to the way you think about yourself?

I asked this question to discover how the dancers viewed their own identities as cloggers. In accordance with Stryker and Serpe’s (1994) study, I asked this question to address the concept of psychological centrality.

All of the dancers said that clogging was important to the way they think of themselves. Three of the cloggers said that they rank being a clogger very high compared to other identities. In fact, these dancers rated the clogger identity directly beneath their home identities. For instance, Kimberly responded,

Well, really to me, it’s one of the most important parts of my life outside of my home life. Like I said before, clogging is my way of expressing myself. It’s my way to have individuality. It’s my way to release. To me, without clogging, I would go crazy ... Without clogging, I would feel basically lost.

Tracy also stated that her identity as a clogger was important to her. She placed clogging underneath her identities as a wife and a mother. She said,

First, it would be wife and mother but after that, it means a lot to me to be able to come every week ... I don’t like to miss. Like I said, It’s like my social out so it’s pretty important in my life. I don’t have the most exciting life, I guess. But, like I said, it’s pretty important.

Lucy said that her identity as a clogger was more important to her than her identity at work. She responded, “Outside of my job and my home, I would have to say that it is number one. No, I’d put it before my work. I’d put it before my job ... I have not worked and gone out and clogged, you know, with a cold or something like that.” For Alison, her identity as a clogger doubles as a career identity as well. She said,

I guess in terms of priorities, clogging wouldn’t be a tie to some of the other things, like family, kids, church, and that type of thing. But in terms of self-esteem and pride of accomplishment, since I don’t have a career outside the

home, that's probably the one thing that I am recognized for in this area ... It's the one thing that I really do. It's kind of a career of sorts ... If anyone asks me what I do, I always get around to being a clogging teacher.

Some other dancers who said that clogging was important to their self-image did not rate the clogger identity in terms of other identities. Instead, they explained the aspects of the clogging identity that were important to them. For example, Alan emphasized his views on the positive characteristics of clogging, such as exercise and communicating with others. He said that clogging was

very important. As I say, it's the major form of exercise for me ... But beyond that, it's probably one of the most positive things that I not only look back on but also I look to the future for it ... I see it as a real means to open yourself up to people, to relate to people on a personal basis. It's a source of income if you need it to be, if you want to teach classes ... I think it has made all of us better prepared as far as meeting and addressing the public and sharing in a more public way. I just think it offers all kinds of opportunities for someone who enjoys clogging.

Jessica's identity as a clogger is important to her because it represents continued youth and vitality in her life. She stated,

It's very important ... I've tried to keep a vital interest in my appearance. Not appearance as being beautiful but appearance as being energetic and vital and interested in life and able to keep doing the things I want to do. I rather dread the day if I ever become stiff and immobile ... I know if I live another 20 years or so, I probably will but clogging is something that, with other physical activity, will keep you fit and young. So, it's important to me. It's very important to me.

Elizabeth believes that clogging is important to her self-image in terms of creativity. She responded,

It's really important to me. I'm not exactly clear on all the ways that it is important to me but I know that I need it for the joy of being able to dance and be creative. It makes me feel good that I can still do this ... It's just something in my soul, I don't know. It's really an integral part of me.

What does it mean to be a "clogger"?

While this question is not directly linked to the concepts in identity theory, I asked this question to discover how the dancers define the identity of a clogger. This definition reveals the meaning of clogging to these dancers and may help to establish the psychological centrality of the clogging identity.

Eight of the twenty cloggers responded that being a clogger means fun and enjoyment for them. For instance, Carol said, "It's just doing something that you enjoy doing. You're doing it

because it's something that you want to do, not because anybody is making you. It's just for the pure enjoyment of it." Jean also said that being a clogger means having fun and releasing stress. She stated,

It's something I enjoy. I have fun with it. On a bad day, if you can go clogging that night, you feel better after you come back. It kind of lets the stress out of you ... It's something for yourself, personally, more than anything else to enjoy and have fun with it.

