

The Logics of Boutique Fitness

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THESIS

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Sam and Cecelia Crabbe. Their many sacrifices made this degree possible.

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SUMMARY

Over the last 15 years, boutique fitness studios have grown in count and economic contribution. Their pop culture relevance has also skyrocketed in tv shows, movies and politics. Organizations in the relatively new, and growing, boutique fitness field range from large national brands, to locally owned franchises, to mom & pop businesses, each vying for consumers' discretionary income and leisure time. This study focuses on how single owned facilities navigate the nascent and constantly evolving boutique fitness field.

In this dissertation, I use a mixed methods approach to understand how individual characteristics and organizational ownership overlap, focusing on how boutique fitness studio owners' individual characteristics shape how their organizations navigate the logics of the boutique fitness field. I attend to individual characteristics but also address the role of contextual and historical significance of each community. I examine how each studio navigates the array of organizational logics present in the field, as I find there are more than two conflicting logics. By applying institutional theories to fitness organizations, this study contributes to the scholarship of leisure activity and health.

I find that each of the three focal organizations navigated the tensions of the boutique fitness field: market, community and health, differently. While each logic was present in each organization, the centrality and interpretation of each logic differed in each business. For example, one organization, Soar, struggled navigating the tensions between market and community, while Precision was predominantly health focused. Spin City was focused on community, which involved evoking characteristics of the black church. I contend that the owners' individual characteristics shaped how each organization navigated the tensions present

in the boutique fitness field. Additionally, each organization's varying response to ClassPass, an industry technological disruptor, exemplified the varying ways each studio navigated these tensions, and then influenced their future paths. Understanding the contextual and historical role of individual characteristics is critical in understanding how and why it impacts small entrepreneurial organizations. For example, understanding the contextual and historical significance of race in the U.S. helps posit why community was so important at Spin City and often evoked tenets of the black church.

This study builds on existing theory by providing examples of how organizations navigate more than two competing organizational logics, drawing attention to the overlap of individual and organizational factors in small businesses. This study shows that individual characteristics of the owners' shape logic adoption and interpretation, with specific focus on race. Finally, applying institutional theories to the case of boutique fitness studios provides an example of the wide applicability of this framework and provides a foundation for future scholars to study fitness and gyms from an institutional and organizational lens.

Chapter I: Introduction

Boutique fitness studios have changed how 54 million Americans workout (CBSNews.com, 2015) and play an increasingly important role in media, pop culture and even politics. Boutique fitness studios were a theme on hit T.V. shows (e.g., *Broad City*), the preferred workout of celebrities (e.g., J-Lo, Lady Gaga, and David Beckham), and have even been used to help shape political identities.

A Cnn.com article from the same timeframe as the 2017 presidential inauguration (Klein, 2017) compared the workout habits of Michelle Obama and Ivanka Trump, noting that Michelle's preferred cycle studio - Soul Cycle - focused on community and spirituality, while Ivanka's preferred cycle studio - Flywheel - focused on individual merits displayed on the individual's bike and on a leaderboard at the front of the class. Additionally, Ivanka Trump's boutique fitness workout habits made headlines when she attended a [solidcore] class in the DC area (also frequented by Michelle Obama) under an alias. While the owner of [solidcore] welcomed Ivanka, she expressed a desire to understand her political stances, "While I don't know her and I always seek to understand...I do know her father is threatening the rights of many of my beloved clients and coaches... As a business owner, I take my responsibility to protect and fight for my people very seriously" (Andrews-Dyer, 2017). This statement highlights the unique role of boutique fitness owners in their clients' lives.

But what are boutique fitness studios? Why have they grown at an exponential rate and why do they play a role in pop culture? Why are they important to study? These are some of the issues I address in this dissertation.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I first provide an overview of the full dissertation. I then answer the question what are boutique fitness studios and why they are important to study. I do this by defining boutique fitness studios and their growth, describing ClassPass – a field level technological disruptor, and finally, describing the demographics of boutique fitness studio attendees.

In this dissertation, I use a mixed methods approach to understand how individual characteristics and organizational ownership, overlap, focusing on how boutique fitness studio owners' individual characteristics shape how their organizations navigate the logics of the boutique fitness field, while also addressing the role of contextual and historical significance. In this study, I examine how organizations navigate the array of logics present in a field, beyond two conflicting logics. Finally, by applying institutional theories to fitness organizations, this study contributes to the scholarship of fitness and gyms, an important contribution given the growth of fitness organizations in the U.S.

I find that each of the three focal organizations navigated the tensions of the boutique fitness field: market, community and health, differently. While each dimension was present within each organization, the centrality and interpretation of each logic differed. For example, Soar struggled between the tensions of market and community, while Precision was predominantly health focused. Spin City was focused on community, which evoked the characteristics of the black church. I contend that the owners' individual characteristics shaped how each organization navigated the tensions present in the boutique fitness field. Additionally, each organization's varying response to ClassPass, an industry technological disruptor, exemplified the varying ways each studio navigated these tensions. Finally, understanding the contextual and historical role of individual characteristics is critical in understanding how and

why it may impact how organizations operate. For example, understanding the contextual and historical significance of race in the U.S. helps posit why community was so important at Spin City and often evoked tenets of the black church.

This study builds on existing theory by providing examples of how organizations navigate more than two logics present in any given field and draws attention to the overlap of individual and organizational factors in small businesses and how that shapes logic adoption and interpretation, specifically focusing on the role of race. Finally, applying institutional theories to the case of boutique fitness studios provides an example of the wide applicability of the theory as well as provides a foundation for scholars to study fitness and gyms from an institutional and organizational lens.

In the next chapter, I provide an overview of prior literature that provides a theoretical frame for the rest of the study. In chapter three, I outline the overall methods and describe each of the three focal boutique fitness studios in the study. Chapter four describes how individual characteristics shape how each organization navigated the competing array of logics in the boutique fitness field, using evidence from participant observation and interviews. Building on chapter four, chapters five and six both provide further evidence of the varying logic adoption at each studio. Chapter five examines how each organization's response to ClassPass demonstrated the logic adoption described qualitatively in the previous chapter. Chapter six focuses exclusively on Spin City and provides an in-depth case study of how individual characteristics, in this case race, shaped the adoption and interpretation of logics as well as demonstrates the importance of accounting for contextual and historical factors when understanding logic adoption. But first, I must define some terms.

Boutique Fitness Studios

Boutique fitness studios are fitness facilities that focus on one to two fitness activities and occupy spaces typically between 800 – 3500 square feet. At larger, traditional big box gyms, such as L.A. Fitness, 24 Hour Fitness or Planet Fitness, consumers pay a monthly membership to use the gym facilities on their own accord during operating hours (though many big box gyms also offer personal training services or fitness classes). Boutique fitness studios, however, typically operate on a pay per class model, where consumers pay \$15 – \$40 to participate in a 30 – 60 minute instructor led class, with anywhere from 3 – 60 other consumers, often engaging in synchronized movements.

Industry experts attribute nearly all the fitness industry's growth in recent years (7.4%) to boutique fitness studios, with the number of boutique studios growing 450% since 2010 (Lifefitness.com, 2016). In 2013 alone, participation at boutique fitness studios among gym goers doubled from 21% to 42% (IHRSA, 2016), and today 54 million Americans exercise at boutique studios.

The growth in boutique fitness studios can partially be attributed to the frequency of visits by boutique fitness studio consumers. Despite the higher cost per visit (boutique fitness studio consumers can pay more for a single class than the cost of a monthly membership to a big box gym), boutique fitness consumers attend the gym more frequently than those who attend traditional big box gyms (Nielsen, 2014; DellaVigna & Malamendier, 2006).

Boutique fitness studios emerged in 2008, when the fitness industry, along with other industries in the U.S. (and the country as a whole), divided into an elite and low-end marketplace with an associated decline in the middle class (O'Rourke, 2015). The high-end market is where boutique fitness studios thrive, offering more than just a workout but an experience with

personalized service, specialized classes, rock star instructors (Kurutz, 2017), a nightclub feel (CBSNews.com, 2015), and a sense of community (Dawson, 2015). High-end, boutique studios offering specialized classes, community, a personalized experience and an effective workout typically target a high-end market.

The boutique fitness field is a mix of national brands, franchises and local mom and pop businesses. For example, Soul Cycle started in 2006 as a single studio in New York City. The cycle studio, founded by two women, Julie Rice and Elizabeth Cutler, was acquired by Equinox in 2011, and now boasts over 80 studios in 12 states, and continues to grow domestically and internationally. To get a sense of Soul Cycle's financial footprint, their 2014 revenue was \$112 Million, representing approximately 2.9 million rides (O'Connor, 2015).

Carrie Dorr founded Pure Barre, another boutique fitness brand, in 2001. Pure Barre has 450 studios in the US and Canada in 2017 and predicts over 1,000 studios worldwide by 2021 (Pure Barre, 2017). Pure Barre, unlike Soul Cycle, operates using a franchise model for expansion. Lastly, Orange Theory Fitness, a technology-based high intensity interval training (HIIT) workout franchise, founded by Ellen Latham in 2009, predicts 1,000 locations worldwide by the end of 2017 (Stromgren, 2016).

Despite the growth of national brands and franchises, local mom & pop businesses play a substantial role in the boutique fitness industry, as less than 7% of fitness organizations operate more than one location (Alvarez, 2016). Local boutique fitness studios have grown rapidly alongside the national franchises - however, based on anecdotal evidence – sometimes struggle to compete with the marketing, facilities and amenities that national chains and franchises offer. These local organizations, often founded by those with a passion for fitness, compete in the boutique fitness field with large, national businesses and franchises.

ClassPass: Technological Industry Disruptor

Across industries, technological disrupters are changing the norms for consumers, businesses and industries, from Uber and the taxi industry to Instacart and grocery shopping. With the growth of both local and national boutique fitness studios, entrepreneurs have seized the opportunity to develop apps to help consumers navigate the growing world of fitness studios and get a spot in their favorite class. One such app, ClassPass, was developed by one of the few women of color tech entrepreneurs, Payal Kadakia and is valued at over \$400 million (Sorvino, 2016). ClassPass provides services in 34 cities across four countries and is associated with a network of over 7,000 studios worldwide (Sorvino, 2016). Members initially paid from \$50 to \$99 per month (depending on their region and package) for 5, 10 or unlimited classes at boutique fitness studios in their city.

ClassPass was introduced to Midwestern boutique fitness consumers in fall 2014. Membership included unlimited classes per month, however, participants were limited to three classes per month at an individual studio. The ClassPass price point was minimal compared to many studios offering unlimited memberships to their studios for \$200+ per month. How was ClassPass able to offer value to both consumers and boutique fitness studios?

ClassPass offered boutique studios additional incremental revenue on its fixed costs. For example, if a studio was holding a cycle class in a room with 40 bikes at 3pm on a Tuesday and only 20 people registered through the studio, ClassPass members could sign up and fill the empty bikes. Though, ClassPass typically paid studios $\frac{1}{2}$ of the cost of a single class at the rate of their 10-class price package (for example, if a studio charged \$200 for a 10 pack of classes – a rate of \$20/class, ClassPass offered to pay studios \$10/person/class), studio owners reasoned that the additional revenue was better than an empty seat. Additionally, ClassPass provided free

marketing for studios – bringing in new consumers who could convert to purchasing class packages through the studio. ClassPass also charged consumers for missing a class, and, in turn, paid studios slightly more money if a ClassPass person did not show up to class for which they registered.

This deal seemed too good to be true for both consumers and studios initially. And, in fact, it was. ClassPass quickly realized their initial pricing structure was not profitable and made a series of pricing and product changes to consumers (Rahmouni, 2017). For example, in summer 2016, ClassPass raised the prices of an unlimited membership in the Midwest more than 40% (Sweeney, 2016). While still cheaper than many studios' unlimited monthly membership, the company received backlash as many consumers quit the service, publicly lambasted the company on social media and pursued other fitness options (Rahmouni, 2017). In fall 2016, ClassPass removed its unlimited plan all together and offered a 10-class package at a price more than it initially offered unlimited classes.

ClassPass also offered loans to boutique fitness studio, claiming their business was only as strong as the studios they partnered with and encouraged strong partners to invest in their businesses or open second locations (Held, 2015). Studios paid off these interest free loans using revenue from ClassPass members, incentivizing studios to continue engaging with ClassPass and further entrenching studios with ClassPass. As ClassPass traffic slowed down when ClassPass increased its prices to consumers, boutique fitness studios that accepted the loans remained indebted to the large technological disruptor.

The introduction of ClassPass provides a unique opportunity to empirically examine how the three focal organizations each responded to the exogenous shock of the introduction of a

technological disrupter and how this response reflects their navigation of the tensions of the boutique fitness field.

Consumers

Though ClassPass made boutique fitness financially accessible to more people, the demographics of the typical boutique fitness consumer remained relatively consistent - millennial women in urban areas who consider boutique fitness a luxury expense (IHRSA, 2016). Consumers valued customer service and the sense of community, “it is an example of where value is not equated with the price, but with the experience, particularly the intangible aspect such as being part of a tribe, engaged in a highly specialized and guided experience, and much more (IHRSA, 2016).” Given the high price tag and chic urban locations, millennial women pay a hefty price to be a part of a “tribe” of people who are similar to themselves, as there is some indication that boutique fitness studios are filled with white upper-class women. “There’s a thing you notice when you’re black and you attend a Manhattan spin class: You’re usually the only one,” (Weatherford, 2016), explained Tamika Rochester, a black woman who opened her own cycle studio in Harlem that “embraced community – her community” (Weatherford, 2016).

The boutique fitness industry is driven by women, for women. Women entrepreneurs lead the largest brands in the field and women take the majority of classes (Nielsen, 2014). Boutique fitness studios are often filled with messages of strength. However, their definition of strength may be limited and not entirely empowering for all individuals across race, gender and body type characteristics (Brown, 2016). While fitness studios bring people together by providing a setting for stress relief and fitness, owners and their characteristics may play a critical role in shaping the experiences of consumers at their fitness studio, particularly in small businesses. A further

understanding how individual characteristics of the owner may shape the product and experiences within boutique fitness studios may provide useful theoretical insight for scholars of organizations and fitness as well as practical insight for boutique fitness studio owners and consumers.

Chapter II: Theoretical Frame

In the following chapter, I briefly overview institutional logics and describe the dominant logics in the boutique fitness field: market, community and health. Given the presence of multiple logics in the boutique fitness field, I then describe how field, organizational, and individual factors shape how organizations experience and respond to logic complexity. I highlight recent calls to study beyond two conflicting logics in a field, understanding how organizations navigate the array of logics within a field, as well as how broader contextual factors influence logic adoption. I then outline research on fitness, from the field, organizational and individual levels. Institutional theories have not been applied to study fitness organizations, with most of the research on fitness focusing on the individual level (Crossley, 2006). Finally, I summarize the literature presented above and describe how the present study will build on this foundation.

Institutional logics are the “rules of the game” of varying societal institutions, with their own set of beliefs and values that shape behavior and how people make sense of their social world (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2008). Institutional logics are taken for granted institutional and organizational norms (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2008). Though logics occur at the institutional level, they are interpreted, mediated and enacted across levels of society including the field, organizational and individual levels (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2008). Theories of institutional logics stem from new institutionalism which asserts that organizations seek legitimacy, rather than efficiency, and may adopt actions of other organizations in their field, or act in accordance to dominant logics to gain legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Originally, scholars theorized six ideal types of logics present in society, however, they expanded the conceptualization of societal logics to incorporate a broader range of experiences.

At any given time, fields, organizations and individuals navigate between multiple competing, and often conflicting, logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Friedland & Alford, 1991). Though multiple logics were initially hypothesized as problematic, as trying to play by two different sets of rules (Smets et al., 2015), and as a state to overcome, more recent research has shown that logic complexity can become institutionalized (Smets et al., 2015) and rather than question if multiple logics are at play, understanding what conditions lead to different adoption techniques and outcomes (Besharov and Smith, 2014) provides insight into organizations.

Multiple logics of different institutions allow organizations and individuals to enact agency as they navigate between competing and conflicting logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Multiple logics within a field or an organization allow for organizational change and actor influence within organizations (Besharov and Smith, 2014). Organizations that navigate multiple logics are called hybrid organizations, (Pache & Santos, 2010b) and can do so by decoupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), selective coupling (Pache & Santos, 2013b), compromise (Pache & Santos, 2013b), or combining competing logics (Pache & Santos, 2013b) among other techniques. Organizations' responses to logic complexity are dynamic and can vary across time and situations (Besharov and Smith, 2014).

Organizations' responses to logic complexity has been the subject of much scholarly inquiry, with emphasis on the navigation of market and community logics within businesses. Historically, scholars have theorized a dominant market logic in businesses. A market logic's primary goal was to increase revenue and profit (Friedland and Alford, 1991; Pache and Santos, 2013a; Smets et al. 2015). A market logic thrived on efficiency and consistency of products and services (Pache and Santos, 2013a) and frugality in spending. Finally, a market logic prescribed

viewing the field as competitive – trying to differentiate oneself from competitors (Pache and Santos, 2013a) and interactions as transactional.

However, as organizations with social justice missions and goals of connecting to community have become more prevalent, recent literature has discussed the presence of community logics within organizations (Pache & Santos, 2013a; Jaskewitz et al., 2016). A community logic prioritizes relationships and common values (Brint, 2001), with the goal of connecting community members, leading to a mutual trust and respect (Smets et al., 2015). The groups' needs rather than self-interest guide norms, behaviors, values and action. A common identity allows for collaborative engagement and rewarded enthusiasm and contribution to the community.

A large body of literature focuses on how organizations navigate two conflicting logics, such as market and community (Pache & Santos, 2013a; Jaskewitz et al., 2016; Pache & Santos, 2010). Sociological study has focused on understanding the tensions between these two seemingly disparate forces for centuries (Aldous et al., 1972), predating institutional theories of logics. However, fields, organization and individuals are rarely subject to only two logics, and a better understanding of a broader array of logic complexity, beyond two logics is needed (Jaskewitz et al., 2016).

In this study, I continue the long thread of research that has examined the tensions of market and community, but also understand how boutique fitness studios navigate the tensions between market, community and health logics in the boutique fitness field. Though not as heavily theorized as market or community logics, a health logic plays a critical role in western society and especially in fitness organizations. A health logic prioritizes the health and fitness of all individuals through physical movement and exercise with legitimacy gained by credentials or

expertise in the fitness industry as well as one's physical appearance. Health is considered an individual responsibility and failing to take care of oneself is considered a moral failing (Crawford, 1980).

Since logics are interpreted and enacted across levels, scholars have posited how field, organization and individual characteristics shape how organizations experience and respond to logic complexity, though mostly focused on how organizations navigate the complexity of two logics. Below, I review prior literature on how factors at the field, organizational and individual level shape how organizations respond to logic complexity.

