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Street Team Member Socialization

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STREET TEAM MEMBER SOCIALIZATION

by

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ABSTRACT

Street teams are grassroots efforts built from the ground up by people who have a vested interest in promoting a band or event. They are also made up of people who are passionate about what they do. This study investigated the socialization process of street team members from the investigation stage to obtaining full membership. It also identified the outcomes of socialization. In this study, 15 street team members were interviewed and observations were made at concerts and street team events over an 11-month period. Results indicated that although there are similarities in the socialization process among street team members, they actually belong to three different types of street teams.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, pop music groups created interest in their product through publicity techniques such as posters, radio and television ads, and fan clubs. A more modern form of publicity has recently developed called street teams. Street teams are a popular and inexpensive form of marketing used mainly for music advertising comprised of volunteers. A street team member's responsibility may include such formal and informal promotion as telling friends about tour dates, handing out fliers on street corners, selling band merchandise at shows, and running websites. There is not much literature that examines the emergence and history of street teams. Although they are becoming a popular form of marketing for the music industry, internet searches reveal that street teams emerged from rap and hip-hop campaigns, which put fans on the streets to market shows. While the emerging of street teams is obscure, these organizations can now be found all over the internet.

Many companies, such as OnPointMarketing.com and TheBooth.net, recruit online for street team volunteers. These companies not only serve the music industry, but also offer street teams for other types of organizations. Street teams remain a mainstay for musicians, especially independent musicians, who look to build a fan base, but lack money for advertising. Increasingly, street teams are replacing traditional fan clubs because they are made up of the same fan base. However, there are fan clubs and band organizations that take on all the responsibilities of a street team, but have not adopted the term. These non-traditional fan clubs can be considered street teams.

While it may seem a logical step from fan to street team member, being a member of a street team may require more involvement than a traditional fan club. For example, joining a fan

club might require a donation or simply putting your name on a list, but street team membership often requires providing services instead of monetary compensation. So, why are these fans so dedicated, especially on a local level? My research examines why people join street teams to understand how membership operates in the street team.

In chapter two, I will review the relevant literature on this topic. While there aren't studies on street teams directly, I will discuss the groupie lifestyle and a framework for this study. In chapter three I discuss the research questions that guided this study, the methods used in this research, and my sample. Next, I examine my findings and explain how the framework used to explore street teams fits in the situation of the groups studied. Finally, I end my paper with some conclusions about street teams. My findings indicate that it is not a simple matter of being a groupie, but these members show different levels of commitment over time.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Local street teams and fan clubs have almost become synonymous, so I will begin my discussion with research literature on fans. The select, ultimate fans that will do anything for a band, including advertising help, are called groupies. The term "groupie" dates back to at least the 60's, and "is a term usually used to refer to a young woman who follows rock groups around on tours" (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000:350). Many members of local rock band street teams seem to be as dedicated as groupies and provide similar support. My research will focus on these people in order to explore why the street team culture appeals to them.

The definition of groupie is succinct and doesn't include all of the activities in which people involve themselves for the band. A more complete idea of the concept can be found in the words of "super groupie," Pamela Des Barres. In her autobiography, *I'm With the Band: Confessions of a Groupie* (1987), Des Barres recounts her life chasing after and caring for rock stars whose fame ranges from local nobody to Jimmy Page of *Led Zeppelin* to Mick Jagger of the *Rolling Stones*. Des Barres (1987), quoting from her personal journal, recounts her excitement for her first opportunity to become a fan club president. "Vic asked me to be the local president of the Beefhearts fan club! Out of a million girls, he picked me!" (Des Barres 1987:38). This might be an indication of how a person would feel about being on a street team in present time.

Being a fan club president or a street team member means supporting a band and its members much like a cheerleader would support a team and its players. According to Eder and Parker (1987), girls and boys learn to perpetuate traditional gender roles through cheerleading and sports. Males are celebrated and the center of attention, while females play a supporting role. Eder and Parker (1987) show this in a study of middle school student athletes. While male

athletic events, specifically basketball and football games, were highly attended, there were never more than 25 students at female athletic events. The only way for a female student to be visible was to be a cheerleader. Cheerleaders are seen at pep rallies and games. This situation means that females can only be visible when supporting males. Visibility is extremely important, though, because it is related to popularity (Eder and Parker 1987). Eder and Parker (1987) noticed that values, such as appearance, that were important in cheerleading also became important in peer interaction. Thus, the cheerleaders became the popular girls.

The male and female relationship is similar between a musician and street team member. The team members support the band members by performing tasks and promoting the band. The band is in the limelight. People buy tickets and come to see the band. Street team members are only visible when performing supporting tasks such as handing out flyers or running a merchandise booth.

Des Barres (1987) also explains that being around all of these musicians gave her a sense of belonging. The culture that surrounded them gave her meaning. The first time she realized this was while she was protesting the demolition of a hot nightspot on Sunset Boulevard, the rock and roll club Pandora's Box. "I felt like I *belonged*, united with a thousand other kids, protesting what THEY were doing to US " (Des Barres 1987:44). Her account appears to resemble the feeling of belonging that the Deadheads, fans/groupies for the Grateful Dead, reported experiencing in their own subculture. Deadheads, however, reported being bound to each other through spiritual feelings experienced at Grateful Dead shows. Deadheads placed an emphasis on these experiences. A true Deadhead is a part of the show and does not rely on secondhand

knowledge, such as a magazine article that covers a concert or an account from a friend (Pearson 1987).

For the most part, it isn't enough to just belong to the subculture. There are goals for the groupie to reach, which Des Barres (1987) identified. First, she wanted to be the ultimate "rock 'n roll girlfriend". At one point, she had accomplished this with guitar player Jimmy Page. "I was on the left side of the stage where Jimmy entranced eighty thousand Led Zeppelin maniacs … The wild-eyed girls looked up at me and wondered which member of the group I was sleeping with, and I was so proud" (Des Barres 1987:161). Second, she aspired to be famous herself. "I wanted to act, I wanted to sing, I wanted to do SOMETHING creative to get myself shoved into the vast public eye" (Des Barres 1987:213).

This type of goal isn't just indicative of Pamela Des Barres. The buckle bunnies have similar aspirations. Their relationship is to bull riders what groupies are to musicians. The bunnies are concerned with attaining status, which is achieved by sleeping with the "best" cowboys. This helps to determine the most successful bunny in her field. The buckle bunnies' ranking of the cowboys has a two-fold purpose. First, the bunnies rank the cowboys in order to choose who is worthy of their attention. In other words, which cowboy is the "best" cowboy. Generally, bunnies prefer riders in the more challenging and exciting events. This involves image and popularity as additional factors, as well as the official rodeo rankings. A cowboy needs to be successful in order to warrant the attention of buckle bunnies. Status symbols such as championship buckles and jackets are explicit concrete objects that help rank cowboys. Second, the bunnies use the cowboy rankings to rank themselves. The bunnies add up their points and the girl with the most points has her travel expenses to the finals paid by the losers (Gauthier and

Forsyth 2000). Although equivalent products (buckles and jackets) are not prominent with the rock and roll groupies, this seems to relate to the rock and roll groupie scene as well. The ultimate rock star of her time was Mick Jagger, so Des Barres (1987) considered herself the ultimate groupie for getting to spend time with him.

Groupies of any kind don't reach ultimate groupie status automatically, by chance or with luck. It takes a lot of hard work and dedication. Des Barres (1987) started her career as a teenager trying to follow the Beatles around, making an attempt to sneak a glimpse of the British pop band. As she got older, she was a staple presence in the front row of every local rock show. By her early 20's, she was making shirts for more famous rockers. Eventually, Des Barres took her position on the road. She flew cross-country and even overseas to tour with bands or meet with musicians. She was arm-candy for some of the greatest rock musicians of her time. Jimmy Page, lead guitarist for Led Zeppelin, sent her a plane ticket to fly to New York. She was to be the pretty-girl groupie on the arm of Jimmy for a few days. Des Barres (1987) re-caps the experience, "The next three days on the road with Led Zeppelin were classic rock and roll heaven; I was exactly what I had always aspired to be: the girlfriend of the lead guitar player in the world's biggest and best rock and roll band. I was the only girl allowed backstage" (161).