Jessica believes that being a clogger means enjoying herself and enjoying the company of others. She said,

I think it means that you have an interest in life and an interest in the enjoyment of the good things in life, the fun things, being with other people. You have to really enjoy other people. When you're clogging, you're doing it as a group ... There is a great joy in living and being in communion with other people and doing something of a similar interest.

Some other dancers stated that being a clogger means giving to others through entertaining them. For example, Eileen said, "I like being able to do it for the elderly and the people who can't get out and see it ... I think it's being able to give some people some enjoyment." Susan also said that being a clogger means bringing joy to others. She responded, "It means to be involved in a group, to be able to perform for other people and carry on a tradition of clogging ... It means, hopefully, bringing joy to somebody else's life by letting them watch, as an entertainer."

Other cloggers believed that being a clogger means having their own time to build individuality. Kimberly said,

It gives me my own individuality. It lets me get away from the world ... Of course, when you have a husband and a child, you have no time to yourself. When you can get away and be somewhere and not have to worry about being a mommy or a wife or something, it's the biggest relief in the world to feel like you're your own person. You can do whatever for that hour, whatever you want to do. If you want to scream at the top of your lungs, you can do it while you're dancing.

Laura also stated that clogging "means enjoying myself, taking time out for myself, which a lot of people don't do. I take time out for other people too but sometimes people neglect themselves by doing things for other people ... It means a lot to me to clog."

Finally, some other dancers said that being a clogger means building strong relationships with others. For instance, Wendy said, "Well, the people I clog with are friends. I probably see these people here more than any other friends I have. I really miss them when I'm not here. So, I enjoy the companionship of it a whole lot." Alan explained how clogging means building family relationships for him. He stated, "For me, it's a real family outlet. It's something that my wife and I have done since before we were married." He also associates clogging with his two

daughters. In fact, the day his first daughter was born, he said,

[My wife] and I performed [at a show]. I was there until 7:30 p.m. [My wife] was there until about 5:30 and [our daughter] was born at 10 that night. So, it's been a real family thing for us ... to me, it's just been a real positive memory and one I hope to continue to have.

How much time do you spend clogging per week by yourself, apart from the regular meeting?

I asked this question to determine how much time the dancers spend in their role as cloggers. Stryker and Serpe (1994) found that time spent in a role depends on identity salience. The cloggers offered varied responses to this question. Their answers ranged from no practice time to practicing five and six hours per week. For instance, Tracy said, "I should practice a lot more than I do. I have to be honest ... I know that some people do practice and that's good but, I must say, I don't practice." Amy stated that she practices "maybe a couple of hours, ... when I'm going over steps in my mind." Christina practices "probably about four or five hours a week."

Many cloggers said that their practice time fluctuated according to upcoming performances or competitions or if they planned to teach a routine to the group. Elizabeth commented, "I'd say on average, [I practice] about an hour, an hour and a half. If I'm trying to hone a dance that I learned somewhere in order to teach it to the group, then I might practice two or three hours a week." Wendy also said,

I'm real inconsistent about practicing ... When I was doing my duet every year, I was practicing ... on a very weekly basis because we were always trying to put together routines for competition ... But since [the competitions have ended], I haven't been as actively practicing.

Do you know of anyone who has left the clogging group since you have been involved in the activity? What were some of the reasons why people left? Have you ever known of anyone who has "burned out" of clogging?

These questions relate to the concepts of identity salience and psychological centrality. These questions were asked in an attempt to reach the voice of former cloggers and to discover if there were cases in which other identities took precedence over their identity as a clogger. While it would have been more valuable to ask former cloggers about their reasons for leaving, this approach was not feasible for this study. Instead, I asked current members about those dancers who have left the group and what reasons they gave for leaving. I addressed burn-out in a separate question to make sure that the dancers considered it as a possible reason for leaving a group.

All of the cloggers interviewed knew of dancers who had left their group. The cloggers offered three common reasons given by the former members: (1) wanting more time for family, (2) employment, or (3) to join another group. The first two responses illustrate that another identity

took priority to his or her clogging identity. The last response shows that one's identity as a clogger was more important than the group identity that he or she received as being a member of one particular clogging group.