Field Level

Field level characteristics have been hypothesized as the most critical to shaping experiences and responses to logic complexity (Greenwood, et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010b). The maturity and fragmentation of a field shape how organizations experience and respond to logics (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2010b3). Conflicting evidence exists on how the maturity of a field shapes logic adoption. For example, mature fields experience less intense logic complexity because logic prescriptions are more predictable than in emerging fields (Reay & Hinings, 2009). Emerging fields may experience a higher degree of logic complexity because the boundaries of the field are not fully defined (Greenwood, et al. 2011). On the other hand, logic complexity may not be as intense in emerging fields due to low institutional obligations (Greenwood, et al. 2011). More research of organizations within emerging fields will provide clarity of how organizations experience logic complexity in emerging fields.

In addition to the maturity of the field, field level events shape how organizations enact and interpret logics. For example, Binder (2007) demonstrated how the response to an exogenous shock differed across departments of a social service organization, exemplifying how

field level events shape logic complexity and intensity, but not in isolation. Both organizational and individual characteristics also effect logic complexity and adoption.

Organizational

Organizational characteristics, such as field position, organizational identity and ownership filter how organizations respond to logic complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011). Each of these factors shape how logic complexity is experienced by organizations.

An organization's position within the field or across fields can shape how organizations experience logics. For example, organizations at the periphery of a field may experience less intense logic complexity and can deviate from the logics of a single field, as they seek legitimacy across fields (Greenwood et al., 2011). Additionally, organizations at the periphery of a field may have fewer institutional relationships, less awareness of institutional expectations leading to lower intensity, as well as have less incentive to align with the dominant institution since they receive less benefits (Greenwood et al., 2011). Alternatively, an organization's position at the intersection of fields may lead to additional logic complexity as they are attempting to navigate the logics of both fields (Greenwood et al., 2011; Pache & Santos, 2013b).

In addition to field position, an organization's identity, defined as its claimed membership within or across fields and how it differs from other organizations within a particular field, (Greenwood et al., 2011) shape logic adoption. While little research has been done in this area, how an organization defines itself within a field may shape how an organization experiences and responds to logic complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Finally, the ownership of an organization shapes how an organization experiences logic complexity. Studies have focused on characteristics of ownership in larger organizations, such as

whether an organization is public or private. For example, private hospitals were more likely to adopt a market logic compared to public hospitals (Goodrick and Salancick, 1996) and religious universities focused on market and community relations more than non-religious schools (Walsh, Weber and Margolis, 2003). Ownership may shape how an organization experiences multiple logics, however, few studies have focused on smaller organizations with single owners, where the line between individual characteristics and ownership may be blurry, or even, nonexistent.

Individuals

While most studies focus on how organizational characteristics shape logic adoption (Smets et al., 2015) individuals within organizations play a critical role in how organizations navigate multiple logics (Binder, 2007), allowing individuals to exert agency as they navigate and interpret logic complexity (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). An individual's position within the organization, background and training, such as education and prior work experience, and social group membership such as gender shape how individuals navigate logic complexity within an organization. Additionally, individuals may navigate logic complexity differently across varying circumstances and situations (Smets et al., 2015).

For example, in a social service organization, departmental membership and individual characteristics shaped how individuals enacted and interpreted logics (Binder, 2007). In addition to organizational position, individual's credentials and education also shaped logic adoption (Binder, 2007; Pache and Santos, 2013b). In another example, Pache and Santos (2013a) found that a business background compared to a social justice background shaped logic adoption and navigation.

In addition to one's role within the organization, individual's social characteristics shape logic adoption (Pache & Santos, 2010a, Binder, 2007, Allison, 2018). However, understanding

how aspects of one's identity shape logic adoption has not received much scholarly attention. For example, in her study of a woman's soccer team, Allison (2018) found that gender shaped logic adoption as men were more likely to adopt a business logic, while women were more likely to adopt a social movement logic, regardless of organizational position.

Finally, in addition to individual characteristics shaping how individuals navigate logics, individuals also vary and differ in their logic adoption across situations. For example, in a yearlong ethnographic study of an insurance company, Smets et al. (2015) found that individuals engaged in varying techniques to navigate the multiple logics present in the field, depending on the situation and circumstance, exemplifying that logic adoption is dynamic.

Studies of logics have posited how field, organization and individual characteristics shape organizational logic adoption. In addition to these factors, scholars have recently called for an understanding of how geographic, historical, and cultural factors may impact logic adoption or provide meaning to responses to logic complexity (Besharov & Smith, 2014; Greenwood, et al., 2010). Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) demonstrated the importance of cultural context in logic adoption in their study of Italian wineries and found that family culture led to the adoption of a family logic compared to a market logic for succession planning. A study of Spanish manufacturing organizations' decisions to adopt state legislation that legitimated downsizing (a behavior aligning with a market logic), found that historical, cultural and community contexts influenced organizations' decisions. Specifically, the regional influence of a historic oppressive state created a "decentralized state" logic, and the historical importance of the catholic church supported a family logic, leading companies not to downsize, an action that belied a market logic (Greenwood, et al 2010). Both Greenwood et al. (2010) and Jaskiewicz et al. (2016) considered

cultural, historical and geographical cues to understand variation in logic adoption within similar contexts, examining broader factors outside of the organization.

Theories of institutional logics provide a unique and informative foundation to understand how and why organizations behave. Understanding how social characteristics, particularly race in the US, impact logic adoption, given the history of slavery and oppression in the U.S. as well as present day structural and interactional manifestations of oppression may provide additional insight into logic adoption. In this study of boutique fitness organizations, I examine when and under what conditions individual characteristics shape how small businesses navigate the tension of market, community and health. Theories of logics and multiple logics provide a framework to understand how organizations navigate not just the tensions between market and community, but the array of logics present in any given field (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Tracey, Phillips, & Jarvis, 2011).

Below, I provide an overview of studies related to fitness, across field, organization and individual levels. To my knowledge, scholars have not applied institutional theories to the study of fitness organizations. Instead scholars have mostly focused on individual experiences within fitness facilities, with very few studies focusing on fitness organizations (Crossley, 2006; - exception see Craig & Liberti, 2007). I conclude the review of the fitness literature with the few studies focused on cross fit organizations, organizations similar to boutique fitness studios that have been the subject of sociological study.

Fitness Organizations and Leisure Sports

Maguire (2007) described the fitness field as composed of four major components: fitness sites, fitness services, fitness goods and fitness media. Published in 2007, before the boom of boutique fitness studios, the separation of fitness sites and fitness services accurately reflected

the fitness field at the time. However, boutique fitness studios blend fitness sites and fitness services, specific locations that offer fitness services – group classes - and created a new field through novel social and cultural conditions (Maguire, 2007).

An organizational approach to studying fitness has been rare, despite calls to study the supply side of fitness (Crossley, 2006) and the enlightening findings from broader organizational studies. For example, organizations can reflect and reproduce societal inequality such as race, gender and class through inequality regimes (Nkomo, 1992; Acker, 1990; 2006,) defined as practices, processes, actions that maintain and perpetuate race, gender and class inequality within organizations, such as decisions about location and target consumers (Acker, 1990). This applies here as the choice of decorations or the physical location can convey meaning of who was welcome (LeFebvre, 1992), hiring practices led to jobs and roles that were segregated by race and gender (Acker, 2006; Charles & Grusky, 2004; Wingfield & Alston, 2014), and marketing materials with a blonde thin woman reflect the ideal consumer (Maguire, 2007).

Organizations are not inherently raced and gendered, but constantly construct race, gender and class through their practices, processes and actions (Acker, 1990; 2006; Barber, 2016). Alternatively, organizations with social justice or feminist missions may intentionally try to interrupt social hierarchies by their organizational forms and practices (Rothschild, 1979; Ashcraft, 2001). However, despite their intentions, they may still replicate societal hierarchies. For example, in Barber's (2016) study of men's only salons, the location, décor of the salon, female employees hired and the physical tools to cut hair constructed and reinforced race, gender and class norms in a setting that was typically described as interrupting gender stereotypes by men participating in beauty behaviors traditionally reserved for women (Barber, 2016).

Given the broader findings of the role of race and gender in organizations, scholars may find it fruitful to understand how theories of raced and gendered organizations apply within fitness organizations. Few studies have focused on the organizational practices, processes or actions of fitness organizations. One key qualitative study found that organizational practices, such as setting up equipment in a circle, décor that resembled a kindergarten classroom, forced equity on machine use and success defined as weight loss reinforced gender stereotypes and bolstered the gender hierarchy in women's only gyms in Northern California (Craig & Liberti, 2007). Additionally, a gym's spatial layout demarcated women and men (Dworkin, 2009) and allowed for transformation into a new world and shedding of outside identities (Sassatelli, 1999; Maguire, 2007). Finally, technology and equipment used within the gyms shaped individuals' behaviors not only within the gym but outside of the gym such as what they ate, wore and social interactions (Dawson, 2015, Powers & Greenwell, 2016). Fitness studios are organizations with a specific goal of bodily transformation, similar to other leisure sports activities. For that reason, research on sport, leisure and social class is also useful to this project.

Bourdieu's theory of sport and social class informs the scholarship on fitness and gyms. Bourdieu claimed that fitness was not a means of public health, but rather its purpose was to meet the social demands of the elite. Elites had economic capital and leisure time to participate in body movement with no purpose except as a form of self-actualization (Bourdieu, 1978). However, these activities were not just for self-improvement, rather these activities, often took place in exclusive venues (Bourdieu, 1978; Stempel, 2005) and drew boundaries between elites and the middle or lower class. Fitness was the transformation of economic capital into cultural capital, defined as social processes and the development of institutions that reproduce race and class in an individualized manner (Stempel, 2005; Bourdieu 1978, Lamont & Lareau, 1988).

The emergence of new sports reflected social demands and changed the social value and meaning of existing sports in the field, (Bourdieu, 1978), a potential corollary to the emergence of boutique fitness studios in the fitness field.

In a quantitative empirical test of Bourdieu's theory, Stempel (2005), used the 1998 US. National Health Interview Survey and found that cultural capital (operationalized by education levels) and economic capital (operationalized by family income) predicted participation in fitness activities, specifically activities that required movement of the body for no specific purpose other than self-improvement. However, those with cultural capital were more likely to participate in fitness sports than those with economic capital, though both groups were more likely to participate than lower class individuals. The study controlled for race, gender and ethnicity, however those relationships were not discussed.

Scholars relied on Bourdieu's theory to understand why individuals attended the gym, claiming cultural and economic capital allowed access (Sassatelli, 1999; Maguire, 2007). In addition to social value, individuals attended the gym for stress relief, to regain their old body, and after a health scare or as part of their routine (Crossley, 2006; Lavery & Wright, 2010; Maguire, 2007). However, studies described the experiences of gym-goers without accounting for how race, gender or other individual characteristics may shape how individuals experience fitness, fitness facilities as well as their relationship with and societal expectations about their body shape and size.

Studies that moved beyond the presumption of the universal gym experience found that body type and gender shaped experiences within fitness facilities. For example, those outside the thin ideal body type were presumed to be gym novices in poor health (Hutson, 2016). Several studies explicitly studied the role of gender within gyms (Dworkin, 2009), noting that women

and men occupied different spaces in gyms, with more women in aerobics classes and the cardio rooms, while men were more present in the weight room, areas and equipment that were often kept separate by fitness organizations. Additionally, women trainers used humor to counter questions about their ability and often had to prove their expertise, while male trainers leveraged their training interactions with higher status individuals into additional professional opportunities (Hutson, 2016). Several studies acknowledged the complicated role of gender in the gym, where on one hand gyms offered places of strength and positive body image. However, on the other hand, women were segregated into different spaces and were working towards a gendered ideal body type (Markula, 2003; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Maguire, 2007; Hutson, 2016; Craig & Liberti, 2007).

Only two studies acknowledged the role of race (Hutson, 2016; Craig & Liberti, 2007) with scholars claiming that not enough non-whites attend gyms to meaningfully examine its role in fitness (Maguire, 2007) and fitness was a class privilege that does not extend to blacks (Bourdieu, 1978; Ray, 2017). One study found that white women perceived their gym as equitable and places where individuals of all types came together, though women of color did not express similar sentiments (Craig & Liberti, 2007). The other study found that black trainers occupied a position of power claiming the gym was a space where they could invert the social hierarchies in place outside of the gym (Hutson, 2016).

A final set of relevant studies have focused on organizations similar to boutique fitness studios. Given their recent emergence, boutique fitness studios have yet to receive much scholarly attention. However, studies of crossfit organizations shed light on boutique fitness studios. Crossfit differs from the definition of boutique fitness studios used in this study since crossfit has developed into a sport, rather than activities with the sole purpose of moving one's

body (Bourdieu, 1978). Studies of crossfit organizations found individuals were actively seeking a new identity and self-improvement and were under surveillance both by others and technology (Scott, 2010). Participation in crossfit gyms changed individual's behaviors outside of the gym such as eating habits and social circles (Dawson, 2015). Crossfit activities were examples of branded fitness – fitness activity led by instructors leading to the branding of the body and body positions (Powers & Greenwell, 2016).

The present study builds on the existing literature in several ways. By examining three boutique fitness studios, this study explores the overlap of individual characteristics on organizational ownership, with a focus on how individual characteristics of owner's shape logic adoption, with an emphasis on social characteristics such as race and their cultural and historical significance. Second, this study responds to the calls for understanding the array of logics that an organization experiences, beyond two conflicting logics. Finally, by applying institutional theories and studying fitness organizations this study contributes to studies of fitness, an important contribution given the growth of fitness organizations in the U.S.

Chapter III: Methods

In this chapter, I explain the benefits of a mixed methods and intersectional approach to understand how owners' individual characteristics shape logic adoption and how organizations respond to the array of logics in a field beyond two conflicting logics. I then describe the process of gaining access to my research sites - three boutique fitness studios in the Dartford area, a medium sized midwestern city, and data collection procedures for each method: participant observation, in depth interviews, surveys and analysis of administrative data from each of the studios. Next, I provide a qualitative description of each of the three focal boutique fitness studios, and finally, I conclude the chapter by discussing the limitations of my methods and hope that despite these limitations the results chapters will be of value to scholars in a variety of disciplines. I provide the analytic plan for each results chapter within the respective chapter.

Overview of mixed methods approach

I used a multi-method design to answer my research questions: how individual characteristics of owner's shape logic adoption and how their organizations respond to the array of logics in a field beyond two conflicting logics. I conducted quantitative analysis of survey and administrative data and completed participant observation and in-depth interviews at three boutique fitness studios in the Dartford area: Soar, Precision and Spin City to answer these questions.

A mixed methods approach allowed for a more complex examination of a phenomena not limited to a single epistemology, using the strengths of one method to bolster the weaknesses of others (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). For example, quantitative research can test theory, examine relationships, and provide insight across a variety of experiences, while qualitative research can put these findings into context, giving

voice to further illuminate insights (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). Qualitative data is also useful for theory building that can then be tested quantitatively (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). Qualitative research is helpful in fields where little research exists, such as boutique fitness studios, (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007) allowing for the discovery of previously unknown insights. Given the above benefits, a mixed methods study allowed me to examine and test a-priori hypotheses, illuminate quantitative findings in respondents' own words, as well as discover new and unexpected insights.

My approach was sequential, using the qualitative data as exploratory and then later as explanatory. Participant observation informed the content and language of the surveys ensuring relevant questions to consumers using language they understood. Qualitative findings directed the research questions and analysis of the administrative data (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). Participant observation and interviews aided explanations, providing context and voice to quantitative findings (Creswell, Klassen, Plano – Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007).

Despite the many benefits of a mixed methods approach, limitations existed - both during data collection and analysis. During data collection, balancing multiple methods led to tension distributing resources across methods (Creswell, Klassen, Plano-Clark, and Smith, 2011; Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007). Despite my theoretical approach of equal importance across methods, at times, I was forced to choose whether to prioritize more of my own time and participant effort on qualitative or quantitative methods. For example, one respondent expressed they would complete a survey or participate in an interview, but not both, which forced me to speculate in what form this respondent's insight would be most beneficial (I chose to interview

the respondent). Conflicts between methods also arose during data analysis, as findings from disparate methods did not always align.

Overview of intersectional frame

I utilize intersectionality both theoretically and methodologically in this study, attempting to pay attention to intersecting and mutually constituted systems of oppression (Choo & Ferree, 2010), such as race, gender and class, (Collins, 2000), with intertwined, multiplicative effects that should be studied in relationship to each other (Choo & Ferree, 2010). An intersectional analysis of boutique fitness means using a both/and approach to understand both how intersecting identities shape experiences and how systems of oppression or privilege intersect (Choo & Ferree, 2010, Collins, 2000).

While intersectionality has its roots in black feminism (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989), using an intersectional framework to study groups located throughout the social structure provides further understanding of the complicated interwoven role of race, class and gender (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Additionally, understanding the experiences of middle and upper income blacks in public settings (Feagin, 1991) expands our understanding of race and class. The majority of boutique fitness consumers are women (Nielsen, 2014).

In this study, I compare three focal boutique fitness studios, two with predominantly white attendees and one with predominantly black attendees, with all three attracting predominantly female consumers. This study analyzes the organizations and settings where upper middle-class black and white women spend their leisure time, expanding our understanding of race, gender, class and their intersection.

Access and site selection

Gaining access to research sites was critical to engage in the variety of methods conducted in this study. The three focal boutique fitness studio owners granted me open access to their facilities, employees, clients, administrative data and classes. Each of the focal boutique fitness studio owners supported my study, citing the value in both understanding the boutique fitness industry, more broadly, and their clients, as well as helping someone earn her PhD. Each owner expressed interest in seeing the results of the study.

I selected the three focal studios using a convenience sample of boutique fitness studios in the Dartford area, with an emphasis on choosing studios in neighborhoods with different racial compositions. Additionally, I focused on locally owned studios, rather than franchises or national chains. The first studio I approached, one that I frequented, declined to participate due to privacy concerns and not wanting me to bother their clients. After this experience, I attempted to identify studios where I had a connection to the owner. Two of the three studio owners were acquaintances of acquaintances (the two studios with predominantly white clients). My acquaintances facilitated the introduction, which, I believe, eased the owners' potential privacy concerns of a stranger observing their business. I assured the owner's confidentiality and in order to do so, I have masked and changed the names and characteristics of people and places to keep my commitment of confidentiality. Each of the studio owners granted me full access to their studios during hours of operation and allowed me to speak with them, their employees and consumers. They also provided me access to their administrative data, as well as free fitness classes so I could experience their product. In return for their participation, I offered to share survey results from their specific studio, a comparison to the other fitness studios in aggregate and an overall industry report of my findings.

Data collection

Participant observation. Participant observation was critical to identifying the logics in the boutique fitness field as well as how each studio enacted and interpreted each logic. Participant observation occurred at each of the three focal fitness studios over three consecutive months during 2017, starting with Soar, followed by Spin City and finally at Precision. However, I visited Spin City and Precision at least twice during the months focused on the other focal studios. Soar closed at the end of my observation, making it impossible to continue observations after the initial month of observation. My role differed at each studio, depending on what the studio needed, my relationship with the owner or how I could be useful. For example, at Soar, I spent a lot of time sitting in the lobby chatting with the front desk staff or manager who working the front desk. I would often greet those who came in allowing me to see everyone who walked in the door. I also spent time, when taking classes, in the fitness room before class started, where attendees would chat before class. I helped to clean or rearrange the studio after class, put towels in the washing machine and disinfected cycle shoes. The owner of Soar, Chloe, also invited me to attend a meeting with her ClassPass representative as well as other industry functions. By the end of the month, particularly during the mid-morning session, which was always taught by Chloe and attended by the same group of regulars, I was able to greet and was greeted by name by most attendees. Overall, I conducted 60.5 hours of participant observation at Soar.