Research shows that Grateful Dead fans go to similar lengths for their band. Their followers are called "Deadheads." Deadheads try to make as many shows as possible, and usually make one to two far away trips per year. "It is common for Deadheads to travel thousands of miles without means of admission, and there is always a large contingent of fans who arrive at concerts without tickets, yet believe tickets will appear" (Pearson 1987:427).

Buckle bunnies behavior is similar. They plan their vacations around the larger rodeos and make it to as many rodeos as possible (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000).

The fans' dedication does not stop at travel. The literature indicates that Deadheads had their own infrastructure of communication ranging from informal networks to more official outlets like *Relix*, a magazine dedicated completely to the Grateful Dead. Because Deadheads would regularly tape the live shows, areas at the shows were reserved just for this purpose. This was known as the "taper phenomenon." Deadheads tape the live shows and then share the tapings with other Deadheads to re-live the experience (Pearson 1987). These dedicated behaviors are also seen in buckle bunnies. In order to come into contact with the bull riders, bunnies will wait in rodeo alleyways that the participants use to get to their competitions, at the gates of the cowboys' sponsor tents, which are exclusive to the participants, and even at the events' host hotels where the contestants sleep. Many of them house the cowboys themselves, letting them stay in their hotel rooms or homes. Some bunnies even act as surrogate spouses while the cowboys are traveling (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000). Groupies are so dedicated to be with the best (the most famous musician or most successful bull rider), which leads them to compete with each other.

A specific example of Des Barres illustrates the groupie competition. Des Barres (1987) experienced competition early on with her friend, Cynthia, who had a crush on Noel Redding, a musician that Des Barres knew. "She bit her lip with jealousy, hating me a little bit for having slept with him" (Des Barres 1987:129). After discovering Cynthia's crush, Des Barres promised to "avoid Noel Redding like the plague" (129). Eventually, Des Barres broke her promise and Cynthia never spoke to her again. An interesting measure of status and competition is also seen

in the behavior of the buckle bunnies. The previously mentioned point system is excellent evidence of status and competition. The buckle bunnies compete to attain status. They compete over the "best" cowboys in order to obtain the most points. Top status is achieved by having the most points and winning the trip to the finals (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000). Although there is emphasis on competition among groupies (sleeping with the best cowboy or being on the arm of the most famous rock star), groupies also tend to spend time with each other. Sometimes groupies even rely on each other.

The buckle bunny point system exists in a group situation. The purpose of gaining points is to achieve top status, that is, being the bunny who has been with the most successful cowboys. The top competitor only receives the prize of going to finals because the rest of the group (the losing bunnies) pays for her trip (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000). Pamela Des Barres experience also shows evidence of group support. Des Barres was part of a group called the GTO's, which was a group comprised of all-girls that was created by Frank Zappa. The girls used the group to further enhance their groupie status by getting backstage at rock shows. "The GTO's were the first organized groupies" (Alice Cooper as quoted in Des Barres 1987:121). The GTO's dabbled in writing and performing music, but the group was not very successful as a band. They were successful at hanging out with rock stars. After one GTO performance, the female members relentlessly worked on meeting the Jeff Beck Group, a British rock band, which included vocalist Rod Stewart. "After the concert, which left me panting, we went directly backstage and announced to anyone who would listen that the GTO's, Frank Zappa's all-girl group, were in the building and wanted to meet the Jeff Beck Group. We know no shame and were ready to let our newfound almost-fame do the talking for us. It worked, of course, and we realized that being in

our own group would bring in numerous extracurricular rewards" (Des Barres 1987:126). Street teams may or may not enlist groupies like Des Barres and the buckle bunnies, but members do work together to meet the common goal of promoting and supporting the band.

Street teams reach this goal in a variety of ways, like handing out fliers, putting up posters, or handing out stickers, pins and t-shirts (Crow 2002; VanSlack 2007). This all can be done by a group of five to ten people who enjoy and believe in the band's music (VanSlack 2007). Since street teams can be relatively small, one possible approach to the structure and behaviors of street teams is to look at the work of Moreland and Levine (1982), who examined the structure and life cycle of groups. Their research includes a model of group socialization. "The model was designed to apply primarily to small, autonomous, voluntary groups whose members interact on a regular basis, have affective ties with one another, share a common frame of reference, and are behaviorally interdependent" (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001:87). This research will attempt to document whether or not these characteristics exist and the form they take. The model covers five stages that individuals experience as group members. These stages are investigation, socialization, maintenance, resocialization, and remembrance. The investigation, socialization and maintenance stages provide information on the prospective member, new member and full member, respectively (Moreland and Levine 1982).

During the investigation stage, the individual and the group evaluate whether or not to establish a relationship (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001). Both must go through an evaluation process before an offer of membership and acceptance will occur. During the evaluation process, there is an emphasis on conformity to group norms. These expectations "are based on the group's own characteristics, the environment in which the group operates, and the characteristics of the

person under evaluation" (Moreland and Levine 1982:142). Expectations can be the same for all individuals or vary by each individual seeking membership. Individuals who are seeking the same role within the group are evaluated by the same expectations (Moreland and Levine 1982). The group is "looking for individuals who might contribute to the attainment of its goals" (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001:88). Of course, not every evaluation process ends with an offer of membership or acceptance. Those who do become members often are inclined to do so because of the rewards they enjoy or expect from being part of the group (Moreland and Levine 1982).

According to Levine, Moreland and Choi (2001), once an individual becomes a new member of a group, the socialization process begins. During this process, the group attempts to assimilate the member in order to maximize her contribution to the group's goal attainment. In turn, the member attempts to change the group to meet her needs. Both the group and the individual adjust to each other (Moreland and Levine 1982). Additionally, the more a potential member puts into joining a group, the more that member will like the group. "Individuals who go through a severe initiation to gain admission to a club or organization should tend to think more highly of that organization than those who do not go through the severe initiation to gain admission" (Aronson and Mills 1958:177). If commitment levels of the group and new members reach acceptance, then the maintenance phase begins (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001).

In the maintenance phase, the group finds a specialized role for the member (i.e. secretary, treasurer, etc.). This role is meant to maximize the member's contributions to the group. In addition, the member is looking for a role that maximizes his own satisfactions. If the role satisfies both parties, then both the member and the group maintain their respective

commitment levels. However, if the role fails to do so, both parties diverge, and the resocialization phase begins (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001).

Resocialization resembles the socialization phase in that the group tries to assimilate the member again. The group may also try to accommodate the member depending on the needs of both the member and the group. Basically, the socialization phase is repeated and a new specialized role is found in order to restart the maintenance phase. If resocialization fails, the member exits the group and remembrance begins (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001).

In remembrance, the group recalls the member's contributions and the member reminisces about how the group satisfied her needs. The group may use the memory of these contributions to develop their own traditions. Both parties' evaluations of one another will influence how they retain their relationship and commitment (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001).

Two important factors of Moreland and Levine's (1982) model are time and commitment. According to Levine, Moreland and Choi (2001:87) commitment is "the outcome of the evaluation process." A group that has high levels of commitment toward an individual are likely to do three things: feel positively toward the individual, attempt to fulfill the individual's needs, and keep that person as a member. An individual who has a strong commitment to the group will also feel positively toward the group, attempt to reach the group's goals, and maintain membership. Since the evaluation process is continual, levels of commitment will change over time, as will the relationship between the group and the individual.

This study looks at the socialization processes of street teams by discovering the evaluation process and the rewards that are enjoyed by members. This study will also attempt to identify any initiation procedures that may encourage socialization and attachment to the group.

The focus will remain on the first three phases: investigation, socialization and maintenance, because the subjects will be current members. It is unlikely that the members will have experienced resocialization and they definitely will not have entered the remembrance phase because members of these latter phases spend less time with the team or have diverged from it altogether.

Finally, this study attempts to identify the outcomes of socialization, like whether members of street teams are mainly concerned with supporting the band or supporting their fellow members. According to Eder's (1985) study on interpersonal relationships among adolescent girls, it is often assumed that most girls are concerned about their popularity with boys, but girls are actually very concerned about their popularity with other girls. This finding can be seen among cheerleaders, one of the groups that Eder (1985) studied. Although cheerleaders are cheering for football and basketball teams composed of males, the girls are actually more concerned about having a positive relationship with the other cheerleaders. One of the reasons that cheerleading and having a positive relationship with cheerleaders is so important is popularity. Eder (1985) discovered that status and popularity were very important to females. As discussed before, according to Des Barres (1987) and Gauthier and Forsyth (2000), status is important to rock groupies and buckle bunnies.