The most popular response involved family commitment of the clogger. Alison explained one aspect of family commitment. She said that "families, once they have kids, can't go a lot on weekends [for performances or competitions]. [Clogging] just becomes too big of a commitment with all these other things." Alan also stated,

For some people, [clogging is] just too much of a commitment, especially with performing and then later when our team got into competitions, they just did not feel that they could give the time because of families and other obligations.

Alan also mentioned that another common reason given by former cloggers involved their employment. He said,

With our teams over the years, I'd say ... if I had to pick a number one reason, it's probably job relocation. Over the years, we have had many, many professional people [in our group] With that avenue of personnel, a lot of them have relocated because of jobs. We've had a lot of people with the national park services who have had job transfers.

Kimberly recalled one member who left the group because her jobs did not leave enough time to be involved in clogging. She said, "At the time, she was working two jobs and then she took on a third job. So, she just didn't have any extra time. She loved the class and she hated to leave."

The third most common reason that cloggers leave a group is to switch to another group. Jennifer explained that cloggers may switch groups in order to find a group which is more suitable to his or her needs as a clogger. She said,

Some people have left the group because they felt that they wanted to increase their skills and they felt that the team held them back. So, they tried to find a different team at a different skill level. That happens a lot of times with your younger kids. I can understand that if you have a young child or teenage person dancing with an adult team, sometimes it holds them back. So, they needed to find somebody more on their skill level. After all, they have more energy.

When asked if any former cloggers stopped dancing because of burn-out, half of the cloggers believed that burn-out was a factor in cloggers' leaving the activity. For example, Jennifer said, "We have found sometimes that people have literally burned out. If you do a lot of the same dances over and over and you don't learn anything new, some of your people burn out." Alison also knew some cloggers who experienced burn-out, including herself. She stated, "I know some that have just quit cold turkey. They were dancing and doing everything, all the shows. There have been times when I was ready to quit just because I had gotten tired of it. Then, we would shift our focus of clogging or do something else."

Some cloggers who mentioned burn-out felt that these dancers would not abandon clogging permanently. They felt that cloggers who left the group because of burn-out were only taking a break from the activity. For instance, Laura said,

I know of some people who have gotten burned out with clogging simply because they were too involved and did too much too quick. I know some people who have left but have come back. So, it was just a break for them. I don't know of anyone who has just stopped and quit just because they got burned out. A lot of people get burned out but they come back.

Christina also felt that burn-out was only temporary. She stated, "Yes, [I have known someone who just burned out of clogging]. I think that, once they stay out a little while, they will probably get back into it. They would miss it."

Summary of Clog Dancers and Identity

In this study, I asked the cloggers questions regarding the four main concepts of identity theory: identity, identity salience, commitment, and psychological centrality. The first two questions addressed how the cloggers establish commitment to a clogging identity. Most of the dancers voiced a positive initial response to clogging, which illustrated the emergence of commitment to this identity. All of the dancers interviewed also said that they want to continue clogging. Through this other component of commitment, the cloggers' responses showed that they view future clogging experiences as positive and wish to continue the activity.

The next question focused on identity salience by asking the dancers if they discussed their involvement in clogging with others. All of the dancers interviewed stated that they talked about clogging with co-workers and friends. Most of the dancers told others how much fun the activity is and how much they enjoy clogging. Other dancers used clogging as a conversation icebreaker when meeting new people.

Responses to the fourth question reveal the psychological centrality of the dancers' clogging identity. All of the dancers stated that their identity as a clogger was important to them. Some of the dancers rated their identity as a clogger against other identities that they possess. Other cloggers revealed why their identity as a clogger was important to them and what the activity brought to their lives.

Responses to the fifth question reveal the meaning of a clogging identity to these dancers. These responses vary from enjoyment and giving to others to providing individuality and strong relationships. The cloggers derived different meanings from their identity as a clogger but each of the dancers viewed these meanings as valuable to their self-image.

The next question addressed the amount of time that cloggers spend in this role. Some of the dancers' responses imply that clogging is not very important to them because they spend no time practicing alone. However, this question only measures part of the concept of time spent in a role because it does not account for time spent in the regular group meetings. It also excludes time that the dancers spend in their clogging roles during group performances and competitions.