My role varied at Spin City. I sat by the front desk in the morning with Gwen, who in exchange for taking classes for free, opened the studio, greeted and buzzed in attendees in the mornings. Thomas, the owner, asked that I take consumers' pictures as they came in as he was trying to learn names and as a way for me to get to know people. During class, Thomas initially asked me to take pictures and videos for Instagram and Facebook, however, I believe, due to my

limited knowledge of social media I was not asked to do that task as frequently as the month continued. Other days, I sat in class, observed, listened to and engaged in conversations before and after class. When the owner held pop up classes outside of the studio, on two occasions, I helped move bikes from the studio to his truck, to the location of the pop-up class – once at the local pier, the other at a private social club where Thomas was a member. By the end of the observation period, most attendees knew me by name and vice versa, or at least by face as the “one who was doing the survey.” Overall, I conducted 44.5 hours of participant observations at Spin City.

At Precision, I observed either from sitting at the front desk at the primary location but mostly from participating in classes at both locations. Similar to the other studios, I would arrive early to observe as attendees arrived and lingered after class to observe interactions as consumers left. Compared to the other two studios, I was least useful to the owner and instructors of this studio and least engrained in the fabric of the studio though one time I helped fold towels. Overall, I conducted 31.8 hours of observation at Precision.

Survey recruitment and distribution. Surveys allowed me to identify the demographics and attitudes of respondents at each studio. I distributed surveys in person at Soar and Spin City, both after several weeks of observation. In person survey collection, I believe, led to a higher response rate as individuals at both studios were familiar with me and knew about my pursuit of a PhD after weeks of participant observation. Respondents typically completed surveys in the idle moments before or after class. Spin City’s large class size was ideal for targeting individuals before or after class. Several respondents at Spin City asked to take the survey home to complete due to time or inability to focus at the studio. When asked for this option, I consented, but I did not offer this option to respondents.

I either approached attendees as they entered the studio or instructors made announcements after class and directed willing participants to me to administer the survey. Participation in the survey was completely voluntary. When asking respondents to participate in the survey, I explained my role as a PhD student conducting research at three boutique fitness studios in the Dartford area, if they were not already aware of my study. Many who agreed to take the survey empathized with collecting data and shared stories of research projects from when they were in school. Others appreciated higher education and wanted to help me achieve my goal of attaining a PhD. Additionally, as fitness studio attendees entered and saw others completing a survey, they asked what was going on and expressed a desire to not be left out. At Precision, due to the small class sizes, the survey was initially distributed online. However, the response to the online survey was limited ($n = 14$), so I, again, distributed in person surveys, in a similar format as the first two studios. Overall, 240 respondents completed surveys: 92 at Soar Fitness, 83 at Spin City, and 65 at Precision. The survey consisted of questions featuring the broad themes of why individuals visit boutique fitness studios, the importance and the rating of each studio on a range of characteristics, questions about transportation and social involvement with the studio, and finally, demographics.

Interviews. Interviews with owners and staff allowed me to identify logics and how they differed across studios as well as understand interpretations of logics. Interviews with consumers allowed me to understand consumers' perceptions of boutique fitness more broadly, as well as their individual studio. Instructors made announcements after class and directed willing participants to me to discuss interview logistics. Additionally, at Soar and Spin City, respondents requested interviews, before knowing interviews were a portion of the study – eager to share their thoughts and opinions about the studio and boutique fitness.

I conducted in person interviews with owners, instructors and consumers at each of the three focal studios. The interviews took place at a location of the respondents' choice - ranging from the focal studio, to coffee shops to respondents' homes. Interviews ranged from 18 minutes to 2.5 hours. Two sets of interviews happened with partners. In person interviews were audio recorded and professionally transcribed. One exception was the owner of Soar. I did not conduct a formal audio recorded interview, however, over the course of my month of observation, we had many conversations related to the topics in the interview that, in many ways, offered more insight than a formal interview.

I asked respondents a series of open-ended questions geared toward their particular segment (owner, instructor or consumer). The interview protocol was constructed to facilitate an open-ended discussion. I did not use the protocol as a strict agenda, rather as a guide, and allowed the respondent to steer the conversations to areas they felt were important to discuss and relevant to their boutique fitness experiences. Overall, I conducted 23 interviews: three with owners, five with instructors and 15 with consumers at the three focal studios. Additionally, I interviewed two instructors and three boutique fitness owners of non-focal studios in a group setting, for a total of 28 participants.

Administrative data. Administrative data allowed for understanding of each organizations' consumers, visits and revenue. Each studio collected demographic information (gender, age and address), purchase and usage behavior of their consumers for internal record keeping. Despite the wealth of information that boutique fitness studios collect from their consumers, each of the owners admitted they never examined the data and were happy to share the data with me for analysis. However, they also expressed their lack of knowledge on how to extract the data from their systems, requesting I learn their system and figure it out on my own.

The owners of Soar and Precision gave me logins to access their system and data. The owner of Spin City allowed me to log in under his supervision and extract the necessary data. Two of the studios used the same online management tool, while the third used one that was designed specifically for cycle classes. Respondents under the age of 18 were deleted from the dataset and data was coded and de-identified. Administrative data from Soar contained 16,061 respondents dating back to 2010, Spin City administrative data contained 2,299 respondents dating back to 2015 and Precision administrative data contained 6,524 respondents dating back to 2011, before data cleaning. After data cleaning (removing duplicate entries as well as owner accounts), 15,496 respondents remained in the data set: 10,929 respondents from Soar, 1,793 from Spin City, and 2,774 from Precision.

Description of focal boutique studios

Below I describe each of the three focal boutique fitness studios, their neighborhoods, offerings and attendees using insights from interviews, participant observation, survey data and census data.

Soar. Soar sat on the border of two predominantly white neighborhoods in Dartford, both more than 70% white (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The median household income in each neighborhood was approximately \$70,000 and \$90,000 respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Soar sat in a more racially and economically polarized location than census characteristics may describe as the studio sat between multi-million-dollar town homes and mixed income housing. The specific location of Soar was considered the “bad” part of the neighborhood, per conversations overheard at the studio. Soar was accessible from several train and bus routes.

Soar was located on the ground floor of what looked like an old house, on the corner of a busy main street. The entrance was located on the residential side of the street, next to a nail

salon, a realtor's office, and a car repair - with residential apartments upstairs. The orange awnings and Soar signage hanging from the side of the building signified the presence of the fitness studio, as well as when the shades inside the studio were up, exposed the HIIT room and equipment to anyone who passed by.

The interior of Soar felt homey, partially due to its layout and the décor. A large bay window in the lobby faced the street and clean white tiles lined the floors. The owner, Chloe, often brought fresh flowers for the women's bathroom and for the white front desk, where members checked in upon arrival with the front desk staff. Consumers described the studio as

[...] congenial, or you know friendly, warm. It's kind of like, I almost feel like you are working out at someone's house with a bunch of friends. You know what I mean?

Alicia, White female, Soar Attendee

Pictures of the owner, her family, instructors, and consumers from different events over the years lined the walls, contributing to the cozy feeling. Behind the front desk hung an 11x14 picture of Chloe, smiling broadly while on a stationary bicycle, below a large flat screen TV, often playing the latest sporting event or the local daytime news show, due to a member's affiliation with the network.

The main floor consisted of a rarely used men's locker room, a women's locker room, a separate women's bathroom, a small closet which served as a changing room, office, and retreat for the owner and instructors before and after class, a small back room that was rented by beauty business, and a fitness room where high intensity interval training (HIIT) classes took place. Studio merchandise lined one of the walls not covered with pictures, including water bottles, t-shirts and snacks for sale. The main floor fitness room contained cardio equipment, reebok steps and two black punching bags, all of which were pushed against the wall when not in use. Large windows facing the main street comprised the far and back walls of the fitness room, meaning

when the white shades were up, the fitness room and its attendees were in full view of passersby and vice versa. Floor to ceiling mirrors lined the front wall and buckets of dumbbells in a variety of weights sat in the back corner. Total Resistance Exercise (TRX) ropes hung from the ceiling, tied up when not in use.

A dark staircase, resembling basement stairs, led down to the dimly lit cycle room, which was often completely dark during class. Orange storage cubbies containing cycling shoes in a variety of sizes that attendees could wear during class sat at the bottom of the stairs, as well as empty storage cubbies for attendees to store their personal belongings. Two rows of 12 bikes, arranged in a semi-circle around a raised podium consisting of a single instructor bike and a stereo system, sat in front of an entire wall of mirrors. Behind the back rows of bikes sat fans, dehumidifiers and large buckets of wipes for attendees to wipe the sweat off their bikes after class. The basement space of the cycle room consisted of two main areas: where the stationary bikes were set up and a second open space behind the bikes, one small step up from the bikes, used for cycle/weight classes (classes that contained a 15-minute segment of weight lifting after 35 minutes of cycling).

Dumbbells, in a rainbow of colors signifying their weight, lined the back wall ranging from two pounds to twenty pounds. Along the side wall, written in orange, were the words ‘LEGS, ARMS, BACK’ in capital letters. A small closet door on the opposite side wall revealed a washing machine and clothes dryer, used by the owner and staff (and occasionally me) to keep a steady rotation of hand towels clean and bleached white in between and after classes.

Soar was one of the first boutique fitness studios in Dartford, opening prior to the boutique fitness boom of the present day. The studio was originally located within a nearby childcare center before moving into its own space. During my observation period, the studio was

preparing to move to a new location and discontinue its cycling classes, focusing on interval classes due to the saturation of the cycling market in Dartford.

Soar attendees were mostly white, higher-income women in their late 30s to early 40s; however, depending on the time of day, the demographics shifted. For example, the 9:30am weekday classes consisted of an older group of women, a consistent group each day, while evening classes skewed younger with more men, though still majority women, and more varied attendance. Survey data confirmed these observations, with 83% of survey respondents identifying as women with an average age of 37. According to survey data, sixty-eight percent of respondents reported household incomes of \$100,000 or more.

Spin City. Spin City was located in a predominantly black neighborhood in Dartford - over 90% of residents identified as African American according to the 2015 American Community Survey. Due to recent commercial development, high end retail shops were located within a couple of blocks of Spin City. The Spin City studio sat inside a larger sports facility. The studio was accessible via several bus routes; however, nearly all attendees drove to Spin City (90%). Like Soar, the owner was preparing for an upcoming move (the sports facility was closing and relocating to a new facility). Thomas, the owner, was unclear whether Spin City would be allocated a designated studio space at the new facility.

No signage identified Spin City from the outside, and in fact, on my first visit I was unable to find the studio. I walked into the sports facility to ask for directions to Spin City and was surprised when the woman working the front desk told me I was in the right place. Attendees could not stumble upon the studio, which seemed somewhat intentional by the owner.

The owner, Thomas, and attendees discussed and joked about the conditions of the sports facility and cycle studio, sometimes citing them as a badge of honor. Thomas and consumers

joked about the lack of amenities, for example the bathrooms not having toilet paper or the studio not having air conditioning. However, both the owner and consumers claimed these factors contributed to the sense of community in the group, as they persevered as a group despite the adverse conditions.

Eileen: I think there's something very gritty about the class.

Interviewer: What do you mean by that - gritty?

Eileen: So we don't have the best bikes and we don't have air conditioning. We don't have toilets that work.

Tom: Yeah. The facility is an older one. They're moving out so nobody's really investing in the facility so it's a little run down, but that kind of adds to the charm.

Eileen: It does, 'cause I think people can still do their best despite that....When everything around you is going to shit, you, as a group, still find that way forward. He has somehow cultivated and harvested that in a way that I think is quite powerful.

Tom and Eileen, white male and female, Spin City attendees

One entered the sports facility either through a propped open door or were buzzed in by the person working the front desk. During the summer, the facility hosted day camps, meaning as you entered for evening classes, kids ranging from as young as four to high school age were either waiting to get picked up, running around with sporting equipment, or sitting behind the front desk. Once one entered the sports facility, they passed the front desk and often squeezed by folding tables set up as barriers on either side of the front desk—I assumed to keep the camp kids in and parents out as parents arrived to pick up their kids. You continued down several stairs, where a large dark green plastic barrier separated two sets of two full size sports fields.

The cycle studio sat in the back corner, often the only light coming from that side of the facility, with large glass windows facing out towards the sports facility. The room was lit before and after class, but Thomas dimmed or turned the lights off completely during class. On

Saturdays, when Thomas held back-to-back classes, those attending the second class waited outside on the courts talking, laughing, and taking pictures until their class started. There was no front desk staff (except the sports facility staff), so Thomas asked Gwen, a black female attendee, to open and unlock the doors for him (in return for free classes) in the morning.

Once you entered the cycle studio, four rows of approximately 12 bikes packed close together filled the room. Tall mirrors lined the front wall. A small coffee table sat on one side of the front door, holding Spin City flyers and candles. Inspirational messages, such as, “Get right or get left,” and “Hug Yo’ self,” were written on what appeared to be a chalkboard paint wall, above the mirrors. A white sign of the word “love” hung above the instructor’s bike, illuminated by tiny light bulbs. Thomas’ bike sat on a podium raised approximately a foot above the studio floor, in the front of the room, with a small table next to it with candles and where Thomas kept his iPad, which he used to play music and to take pictures and post to social media during class. A large white backdrop with miniature Spin City logos leaned against the large windows, serving two purposes: to partially block the studio from outside view (though once class was in session, the windows fogged up making it nearly impossible to see inside), as well as provide a back drop for pictures that Thomas and attendees often posted to social media during and after class.

Beyond the instructor platform sat a DJ booth, where sometimes a DJ played during class (this occurred once during my observation window). However, on most days, the booth doubled as storage for extra candles and cleaning wipes used by attendees to wipe their bikes after class.

Spin City offered cycle classes eight times a week during my time of observation, all taught by Thomas. Thomas was in the process of training new instructors to take over some of his classes and desired to add additional classes to the schedule but had yet to find anyone who could teach the same way he did. Classes were 50 minutes and driven by local house, r&b, and

rap music. Thomas encouraged attendees to ride to the beat of the music and engage in a variety of dance moves and exercises while riding their stationary bikes.

Mostly black women in their late 40s attended Spin City from my observation. Survey data confirmed this observation, as 93% identified as women, 99% identified as black, and the average age was 44 years old. Most attendees attended multiples times per week and some even multiple times per day, with little change in the demographic makeup of the class regardless of the time of day or day of the week.

Precision. Precision was the only focal boutique fitness studio with two locations. The original location which opened more than ten years ago and a second location which opened more than five years ago. The owner of Precision, Tara, chose both locations per the suggestions of studio attendees in the real estate business, who suggested the neighborhoods as up and coming at the time.

Both neighborhoods had experienced gentrification and were filled with young families and professionals. The first neighborhood was predominantly white and Asian, with a median household income above \$80,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). While the second location's surrounding area was more diverse with nearly one half of the neighborhood identifying as Latino and a median household income above \$50,000. Despite the seemingly diverse surrounding neighborhoods, 71% of Precision attendees reported a household income over \$100,000 and 80% identified as white in surveys.

Neither studio was visible from the street and both were easily missed if not familiar with the location. The first studio sat in the basement of an office building. A piece of paper taped to the front door directed studio attendees to walk around the building and enter through the back door. As you walked around back, a neon lighted sign with the name, "Precision" hung in the

window, visible only at sidewalk level, requiring one to look down to see it, which then also offered a glimpse of the basement studio through a lower window. Around back sat a parking lot (with two designated spaces for Precision consumers) and black metal steps leading to a glass door and foyer. In the elegant foyer (as it was also the entrance for the street level businesses), hung large artwork, marble floors, and glass doors leading to different businesses. One of the doors, not all glass, was marked Precision and led to another metal staircase leading down to the basement studio. The owner, Tara, described the décor:

We liked the raw look of the timber, and the brick, and the concrete. And it just looks like your basement growing up where you'd go downstairs and lift some weights, and play some heavy metal. It just had that--I don't know--earthiness to it. And it just kind of became our look, it was this kind of urban feel to it.

Tara, white female, Precision owner

A brick wall with a green Precision logo painted on the it lined the metal stairs, where at the bottom sat black shelves lined with studio merchandise and a variety of different protein powders for sale. A large metal industrial style desk sat to the left with an old school cash register placed on top and old-fashioned stools in front. Often, one of the Precision trainers sat behind the desk, greeting those who walked in by name. A large flat screen TV hung on one of the walls and a signed jersey decorated another. The vibe was bare, metal and functional. The owner intentionally left a lot of open space to allow for functional movements during workout classes. Four treadmills, five rowing machines, and at least twice as many bikes sat in one corner of the studio, visible as soon as you came down the stairs. A squat rack, TRX ropes, weights, and kettle bells lined the walls of the studio when not in use, as well as six vertical full-length mirrors leaned against the walls throughout the studio.

The second location was located at the end of a busy street of boutique shops and

restaurants. Similar to the first location, the studio was hidden from street view, its entrance located in the back, lower level of a building. The address on Precision's website brought you to an indiscrete corner, and only if you knew to walk around the back and through a parking lot, would you find, similar to the first location, a neon sign that said Precision (that I never saw illuminated), and a doorway that led to the fitness facility. A sharpie handwritten sign hung on the door indicated that the parking lot was not for studio members. More natural light, since it was located on the lower level and not the basement, illuminated the second location compared to the first. However, the consistent décor of metal benches and a metal spiral staircase gave both studios a similar bare, functional vibe. A narrow hallway of lockers divided the studio space into two distinct rooms: a cardio room with five rowing machines, five treadmills, and two bikes, and a weight room filled with dumbbells, kettle bells, a row of TRX ropes and other fitness equipment. Large floor to ceiling mirrors lined the front wall of both rooms, while floor to ceiling windows lined the back wall. Up the black spiral staircase sat the kids room, where Precision offered childcare during the 9:30am weekday classes and Saturday mornings, run by a Latina who I also witnessed cleaning the studio.

Precision offered a wide variety of group fitness classes, as well as personal training. Unlike other studios, music did not drive the workout, though was often a topic of conversation between attendees and instructors depending on the playlist during class. The classes, despite different names, all required similar movements and equipment, though some focused on cardio, strength, endurance, body weight or functional movements, formats mapped out by the owner and typically executed by one of the trained instructors.

Predominantly white women attended Precision, though this studio had more diversity in terms of race and gender than Soar and Spin City. Eighty percent of survey respondents

identified as white, 70% identified as women, and the average age of respondent was 37.