There are two questions that this study intends to investigate based on the aforementioned research. 1) How are members socialized? This question will be answered using Moreland and Levine's stages as a guide. This study intends to concentrate on investigation, socialization (including initiation rituals), and maintenance (including specialized roles). 2) What are the outcomes of socialization?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

To better understand the relationship among street team members and between members and the band, I will use Moreland and Levine's (1982) conceptual approach to group socialization to learn more about groups and explore how they behave.

Research Questions

This primary purpose of my research is to explore street teams to understand more about interactions between group members. First, I explored how members are socialized, by using Moreland and Levine's (1982) model as a guide. This took place in three subparts:

a) I studied the process that prospective members and street teams use in order to investigate each other prior to membership. I focused on how the prospective members and group evaluate one another, and how entry into the group is accomplished.

b) I studied the socialization process after entry has occurred. I explored how a member assimilates into the group and how the group accommodates the individual, until both have accepted each other and full membership begins.

c) I explored how specialized roles are obtained and maintained. I concentrated on how the individual contributes to the group and what the group provides the individual.

Second, I studied the outcomes of the socialization process. I focused on exploring commitment and sought to understand how time and commitment relate to each other.

Data

In order to accomplish the goals of my research, I used two data collection methods. Pearson (1987) used a form of participant observation in his study, and I used the same approach

in order to study three types of street teams (see also Eder 1985). Pearson (1987) found that using informal, "naturally occurring conversations" to collect data proved to be superior to formal interviewing techniques in his study of Deadheads. Most of his data came from interactions with Deadheads at Grateful Dead events. Pearson's (1987) research emphasized the experiential rather than more formal methods. The second method used in examining street team structure and processes was in-depth interviews with street team members, administrators within the street team, and band members involved in organizing their street team. Gauthier and Forsyth (2000) used a combination of observation and interviews in their study of rodeo groupies.

An interactionist approach was used when collecting data. I collected accounts from street team members during interviews and conversations during observations. Accounts are explanations of what went on after the event has already happened. They attribute cause, explain behavior, and depend on the definition of the situation at the time given (Charon 2007; Scott and Lyman 1968). I treated all of the interview responses as accounts. I honored the accounts as the truth, but they are explanations of behavior after the fact and were treated as such (Scott and Lyman 1968). I analyzed the accounts with attention to the role of the individual and the norms of the street team in order to examine my research questions.

IRB approval of all methods and techniques was obtained before data collection began.

Sample

The sample was a purposive, snowball sample of the most willing participants from several street teams. The sample consisted of members who belong to a street team, or band members based out of Orlando, Florida. Members of all levels of involvement were asked to participate. Members from several street teams were studied. Studying only one team might have

drastically skewed the results. I conducted 15 interviews. Six interviewees were either band members who helped run their street team or were administrative members of the team. The other 9 participants were street team members who did not have a specific title. Fourteen participants were male, and one was female. The female participant was a band member who helped start her band's street team. Participants ranged from age 18 to mid-thirties. Interviews were recorded and transcribed prior to coding. Interviewees were given pseudonyms and the transcripts were kept in a locked file on a laptop in order to protect the participants' privacy.

Additional data were collected by participant observation to learn more about the experiences of street teams. I participated in several street-team oriented events over an eleven-month period. Since one street team whose members I interviewed was on a hiatus due to the band taking off time to record an album, I attended other events recommended by the street team members. I attended ten events during the eleven-month window. I attended two concerts for the band supported by one street team, four marketing events with another, and four concerts for bands with groupies and team members in attendance. According to Pearson (1987), multiple events must be attended in order to get an experiential understanding of the group. I participated in group activities to understand their experience more fully. The goal of attending these events was to study street team member interaction as well as street team/band member interaction. I participated in these events and talked to street team members in addition to studying their behavior. The data collected during these observations will fell under three categories, 1) interactions with the band, 2) interactions with other street team members, and 3) identifying characteristics (i.e. band logo attire, accessories, etc.). In addition to observations and conversations, I asked team members questions to clarify events during the observations. This

included, but was not limited to, jargon, routine tasks, and ritual or repeated actions. As needed, I took notes on my cell phone in order to keep data fresh in my mind. Directly after each event, I expanded the notes at home on my personal computer. All of these notes were password protected on both devices.

Research began the first week in December of 2009 by identifying potential street teams and contacting members through band pages on MySpace and Facebook, as well as meeting people at concerts. The first street team studied responded from an initial list of 20 bands contacted via MySpace. The first interview was conducted in December one week after contact was made. Two concerts were attended in regards to this band, one in February 2010 and the second in April 2010. None of the other bands from the initial list of 20 responded after a follow up, so I recruited help from a former band manager. The former manager contacted over 50 people via Facebook and text message by April 2010. One person who used to work for a local radio station responded with two names and email addresses. I contacted them immediately with no response. I followed up in May 2010, with no response. I attended several concerts in the summer of 2010 in hopes to recruit more subjects. Many bands had disbanded their street teams due to inactivity or new management. At the end of the summer I ran into the former radio station personality at a concert. This time, I got a phone number. I called to schedule interviews, and the first interview was scheduled in August 2010. I conducted interviews with seven members of this street team, and "hit the streets" with them for four marketing events. The administrator of that street team gave me the number for a band member of what would become my final team. I interviewed four members of that band involved in the street team and three street team members from their team, who also have participated in other teams. Since there

were no events scheduled for that team, I went to concerts recommended by the members to see some in action. The study of this team and attendance at those concerts occurred from September 2010 to December 2010.

Measures

There are two important terms that need to be conceptualized for the purpose of this research: groupie and street team.

A groupie is considered as any person who follows a rock group on tour (Gauthier and Forsyth 2000). Since the bands associated with the street teams being studied may not leave Orlando, groupies in these instances are defined as any person who regularly attends the band's shows.

A street team is defined as an organized group dedicated to the marketing of a specific, local, rock and roll band or event. This is based on various descriptions of street teams that advertise online. Any member of this group is referred to as a street team member.

Analysis

I used an inductive-based analysis using Moreland and Levine's (1982) model as a guide. I recorded all of the interviews, and created a transcript of each recording. I also typed field notes and memos for easier analysis. I analyzed the interviews and notes using open coding to find different themes that emerged within each variable as they relate to my analytic strategy.

Specifically, after making multiple copies of my transcripts and field notes, I highlighted sections that provided evidence to explain the investigation, socialization, and maintenance stages of Moreland and Levine's (1982) model in regards to street teams. I also highlighted

sections that provided evidence for the outcomes of socialization. After the initial coding, I

further reviewed my data to discover relationships amongst the accounts of different team

members.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Typical Members

There are two characteristics that make street teams effective and an ideal form of marketing, according to their members. Street teams are grassroots efforts that are built from the ground up by people who have a vested interest in promoting a band or event. They are also made up of people who are passionate about what they do. This passion, or interest, in a particular band or music in general, is the common thread among all street team members and can affect the commitment of the teams' members. Many members begin as groupies and end up involved in, starting, or running a street team. There are several characteristics that further describe typical street team members, which contribute to passion and commitment.

Many street team members begin as female fans or groupies that regularly attend a band's shows. Street team members are not exclusively female, however. Many street team members are made up of male fans. Male street team members actually stay in the street team longer, and are, thus, more productive members of street teams. They tend to be more committed to the team over a longer period of time. Male fans may use the opportunity to help with promotion as a way to get closer to the band, whereas female groupies can offer other incentives to gain access to the band, such as the sexual escapades of Pamela Des Barres (1987). One groupie I spoke to at a concert admitted to having a secret relationship with one of the members and explained that she was too close to the band member to be involved in promoting:

> I'm friends with the drummer. He asked me to hand out posters once, but I said no. That type of work is for groupies, and we're friends.

Although the girl did not consider herself a groupie, by definition according to this study, she is one. The female street team members in this study that did start as groupies were not very active and began to break away from the band over time.

Male street team members were much more likely to start out as fans and remain active members of the street team. The street team made them closer to the band, and they became friends as well as street team members. One member describes how he enjoys the street team more as time progresses and he becomes more involved now that he is more than just a fan:

> I've been enjoying it a lot more. Being out there first hand hanging out with these guys.