Finally, the last question focused on aspects of psychological centrality and identity salience, such as surfacing of identities according to the salience hierarchy. When asked about other cloggers' reasons for leaving the activity, the dancers' responses illustrated the importance of a salience hierarchy. Their reasons for leaving clogging showed how other identities were ranked higher on their salience hierarchy, such as work or family identities. The responses also showed how an identity as a clogger may be more salient than an identity as a specific clogging group member.

While I did not ask a specific question regarding the temporal aspect of identity acquisition for these dancers, it can be inferred that there is no set time associated with achieving a clogging identity. Twelve of the twenty cloggers stated in the last chapter that becoming a clogger is a gradual process. Four other dancers believed that a clogging identity was formed following a rite of passage, such as joining a group or completing one's first performance. These rites of passage occur at different times for each individual dancer. Finally, the remaining cloggers stated that this experience varies for each individual.

This part of my study adds to the literature involving identity theory and leisure. Along with the literature review, my study illustrated that Becker's model of commitment appears useful in studying identity salience. The dancers interviewed here showed early commitment to the activity. Their identity as a clogger also appeared high on their salience hierarchy through their discussions of clogging with others. While many of the dancers interpreted the meaning of a clogging identity in different ways, they all believed that clogging was important to the way that they think of themselves. This illustrated how psychological centrality is important to how each dancer viewed the activity. It also showed that psychological centrality is based on the desirable traits that the dancers perceived in themselves due to clogging, such as youth and creativity.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

Leisure activities and their organization are important to sociology for many reasons. Kelly and Godbey (1992) argue that leisure is important to study because it comprises “an important sector of the economy, a significant dimension of the culture, and a major element of the interlocking social institutions of the society” (p. 1). In this study, I used Bryant’s (1972) conceptual framework for studying work and occupations to study leisure groups of clog dancers. Bryant’s (1972) framework, derived from structural functionalism and social systems theory, focuses on the social processes of work, such as recruitment, socialization, and identity. I approached this research project wondering if this framework from work and occupations could be used to understand leisure activities as well.

The purpose of this study was to discover how clogging groups recruit and socialize new members using Bryant’s (1972) framework. This study also examined the identity that is formed by joining a clogging group and the importance of this identity to the dancers. Specifically, the research questions, as proposed in chapter one, include (1) How do clogging groups recruit their members? (2) How are people socialized into their role as cloggers and group members? (3) Do the dancers form an identity as a clogger because of this activity? The answers to these questions have been discussed in chapters two through four and will be briefly summarized.

How do clogging groups recruit their members? The cloggers’ responses revealed that most of the dancers were influenced by social networks or media influence. However, other dancers stated that they were drawn to clogging after having studied other dance styles, such as tap and jazz. Some of the reasons why these dancers chose clogging over another leisure activity included their love of dance, exercise, and the camaraderie they found in their classes as beginner cloggers.

How are people socialized into their role as cloggers and group members? The cloggers experienced formal socialization in their clogging classes, where they were taught various dance steps. The dancers also learned other norms of clogging through informal socialization. These other norms included smiling, performing well for the audience, and dancing skillfully with other team members. Some dancers stated that these norms were emphasized by their dance instructors, while other cloggers learned them through watching other dancers or from audience feedback. Many of the dancers stated that cloggers are continually socialized because of the changing nature of the dance form.

Do cloggers form a special identity because of this activity? Using Becker’s (1973, 1960) definition of commitment, I asked the dancers how they achieved committed to their identities as cloggers. I also addressed the concepts of identity salience, psychological centrality, and time spent in the role as proposed by Stryker and Serpe (1994). The dancers in this study showed that their identities as cloggers have become an important component of their self-definitions. Since all of the dancers discussed their involvement in clogging with others, their identities as cloggers appeared to be salient. The dancers’ identities as cloggers also showed high levels of psychological centrality in that they all stated that clogging was important to the way that they think of themselves. Some dancers rated their clogging identity in terms of other identities, while other dancers emphasized the aspects of the clogging identity that were important to them.