Limitations

Overall, these analyses have several broad limitations. First, the study focused on three boutique fitness studios in the Dartford area, and therefore is not generalizable outside of Dartford or these three focal studios. Additionally, survey distribution was not identical at each studio or even within studio. For example, some respondents took the survey before class, while others took the survey after class, potentially on an endorphin high or reflecting only their most recent experience. Additionally, respondents did not complete surveys in a private setting, rather surrounded by others taking the survey, which sometimes led to conversation, as well as instructors and owners jokingly mentioning answers should be positive. Finally, the survey took approximately ten minutes to complete and respondents may have experienced fatigue by the end and/or needed to leave the studio, resulting in rushed answers.

However, despite these limitations, the study, both qualitatively and quantitatively, produced rich data and insights into the world of boutique fitness. I use the rest of this dissertation to share some of what I learned.

Chapter IV: Logic Navigation in the Boutique Fitness Field

This chapter finds that the three boutique fitness studios studied navigated logic complexity in the boutique fitness field very differently, at least partially due to individual characteristics. Individual characteristics shape logics (Binder, 2007), however, in small businesses, the link between individual characteristics and organizational characteristics are inextricably linked. In the following chapter, I provide evidence to support that the owner's individual characteristics play a critical role in navigating logic complexity, shaping organizational characteristics. Additionally, I demonstrate how organizations navigate the three logics present in the boutique fitness field.

I first describe the behaviors the three logics in the boutique fitness field: market, community, and health, prescribe. I then describe the characteristics of each owner that shaped how they navigated the logics of the field and provide evidence to demonstrate the varying ways each organization navigated the tensions of the boutique fitness field. This results chapter demonstrates the important role of individual characteristics in logic adoption, how individual and organizational characteristics are inextricably linked and how this shaped how an organization responds to logics. Finally, this chapter provides an example of how organizations navigate the array of logics within a field, beyond two conflicting logics, as well as applies institutional theories to fitness organizations.

Analytic Plan

To understand how Soar, Spin City and Precision navigated the array of logics present in the boutique fitness field and the importance of individual characteristics in logic adoption, I analyzed data from interviews and participant observation. I used MAX QDA to assist with the coding process. I present the logics of the boutique fitness industry through respondents' own

words, my own observations; through narrative as well as tables and charts. Figure 1 displays how each organization navigated the logics of the boutique fitness field. The chart serves as a representation of the presence of each of the logics at each organization. Table 1 provides the behavioral prescriptions of each logic.

Though I describe market, community and health logics as discrete, mutually exclusive ideal types, this conceptualization is a gross oversimplification of the complexity of real life (McGuire, 1983). Multiple logics are often called logic complexity, because they are just that - complex. Different organizations may experience and navigate the same logics differently. Similar behaviors may be compatible with multiple logics and across organizations a similar behavior may reflect different logic adoption. Organizations may adopt different logics across time and situations. Responses to logics are dynamic and constantly in flux. The following results chapters do not capture the full complexity of the real-life happenings at each boutique fitness studio but are an attempt to make sense of them.

Findings

Logic prescriptions. Market, community and health institutional logics were the three dominant logics that appeared in the data collected for this research about the boutique fitness field. Each prescribed varying values, actions and behaviors. Below I describe the behaviors that each logic prescribed across four categories: class characteristics, sales and marketing, interpersonal interactions and engagement with ClassPass (Table 1). In this chapter, I focus on the first three categories. In the following chapter, I conduct an in-depth analysis of each organization's interactions with ClassPass providing evidence that logic adoption shaped engagement with ClassPass.

Market. A dominant market logic prescribed larger class sizes, with equipment set up to maximize space allowing for increased revenue per class. While a market logic did not prescribe a specific type of instruction, music or movement, a consistent experience delivered with little incremental resource expenditure by the organization was ideal, resulting in pre-made class formats and playlists. A market logic also prescribed heavy marketing efforts to increase unique visitors and branded clothing and merchandise for profit, which also served as an advertisement for the brand. Studios adopting a dominant market logic had a rigid check-in process, ensuring that those who were present paid for class and those who signed up but did not show up were charged for their absence. A market logic prescribed little to no engagement in extra-curricular activities or special events, given the lack of replicability and efficiency. Finally, heavy engagement with ClassPass leading to increased traffic and revenue to the studio constituted a dominant market logic.

Community. A community logic supported both large and small class sizes, with equipment set up in a non-hierarchical form (e.g. a circle) allowing for conversation and community surveillance (Markula, 2003). Small class sizes enabled conversation and community amongst participants. Alternatively, a large class size could also indicate a dominant community logic as it led to greater collective energy if the group was engaging in ritualistic movement and behaviors in unison. A dominant community logic also prescribed instructors using consumers' names, encouraging consumer engagement in the structure of class, while focusing on positive and uplifting messages and music that resonated with those in the community along with collective movement. Protecting the boundaries of the community was critical if a studio adopted a dominant community logic meaning little to no visible signage and not engaging with ClassPass meaning those who attended were insiders within the community.

A community logic encouraged giving away branded items, with words and symbols that represented the community, fostering a visual sense of solidarity among members. A studio with a dominant community logic would not have an official check in process because everyone present was a member of the community and known by the others in the community, serving as an informal social pressure to attend. A community logic prescribed activities and events outside of fitness classes related to the community or community members, such as birthday celebrations, baby showers or community outreach. A community logic encouraged the presence of friends, family and children.

Health. Finally, a health logic prescribed smaller class sizes and functional set up of equipment, allowing instructors to pay attention to individual participants and share expert knowledge about the form and purpose of each movement and effective use by consumers. Music selection was secondary, with functional instruction driving the workout. A health logic encouraged the sale of health-related items, rather than brand related items and marketing and communications efforts focused on health messages, rather than encouraging purchases. A health logic dictated involvement in extra activities that contributed to the health and well-being of individuals. A studio with a dominant health logic engaged with ClassPass as it allowed a larger group of individuals to engage in fitness activities. The field of boutique fitness has a more dominant health logic compared to other fields of organizations such as bookstores, hair salons, or coffee shops, for example. The darker shading behind each organization reflects a more dominant health logic compared to the other two focal organizations. For example, the darker blue shading of Precision visually depicts the more dominant health logic at Precision compared to Soar and Spin City.

TABLE I
LOGICS PRESCRIPTIONS IN THE BOUTIQUE FITNESS FIELD

	<u>Market logic</u>	<u>Health logic</u>	<u>Community logic</u>
Classes	<p>Large class sizes</p> <p>Premade class formats and music playlists to ensure consistent experience and least resource expenditure</p> <p>Equipment set up to maximize number of people in class</p>	<p>Small class sizes to all for individual attention and instruction from instructors</p> <p>Instruction focuses on correcting form and health benefits</p> <p>Space and equipment set up to allow for safe and functional movement</p> <p>Music is background and secondary to fitness focus of class</p>	<p>Consumer input welcome for class structure and set up</p> <p>Small and large class sizes</p> <p>Instruction is upbeat, uses names</p> <p>Equipment set up so no hierarchy</p> <p>Songs relevant to those in community</p>
Sales	<p>Rigid check-in process</p> <p>Heavy marketing efforts</p> <p>Large signage and promotional materials</p> <p>Branded merchandise for sale</p>	<p>Marketing messages focus on health benefits</p> <p>Health, fitness and performance merchandise is available and for sale</p>	<p>No check -in process</p> <p>No marketing efforts</p> <p>Branded merchandise given to community members</p>
Engagement	<p>Family can serve as cheap labor</p> <p>Little to no engagement in extra activities</p>	<p>Kids/pets are a distraction from health goals and are not welcome</p> <p>Events that promote health, e.g. nutrition workshops</p>	<p>Family and kids are present and are a part of class and the community</p> <p>Celebrations of members bringing individuals together outside of class</p>
ClassPass	<p>Heavy engagement to increase revenue</p>	<p>Moderate engagement - the more people in fitness the better</p>	<p>Avoid - desire to protect the boundaries of the community</p>

Logic adoption. Above, I described the behaviors and values that market, community and health logics prescribe in the boutique fitness field. I now describe the individual characteristics of the three focal owners and discuss how each owners' characteristics shaped how each organization navigated the logics of the boutique fitness field.

Soar. Soar experienced the most tension navigating the logics of the boutique fitness field. While a health logic was present at Soar, the tensions between market and community logics were dominant. Chloe's, the owner, healthy physique, entrepreneurial background, engagement in the field, selective presence in the studio, and role as a mother and member of the local community all shaped how Soar experienced the logics of the boutique fitness field. Chloe's personal characteristics provide clarity as to why Soar, compared to other organizations in the study, experienced more tensions between logics. The tension between logics was apparent in nearly all aspects of Soar's business including the setup of exercise rooms, the structure of classes, sales and marketing efforts as well as the role of interpersonal engagement within the studio.

The owner of Soar, Chloe, was an extremely fit (exemplified by having competed in a bodybuilding competition the year prior), compact, white, red headed woman who was in her 50s. Her physique served as an advertisement and capital for her business (Hutson, 2013). In addition to her look, Chloe displayed her strength during classes where she demonstrated movements with ease, lifting weights along with members of the class, but always easily lifting a heavier weight than all attendees (which was apparent by the colors of the dumbbells when we were downstairs) – no matter their age or gender.

Chloe started Soar seven years prior to my time of observation, after teaching group fitness classes at a high-end big box gym in Dartford and thinking she could do it better on her

own. She attended college for Theater and after graduating engaged in a series of entrepreneurial activities, called herself a “serial entrepreneur,” which she attributed to her mom’s entrepreneurial spirit, before becoming a fitness instructor. Prior to owning Soar, she owned several businesses and at the time of observation, owned another business— also in the health field.

Chloe was a local representative for a national athletic brand, wearing the brands clothing while in the studio. The owner was relatively engaged in the field, as she was a pioneer in the boutique fitness field in Dartford. Other boutique studio owners came to her with questions ranging from advice on starting a cycle studio to questions about locksmiths.

Chloe’s family was constantly present at the studio, whether in the stories she told about her 8 year old son, her husband listed on the website as an instructor (though he did not teach a class during my observation period), or her 16 year old son working at the front desk. Chloe lived in the neighborhood where Soar was located. Her sons attended school with the children of other attendees. Two people, who Chloe considered her best friends, attended Soar – with one of the friendships starting in the fitness world; the person attended Chloe’s classes when she taught at the big box gym and continued to attend when she opened Soar.

Chloe’s look, as well as her personality, contributed to the command she took when she entered a room. She often walked in the front door and greeted everyone in the room, ensuring to give each person a hug or speak to everyone present. Everyone in the studio, old and young, male and female, gravitated towards her. Fellow boutique fitness owners fittingly described her as follows:

Eliza: I walk in and she’s like bouncing around like half singing and half talking to people. And it's just like here, here, here.

Skylar: She's hard to ignore 'cause she's all over you.

Skylar: Yeah right, she's like a little Chihuahua. She's all over the room.

Eliza: Yeah I was like, 'Oh... you're really this person'? I want to be like you.

Skylar: Totally, like, it's not an act.

Eliza, white female, boutique fitness studio owner

Skylar, white female, boutique fitness studio owner and Soar instructor

While attendees at Soar echoed the sentiment about Chloe's magnetic personality and appearance,

She was just very generous, very friendly, she's a very easy person to--I don't want to say this but follow. I don't know. She's just super shiny and super happy, and it's hard not to gravitate to somebody like that

Allison, white female, Soar attendee

Chloe's background in entrepreneurship, her membership in the community, friendships with members and role as a mother led Chloe to adopt dominant, yet often incompatible market and community logics, leading to tension within the organization. Chloe adopted behaviors from each logic in different aspects of her business as I describe below. While a health logic was present at Soar, by the nature of the business as a fitness studio and Chloe's in shape physique, Soar struggled with the tensions of market, community and health logics. Chloe's intersectional identity and characteristics as an entrepreneur, a member of the community and a mother all shaped how Soar responded to logic complexity.

Soar experienced the most tension navigating the logics of the boutique fitness field, evidenced in the differences between the two types of classes offered and the set-up of equipment in different exercise rooms, the décor of the space, the varying presence of Chloe, the owners' willingness to help other fitness studios and the owners continuing struggle about the future of Soar.

Soar offered two types of class – cycle and High Intensity Interval Training (HIIT) classes. The room set up for HIIT classes reflected a market logic, while the room set up for cycle reflected a community logic. While cycle classes were historically the core of Soar’s business, Chloe introduced HIIT classes in 2015– during the ClassPass era. While both classes were medium to large in size, with up 24 bikes and 18 cardio machines respectively, the room set up differed. For example, the 18 cardio machines snugly fit in two rows of nine in the fitness room – with no additional space for machines, aligning with a market logic. On the other hand, the bikes were spaciouly arranged in semi-circle rows around an instructor podium, aligning with a community logic both due to the arrangement of the bikes in a semi-circle allowing people to see each other and a less clear hierarchy. The setup of the HIIT room aligning with a market logic compared to the cycle room aligning with a community logic demonstrated the adoption of market and community logics within the same organization in different situations.

Soar was the only one of the three focal studios with visible signage outside. Large orange awnings and signage hung outside of Soar, visible from the busy street where the studio sat. While the signage outside conveyed a market logic, the “feeling like you’re working out in someone’s home” (Alicia, white female, Soar – attendee) with family pictures on the wall espoused a community logic and provided another example of adopting behaviors for both market and community logics within Soar.

Chloe’s varying presence in the studio and the characteristics of those who attended at different times of day reflected how market and community logics were dominant at different times of day at Soar. For example, Chloe taught mid-morning classes 4 out of 5 days a week. A consistent group of long term members attended in the morning. During the first day of observation, two people in the mid-morning class came over and introduced themselves to me

and asked if it was my first time there. This never occurred during evening classes, where Chloe was often not present, more ClassPass members attended, and an inconsistent group of individuals attended. My field notes reflect that Soar felt like two different studios depending on the time of day. During the mid-morning class, a community logic dominated where everyone knew each other, demonstrated by large group conversations before and after class. Whereas in the evening, people typically spoke only with who they came with, or with no one at all.

Chloe planned to open a new studio and spoke of adopting a more central market logic by offering only HIIT classes, removing the pictures of herself and family from the walls, larger class sizes, and attracting more ClassPass members. However, Chloe expressed excitement about holding brunches after classes to allow people to socialize and get to know each other, aligning with a community logic, another example of logic conflict at Soar. However, Soar closed and did not reopen in the new space. Chloe's final email to Soar attendees cited conflicting community and market logics in her email:

What an amazing community of people and instructors this has been for 7 years! You all are what have made this decision so hard.

I am so proud to be a pioneer of Dartford 's boutique fitness industry which has grown leaps and bounds over the years. In fact, a bit too much as the market has become oversaturated with a studio on every corner.

I personally have decided it's time for me to move on and focus on other business opportunities that that are in my life.

Chloe, white female, Soar owner

Even in her final email, conflicting market and community logics prevailed. Chloe cited the community as why she remained open, but the growth of the boutique fitness industry as well as pursuing other business endeavors as the reason for closing, aligning with a market logic.

Figure 1 visually displays the logic complexity at each organization. The tension between

market and community logics at Soar is represented by equal sized circles that do not overlap, reflecting low compatibility.

Precision. While Soar experienced tensions between market and community logics, Precision navigated the logics of the boutique fitness field by adopting a dominant health logic that drove decision making. Though health drove decision making, health, community and market logics were highly compatible at Precision. The community logic was least dominant here compared to the other focal studios, however, present, compared to the broader fitness field. The owner's formal education in exercise and health science, a life-long career in fitness leading to prestige in the industry, and excellent physical physique all shaped Precision's experiences and responses to logic complexity in the boutique fitness field. The dominant health logic at Precision was exemplified by the small class sizes, type of instruction, and Tara's position in the field and presence in the studio. These factors were often compatible with a market logic and sometimes a community logic. Though a health logic was dominant, characteristics such as the lack of signage and presence of the owner's dog reflected a community logic.

Tara, the owner of Precision, was a white woman in her 40s with spiky hair (sometimes dyed different colors and often the topic of conversation). She was in phenomenal shape, typically dressed in workout clothes, but rarely displayed her physique. The owner obtained a college degree in exercise science and was aligned with national fitness brands, often traveling to work fitness events for these brands. She also served on panels and was featured on local news channels about fitness. Her name was known amongst other boutique fitness owners, who discussed their respect for her fitness acumen and her business.

Tara had previously worked in a big-box gym and when presented the opportunity to work in a small facility focusing on competitive athletes on a one-on-one capacity, her and her

then partner jumped at the opportunity. Very quickly, her former class attendees from the big box gym expressed the desire for her and her partner to continue offering small group classes, to which they obliged.

The owner of Precision, Tara, was highly engaged in the field. For example, the owner of Precision sat on a panel sponsored by a national retailer, compared to the owner of Soar who attended the panel in the audience. She also required instructors to have national certifications - aligned with a health logic. Tara often travelled for health-related engagements, so was often not present in the studio, leaving her manager to handle the day-to-day operations of the studio.

It was not obvious to me during my time at Precision whether Tara was partnered or with children – the topic never came up. However, her dog, Buster, roamed the studio and was listed on the website, as well as was a favorite among members.

Tara's connections and leadership supported compatible health and market logics as her expertise brought a health legitimacy to the studio:

Tara's name is actually pretty synonymous with...this will give her ego a little boost, but like excellence, right? Because if you're going to take Tara's class, then you know you have a top-line instructor that cares about your body, and there's a safety-ness...safety. Is that a word? There's a safety... **[Interviewer: Feeling of safety?]** There's a safe feeling that she's not going to do something that's going to hurt you, as opposed to other gyms where who knows who's teaching....It adds credibility.

Mike, white male, Precision instructor

Tara's education in exercise science, a lifelong career in fitness and heavy engagement in the field shaped the adoption of a dominant health logic at Precision. Precision navigated the tension between market, community and health by adopting a dominant health logic that drove decision-making. Though a health logic drove decisions, these decisions were often compatible with how Precision experienced and interpreted market and community logics. Tara cited the

importance of treating exercise like a science and emphasized the value and importance of earning a degree in exercise science:

But I mean, I mean...it's a science. There's a definite like it's, you know, I've got a freaking degree in it, you know, like it's a science in terms of like why we, how we structured, what we structured. Why we lay it out on the schedule like we do. And how that essentially affects every single person that comes in here in terms of like "This is our schedule. Talk to us about your goals. More like talk to us about your goals, okay? This is the schedule.... It's a science, and it's not easy to learn or understand. Unfortunately, it goes back to the no-regulations behind it, which is awful...There are no federal guidelines saying the people who teach here, or Soul Cycle, or Orange theory, or anywhere else, have to have a certain accredited certification to teach. Anybody can get it, you don't have to have a degree in exercise science in order to become a trainer. But at the end of the day, I could technically hire anybody with or without a certification, which is garbage because then, if you're not educated in it, then how do you know what that client needs

Tara, white female, Precision owner

Precision prided itself on small class sizes. The number of pieces of equipment at Precision provided a physical limit on class sizes as there were only four treadmills and five rower machines at the first location. The small class size allowed instructors to observe all participants and correct form, aligning with a health logic. Small class sizes also aligned with the goals of market logic and community logic. The small class size and instructors' ability to correct form differentiated Precision from other boutique fitness studios. Precision attendees cited the small class size and personalized instruction as a competitive advantage, aligning with a market logic:

Once I went to [another boutique fitness studio], I discovered they don't [correct form]. And even though I like [the other studio] and it's also super close to my house, it is and I do go there once in a blue moon. I don't like that they just let you kind of do whatever. Like you could be doing it wrong, you could be harming yourself and it's such a bigger class that I don't think it's in their culture to correct or to notice. So, I love that about Precision.... Like I enjoy when it's very personalized like that and I think Precision accomplishes...