Age is also a factor that determines the commitment of a street team member. Female groupies that become street team members tend to be just out of high school. These members become disengaged or uninterested rather quickly, within a few months to two years. This is not unique to female members. While observing a street team passing out fliers to local businesses, the young male members rarely engaged with people at the businesses and usually kept to hanging up fliers or standing close to the front door as older members engaged employees and business owners. They expressed interest in the music, but lacked the passion in promoting that many members pride themselves on.

Older members, mid- to late-twenties, and even those in their thirties, are more passionate and experienced promoters. They have built their commitment to the team, or the music scene in general, over years. While observing the street teams, I noticed that the older members exude excitement when promoting or discussing their passion for the band or event. One member of a team promoting a music festival and car show was particularly exuberant in his promotion. He explained his excitement for the car aspect of the show:

> …going out and having an opportunity to stop at the different car shops and see other cars, you know, you see that stuff on TV, people building cars and motorcycles and stuff like that…I'm interested in this show and any other ones I'll be able to help with, you know, me being a car guy.

Older members also stay in street teams longer than the younger members. Some can keep up the intensity for four years or longer.

Many of the street team members I interviewed also have a musical background. Several members had been in bands that were either unsuccessful or had gained minimal local recognition. Others had been involved in the Orlando Fringe Festival, a local theater festival that exhibits many musical theater productions written by local playwrights. I interviewed one member in his apartment. Music was playing as I walked in, and several instruments were on display in the living room, such as a bass guitar. When I asked about the instruments, the member said that he dabbled in bass guitar, but had been playing trumpet since he was in his middle school band. Those members that have a music background tend to be more committed to the street team and their membership lasts longer, whether their background includes a moderately successful local career or they have just played on a personal level.

For other characteristics, there is no commonality among street team members. Street team members seem to have different levels of educational attainment, but most do not have advanced degrees, such as graduate-level degrees. Street team members also have different levels of income, and this can be a hard characteristic to explore. Since some street team members are just out of high school, it is likely they still receive income from their families, which could affect their ability to commit. Younger street team members may be able to spend more time on the street team because of the supplemental income. This may also help to explain the quick exit from the street team as members get older, but further exploration is necessary. Many of the

older street team members are employed in the local music industry, so commitment to the street team is more closely enmeshed with their business lives.

Phases of Group Membership

I used Moreland and Levine's (1982) model of group socialization, which is derived from the three psychological processes of evaluation, commitment, and role transition, to analyze the socialization process of street team members. Figure 1 shows the original illustration of Moreland and Levine's (1982) stages of membership. I focused on the investigation, socialization, and maintenance phases of the model. In the investigation stage, potential members and current members evaluate each other to determine whether they would like to establish a relationship. Potential members engage in "reconnaissance" where they look for groups that can meet their needs, whereas the group engages in "recruitment," or a search for members who can contribute to the group's goals (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001:88). This process of interaction involves adaptation by both the group and potential member. The evaluation process ends when both parties agree that their respective needs will be met, and the role transition of entry occurs.

Directly following entry, the socialization process begins. In the socialization process the group and the new member again must adapt to meet each other's needs (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). The group will try to assimilate the new member to meet its needs, and the new member will try to change the group to accommodate the member's needs. If both the new member and the group can adapt, then acceptance occurs and the member becomes a full member. At this point, the full member and group enter the maintenance phase. Both parties engage in role negation, where the group finds the member a role that will cater to its goals, and the member tries to enter into a role that maximizes his or her needs.

If the group fails to maximize the needs of the individual, or the individual doesn't fulfill the needs of the group, divergence occurs (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). At this point, the resocialization phase begins. Resocialization mirrors the socialization phase, with the individual and the group trying to adapt to each other's needs. If this process is successful, the member reenters the maintenance phase. If not, the member exits the group and remembrance begins.

In the remembrance phase, the individual reflects on the ways in which the group once satisfied this individual's needs (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). Similarly, the group recalls the individual's contributions to the group's goals, and these aspects are incorporated into their traditions. Since both the resocialization and remembrance phases occur after a member has passed through the maintenance phase, studying these phases are beyond the scope of this study, as new and full members were interviewed.

Among all of these phases, two important aspects are time and commitment. Commitment levels determine how the individual and the group feel about each other, whether they will work to satisfy each other's needs, and whether membership continues (Levine, Moreland and Choi 2001). Commitment levels change over time. According to Moreland and Levine (1982), as time increases for the new member, commitment will also increase until the group and individual can no longer satisfy each other's needs and commitment levels die off (Figure 1).

Moreland and Levine's (1982) model of group socialization parallels exchange theory. Exchange theory posits that people get what they need from others (Hewitt 2003). These needs include necessities such as food and shelter, but also include social capital such as status or approval. Molm and Cook (1995) describe four assumptions of exchange theory: (1) relations

develop within structures of mutual dependence, (2) people will adjust their behavior to obtain outcomes they want and avoid unwanted outcomes, (3) social relationships develop over time and strengthen through beneficial exchanges, and (4) beneficial outcomes become less valuable the more they are obtained.

These four assumptions can be incorporated with Moreland and Levine's (1982) model to study street team socialization. Street teams and their members are mutually dependent, behaviors are adapted by both the members and the group to maximize benefits, and the relationship between members and the group strengthen over time with beneficial exchanges. Members in the resocialization and remembrance phases could not be located, so Molm and Cook's (1995) fourth assumption could not be studied. The first three assumptions become apparent through the investigation of Moreland and Levine's (1982) first three stages: investigation, socialization and maintenance.
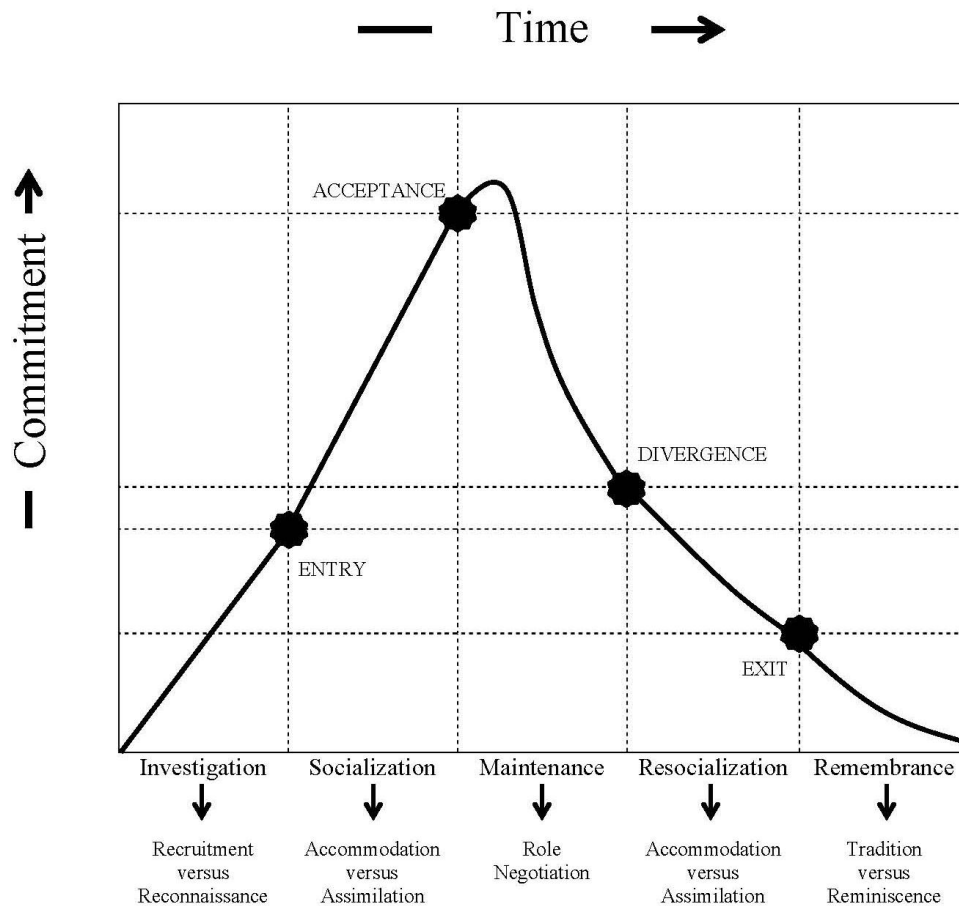
Figure 1. Moreland and Levine's five stages of membership.