Through their responses to these interview questions, I discovered that these dancers are very dedicated to clogging. Much like the amateurs in Stebbins (1979) study, these dancers are serious about clogging because of the gratification they receive from the activity.

While I studied recruitment, socialization, and identity separately, these concepts can be interrelated. Each concept can reinforce other concepts throughout the process of the framework. For instance, a dancer's enthusiastic smile and audience projection, learned through socialization, could encourage recruitment of new dancers at performances. Also, a clogger who talks to friends and co-workers about their clogging experiences, due to salient identity formation, could increase recruitment of dancers through social networks.

While this study revealed a wealth of information about cloggers and clogging groups, it does have limitations relating to its qualitative nature. My previous experience as a clogger provided easier access to clogging groups due to prior social networks in the activity. This study may be difficult to replicate because of individual differences between researchers and subjects as well as variations in time and context. Marshall and Rossman (1995) argue that qualitative research is not replicable because "the researcher purposefully avoids controlling the research conditions and concentrates on recording the complexity of situational contexts" (p. 146). This study also cannot be generalized to populations of participants in other leisure activities. It has been designed specifically to address cloggers and their personal views. However, the results of this study may shed light on other leisure activities in that the same process of analysis can be applied to the study of other leisure groups.

I found that Bryant's (1972) framework from work and occupations is useful for studying leisure groups. Occupational and leisure groups rely on the same processes of recruitment, socialization, and identity to incorporate new members into the group's existing structure. While these concepts have been used in other studies of leisure groups, none of the studies that I found used the entire framework to study the same group. Using the three concepts of recruitment, socialization, and identity to study clogging groups provides a clearer picture of the dancers' leisure experiences.

What are the implications of this study for clogging groups? Based on my findings, clogging groups are successful in recruiting new members through social networks as well as the media. Clogging groups may entice new members by using the media to emphasize the unique qualities of clogging that attracted other members, such as exercise, fellowship, and love of dance. The groups may advertise these qualities through posters and newspaper ads.

Concerning socialization, the cloggers in this study stated that their clogging classes were very small, casual, and relaxed. This atmosphere allowed the dancers to feel comfortable and learn steps at their own pace. Many of the dancers learned other aspects of clogging, such as smiling and projecting a positive attitude to the audience, by observing the performances of other dancers. Clogging groups could incorporate this into the socialization process by recommending that new members simply observe the performances of more experienced dancers prior to their first performance. Nevertheless, much informal socialization involves participation of the new member. For instance, a new clogger can only learn to be a team dancer through performing with other team members.

Regarding identity, these dancers illustrated the salience of their clogging identities through discussing their involvement in clogging with others. All of the dancers also stated that their identity as a clogger was important to them. This shows the psychological centrality of their clogging identities. I do not believe that the clogging group can directly influence the salience or centrality of the clogging identity due to other factors, such as members' other identities. Regarding time spent in their roles as cloggers, many dancers stated that they practice very little on their own. This implies that they enjoy the camaraderie of dancing with others during the weekly team practices. I would be hesitant to encourage clogging groups to meet more often than once a week, unless the team were preparing for an important competition or performance. The teams I interviewed seemed satisfied with weekly meetings and more meetings could increase burn-out. For example, as Laura stated, "I know of some people who have gotten burned out with clogging simply because they were too involved and did too much too quick."

In order for clogging groups to promote commitment to a clogging identity, I recommend using Becker's (1973, 1960) model of commitment. Based on Becker's (1973, 1960) model, the questions regarding commitment in this study revealed that these dancers viewed clogging as a positive experience from the beginning of their involvement in the activity and plan to continue clogging into the future.

This study shows how the use of conceptual frameworks across fields can help sociologists to better understand people's experiences. By using this conceptual framework from work and occupations to study clogging groups, this study shows that recruitment, socialization, and identity are concepts that can be studied in any type of leisure group that wishes to maintain and increase membership. By asking group members open-ended questions about such issues, we discover how group members value their affiliation with the group as well as the identity that they receive by being a group member.