Kristen, white female, Precision attendee

The small class size differentiated Precision in the boutique fitness field, providing a competitive advantage noted by Kristen above. Small class sizes also aligned with a community logic. Small classes allowed for individuals to socialize with each other as well as instructors. The small class sizes encouraged dialogue with those in the community, but potentially also protected the boundaries of the community by demarcating insiders and outsiders.

My field notes reflect an outsider sentiment of feeling slightly uncomfortable, even though I had attended Precision several times. On several occasions after arriving 15 minutes before class and spending a few minutes going to the locker area, then to the bathroom, then back to the locker area, I would finally sit on a bench on my phone, to pass the time before class started. Other attendees who arrived began stretching or rolling on foam rollers; some engaged in small group conversations, but others kept to themselves. To me it seemed as if everyone else either knew someone or knew what they should be doing – and I did not. Tanya, the manager, described that feeling as follows,

And if somebody was new and not comfortable, all of the sudden, it's like you're sitting at a dinner table with five people who are really intimately connected, and you don't know [them], and you've still gotta eat.

Tanya, white female, Precision manager

The small class size at Precision protected the boundaries of the community and was a competitive advantage, compatible with market and community logics, though driven by a health logic.

The health logic also guided the type of instruction at Precision. Precision instructors discussed planning the structure of their classes around a health or fitness goal, music playing a

secondary role to instruction, and the focus on functional movements and health inspired words to guide fitness attendees through workouts,

Sometimes the way that I'm gonna make it interesting is to give you a lot of really smarty-pants information like we're going to talk about what an endurance drill is and how an endurance drill is different from a sprint drill and even if you're not processing all that I'm saying, you're hearing certain key words and your brain has to activate in order to understand those words. Instead of "yeah girl, do it" you know, which is a whole other type of motivation.

Tanya, white female, Precision manager

Another example of the compatibility between the dominant health logic and market logic at Precision was Tara's focus and achieved excellence in her own physical fitness as she described below,

Everything, everything. If I'm not on my training game it affects everything from my mood to my energy that I give to my productivity. Yeah. Energy, mood, productivity, of which energy and mood are pretty much the same thing. For sure. If yeah, one hundred percent. And, [laughs] it can sometimes be a bad thing though, too, because sometimes I feel like I get frustrated with some clients, because they don't put the same amount of effort into their own training that I do into mine, and I'll be like "You know, don't I don't know that I should care about your fitness more than you do. And I'm trying, kind of feeling that I do!" And it's really kind of attacking me a little bit. But yeah, I mean my own personal fitness has a massive... And just in terms of my ability to be able to be creative. If I don't stay on top of my training game and working, and I work with two trainers. I work with Cindy, who is in a part of the organization. Mike is into martial arts and functional training, and athletic sports. It helps sharpen me, because I mean, it's like any language. If you don't use it, you lose it. And I think people have a ton of respect for that. Again, going back to the dentist with bad teeth, you know? Not that you have to look the part. Trainers don't have to look the part. But you have to show that you get the job done, and that you're, you prioritize your own personal well-being, and your own personal health

Tara, white female, Precision owner

Tara's physical fitness aligned with the goals and legitimacy of a health logic but also in terms of a market logic as a strong physique legitimized the business and served as a business card.

Neither of Precision's locations were visible from the street, rather both locations' entrances required you to walk around to the back and through a parking lot. The lack of signage for Precision protected the boundaries of the community, creating insider and outsider knowledge.

You can tell me if this makes sense at all but we are neighborhood-y so we don't have a lot of physical marketing materials aside for our name being passed around word-of-mouth. A lot of people don't know that we're here. But people in the neighborhood know that we're here because they walk around, they might see something, they've stopped in once or twice--... But we are neighborhood-y. I would say we are definitely embedded in the community to a certain extent. We are a personable gym, we're small.

Tanya, white female, Precision manager

In addition to the lack of signage, Tara's dog's presence aligned with a community logic as I observed attendees citing his presence and affection (jokingly) as reasons they continued to attend Precision. Figure 1 visually depicts the dominant health logic at Precision, by the darker shading compared to Soar and Precision. Additionally, the larger circle representing a market logic, compared to the community logic, depicts the dominant market logic, compared to the community logic. The overlap depicts some compatibility between the market and community logics at Precision.

Spin City. Compared to Soar and Precision, Spin City navigated the logic complexity of the boutique fitness field by adopting a dominant community logic that drove decision-making. Thomas, a black father, a member of the local community and church, and former MC turned corporate sales, turned fitness studio owner and instructor all shaped how Spin City experienced and responded to the logic complexity in the boutique fitness field. Though a community logic drove decision making, many decisions were compatible the goals of a market logic - increasing revenue. A health logic was present at Spin City; however, it was less dominant compared to a

market and community logic. A community logic was evident at Spin City due to the collective movement, the community-oriented check in process, the lack of signage and the presence of children and personal engagement present at Spin City.

Thomas, a black man in his late 30s with a bald head, previously worked in corporate sales and taught cycle classes at a big box gym before opening Spin City full time. He did not consider himself an entrepreneur, but as his business grew, he realized he needed to start thinking more like one. He started attending indoor cycling classes after he saw a man with a bodybuilding physique teaching a class and playing music he enjoyed at a big box studio. Soon after, Thomas eventually earned his instructor certification and became a part time cycle instructor at a big box gym. Thomas' classes at the big box gym regularly had a waiting list, and, on a whim, he purchased 15 bikes without a place to hold class. At first, Thomas conducted mobile/pop-up cycle classes, keeping the bikes in his father's basement and transporting them in a U-Haul to restaurants and other public spaces to teach classes, until he found his current location inside a larger fitness facility where his son was taking lessons.

Thomas' fiancé and his seven-year-old son were often present at Spin City. His son, during evening and weekend classes, participated in dance classes in the room next door, ran around the facility playing with attendees' kids, or came into the cycle studio, danced to the music, and mimicked the movements of her dad and class attendees. Thomas was recently engaged during my observation (now married) – and in fact –proposed to his fiancé at a Spin City cycling event. The couple was expecting a daughter during observation and threw a baby shower for their “fitness family” at the cycle studio. Thomas' wife also taught fitness classes, with some attendees at Spin City attending her boot camp classes and vice versa. Thomas appeared to be in decent physical condition, though his physique was not the same impeccable

shape as the owners of Soar and Precision. He acknowledged he wanted to improve his fitness but cited the difficulties of finding time to workout while teaching classes and running a business. Thomas was well liked by his attendees, which drove people to attend Spin City:

[...] Thomas is the best instructor ever...Thomas is special because Thomas loves his Spin City family and he wants to see us do better. He loves to push us. He wants us to be healthy. He challenges [us] every day when we need ...to go out and be the best that we can be. He always pushes us, always, always. Even when he sees us struggle. You know what I mean? He gonna push us, yeah. And it wasn't hard for me to connect with him you know what I mean? He a happy person. I've never heard him talk negative. He's always full of positive. Even when situations wasn't positive, he always found some[thing] positive to say. So, it's easy to be around somebody like that.
Gwen, Black female, Spin City attendee

Spin City attendees described Thomas as having a gift to teach group fitness. Though he described himself as a quiet person who did not engage in small talk, during class Thomas often sang, rapped, danced, roller-skated and told jokes.

Thomas's characteristics shaped Spin City's response to the logic complexity present in the boutique fitness field. Spin City adopted a dominant community logic. Thomas's adoption and interpretation of a community logic were, at least partially, based on his individual characteristics as a black male, a father and a member of the community. The dominant community logic was evidenced by the collective movement in classes, the community-oriented check in process, the presence of family and the explicit and implicit connections to the black church. I focus on the class structure, check in process and presence of family in this chapter. In chapter six, I provide more detail about the tenets of the black church evoked.

Collective movement was a key component of classes at Spin City. Cycle class at Spin City involved more than pedaling faster or increasing the resistance on the bike to mimic riding up a hill. Rather, Thomas called the class a "rhythm ride:"

We do more rhythm riding. It's rhythmic, it's to the beat, it's routines..., you know if you go to a [different] spin class, we're climbing this hill, we're going to climb, you know, we want your RPM's or your revolutions to be at, it's like, our bikes don't even have the technology to know what you're doing. You don't even know what your resistance is...you know what I mean, like it's all about ...that rhythm ride and you know just catching the beat type of thing.

Thomas, Black male, Spin City owner

The movement on the bike at Spin City reflected what Thomas called a rhythm ride and what some interview respondents called “dancing on a bike” (Jay, black male). Most days the thirty plus members of a Spin City class moved forward and back, up and down on their bikes in unison, creating a collective energy and rituals within Spin City that supported the community logic. Chapter six discusses in more detail how individual, social, contextual and historical factors shape the dominance and interpretation of a community logic at Spin City.

In contrast to Precision, where small classes sizes aligned with a community logic, large class sizes at Spin City aligned with a community logic as it allowed for greater collective movement and energy within the room. However, the large class size also aligned with a market logic as more people attending each class increased revenue.

Spin City's check-in process was anchored in the honor system. Thomas did not check if everyone who signed up attended class – nor if everyone who was present signed up (and therefore paid). During my observation period, Thomas asked me to check people in and take their pictures. Due to slow Wi-Fi, uploading pictures took several minutes, meaning I often missed checking in some people. When I asked Thomas if he wanted me to focus on taking pictures or checking people in, he clarified that his priority was attendee's pictures, so he could learn names, reflecting a community logic. Thomas knew many consumers' names and often called them out if they had not attended in a while. Though no formal check-in process was in

place, the community operated as a form of surveillance at Spin City as Thomas knew attendee's names, attendees knew each other's names and inquired about each other's whereabouts.

Spin City was not visible from the street and no signage indicated its presence. Spin City's location within a larger sports facility made it nearly impossible for those outside the community to find, in fact I got lost my first time trying to find the studio. The lack of signage allowed members of the community to access Spin City, while those outside of the community may not be aware of its presence.

Thomas used multiple social media channels to advertise his business, including Facebook and Instagram. Thomas avoided ClassPass (discussed in more detail in the following chapter). While, Soar for example, encouraged consumers to put their phones away during class, Thomas encouraged attendees to "check in" on Facebook at the beginning of each class. Thomas took selfies and videos or asked me or his son to take Facebook live videos of the class, encouraging those watching online to attend class. Thomas attributed much of the growth at Spin City to social media. For example, a video that a local pastor posted garnered tens of thousands of views on Facebook. This method of marketing allowed the owner of Spin City to grow his business, in a controlled manner, from within the existing community.

Shared memories are a key component of community allowing for shared insider knowledge. Thomas recently proposed to his fiancé at a Spin City cycling event. Multiple Spin City attendees mentioned this moment as when they felt a part of the community,

Gwen: Well we're a family that love on each other. And we love Thomas. Thomas is getting ready to get married. Yes, so when he proposed he proposed in front of his Spin City family.

Interviewer: Really?

Gwen: Yes, yes. He proposed. We did a thing at the community center this year and he got on his knees, he brought her family in, she didn't know. So, he included his family in all that. And that meant a lot, we were so happy, we was crying. It was really nice. And they gettin' ready to have a baby, yeah. So, it was awesome to be a part of that you know what I mean? Yeah, it was good. It was good.

Gwen, black female –Spin City attendee

The couple was expecting a daughter during observation and threw a baby shower for their “fitness family” at the cycle studio. Children were often present at Spin City. Thomas’ seven-year-old son and other attendee’s children participated in a dance class in the studio next door, ran around the facility playing, or came into the cycle studio, danced to the music and mimicked the movements of Thomas and other attendees.

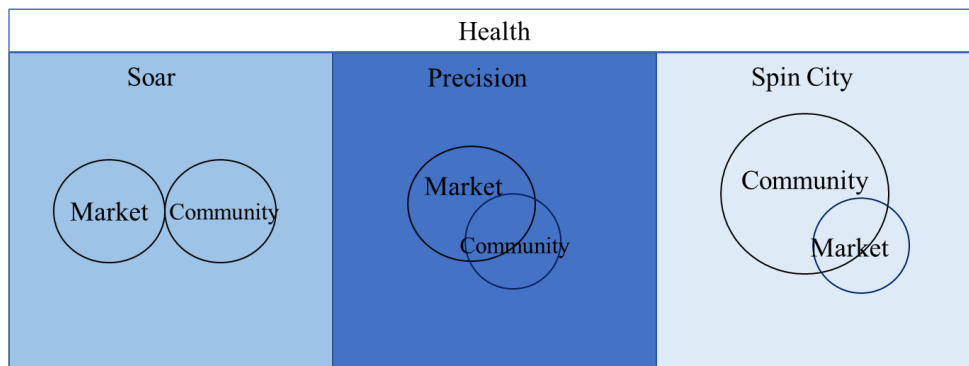
Thomas described the presence of family at Spin City as positive, again aligning with a community logic:

I think it's a good thing, I think it brings that family...and it's not anything that I do on purpose like I'm not like, 'I'm going to bring my son' because like no, I don't have nobody to watch him, you don't have anybody to watch...like at our facility, we don't have childcare. But it's a [fitness] place and we have these big windows, so, the kids you know be in the window or they be next door. You know dancing, having fun they're not little babies. And then the good thing about where we are, it's like a safe haven, like you feel safe...I feel safe with my son being there, you know what I mean? It's not like we're out somewhere... where you knowit's like a community and when you walk in that door, it's like even though we're not in the best place as far as like it being super clean, you still feel safe, you know what I mean? We got somebody at the front desk, the doors unlocked; the kids can like go in there and turn on the music and play. They stand at the doorway and you know, the way I give them my.....[my son's] like my video person, I'm like hey, I'm going on Facebook. You know I give them my phone, keep videos, I think people see that and then it's almost like an investment like, I gotta support [Thomas], you know what I mean? Like, he got a kid, you know what I mean, and I got a kid on the way. You know like, you saw it like, so, right now [my fiancé is] pregnant, she's due in the fall. We've received more gifts already like, we just get them at the door of our house, people leave them at the studio, we haven't even had our baby shower yet, we got...so we're doing two baby showers, we're doing one for our fitness family, so far on

Facebook we got like a hundred and twenty people said they're coming. And then we're doing one for family and friends September second, Labor Day on a Saturday. We got a hundred fifty people for that. So, it's like that's three hundred people, like, people are seeing it and like they love to see our love and like they just like supporting us, you know.

Thomas, black male –Spin City owner

At the time of observation, Thomas taught all classes at Spin City and was therefore a common and consistent presence within the community at Spin City. Often it seemed that attendees were as attached to Thomas as they were to the fitness routine, as other instructors he had hired had not been received favorably. The larger community logic circle (in figure 1) depicts a more dominant community logic at Spin City compared to a market logic. However, the circles overlap, reflecting some compatibility between the two logics. The lighter shading for Spin City, reflects the least dominant health logic compared to the other focal organizations.



Note: Darker color reflects a more dominant health logic. The larger size of the circles for represents a more dominant logic. The overlap of the circles represents more compatibility between the two logics.

Figure 1. The logics of boutique fitness

Discussion

This chapter provided evidence of how individual characteristics shape and overlap with organizational characteristics playing a critical role in how organizations experience and respond

to logic complexity. Additionally, this chapter demonstrated how organizations respond differently to the array of logics in a field, moving beyond examining two conflicting logics as in previous studies.

Chloe, the owner of Soar, was a serial entrepreneur, in her own words, and a member of the community where Soar was located. These individual characteristics shaped organizational characteristics of Soar and how Soar navigated the logic tension of the boutique fitness field, experiencing the most tensions out of the three focal studio - struggling to navigate the tensions between market and community. On the other hand, Tara's, the owner of Precision, education in exercise science and central position in the boutique fitness field, led Precision to adopt a dominant health logic that drove decision making and often aligned with Precision's interpretation of market and community logics. Finally, Thomas's identity as a black male, a father and member of the community drove the adoption of a dominant community logic at Spin City.

This chapter builds on existing theory by providing examples of how organizations navigate more than two logics present in any given field. This chapter also draws attention to the overlap of individual and organizations factors in small businesses and how that shapes logic adoption. Finally, applying institutional theories to the case of boutique fitness studios provides an example of the wide applicability of the theory as well as provides a foundation for scholars to study fitness and gyms from an institutional and organizational lens.

Chapter V: Engagement with ClassPass

Chapter four provided evidence of how individual characteristics of owner entrepreneurs shaped how their small businesses responded to the array of logics present in the boutique fitness field. This chapter builds on that foundation and provides further qualitative and quantitative evidence of the unique ways each organization navigated the array of logics of the boutique fitness field. The introduction of ClassPass to the boutique fitness field provided a unique empirical opportunity to demonstrate the varying logic adoption of the three focal studios described in the previous chapter, as each organization responded to a technological industry disruptor differently.

ClassPass was a technological disrupter that aggregated access inventory at boutique fitness studios across a region and allowed consumers to purchase membership to ClassPass rather than to an individual gym. Members gained access to a variety of boutique fitness studios, while studios received marketing and increased resource utilization of empty spaces in class. In this chapter, I first describe qualitatively how each organization responded to ClassPass, finding that Soar became dependent on ClassPass reflecting the tensions of market and community logics, Precision engaged with ClassPass reflecting the adoption of a health logic, while Spin City avoided ClassPass, reflecting a dominant community logic. Each organizations' reaction to same exogenous shock, the introduction of technological disrupter ClassPass, triangulated the qualitative data presented in the previous chapter. I then conduct an interrupted time series analysis demonstrating the varying engagement and impact of ClassPass on Soar and Precision, providing additional evidence of the differing logic adoption across the three focal boutique fitness studios.

The impact of ClassPass on Soar and Precision further demonstrated how Soar's tension between market and community contributed to its closing, while Precision's health focus tempered their engagement with ClassPass. This chapter provides further evidence of the varying logic adoption at Soar, Precision and Spin City.

During the research, I realized that the field and organizational logics described in the previous chapter were being challenged by a technological innovation, ClassPass. In this chapter, I describe how boutique fitness studios navigated their interactions with ClassPass and the subsequent impact of ClassPass. This technological innovation had the potential to shift the logics of the field increasing the centrality of a market logic. Using interviews and field notes, I describe Soar, Precision and Spin City's interactions with ClassPass. I then present an interrupted time series (ITS) analysis to understand the impact of the introduction of ClassPass in September 2014 and the impact of changes to its pricing structure in May 2016 on Soar and Precision's attendance. I find that the differing logic adoption led to varying engagement and therefore impact of ClassPass.