Investigation

Potential group members begin investigating a group through the process of recruitment and reconnaissance (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). The exchange process begins in the investigation phase. Prospective street team members investigate whether the group can supply certain needs, and the group looks for individuals who can meet theirs. Most potential members are looking for a way to get closer to a particular band or the music scene in general. The group can provide a status upgrade for those who wish to become more important to the band or to the music scene. In turn, the individual provides a way for the band to get the word out; they

enhance their marketing strategy and breadth of their marketing area. Upon entry, the individual and the team become mutually dependent.

From the perspective of the potential member, investigation most often involves going to see a specific band in concert and becoming a fan. The reconnaissance aspect of this process involves prolonged exposure to the band, not the street team itself, through concerts and listening to their album. The process can take months, or can occur after the prospective member attends one or two shows. One current street team member recalls the show that made him want to become involved in the street team:

> The first, well, the second show was the most memorable more so than the first one. The second show was this tour here back in the next year down in The Social in Orlando. And it was their homecoming show. They had just gone all over the country and this was the last show. It was a sold out show in Orlando. And, like, I watch that video now from that show and I'll just get, like, teary eyed. I've been to well over two-dozen concerts and this was one of the best three of my life. Like, they just had so much energy, you know, I've never seen anybody else bring to the table what they did.

It was after that show that this member decided he wanted to help promote the band. Immediately following the performance he engaged the band members to discuss being involved.

> I asked. I said you guys are amazing. What can I do to be a part of what you're doing?

Some fans actually take matters into their own hands and start the street team themselves. One band member reports that they had not initially thought about starting a street team until the fans approached them.

> They were fans. Like once we started building momentum, like, they were the ones who were like oh, you know, you should start, you should start a street team and then you're like hey, will you run it for us? And they were like, yeah, and so that's kind of how it is.

Once these members started the street team, they were then the ones involved in recruiting more members. Not all potential members are so upfront about wanting to be involved, so the recruitment process is important for many street teams. Several members report a snowball effect in recruiting members.

> You recruit other people, like hey, would you like to post banners on Absolute Punk or would you like to post banners on Twitter, MySpace and stuff like that.

> It's like…Hey, who can you think of that likes this? You know, and you might know three people, and those people might know three people, and those people might know three people. So, at one time we had twelve people working for us throughout the day, which was great.

Even potential members who are primarily recruited still do some amount of reconnaissance. Once a current street team member introduces a potential member to a band or event the team is promoting, that member is responsible for investigating whether they want to be a part of the team before any official duties are placed on them. A street team manager explained that he often had people ask to be involved after another member had spoke to them, "Primarily individuals came in and they wanted to know how they could be involved." Ultimately, the individual can become involves as long as they are willing to put in time to promote the band or event. According to street team leaders, time and effort are the main components that determine whether or not the individual decides to join, or whether they get kicked out before the socialization process. If a member does not put in time and effort, it is impossible for them to socialize into the team.

Entry into the street team basically consists of a conversation between either a band member or organizing member of the team and the potential member after investigation has occurred. If both agree that this team would be mutually beneficial, the potential member

becomes a new member. Criteria for entry is generally lax, as previously mentioned, time and effort are the major factors. If the individual determines that their time and effort is worth what the group can offer, socialization begins. Street teams advertise membership as desirable by offering social capital. Members get access to the band or part of a community involved in the local music scene. It is during the socialization phase that members start to obtain the exchange of friendship or feeling of community.

Socialization

The socialization phase involves the exchange of needs through accommodation and assimilation (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). It is in the socialization phase where new members and the team adjust their behavior to obtain maximum beneficial outcomes. For the street team, the ultimate goal is to promote the band or event as efficiently as possible. They want to reach as many potential fans as they can. For the new member, the team needs to provide a status upgrade. The member must feel needed, as an integral part of the team. This can include a feeling of increased importance from other team members or from the band directly. If the member does not feel wanted or important, then their time will not be well spent, and the socialization process fails.

The socialization process usually begins with the team assigning a task to the new member in order to assimilate them into the group. This consists of social networking, passing out fliers or posting bumper stickers throughout an area where an event will take place. Organizing team members or band members will give the new member a packet with information involving the task. It can include posters, fliers, and information regarding specific businesses or areas to cover when promoting. Members are asked to get business cards or take

pictures of fliers in the areas they have advertised. The team also accommodates the member by offering official name badges, t-shirts, or even free tickets if the task is completed, increasing their sense of importance. If the task is not successfully completed, most often the member is dismissed from the group.

> I never really completed the original task I was assigned so because of that they were like we're sorry, we can't really use you anymore.

Sometimes the member is relocated to another position within the team. If he or she still cannot meet the needs of the group (i.e. put in the time and effort in their new role), the new member is dismissed.

> I tried to reposition a couple of those people into other roles before, you know, we just kicked them to the curb. Um, the reposition went okay. I think for the most part we've lost 3, 4 people out of the initial 15 or 20.

Some individuals tend to assimilate more than the group accommodates, with the exception of offering incentives for completing tasks. As one band member in charge of a street team puts it, "We're the boss and they just have to kind of help us out and listen and stuff." Other teams attempt to accommodate the individual by providing access or "hanging out" time with the band. Bands will make a point to hang out with street team members during a show and even after hours. While on tour, they will become completely immersed with their street team members' lives for the duration of their stay in that city. One band member explains:

> We meet new people and those people become guides or our friends. Um, it's just we're just out there every single day, trying to make the city our new home for a month.

Most of this one-on-one time occurs after the members have already entered the maintenance phase; the member assimilates in order to eventually achieve the opportunity to hang with the band.

If the initial socialization task is completed to the team's satisfaction, and the member remains excited and passionate about street team promotion, then the member enters the maintenance phase and becomes a full member. It is there that they achieve their full status as a member and gain importance within the team and to the band.

Maintenance

During the maintenance stage, social relationships are strengthened, and the group and individual determine the socialized members final role within the group (Moreland, Levine and Choi 2001). In the maintenance stage, role negotiation occurs. Moreland, Levine and Choi (2001) suggest that role negotiation involves a specific title, such as president, treasurer, etc. being bestowed on the socialized member. However, most street team members never earn such a title. Street team members that do acquire a role with a specific title, such as president or manager, are always founding members of the street team. Most street teams do have these roles, but some teams report solely to the band they are promoting. This does not indicate that role negotiation fails to occur. Even though most street team members do not have a title, band members or organizing team members often refer to full members as "lifers" or part of the "band family," which members find endearing. It is these casual titles that members associate with being a part of the team, or as having importance. The "lifers" or "band family" are the ones that obtain access to the band or friendship with the band members. New members often refer to full members as being in a position they would like to obtain. They want to be "like them." Full members are seen as the most important, integral, and outgoing members.

Although Moreland and Levine (1982) describe role negotiation and obtaining a role as part of their maintenance phase, a street team member's goal is to gain social capital in order to

obtain a status during their maintenance phase. Status is a defined position within a group, whereas roles are the behaviors one displays that are associated with that status (Merton 1968). The status that street team members obtain can't be defined with a position title like president or secretary (with the exception of the founding members), but full members definitely enjoy a heightened sense of importance. This is easier explained by comments from new members describing full members than it is by statements from the full members themselves. While some full members will describe the street team as "creating a community within a community," a "band family," or "people that get really passionate," others will say they're not involved on an "official level." However, this is not the case. Those who don't see themselves as official are often the most looked up to. They are very passionate and willing to help, but they don't see themselves as integral. New members are more likely to discuss "responsibilities" they have in order to stay part of the team. They also talk highly of the full members, and discuss their future with the team as "important" and bringing them "into a small world."

Another difference between new members and full members is their ability to shape their own roles. New members participate in the process of role taking and full members have the ability to construct their own roles, role making. "Role taking is the process wherein the person imaginatively occupies the role of another and looks at self and situation from that vantage point" (Hewitt 2003: 68). Role making, on the other hand, "is the process wherein the person constructs activity in a situation so that it fits the definition of the situation" (Hewitt 2003: 68). So, new members try and fashion their behavior and activities to match the needs of the street team by looking to the full members. Full members have more leeway; so, new members do not try to match the behavior, but look to social cues from the full members. Many street teams have

check in procedures to ensure that the promoting is getting done to the standards of the street team. It is during this time that new members will tell boastful stories of their promotion or explain away weak points to the full members. After their explanations, the new members will look for indications of approval. If they are met with approval, new members will continue the behavior. If not, they will alter their behavior at the next event.

Full members can make their own roles. That is, they have more social capital within the group; thus, they have the freedom to change their behavior to fit the situation or their own needs. Full members can be more lax at events and make more demands on the team, such as asking more effort of newer members or requiring more tickets to shows. Their effort does not necessarily decrease, but for some members it does. According to band members, some full members seem to become overly demanding and their involvement drops drastically. Other full members are often very entwined in the music scene and have a vested interest in the group's success, so their involvement remains constant. Since I did not interview any full members who were in the process of exiting the team, it was impossible to determine involvement of these members after role making had begun. It is obvious that role making occurs after the socialization phase is complete, and members have reached acceptance (Figure 2).
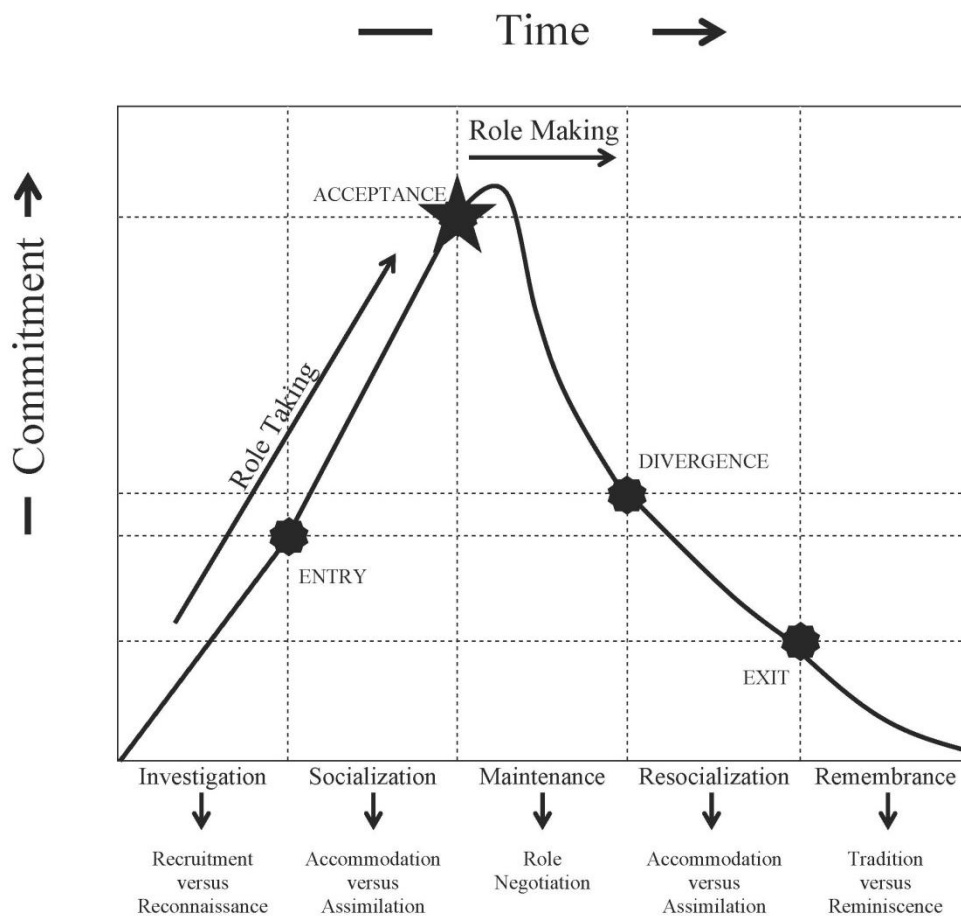
Figure 2. Role taking and role making of street team members.

Outcomes

Street team members report socialization outcomes other than simply becoming a full member of the street team. Outcomes are what members strive to obtain during socialization, and usually what attracted them to the team in the first place. Many outcomes reported involve getting "free stuff" like t-shirts and tickets offered during the socialization stage, which continue into the maintenance stage. The one common outcome among all street team members is being part of the "scene." The scene refers to the local music subculture that exists within the

community. This can include getting to hang out with the band they are promoting, being more active within the local music scene in general, or getting to meet new people who are part of the scene.

The common thread among all street team members is the outcome of being part of the scene. However, the scene is defined in different ways for different members. For street teams that promote one band in particular, the scene is the happenings that surround that particular band. This includes concerts, selling merchandise, promotions and special events (such as filming music videos), and hanging out with the band after concerts or on weekends. The latter is the most enticing for many street team members. As one full member states, the best part of the street team is "actively hanging out with [the band] and you know, they're great people." Other street teams promote mainly events with multiple bands, so their members report the sense of "community" they feel or getting to "meet new people."

As long as street team members feel a strong sense of community with the team, or friendship with the band, commitment levels will remain high. As time continues and street team members begin to find other important statuses in their lives, or no longer need the communal ties, commitment levels weaken and the member and group begin to diverge. For some, age seems to be an element of time. Those who start the street team young and begin to find other things to occupy their time, quickly separate from the street team, according to band members. Other street team members, especially ones with strong ties to the music scene in general, strengthen their commitment over time and fully enmesh themselves in the scene and with the team.

Although there are glaring similarities among street team members, there are distinctions among teams. The major finding of this study is the emergence of different types of street teams. One distinct difference in the following three street team types is the ultimate outcome of the team in general. They either die off, the members work themselves out of a job, or the team is integrated into the members' business lives and it becomes a career.

Street Team Types

Many street team members recall having similar experiences in their respective street teams, but I have identified three different types of street teams based on their organization, members, and membership process: the social networking street team, the traditional street team, and the professional street team. The type of street team a member belongs to greatly alters their experience and the process they take to become a full member. Table 1 shows how each group differs in the membership process.

Table 1. Phases of membership by street team type.

	Social Networking Team	Traditional Street Team	Professional Street Team
Members	Fans or Groupies Recruits from current members	Fans	Members of the Performing Arts Community Friends/acquaintances of current members
Investigation	Original members either start the team or are asked to start it Newer members are recruited	All members engage in reconnaissance to join Reconnaissance occurs at a concert or listening to an album	Members are recruited by founding members or current members
Socialization	Members are accommodated with free merchandise/tickets Members assimilate or are kicked out	Members are accommodated with free merchandise/tickets Members assimilate or are kicked out	Members assimilate into the street team community
Maintenance	Official titles are given	Access to the band	Tier 1 – Administrators Tier 2 – Leaders Tier 3 – Newer Members
Outcomes	Becoming part of the band family	Becoming part of the band family	Becoming part of the arts scene Becoming part of the street team community

Social Networking Team

Band members with no formal label looking to promote themselves produce the social networking street team. There is little to no thought about organization prior to the development of the team. One of the band members is the contact point for the high-ranking street team members. High-ranking members (president, vice-president, and secretary) are the original street team members. These officials are young fans that come to most shows and have shown an

interest in the band. Sometimes the fans pitch the street team to the band, and other times the

band organizes the street team and recruits the first members. This type of street team resembles

most closely a fan club. Although fans are given titles, these titles are rather informal, with the

exception that the president reports to the organizing band member. There are no formal

meetings, and members rarely promote in physical spaces. As the organizing band member of

one group puts it:

> It's simple. Street teaming is more social networking nowadays. It's not really
> like going to shows and how it used to be. It's a lot of social networking on
> Facebook, MySpace, Twitter, all that stuff.

In this type of street team, the investigation stage relies heavily on both reconnaissance

and recruitment. The original members were usually fans that wanted to become more involved.

Those members become recruiters. They identify people who may be interested in the band's

music, and try to involve them in the social networking scheme. The investigation stage always

involves the prospective member listening to the band's music, be it online, from an album, or in

person.

In the socialization phase, new members are often given some type of online advertising

task. This can include advertising on Facebook or MySpace, or posting a banner for an upcoming

show on various websites dedicated to music. While the socialization phase is heavily

assimilation-based (complete your task or your out), some incentives are offered, such as free

CDs or t-shirts.

Only the original members are given a title within the street team. They are the most

dedicated fans, even borderline groupies. As full members, they get more access to the band,

including the band members' cell phone numbers and email addresses. These members get full

insight to the music scene and get to hang out with band members outside of street team events and concerts. One band member admitted that he went to football games with members in addition to hanging out at concerts and after parties.

As the members' relationship with the band becomes less appealing, the commitment of these members degrades over a short period of time: several months to two years. Band members are often left with the task of social networking. Members may still post events on their Facebook pages, but they stop coming to shows, and eventually break with the band.