Analytic Plan

To understand the impact of ClassPass on Soar and Precision, I conducted an ITS analysis. An ITS is best used to understand if and how an intervention, occurring at a clearly defined time point (Bernal, et al., 2017), impacts a continuous series of data measured at regular intervals (Bernal, et al., 2017) and answers questions about the magnitude, direction, and lasting effects of the intervention. Though more commonly used in econometrics and epidemiology, for example to study public health interventions ranging from suicide rates in Spain after the financial crisis (Lopez, et al. 2013) to the impact of bike helmet legislation on head injuries in Canada (Dennis et al., 2013), its quasi-experimental approach is useful to understand real world

settings (Kontopantelis, 2015), making it an ideal, yet underused, method in sociological studies. Its broad usage is hindered by the unique data specifications required such as data points observed at regular intervals both before and after the intervention point, as well as a known intervention point. ITS also accounts for pre-intervention trends, beyond taking simple means before and after the intervention (Kontopantelis, 2015). Fortunately, the administrative data from Soar and Precision fit these specifications.

I analyze the effects of the introduction of ClassPass and subsequent changes to its pricing structure on boutique fitness studios, compared to the null hypothesis that neither impacted boutique fitness studios (Bernal, et al., 2017). I analyzed administrative data from Soar and Precision separately, for the period of September 2012 – June 2017. Soar and Precision joined ClassPass a couple months after it launched in Dartford and continued their membership throughout data collection, providing 24 data points before the first intervention – the introduction of ClassPass, 21 data points between the introduction of ClassPass to the change in pricing structures and 12 time points post the change in pricing structure. Though there is no ideal number of data points required before or after the intervention (Bernal, et al., 2017), this period allowed for seasonal fluctuation and did not include data that date back too far, which may unintentionally incorporate historical events that are not relevant to the analysis (Bernal, et al., 2017) such as the growing pains of learning a new software or a new business.

ITS allowed for analysis of whether the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent prices change impacted: 1) the slope of the regression line, meaning that the rate of growth of one of the four focal outcomes differed after the intervention and 2) changed the intercept, causing an immediate increase or decrease at the time of intervention (Shadish, Cook & Campbell, 2001). ITS analysis offered a unique analysis of the administrative data of boutique

fitness studios to understand the impact of the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent organizational decisions on the boutique fitness industry.

Dependent variables/Outcomes. I focused on how the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent organizational decisions impacted four focal outcomes at Soar and Precision: revenue from class sales, total attendance per month, unique visitors per month, and the average number of visitors per month. I aggregated each of the four focal outcomes at monthly intervals from January 2012 – June 2017. Each focal outcome captured a slightly different aspect of the boutique fitness industry. For example, ClassPass paid studios a lower rate per class than what an individual paid if they attended the class directly through the studio, so though the total visits may have increased at a particular studio, their revenue may have decreased with the introduction of ClassPass. Unique visitors captured the unique number of people that came through the doors of each studio, while visits per person helps to understand how often each of those unique individuals attends per month. ClassPass may impact each of these outcomes differently.

Interventions. The two intervention points were the introduction of ClassPass (September 2014) and ClassPass' price increase to consumers of 47% in Dartford (May 2016). Both studios joined ClassPass within the first few months of its introduction to Dartford. However, rather than using the date each organization joined ClassPass as the intervention date, I used the date ClassPass was introduced to the Dartford boutique fitness field to understand how the introduction of a field level industry disrupter impacted organizations – regardless of the organization's date of adoption.

Analytic approach. Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics to better understand each of the four focal outcomes, both overall and within each of the three time periods. Next, I

estimated the interrupted time series models, or piecewise models, to understand the impact of the introduction of ClassPass and its organizational decisions, specified in the model below:

$$y_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 T + \beta_2 T X_1 + \beta_4 X_1 + \beta_3 T X_2 + \beta_5 X_2$$

where:

y_t = the focal outcome at time point t

T = months since January 2012

β_0 = the value of the focal outcome at time point 0 (intercept)

β_1 = change in focal outcome associated with a month progression of time (pre introduction of ClassPass)

β_2 = slope change post the introduction of ClassPass

β_3 = slope change post ClassPass change in pricing structure

β_4 = changes in intercept post the introduction of ClassPass

β_5 = change in intercept post ClassPass change in pricing structure

X_i = dummy variable indicating if the time point is pre or post the specified intervention

I specified the model to allow for ongoing effects (changes in the slope) and main effects (immediate changes in the intercept) with the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent change in pricing structure. For example, in the model above, for each of the focal outcomes, β_2 represents the ongoing effect of the introduction of ClassPass while β_4 represents the immediate impact of the introduction of ClassPass. Subsequently β_3 represents the ongoing effect and change in growth over time after the change in pricing structure, while β_5 represents the immediate impact of the change in pricing structure. Since I use administrative data consisting of the population, p statistics and measures of significance are not appropriate as I am not making inferences to a broader population. Instead, when examining the impact of the two focal

interventions, I focus on the values of the coefficients and if the changes are meaningful to each organization.

I provide scatter plots for Soar and Precision for each of the four focal outcomes, allowing for a visual understanding of the data over time (Bernal, 2017a; Bhaskaran, et al. 2013; Kontopantelis, 2015), the intervention points and the regression lines before and after each intervention point.

Controls. To understand if the effects seen in the previous model could be due to an endogenous factor within the gyms, I analyzed a revenue stream that was not a part of ClassPass at Precision. For example, Precision offered personal training classes that were not available on ClassPass. Though considered fitness services – they do not fall into the definition of boutique fitness since they are not class based. If, for example, changes observed at Precision for group classes were due to internal changes in staff or neighborhood factors, we would expect to see similar changes when analyzing personal training data. Additionally, Soar introduced a new format of class – HIIT- to their studio in January 2015 in the ClassPass era, prior to the change in pricing structure. Analyzing Soar HIIT data provided another control as we expect the impact of ClassPass’ change in pricing structure to impact this format of classes more dramatically, given its introduction after the field logic shift to a more central market logic.

Limitations. The number of boutique fitness studios has grown exponentially during the period of analysis. ClassPass’ role in the boutique fitness industry makes it difficult to isolate the growth of boutique fitness from the growth of ClassPass. ClassPass offered studios loans to open additional locations while making the price point for boutique fitness more accessible to a broader population. For example, a 10-class package at Precision cost \$200, a 10-class membership to ClassPass costs \$115 per month. The number of boutique fitness studios in

Dartford has increased over the period of analysis resulting in increased competition to the focal studios, therefore any negative observed effects could be attributed to increased competition rather than the introduction of ClassPass. However, given ClassPass' role in the growth of the industry, both on the organizational and consumer side, I contend that the increase in competition is both directly and indirectly a result of the introduction of ClassPass, making this study even more relevant. Additionally, increased market competition would have long term effects on organizations, rather than causing an immediate effect on visits or revenue. The current models allow for both.

Seasonality violates the assumption that data points are independent. With the weather patterns of Dartford, studio attendance may vary across seasons and observations in one month will tend to be more similar to neighboring months (Bernal et al., 2017). I use stata's post estimation *dwatson* command to test for first order serial correlation, identifying the probability that the error terms are independent and identically distributed (Stata Press, 2013). Using the *dwatson* statistic as an indicator, when appropriate, I adjust for seasonality by using Prais winsten transformed regression estimators that corrects standard errors and regression estimates for autocorrelation likely caused by, in this case, seasonality (Stata Press, 2013).

Engagement with ClassPass

Each logic prescribed different interactions with ClassPass. For example, a market logic prescribed heavy engagement with ClassPass to bring more traffic and additional revenue to the business. Alternatively, a dominant community logic prescribed avoiding ClassPass, instead, protecting the boundaries of the community from outsiders. ClassPass allowed a larger group of individuals to engage in fitness activities due to its price point – aligning with the health logic.

As mentioned above, Soar became dependent on ClassPass, Precision engaged with ClassPass, and Spin City avoided ClassPass; each organization's response reflecting their varying logic adoption. Both Soar and Precision owners expressed initial hesitation about joining ClassPass, however both joined within the first few months of its September 2014 Dartford launch. The owner of Soar talked to other owners when ClassPass launched in Dartford and, despite being skeptical, agreed to engage,

So, because [ClassPass] was less per head, it was really an interesting...time to watch the owners. And me as well, because, at first was like "No way. Nope, we're not doing this. No way. Nope" Because that's less money. And then slowly we saw our numbers start to die a little bit, and I was like "Alright... cause I remember we had a team meeting about it, and we were all like "OK, why wouldn't you give that class because right now that bike is empty, and at least you would get half a ten-class pass. So, then she was like "OK, I'm going to do it for cycle, but when we launch HIIT" because it was a couple of months before we launched HIIT, she was like "When we launch HIIT, I'm not doing class pass in HIIT." And then when we launched HIIT, HIIT really struggled the first couple, like the first month or so, to get new people. And I think it was because the consumers were going to class-pass. And so, then she opened it up to class-pass, and that's when our HIIT numbers really took off.

Tracy, white female, Soar instructor

Following its initial success, ClassPass began offering its partner studios loans. Given the increased revenue due to ClassPass, Chloe accepted two loans to continue improving Soar's facilities. However, when ClassPass changed its pricing model and ClassPass traffic declined, Chloe described paying back the second loan as feeling like she "sold her soul to the devil." The owner and instructors described consumers who previously bought monthly packages, who shifted to ClassPass and though occasionally bought supplemental packages were spending less money directly with the studio.

Soar became dependent on ClassPass revenue, particularly by taking the loans, leading to increased conflict between market and community logics.

One of the things I think Chloe did wrong was she first said she wasn't going to do ClassPass, and then once she did it, it started really driving her out of business. She...it became almost all of our business. Two, her ClassPass was over seventy percent of our business. And what happened was she got really comfortable with that, so that when ClassPass did the huge spike in their monthly fees, that's when our business died. And we never bounced back from it. We never bounced back.

Tracy, white female, Soar instructor

At Soar, market logics and community logics had low compatibility. Heavy dependence on ClassPass initially increased revenue aligning with a market a logic, however the ClassPass limit of three visits per month (less than once per week) countered a community logic where people got to know each other and develop a sense of intimacy:

Tracy: I saw the Soar people more than I saw my best friends, right? But I see my best friend, Max, one time a week, right, on the weekend. Maybe even less, now that we have kids, it's sometimes it's like once every two weeks, you know? Whereas when I'm teaching I was teaching five, but before I had my daughter I was teaching eight classes a week. When you're teaching eight classes a week, and consistently you have those people coming every single day, it's a regular touch point. It's almost like a colleague that you see every day, so it's slowly spending time. I also think that there's something unique about working out with someone because you're a little bit more vulnerable than you are kind of in your everyday life. Does that make sense?

Interviewer: Yeah. Tell me more.

Tracy: Well, like so you're always kind of pushing to a limit where you're not super comfortable, right? Especially those that come a lot, because they're dedicated to their workouts rather than someone who just kind of dabbles in it every once a month or once every three months, or whatever. People that consistently come, they're there because they really want to see a difference in their fitness.

Tracy, white female, Soar instructor

Soar's dependency on ClassPass aligned with a market logic, contrary to the family pictures on the wall, the cozy ambiance of the studio and intimacy created by sweating and spending time with the same group of people multiple times per week, highlighting the tensions of market and community logics at Soar.

Contrary to Soar, Precision did not become dependent on ClassPass. The owner noted that ClassPass provided free marketing and while the initial increase in revenue was positive, the benefit of ClassPass was also that more people had access to fitness, aligning with both a market and health logic.

Tara: I was just always taught like don't discount your stuff because you're devaluing your brand. So there's that, but there's also the, like I got to stay competitive with other gyms in the city. So I go back and forth between those two things. Ultimately the ClassPass thing, because we've been doing it the longest, obviously.

Interviewer: When did you join class pass?

Tara: I think it's been two years now. At first, we were a little hesitant about that too, but we have seen turnover from that. I don't know how Zen Rez ¹will pan out. I think ClassPass kind of screwed themselves with making so many changes to their pricing structure, and I just don't see how they can sustain that much longer.

Interviewer: Did you join before the switch? Okay.

Tara: Oh yeah. Within the first few months of them coming, the first month or two of them coming to Dartford. And it was great, and I mean there was a few months there where it was like "Holy cow, I can't believe we're making this much additional money." But then they changed their pricing structure, and it fell to shit. It didn't affect us. We didn't, I mean we didn't really care because it was like we didn't rely on that to begin with. And the Zen Rez thing? I don't know, I would like to use, I like to use things such as ClassPass and Zen Rez as potential to fill empty spots in classes that like right now. It's three-thirty. Who goes to the gym at three-thirty? Not many people. So that's an incentive. And it's free marketing, essentially. I mean ClassPass, it's free marketing. So many people will come in and they had no idea we existed. Just that alone is worth the whole thing. But if ClassPass went bye-bye tomorrow I wouldn't, it wouldn't, no I wouldn't really care either way. In fact, it might help, who knows? I don't know.

Tara, white woman, Precision owner

¹ Zen rez is a discount system offered by a technology company Mind Body, that offers same day discounted prices using an algorithm to set pricing for the studio. The studio pays a flat fee per month for the service and receives all the revenue from it. The service was new at the time of analysis and Precision had just joined within the last month.

Tara also expressed reservations about the safety and training of instructors at the growing number of boutique fitness studios in Dartford, however, believed in greater access to fitness for more people – a benefit of ClassPass. The owner's attitude towards ClassPass reflected both a market and a health logic:

Overall, I think it's on behalf of being an owner and an athlete in the same sentence. That industry is definitely booming, it's growing, which is good and bad. It's good because that many more people are working out, but it's bad because you start to read stories about injury going up in certain capacities, in certain studios. People aren't educated enough on what performance is, and understanding your own performance and who's going to help you with that, versus just going to work out to work out.

And it's just everything is so much more accessible in terms of how to pay for it, how to sign up for it, how to get to it. So that is definitely a game changer in terms of just how the industry has changed. I always feel bad to good, because that many more people are working out. It's for the industry to be booming, it's like this, whatever it is, it's like three billion dollar industry now, whatever it is. It's booming, where ten years ago it wasn't doing that. And I think ultimately people are getting better experiences than maybe they were at the big box gyms fifteen, ten, fifteen years ago? Also, it can be a little detrimental, because there's so many like one-offs, versus what you had at clubs. You had class lists like come in here you had all different types of formats to choose from, and now a lot of them are just like one thing only which is detrimental but again it's booming, and people are training.

Tara, white female, Precision owner

ClassPass offered Precision a \$25,000 loan. However, unlike Soar, who accepted two loans from ClassPass, one in the amount of \$20,000, the owner of Precision scoffed at the idea of accepting a loan from ClassPass:

Interviewer: Do you ever do one of their, like business loans, or take advantage of any of that kind of stuff?

Tara: Nope. They asked us. Now when my business partner, I remember, I was actually on a business trip, she called me. She was like ClassPass called. They want to know if they want to, if we'd be interested in a, it's like a twenty-five thousand dollar loan. And I'm like "Why? We don't need it!" And then basically you worked that off. I'm like no, we don't need it. I mean this isn't...no. If we need a loan, we can go out and get one, but we had no reason for one. It was weird.

Tara, white female, Precision owner

Due to the dominance and centrality of the health logic at Precision, the introduction of ClassPass did not shift Precision's focus, rather the health logic continued driving decisions at Precision. Though Precision engaged with ClassPass, the owner never felt dependent on ClassPass.

Spin City, on the other hand, avoided ClassPass entirely, reflecting the dominant community logic. Similar to Precision and Soar, ClassPass approached Thomas to join their program, however he declined. Despite the perceived additional revenue, Thomas wanted to protect the boundaries of Spin City from outsiders - those without the same cultural tools as he and his consumers. Thomas believed by doing this he avoided negative online reviews that would impact the image of his business, another example how community logic and market logics aligned. By protecting the boundaries of his community from outsiders, Thomas believed his online reviews would remain high and the sense of community that drew consumers to Spin City would remain intact,

I've thought about it...I've thought about it... but no, I haven't, no I haven't used Class Pass....you make more money with ClassPass. You get these people that come in with like maybe a different expectation and then I don't want them to rate [Spin City] as being bad, because the studio where we are, where we're at right now, it's like...it's not clean, you know what I mean? It's like dungenous. And there's not...it's not a [Spin City] thing, it's like a management of the building itself, like we're housed in a studio in a room, but it's managed by something totally different... Like, it'll get a bad review and it'll look bad on [Spin City]. So, I...from a business perspective I don't want to push those people to come, you know what I mean? ...I want it to be organic, you know what I mean, like...so, the people that come like if you look on Facebook, [Spin City's] page, I got a hundred...well [Spin City] has a hundred and fifty-one reviews, five stars for a hundred fifty-one, one person gave it a four star, you know what I mean? Like, so, it's like...it's more about people coming organically, experiencing the culture and the room and rating it, than starting to go out here and having somebody that maybe go to like a power yoga studio, these really real boutique studios and then they you know give...so that's why I don't push it, you know what I mean?

Thomas, Black male, Spin City owner

Each owner engaged with ClassPass at differing levels, Soar became dependent on ClassPass, Precision engaged with ClassPass and Spin City avoided ClassPass. Below I demonstrate how Soar's dependence and Precision's engagement with ClassPass, decisions driven by logic adoption impact the focal outcomes of each organization.

Impact of ClassPass

To triangulate the qualitative findings above, I conducted an interrupted time series analysis to examine how the introduction of ClassPass impacted Soar and Precision across four outcomes: revenue, unique visitors, total visitors and average visits per person. The introduction of ClassPass (September 2014) and ClassPass' 47% price change (May 2016) provided natural intervention points, or a natural experiment. Overall, the introduction of ClassPass impacted both Soar and Precision's revenue and visitors, aligning with both organizations' initial similar attitudes towards ClassPass – joining despite initial hesitation. However, the changes in ClassPass' pricing structure more negatively impacted Soar, potentially caused by their growing dependence on ClassPass. While Precision's owner did not accept loans from ClassPass and was indifferent about the presence of ClassPass, more than 70% of Soar's business came from ClassPass, demonstrating how differing logic negotiation shaped each organization's engagement with ClassPass.

Table II describes the count, mean and standard deviation of Soar and Precision's revenue, unique visitors, total visitors and average visits per person overall, prior to the introduction of ClassPass, after the introduction of ClassPass (September 2014) and after the price change (May 2016). Table III displays the D statistics, the rate of growth (or the slope of

the line of best fit) for each of the four focal outcomes before the introduction of ClassPass, after the introduction of ClassPass and after the price change, the intercepts at each time point, r -squared and RMSE.