Traditional Street Team

The traditional street team is the typical street team as it is described online. These street teams usually have signed with a label and are actively recording or touring. They have the financial resources to be reimbursed for all of the marketing paraphernalia given to street team members. The band chooses to do all of the organization and recruiting themselves. One of the band members referred to the grassroots way of promoting:

> Years ago [we] started our own street team because of the fact that we weren't really happy with the way that labels or other people were doing things. We've always been pretty interested in a grassroots way of doing things because not only is it more effective, but we get to control a lot more of what's going on.

Typical team members are recruited online. This type of team relies heavily on reconnaissance. Potential team members show interest and reach out to the band members, not the other way around. Members are genuinely interested and excited by the band's music, and have a passion to help with promotion. These members are not usually located in the same vicinity as the band, but in other cities and states. Each city has a contact person who is in charge of receiving and distributing promotional items such as posters and bumper stickers. A member

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can become a contact person after successfully completing the initial socialization task. Each member receives a lanyard and badge indicating he or she is a street team member. Members then place posters and stickers around their city a month or two before an upcoming show.

Full members get complete access to the band members when the band tours in their city. They often house the band and become tour guides for the short time the band is in the city. Ultimately, these teams are usually very successful, and members can work themselves out of a job. One of the teams I was originally scheduled to research was subject to this fate. The band became successful enough to get professional management, who disbanded the street team. Members, who are involved in the music scene and not just with the band, can move on to the next type of team: the professional street team.

Professional Street Team

The professional street team doesn't qualify for Levine, Moreland and Choi's (2001) model of socialization as the group is made up of paid members instead of volunteers. This type of team is bureaucratic and the model still provides a good framework with which to discuss the formation of this team. Members are only minimally paid for their time or simply reimbursed for expenses such as gas needed to complete team tasks. None of the members refer to themselves as employees. Instead they refer to their interest in promoting and their passion for a certain event. The group still considers itself a grassroots form of promotion despite the corporate influence. This team even has the largest sense of community.

Members in the administrative roles started this marketing project, which includes, but is not limited to the street team. The administrators were originally involved in the performing arts community in Orlando, whether it be through acting or music. They brought in their friends from

this community to form the street team, who brought their friends, and a snowball effect occurred. Anybody who was interested and passionate about the event was invited to join.

All of the members of the professional street team refer to the team as a "little community," but through my observations, I identified three tiers within this type of street team. The first tier is made up of the originating members who have specific managerial roles. The second tier are members that were recruited by the original members, have known the members for years, and have a history within the local music and arts scene. The third tier is the largest, and made up of full members involved in role negotiation. That is, they are trying to obtain the status held members of the first and second tiers. The first and second tiers often hang out outside of street team activities. The goal of the third tier is to enter into the second tier. They want to be fully involved in the "scene" and want to be invited to other events with the first and second tier members. It seems that the only way for them to accomplish this is time. Most of them go above and beyond in promoting their event, but haven't been fully integrated with the other members. Third tier members spend six to eight hours a day promoting for up to five or six days a week. During one of my observations with a professional street team, I was invited by one of the first tier members to join them for breakfast before a day of promoting. Only first and second tier members where invited. The third tier members sat on the curb outside the company's building until the other members arrived, despite the fact that they were over 30 minutes late. When told that the other members were at breakfast, the third tier members made some jokes about not being invited, but none of them where actually upset or insulted. The third tier always talked highly of the first two.

The goal of the third tier street team members is to enter into the second tier. It is likely that this could happen, provided that the members make the team a priority. However, it is highly unlikely that the second or third tier could ever reach the first. The first tier is not only made up of the managerial staff, but these members have been fully enmeshed in the Orlando music scene for most of their lives. They have made promoting the Orlando music scene a priority due to their passion and commitment for music in general. All of the members of the first tier have a history with the scene, whether it is former membership in a moderately successful band, involvement in the Orlando Fringe Festival, or being a former radio personality. The people in this tier have more power to negotiate their role within the team and in the music scene. They are the go-to people in the Orlando music and performing arts scene, or the major players.

Figure 3 shows the Orlando Performing Arts scene. The members of first tier of professional street team are the major players. They are well known in both the music and theater scenes of Orlando. The second tier members can be fully involved with either the music or theater scene, but not both. They can also be "outliers" of both scenes. The outliers are people who are closely connected to people in either scene and tangential to the success of major events. They may perform in musical theater or be invited to play in a musical event, but they are not the ones who organize or plan the events. They help the events happen by providing services and even promotion, but they are not integral to the launch of the event. Third tier members are the fans. They are highly interested in local events, and may attend several of them, but they do not have the experience to perform.
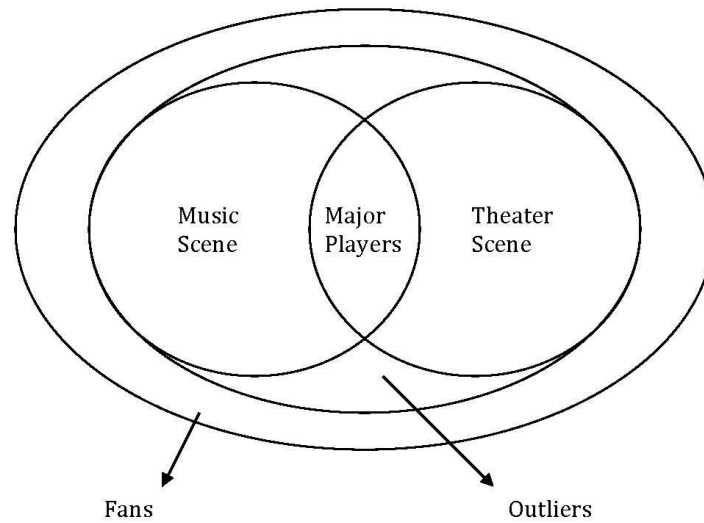
Figure 3. Orlando performing arts scene.

Moreland and Levine's (1982) model of group socialization provided an excellent

framework for which to study the investigation and socialization of street teams and their

members, especially when coupled with exchange theory. However, there are several limitations

to this framework in the context of street teams. First, Moreland and Levine's maintenance phase

posits that members engage in role negotiation to eventually end up with a title, such as vice-

president or treasurer. Street team members actually negotiate to earn a status, more closely

related to Merton's (1968) theory on social structure and theories within social psychology. At

some point, members reach a status where they can participate in role-making rather than role-

taking. Second, while time and commitment are closely related as Moreland and Levine (1982)

suggest, it seems that for some street team members the maintenance stage is lengthier, and

commitment increases for a longer period of time than indicated by the model. Third, although

divergence was not covered in this study, it is apparent that some members maintain their

involvement in the local music scene. Moreland and Levine's model does not account for the commitment of members who move on. Finally, the resocialization and remembrance phases of this model cannot properly describe those members who work themselves out of a job. That is, are so successful that they are disbanded when the band becomes popular enough to sign with a label.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Moreland and Levine (1982) provide a framework to study the stages of group membership for small, autonomous and voluntary groups. Using this framework, I studied how members are socialized and the outcomes of socialization. Street team members advance through the investigation and socialization phases to become full members. The most effective members are males who are at least in their mid-twenties. Male members want to either be a part of the music scene in general or associated with a specific band. Female members also want these outcomes, but have more avenues than men to achieve these goals. Women have the opportunity to be groupies and offer emotional support or enter into relationships with band members. They do not need to spend time promoting the band to get band members' attention. Women who offer to start a street team and become involved in promoting are not as productive as their male counterparts. It seems that some women resent having to offer these services to be close to the band and prefer the groupie role. Further research could be done to investigate the relationship between women and band members.

Effective members are also at least in their mid-twenties. There are younger members who become involved in street teams, but their involvement does not last. This could be because they are at a transitional period, specifically entering into college, which could put time restraints on their ability to participate. Younger members may also be changing their interests. Research on former street team members could shed light on the causes of street team attrition, especially for these younger members.