Table II
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS: SOAR AND PRECISION

	<u>Overall</u>			<u>Pre ClassPass</u>			<u>Post ClassPass</u>			<u>Post ClassPass Price Change</u>		
	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd	n	Mean	sd
Precision												
Revenue	57	21947	3639	24	23466	2910	21	22154	3600	12	18546	2898
Unique Visitors	57	226	52	24	205	34	21	265	56	12	198	26
Total Visitors	57	1470	280	24	1572	278	21	1494	247	12	1223	188
Avg Visits/ person	57	6.7	1.2	24	7.7	0.9	21	5.8	0.9	12	6.2	0.6
Personal Training Revenue	57	11513	3773	24	11970	4567	21	11000	3430	12	11498	2553
Soar												
Revenue	57	20992	5468	24	22939	4700	21	23056	3589	12	13487	2178
Unique Visitors	57	443	120	24	415	88	21	538	107	12	329	47
Total Visitors	57	1514	364	24	1631	300	21	1678	217	12	991	143
Avg. Visits/person	57	3.5	0.5	24	4.0	0.3	21	3.2	0.4	12	3.0	0.2
HIIT Revenue	29	12979	4672				21	15454	4630	12	9473	1227

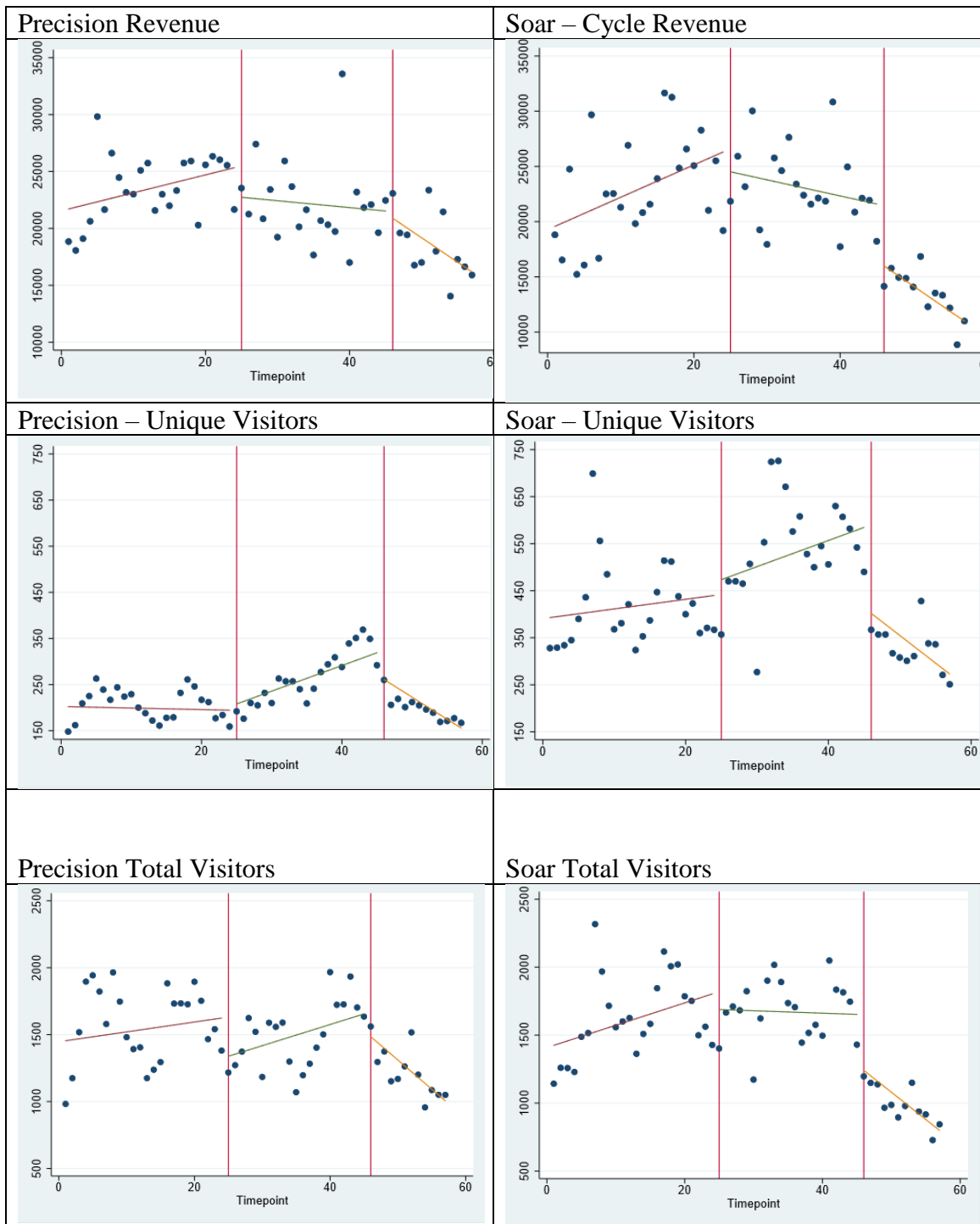
Table III
IMPACT OF CLASSPASS ON PRECISION AND SOAR

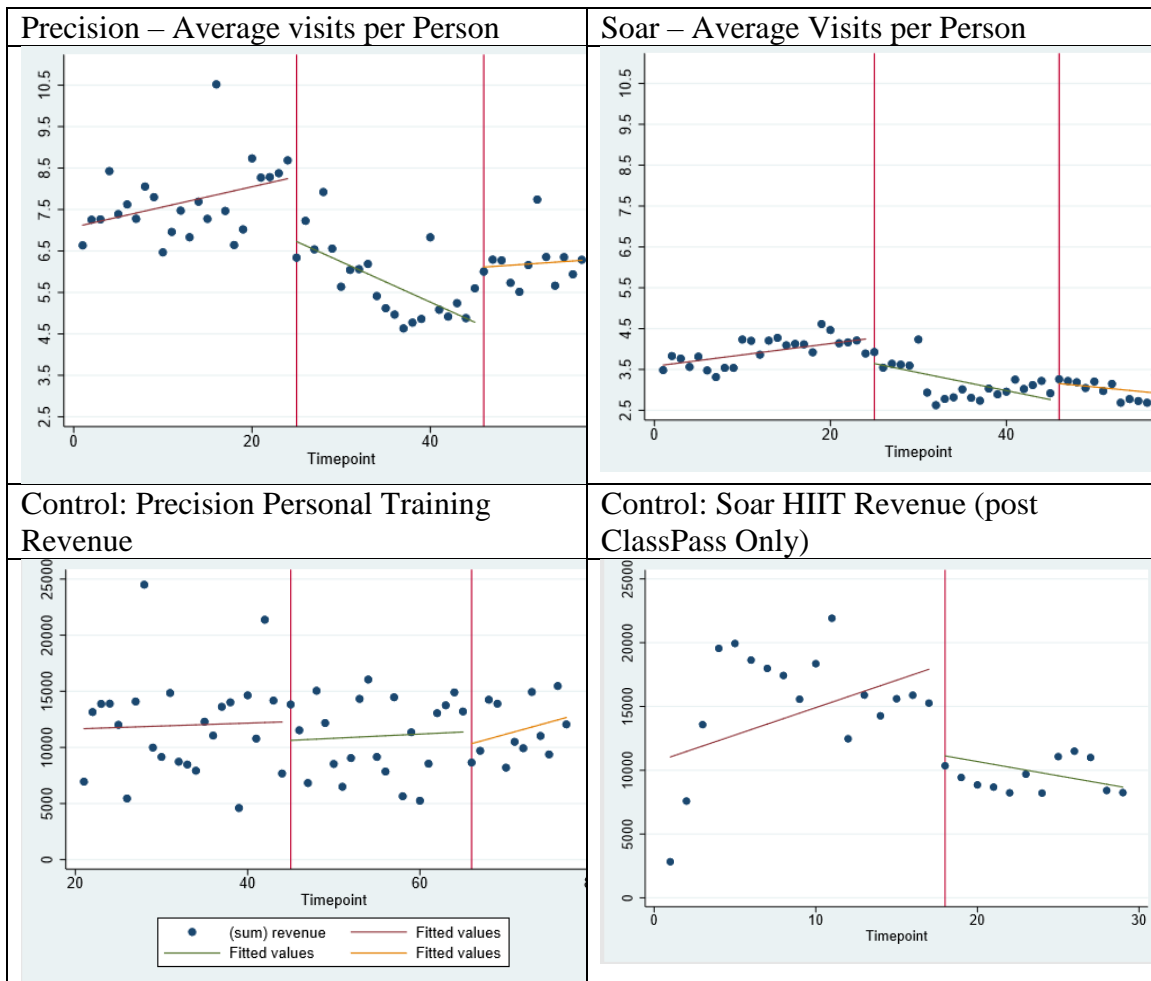
	<u>Revenue</u>		<u>Unique Visitors</u>		<u>Total Visitors</u>		<u>Avg Visits per Person</u>		<u>Control Revenue</u>	
	Precision	Soar	Precision	Soar	Precision	Soar	Precision	Soar	Precision: Personal Training	Soar: HIIT
n	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	29
B ₁ - Pre ClassPass	157.6	293.0	-0.3	2.0	7.4	16.4	0.05	0.03	80.4	
B ₂ - Post ClassPass	-217.9	-438.8	5.9	3.5	8.4	-18.2	-0.15	-0.07	-31.3	429.6
B ₃ - Post Price Change	-368.7	-309.5	-15.1	-17.3	-59.4	-38.3	0.11	0.02	61.1	-652.0
Sep 2014 Intercept	-2538.4	-2085.8	8.0	27.9	-301.0	-112.7	-1.42	-0.56	-2842.4	
June 2016 Intercept	-205.5	-5461.5	-48.4	-171.0	-126.1	-371.5	1.32	0.41	-369.5	-7217.0
Intercept	18396.2	12538.4	209.0	343.7	1299.5	1030.1	6.10	2.94	9584.6	10612.0
R-squared	0.50	0.60	0.33	0.26	0.03	0.37	0.66	0.59	0.04	0.07
RMSE	2996.4	3633.1	24.2	76.8	199.8	207.5	0.7	0.3	3871.0	2978.2
D statistic(original)	2.5	2.3	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.9	1.4	2.1	0.8
Dstatistic (transformed)	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.7

Note if D statistic transformed is bold, that means the transformed model was used and results displayed in the table were corrected for auto correction and seasonality. B2 and B3 are marginal coefficients, meaning they represent the change in slope.

Prior to ClassPass, both Soar and Precision experienced revenue growth with Soar growing on average \$293.00 per month and Precision growing on average \$157.60 per month. After the introduction of ClassPass, both Soar and Precision experienced a growth in the number of unique visitors, both now growing at comparable rates, with Soar experiencing a much larger jump after the introduction. Despite the growth in unique visitors for Soar and Precision, the average revenues after the introduction of ClassPass declined and both experienced negative revenue growth while the average visits per person dropped at both studios. While the initial impact of ClassPass on Soar and Precision was comparable, their stories diverged by the time ClassPass changed its pricing structure in May 2016 increasing prices 47%.

While both businesses experienced a loss after the change in pricing structure, I contend Precision's health logic helped brace against larger losses. While Soar's revenue fell \$5461, Precision's revenue only fell \$205.5 after the second intervention. Figure 1 displays scatter plots for each of the focal outcomes for both Soar and Precision with each vertical line representing an intervention point: the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent price change along with lines of best fit for each period.





Note: Blue dots represent value of focal outcome for each month. The red line to the left represent the introduction of ClassPass, while the red vertical line to the right represents ClassPass change in pricing structure. If only one red vertical line is present, it represents the change in pricing structure.

Figure 2. Impact of ClassPass on focal outcomes at Soar and Precision

Finally, I analyzed the revenue of two control businesses to provide additional evidence the effects seen can be attributed to the introduction of ClassPass, rather than other internal factors within the organization. Precision offered personal training sessions in addition to group classes during the same period of time. Personal training services were not sold on ClassPass., rather through the studio only. If the changes described for group classes at Precision were due to organizational changes, for example changes in staff or neighborhood changes, a similar pattern of decline in revenue would be expected for personal training. Additionally, the model as specified should reflect a comparable amount of variance in the data. While we do see a decline in revenue for Personal training at Precision, the variation in the data predicted by the model is low, 4% compared to 50% for group classes, possibly reflecting artificial break points for the personal training data compared to the group classes.

Additionally, Soar introduced a second format of class in January of 2015, at the height of ClassPass. It is possible that the introduction of a new class format cannibalized Soar's cycle revenue leading to the decline in Soar's revenue and visitors around the same time as the launch of ClassPass. However, the unique visitors to Soar's cycle business increased with the introduction of HIIT, while the number of total visitors declined. The introduction of the second-class format, introduced in the ClassPass era, reflected a market logic due to the set-up of the room to maximize revenue per class. Given this, when ClassPass introduced the price change in May 2016, we would expect to see the revenue for the HIIT format to decline more than cycle classes, which were more aligned with a community logic. Table 2 displays the results from Precision's personal training revenue and Soar's HIIT classes. Figure 2 displays scatter plots with vertical

lines representing the introduction of ClassPass and its subsequent price change. As expected, Soar's HIIT format experienced a large drop in sales, over \$7,000, greater than their cycle classes after ClassPass pricing change.

Discussion

This chapter provided evidence of the varying logic adoption described in chapter four by describing how each organization, Soar, Precision and Spin City responded differently to the introduction of technological disruptor, ClassPass. The introduction of ClassPass to the boutique fitness field had the potential to strengthen the centrality of the market logic in the boutique fitness field. ClassPass allowed consumers access to boutique fitness studios at a cheaper price point and studios additional revenue on excess inventory.

As described qualitatively above, Soar became dependent on ClassPass, reflecting the central role the market logic played at ClassPass. Precision engaged with ClassPass highlighting the role of the health logic due to allowing more people access to boutique fitness, while Spin City avoided ClassPass, reflecting the dominant community logic. In addition to the owners and organizational actor's own words about why each organization engaged with ClassPass in the manner they did, quantitative evidence demonstrated how the varying logic adoptions of Soar and Precision shaped the impact that the introduction and subsequent price change had Soar and Precision.

In addition to providing additional evidence of the varying logic adoption of each studio, this chapter also demonstrated how organizational actors have agency in their response to technology, therefore reflecting if and how the logics of a field may shift with the introduction of technology. Soar, Precision and Spin City's varying response to logic

adoption provides support that individuals and organizations reactions to technology, rather than the technology itself, shapes if and how field level logics shift (Greenwood, 2010; Braverman,1974).

Chapter VI: A Cultural Blueprint for Fitness

The previous two chapters provided evidence that individual characteristics shape how organizations respond to the array of logics present in the boutique fitness field. This chapter builds on the foundation of previous chapters by providing an in-depth analysis of one studio, Spin City, who navigated the competing logics of the boutique fitness field by adopting a community logic. I contend that understanding the historical and contextual significance of individual characteristics, such as race, play a critical role in logic adoption and interpretation. This chapter demonstrates how race shaped how Spin City navigated the array of logics in the boutique fitness field.

Thomas's individual characteristics, as a black man and a member of the local community shaped the adoption of a community logic at Spin City and evoked the tenets of the black church. The following chapter provides evidence of the importance of individual characteristics, particularly race, in the adoption and interpretation of logics, in this case a dominant community logic. The contextual and historical significance of race in the U.S. and the role of the church in the black community provide a deeper understanding of why a community logic was adopted at Spin City and why the adoption of a community logic evoked the cultural tools of the black church.

The black church served as the blueprint and source of legitimacy for Spin City's adoption and interpretation of a community logic. The owner drew on legitimacy from church authority to shape a fitness business. Below I describe how Spin City evoked tenets of the black church, one of the most powerful institutions in the black community (Lincoln & Mayima, 1990), including call and response, gospel music, the role of the

pastor, and affirmations (Lincoln & Mayima, 1990) to create an environment where middle class black women came together for fitness and fellowship.

Using in-depth interviews and participant observation field notes, I describe the dominance of a community logic at Spin City. These results emerged from the iterative process of research and reviewing the literature. During my field work at Spin City, I documented in my field notes the role of the church, but did not fully understand the theoretical, political and empirical implications until reading Patillo-McCoy's (1998) study showing how the cultural blueprint of the church shaped black political activism, as well as recent calls to understand examples of successful health initiatives in black communities (Ray, 2017). This unexpected finding from my experiences at Spin City and subsequent readings allowed me to analyze how the cultural tools of the black church operated in the interpretation and enactment of a community logic in a boutique fitness setting. This qualitative analysis is an example of a grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Since this understanding emerged during analysis, I did not include questions about religion or the church in surveys or even consistently across interviews, therefore I offer the analysis based on data collected during participant observation and in-depth interviews.

After this theme emerged from my experiences during participant observation, my research question about the role of the church guided the coding process. I coded my field notes and interviews looking specifically for themes of church and/or spirituality. Themes related to church were expressed explicitly and latently at Spin City. I used MAXQDA to assist with the coding process. This chapter places Spin City at the center of analysis, avoiding a comparison with other fitness studios, rather focusing on the unique position

that Thomas and the black middle-class women who attend Spin City occupy, and sharing their story (Collins, 1990).

Church as a cultural blueprint for fitness. Though outside of church walls, the culture of the black church prevailed in a small dark, sweat-filled room in the back corner of a soon to be replaced sports facility in a predominantly black neighborhood in Dartford. Based on participant observation and in-depth interviews, I describe the implicit verbal tools and structural behaviors that drew upon the cultural tools of the black church. I also describe the explicit connections to the church present at Spin City. Implicit verbal tools such as call and response, collective freedom and affirmations; and structural behaviors such as the set-up of bikes similar to pews and not having class on Sundays all drew from the cultural blueprint of the black church. In addition to these implicit tools, explicit connections to the church were present, such as playing gospel music, the presence of the Pastor of a local church, and Thomas and other attendees attending service together before attending fitness class. Thomas, a black boutique fitness owner, implicitly and explicitly used the cultural blueprint of the black church to create and maintain an environment where mostly lower middle class to upper middle class black women enthusiastically came together multiple times a week to sweat, to sing, to dance, and to cycle.

One example of evoking Black church culture is the use of call and response during cycle class. Traditionally, this is defined as a musical or verbal cooperation (Patillo-McCoy, 1998) between the preacher and the congregation bringing forth a collective spirit towards freedom a sense of community (Patillo-McCoy, 1998). The owner/instructor of Spin City, Thomas, engaged in call and response with attendees

for nearly the entire 50-minute class – never explicitly requesting for the class to respond, however all present shared the understanding, drawing on this tool of the black church to create and support a dominant community logic at Spin City.

During class, Thomas either rode on his instructor bike, which sat on a podium above the rest of the class under a spotlight, visible in the dark room from the back row, or he navigated in between rows of bikes offering encouraging words and filming videos on his phone or iPad to share on social media. A push-up on the bike was a common movement at Spin City where riders stand and peddle out of the saddle (seat) and bend their elbows outward, lowering their chest to the handlebars, in effect, doing a push-up on the handlebars of their bike to the beat of the music. Thomas would demonstrate the push-up as the class followed his actions, and start counting down the push-ups saying, “give me 10 more” and yell, “10!” to which the class (often led by those in the front row) responded, “9” on the next round, followed by Thomas yelling into his microphone, “8!” to which the class would respond, “7!” as they pushed up and down on the handlebars of their bikes while pedaling to the beat of the music until the call and response countdown reached zero. In addition to counting down, these verbal cooperations sometimes described the movement. For example, instead of counting down, Thomas called the class to “Push!” to which the class responded in unison “Up,” their words in sync with their pushing down and up on the handlebars of their stationary bicycle. If the synchronized movement involved a right to left movement—for example, if the push up alternated where when one bent their elbows and lowered themselves to the handle bars they looked to the right, then to the middle and then to the left—the chant would start with Thomas yelling, “Right! Middle! Left! Middle!” After an iteration, and the class caught on,

Thomas continued yelling, “Middle!” while the class yelled, “Right!” “Left!” as they continued push-ups on their bike.