The fact that there are three different types of street teams affects how members progress through the phases of membership and the outcomes of socialization. The focus of both the

social networking and traditional street teams is the band, whereas the focus of the professional street team is the team itself and the music scene in general. This is evident in all stages of membership. Prospective members investigate the former two street teams by listening to the band in some form, but investigation of the latter involves current members. The socialization phase is similar for all three types in that new members are given a task and they either complete it or don't. There is much more support for new members of the professional team, as they have a partner to help complete the task. Members of the other two street teams complete the task on their own. This is congruent with the outcomes of member socialization. All members want to be part of the "scene," but with social networking and traditional members, this is highly tied to the band and not other members. That is, full members get access to, or get to "hang out" with, the band. For members in the professional team, they get entrance into the street team "community."

One of the limitations of this study is that I did not have access to events that were not street team events. I did not see how full members hang out with band members or other street team members outside of promotion activities. Access to such events would have given me more insight to what "hanging out" means and what members really get out of the street team. Further research could attempt to address this aspect.

I did get access to street team events in Orlando, but social networking and traditional street teams rely on help from members in other cities and states. There is a large online presence that this study did not address. A content analysis of street team websites and profiles could provide more information on the phases of membership. Also, observations and interviews with members in other cities could explore the network that street teams rely on to promote outside of their area. This study only addressed street team members in the relative vicinity of the band.

While street team members can still be recruited like more traditional fan clubs, they are not merely groupies. Their job entails more labor and a longer commitment to a band or the music scene over time. Street teams can even be a vehicle or gateway for members to enter into other opportunities within the local music scene. This study did not address members' divergence from the street team or their continuance in the music scene. This research should continue with the exploration of ex-members in order to fully understand the pattern in which people evolve in the promotion of music. Since time and commitment are major factors of membership, an ethnographic study would be most appropriate to investigate this phenomenon.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interview Questions

All interview respondents will be at least 18 years of age. Pseudonyms will be used in order to protect the participants' identities.

1) What are your responsibilities in regards to the street team?
2) How long have you been a member of this street team?
3) How much time do you dedicate to street team activities? (i.e. hours per week, weeks per month?)
4) Do you belong to any other street teams?
5) How much time per week do you spend with other members?
   a) How much of that time is street team related?
   b) How much of that time is for fun?
6) How close are you to the other members?
   a) Do you say hi if you run into them in a store?
   b) Would you attend their birthday party?
   c) Would you put them on speed dial on your personal phone?
   d) Would you call them if you had a personal problem?
7) Are the team members in your main group of friends?
8) Do you attend non-band associated events with other team members?
9) How did you first hear about the band?
10) Describe the first time you went to see the band.
11) Before you joined the street team, how many of this band's concerts did you attend?
    a) Did you attend any shows outside of Orlando?
    b) Did you attend any shows outside of Florida?
12) When did you meet the band members?
13) Describe your first meeting with the band.
14) Are you close to any of the band members?
    a) Would you say hi if you ran into them in a store?
    b) Would you attend their birthday party?
    c) Would you put them on speed dial on your personal phone?
    d) Would you call them if you had a personal problem?
    e) Do you attend non-band associated events with band members?
15) How did you find out about the street team?
16) How long after you found out about the street team did you join?
17) Did you inquire about membership or did someone from the team approach you? Please explain that process.
18) Why did you decide to join?
    a) What was appealing about the street team?
19) Once you decided to join the team, what was the process like to become an actual member?
    a) Where there any activities/tasks you were asked to perform in order to gain membership to the street team?
    b) If you did not perform these tasks, would you be denied membership to the street team?
20) How much work did you put into the street team when you first joined compared to now?

21) Do you enjoy the street team more or less than when you first started?
22) If you were offered a position on another team, would you take it?
   a) Why or why not?
   b) If so, would you leave your current position?

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Street Team Member Socialization

Principal Investigator(s):   Anna C. Turner, BA

Faculty Supervisor: John P. Lynxwiler, PhD

Sponsor: UCF Sociology Department

Introduction: Researchers at the University of Central Florida (UCF) study many topics. To do this we need the help of people who agree to take part in a research study. You are being invited to take part in a research study, which will include about 15 people in Central Florida. You have been asked to take part in this research study because you are a member of a street team. You must be 18 years of age or older to be included in the research study and sign this form. You can read this form and agree to take part right now, or take the form home with you to study before you decide.

The person doing this research is a graduate student of the UCF Sociology Department. Because the researcher is a master's student, she is being guided by, Dr. John Lynxwiler, a UCF faculty supervisor in the Sociology Department.

What you should know about a research study:
- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- A research study is something you volunteer for.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You should take part in this study only because you want to.
- You can choose not to take part in the research study.
- You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.
- Whatever you decide it will not be held against you.
- Feel free to ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to discover the initiation and socialization processes of street teams.

What you will be asked to do in the study: You will be asked to participate in a face-to-face interview where you will be asked about your experience as a street team member. You do not

have to answer every question or complete every task. You will not lose any benefits if you skip questions or tasks.

Location: The researcher will come to the participant and meet at a previously agreed on place.

Time required: We expect that you will be in this research study for two weeks. During those two weeks, you will be asked to meet for one interview that will take approximately one hour.

Audio taping: You will be audio taped during this study. If you do not want to be audio taped, you will not be able to be in the study. Discuss this with the researcher. If you are audio taped, the tape will be kept in a locked, safe place until what you say has been written down. Once it is written down, the tape will be erased or destroyed.

Risks: There are minimal risks expected to participating in this study, as some questions may be of a sensitive nature. You do not have to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. If any sensitive information comes up during the course of the interview, counselors are available at the UCF Community Counseling Clinic located in the Education Building on campus. Appointments can be made by calling (407) 823-2052.

Benefits: There are no expected benefits to you for taking part in this study.

Compensation or payment: There is no compensation or other payment to you for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality: Your identity will be kept confidential. The researcher will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. For example, your name will be kept separate from the information you give, and these two things will be stored in different places.
Your information will be assigned a code number. The list connecting your name to this number will be kept in a password protected computer. When the study is done and the data have been analyzed, the list will be destroyed. Your information will be combined into a summary of what other people who took part in this study say. When the researcher writes about this study to share what was learned with other researchers, she will write about this combined information. Your name will not be used in any report, so people will not know how you answered or what you did.
There are times when the researcher may have to show your information to other people. The researcher may have to show your identity to people who check to be sure the research was done right. These include people from the University of Central Florida.

Study contact for questions about the study or to report a problem: Anna Turner, Graduate Student, Sociology Program, College of Sciences, (407) 405-6395 or Dr. John Lynxwiler, Faculty Supervisor, Department of Sociology at (321) 433-7886 or by email at jlynxwil@mail.ucf.edu.

IRB contact about your rights in the study or to report a complaint: Research at the University of Central Florida involving human participants is carried out under the oversight of the Institutional Review Board (UCF IRB). This research has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. For information about the rights of people who take part in research, please contact: Institutional Review Board, University of Central Florida, Office of Research & Commercialization, 12201 Research Parkway, Suite 501, Orlando, FL 32826-3246 or by telephone at (407) 823-2901. You may also talk to them for any of the following:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

If you are harmed because you take part in this study: If you believe you have been injured during participation in this research project, you may file a claim with UCF Environmental Health & Safety, Risk and Insurance Office, P.O. Box 163500, Orlando, FL 32816-3500 (407) 823-6300. The University of Central Florida is an agency of the State of Florida for purposes of sovereign immunity and the university's and the state's liability for personal injury or property damage is extremely limited under Florida law. Accordingly, the university's and the state's ability to compensate you for any personal injury or property damage suffered during this research project is very limited.

APPENDIX C: IRB APPROVAL

University of Central Florida

Approval of Exempt Human Research

From: **UCF Institutional Review Board #1**
FWA00000351, IRB00001138

To: **Anna C. Turner**

Date: **November 23, 2009**

Dear Researcher:

On 11/23/2009, the IRB approved the following activity as human participant research that is exempt from regulation:

Type of Review:	Exempt Determination
Project Title:	STREET TEAM MEMBER SOCIALIZATION
Investigator:	Anna C. Turner
IRB Number:	SBE-09-06552
Funding Agency:	
Grant Title:	
Research ID:	N/A

This determination applies only to the activities described in the IRB submission and does not apply should any changes be made. If changes are made and there are questions about whether these changes affect the exempt status of the human research, please contact the IRB.

In the conduct of this research, you are responsible to follow the requirements of the Investigator Manual.

On behalf of Joseph Bielitzki, DVM, UCF IRB Chair, this letter is signed by:

Signature applied by Joanne Muratori on 11/23/2009 09:40:41 AM EST

IRB Coordinator

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