In addition to engaging in call and response to count down and call out functional movements, Thomas used the technique to add an inspirational tone to the class, reflecting the owners vision of seeing himself as in the business of “empower [ing]” and giving people “hope,” another tenet of the black church. Thomas used different vocal techniques, changing the inflection and tone of his voice during these inspirational calls. In fact, the first time I heard him do so, from my bike in the back row of the dark room, I thought someone else was speaking or Thomas was playing a music track with spoken words. Varying the tone and inflection of his voice, and inspirational words and messages, drew upon the homiletics, or vocal techniques, commonly used in black churches (Niles, 1978; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990).

For example, Thomas would lower the music, so it was in the background rather than the usual loud pulsing beat. His tone changed, and he said to the class, “you know what they say?” to which people in the class responded with different responses but all seeming to want to know what Thomas was going to say next. Thomas then said, “If we *push* together, we can *pull* together. If we *push* together, we can *pull* together” after repeating this refrain slowly and to the response of some hollers, he turned up the music and encouraged everyone to get out of the saddle and start pedaling. Thomas continued to repeat, “If we *push* together...” This time the class, now riding along to the beat of the music, joined Thomas on the word, “Push!” and again on the word, “Pull!” synchronized with movements pushing forward on the handlebars, and then pulling back away from the handlebars in a forward and backward motion. The class continued to join in the chants

of push and pull, while Thomas continued with the longer narrative and often ad-libbing, “Because when we [PUSH!] together, we can [PULL] together, and we need to [PUSH!] together because then we [PULL] together!” This chant reflected explicitly the movements of the class in the current moment, but also seemed to reference the black community coming together to achieve collective goals.

Another example of combining inspiration with call and response occurred during push-ups on the bike – a relatively common movement during Thomas’ cycle class. Usually when Thomas started this particular chant, he started on the podium on his instructor bike, calling out, “watch me, watch me.” He would begin riding his bike to the beat of the music and start the familiar push-up movement, and say, “Fly!” each time he bent his elbows and lowered himself down to the handlebars. The class replicated this movement as they rode and as soon as the class joined both the movement and the chant, Thomas often hopped off his bike and continued to chant and walk around the room ad-libbing messages, “You were born to [Fly!]! It’s your time to [Fly!], “What we gonna do?” [Fly!], “You are extraordinary!” [Fly!]. The class continued the movements to the beat and chanting, “Fly!” as Thomas ad-libbed inspirational messages. In these moments, Thomas engaged the class in a combination of call and response, collective movement, inspirational messages, and a shared understanding of expectations when Thomas started a chant.

Though each class varied slightly, each of the exchanges above occurred nearly every class - creating a common knowledge and ritualistic behavior for those who attended regularly, creating a sense of belonging among attendees, an intentional decision by the owner. Thomas commented:

Well I wouldn't say necessarily routines but it's like...like in the African-American community we got dances like the wobble, the electric slide, you know like [Spin City] is that like, there's certain songs that I play, certain mixes that I play, certain routines where we do routines to those things. So, I think it brings like that whole like, it's like at a wedding if wobble or electric slide come on, you can't stay in your seat, you know what I mean? And so, it's like one of those things.

Thomas, Black male, Spin City owner

Occasionally the class (typically someone sitting in the front row) initiated a chant or movement with the instructor either joining in or allowing the class to lead a call and response amongst themselves, giving the class agency (particularly the front row), to influence the format, structure, and movements of class. This demonstration of agency may have helped form a sense of community within Spin City (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

While scholars suggest that Black Christianity seeks a collective freedom, both spiritually and worldly, (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Patillo-McCoy, 1998), this sense of accountability to the community and collective responsibility can hinder self-care. This is particularly true for black women, who often play the role of breadwinners, caretakers and everything in between (Jones, 2009). The act of taking time for oneself for fitness can be viewed as a vanity or a luxury, rather than a preventative health measure, going against that collective ideal. However, the group nature of Thomas' cycle class with call and response, synchronous movements, and a focus on group energy more than the individual spirit countered any feelings of selfishness and was reflected in participants' descriptions of the class and why they attended:

And I think with everybody once they get really motivated, it just motivates you and seeing people's testimonies and things like that about how much weight they've lost in the class. So it's motivating me.

Lisa, Black female, Spin City attendee

While we exercise. Pushing each other on. Motivating each other.

Gwen, Black female, Spin City attendee

A sense of community almost, like and I'm not a person that needs people to work out you know, with me, I can go solo. But, it's something about the energy that's in this particular class that keeps me comin' back. And even if I fall-off four or five, six months, seven months, a year, I come back and people are like "Oh hey!". You know? Or I see them in the neighborhood or somewhere else and I'm like "I know, I'm coming, I'm comin' back", but you know. So, it's just people recognize you, they don't even know your name, you just say "Hey, how ya doin'", you know and kind of go with that so, yeah. It's interesting. I don't know. It's something about the energy and the vibe I guess.

Bethany, Black female, Spin City attendee

Thomas also explicitly reminded the class of primarily black women in their 40s that they deserved time for themselves, since they engaged in caretaking a majority of their time. For example, during evening and weekend classes, Thomas started class by saying, "You spent all day (week) taking care of everyone else, now is the time to take care of yourself." Or after a 6 am class, "You just spent an hour taking care of yourself, so now you can go take care of everyone else," acknowledging the multiple roles that black women play in their families, extended families, and community (Jones, 2009).

In addition to acknowledging black women's role as caretakers, Thomas affirmed class members with messages of self-love, asking members to, "hug yourself, love yourself" during stretches at the end of every class. This message was also written on the walls as well as on the front of t-shirts sold in class. A white sign of the word 'love' hung above the instructor's bike and podium. During one class the sign fell, and Thomas carried the sign of the word love around with him for the next song, holding the sign in attendees faces, turning the mishap into a message about love. Planned and unplanned messages of love resonated with those who attended classes: as one interviewee described (and appeared to get a little emotional as he discussed Thomas' messages):

And he will do several things here and there that really touch your spirit. And you just, you know you really...the whole aspect of whenever you're stretching and you hear you know, 'hug yourself, love yourself'. It actually makes you say, yes, I need to do that. And just keeps you on the bike, you know. So, that, that was the one thing that kind of was like, hmmm. That caught me. And so, that's why I'm here.

John, Black male, Spin City attendee

Another attendee described how Thomas' messages as well as the collective energy allowed her to escape, at least momentarily, her daily stressors,

Like, I can come in sluggish, I can come in tired, don't wanna do it and still don't wanna do it, but once the music starts, once you know the crowd is kinda [going], the room is kinda gettin' into it, it kind of almost puts you somewhere else. Like, I always leave the room, or I take my mind somewhere else, or it's really weird, it's almost like metaphysical, spiritual in a sense, which is really crazy to say that about a workout. You know, so it's almost metaphysical. Like, if I come in the mornings and do it, it's a sense of, when I hear [Thomas] say different things like you know, "You've gotta take care of everybody else, so take care of yourself", I'm like "Ok, so today I'm gonna start my day with taking care of me" or I'm in my day, we're taking care of me and doin' something that's gonna, you know make me feel whatever. And it's like stress-relief. I don't have a lot of outs. So, and I'm a person that holds in a lot, so this is my way. Cause, there's been time when I've been in here, it's really crazy and I've been doing something else, like "Oh my God, I'm about to start crying", cause I'm actually able to finally get some stuff out of my head. It's like for that moment, whatever was haunting me or whatever was worrying or creating anxiety is gone for that moment and I can transcend and take myself somewhere else, transfer myself somewhere else.

Bethany, Black female, Spin City attendee

Spin City's messages of self-love, self-care and even references to cycle class as therapy may provide an example of a way to reduce the stigma around mental health in black communities. These messages of self-love, taking care of oneself physically and mentally as well as a strong group identity resonated with attendees, supplementing a role that the black church may fill. In addition to the implicit verbal tools such as call and response, collective freedom and affirmations, structural components of Spin City such as the setup of equipment and structure of class times also evoked the black church.

Thomas' deference to the church was evident in structural aspects of his business and within his classes. For example, Thomas did not offer classes on Sunday mornings (a time when those who attend church typically go to church) and instead said once on a Saturday, "I'll see you in church tomorrow" to the class. Most boutique fitness studios and gyms offer classes on Sunday mornings as weekends are a common time when people exercise, however the causal direction of Thomas' decision to not have class on Sunday is unclear. Did Thomas make this decision because he did not think anyone would show up to a Sunday class (because they were in Church) or is he not offering class to allow his attendees (and himself) to go to church? Regardless of the causal direction, the black church shaped Thomas' capitalist endeavor.

The set-up of bikes in rows at Spin City was similar to the set-up of pews in church. The bikes were set up in four rows and individuals chose where they sat, with most having a favorite bike they tried to reserve each class. While respondents told me that they chose their bike – often in the front row or in the center - so they were in front of a fan or so they could see Thomas as he directed class, a hierarchy was associated with where one sat in class - a phenomenon that was not unique to Spin City, (i.e. a phenomenon that is present in other cycle studios such as Soul Cycle). However, unique to Spin City, was Thomas' direct comparison of individuals' moving from the back row of cycle class to the front row as they got more comfortable with his own evolution at church and moving from sitting in the back row to the front row,

I used to go to church and I used to sit in the back, you know I used to creep in, you know, maybe a little hungover, you know what I mean? It was Sunday, I went out Saturday night. And then I used to sit in the back. And now, when I go to church, I put on a suit, I go to the front, second row and I sit, you know what I

mean and listen to the Word, same with [the pastor]. He used to come [to Spin City], sit in the back, now he in the front. And we support each other...

Thomas, Black male, Spin City owner

Thomas compared the pastor's growth in cycle class, moving from the back row to the front row, with his own evolution at church. In the next section, I discuss the explicit ways the church was present at Spin City, such as the presence of the pastor, playing gospel music and attending services together before class.

The pastors' importance and reverence in the black church is undisputed both as a spiritual and community leader (Lincoln & Mayima, 1990) - their endorsement is often critical for the success of church initiatives (Markens et al., 2002). Therefore, the Pastor's attendance (typically three times a week) and unusual endorsement of Spin City could not be quantified. The Pastor and Thomas had developed a close relationship and the Pastor often posted pictures and live video streams of cycle class to his congregation. His posts sometimes received tens of thousands of views and likes on social media. He even held his birthday party the previous year at Spin City. The Pastor, who was referred to as Pastor by everyone at Spin City, regardless if they were members of his congregation, sat in the front row, and was often one who led a chant or movement when started organically by the class.

Music is a core element of the black church (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990) as well as cycle class. Thomas prided himself on playing music that he, as well as his participants, felt represented the black community, particularly the city of Dartford,

I don't even try to differentiate like, it's just like the music,... I mean I've been to a [another spin studio], the music isn't as like urban and Dartford, you know what I mean? Like, the thing about [Spin city] is Dartford. I was born, raised in East Dartford, so the music that I play is East Dartford. Like [Spin City] you know...

[Other spin studio] is more of like a club downtown, or you know what I mean? When you at [Spin City] it's like you going to the club [on the east side], you know what I mean? and that's kind of how it's different and like, like I think I... if I go and I open a location [in another part of the city], I'm going to keep it [Spin City] as far as like the music because what I play is going to be what we play at the studio. I'm not going to change it up, you know.

Thomas, Black male, Spin City owner

The music is amazing. So, the music is good whether it's house music, whether it's Hip-Hop that I grew up, it always takes me somewhere that I like to be. You know, even if it's new Hip-Hop. I'm like "Ok, that's Jay-Z new song, ok I'm likin' that". Or I'm like "What is this", or here introduce some classic, old class rock from back in the day. I'm like "Yup, I remember this". I grew up on this." So, it's just something about it. It's relatable, I guess.

Bethany, Black female, Spin City - Attendee

In addition to playing local classics, Thomas also played gospel music during classes, with one particular song, a favorite of both Thomas and attendees, played or referenced nearly every class. The song starts with a pause, followed by the DJ exclaiming, "Thooooose of you who need the Loooooord." The phrase is usually followed by yells of excitement and affirmations by those in class, seemingly both because of the fast house beat that attendees know follows, as well as in response to the song's call for those who need the Lord. As the fast house beat pulsed, Thomas encouraged everyone to get out of their seats and start pedaling quickly in a standing position. The refrain of the song continued, "I need him, I need him, I need him," referring to the Lord as the class continued to ride in sync to the music.

During one 6am class, the instructor called on a regular attendee, Dee, who appeared to be in her 60s and a member of Thomas's church. She and Thomas often joked with each other that they had the same haircut (both were bald). Though Dee sat in the third row and typically took multiple breaks to catch her breath, her growth in class

was mentioned in several the interviews I conducted. This particular morning, Thomas asked Dee what song she wanted to hear next. Dee looked around, (I was sitting one bike away from her to her right) and said, “I need him – Don’t y’all need him?” which was responded to with hollers and then Thomas obliging to her request to play “I need him.”

Though the song directly referenced the Lord in the first line of the song, Thomas and participants also used the song to communicate alternate messages. For example, during a strenuous push in class, when people were noticeably struggling to keep up or sat down to take a break, Thomas would repeat, “I need you, I need you, I need you, I need you” sometimes adding someone’s name after each “I need you,” encouraging people to stay motivated.

In addition to the presence of the pastor and playing gospel music, Thomas explicitly linked Spin City to the church, particularly the church he regularly attended. Thomas cited the role the evolution of his faith played in shaping his business and the format of cycle class, including the music he played and who attended,

So, I think by going to church is shifting because ...people that have come in because they see like black love, you know what I mean? They see the relationship that I have with my fiancée; they see that I'm a man of God. So, now, it's been a shift where it's actually more people that came in that took the place of the people that was more like, lustful, thinking they had a chance and opportunity. And now also, more and more people are coming in

Thomas, Black male, Spin City Owner

Thomas also noted that he previously thought of the class as comparable to the club, but with his evolution in the church, the presence of church members, gospel music he plays, and the inspirational messaging, he now thinks of his class as more comparable to church.

One Wednesday a month provided an exceptional example of the explicit link between church service and Thomas' business. Thomas' church held a sunrise service at 5am, and a group of people, including Thomas and the pastor of the church, attended service together and then came directly to Spin City for class after. On these particular days, the boundary between church and cycle class was blurred as class took on a more spiritual tone. There were more church members in class and Thomas played more gospel music.

I think the morning class. especially on a Wednesday when they've been to pray first then everybody comes to the class. I feel like that is more faith based than the Saturday. We do a lot of Higher, I Need Him I Need Him whatever that is. I just don't know a lot of these pieces of music, but everybody clearly does so the energy sort of moves you and gets you along.

Eileen, White female, Spin City attendee

On those Wednesday mornings, Janice, a woman who typically attended class on weekends and after sunrise service, sat in the front row next to Dorothy and the pastor, and sang a gospel count (as was referred to by a Spin City attendee her interview) during the count downs of push-ups.

When I first heard her sing, I assumed Thomas was playing a music track that somehow fit the timing of the countdown. It wasn't until the second time that Janice sang the countdown that I realized the voice was coming from the front row and from Janice. I was amazed – her voice was gorgeous, and she was singing while pedaling and doing pushups on the bike. This ad-lib, initiated by Janice, contributed to the feeling of church but also to the agency and influence that individual members had on the energy and spiritual tone of class.

On one of those Wednesdays where Thomas and others attended sunrise service, an attendee brought fresh cherries to share with the class following their workout. Once the attendee shared with Thomas that she brought cherries, he said, somewhat incredulously, “You’re not fasting?” She was not, to which Thomas explained that those who went to church that morning were fasting. He then announced on the microphone that the attendee had brought cherries and those who were not fasting should enjoy them after class. This exchange demonstrated Thomas’ assumption of attendees participating in church rituals.

Discussion

This chapter examined how a black owned boutique fitness studio owner adopted and interpreted a dominant community logic, leveraging the cultural blueprint of the black church (Patillo-McCoy, 1998) to drive business decisions. Spin City used implicit tools from the black church, such as call and response, messages of affirmation, bike set up and no class on Sundays. In addition to implicitly drawing on the cultural tools of the church, Spin City was explicitly connected to the church through the presence of the pastor, gospel music and the owner and Spin City attendees worshipping together prior to attending Spin City.

Despite the implicit and explicit links to the black church, it was unclear to me how many members of Spin City were also members of the church to which Thomas belonged or how many people who attended Spin City joined because of their affiliation with this particular church. Of the nine in-depth interviews I conducted with consumers at Spin City, two respondents mentioned the church was how they found out about Spin City (one being the pastor). I selected interview respondents based on a convenience

sample, so it may have been that church members were less likely to talk with me.

However, my best guess is that less than half of those who attended Spin City were also members of the focal church, though likely attended other churches, due to references to church or pastors in their interviews or other passing conversations.

These findings build on studies that demonstrate the church as a cultural blueprint for political activism (Patillo-McCoy, 1998), finding the church serving as the culture blueprint for a fitness business. Previous studies focusing on health interventions through the church (Markens et al., 2002) have demonstrated how the church provided a blueprint for health and fitness within the church community, but not within a private company. This chapter also provides an empirical example of the role that individual characteristics play in the adoption and interpretation of logics (Binder, 2007), with emphasis on social, historical and cultural context of these characteristics (Greenwood et al., 2010).

Chapter VII: Conclusion and Implications

Summary

This study examined how three boutique fitness organizations, Soar, Precision and Spin City navigated the array of logics in the field, how individual and organizational characteristics overlapped shaping logic adoption and interpretations, and the importance of understanding the historical and cultural context when understanding logic adoption and interpretation. Using a mixed methods approach, this study makes both theoretical and empirical implications.

Each organization navigated the tensions of the market, community and health in the boutique fitness field differently, at least partially due to individual characteristics of the owner. While a health logic was a driving logic in the field, its intensity varied at each organization. In addition to class set up and consumer interaction, each organizations' response to a technological disruptor, ClassPass, exemplified each organizations' unique navigation of the logics in the boutique fitness field. Soar struggled with the tensions between often incompatible market and community logics. The intensity of a health logic at Soar fell between Precision and Spin City. Chloe's entrepreneurial background, her membership in the community where Soar was located and identity as a mother shaped logic adoption and interpretation. Soar engaged heavily with ClassPass, becoming dependent on ClassPass and most vulnerable to ClassPass' organizational changes. Soar closed at the end of the study period due to unresolved tensions between market and community within the organization.

A dominant health logic at Precision drove decision making due to the owner's background in exercise science. Most decisions were driven by a health logic, but also

aligned with the goals of market and community logics, such as small class sizes. Precision engaged with ClassPass, and though was impacted by its organizational changes, was not dependent on ClassPass, and therefore not as vulnerable to their organizational changes. At the conclusion of the study, the owner of Precision was hoping to expand and open a third Precision location. Finally, Spin City's central community logic drove decision making, with these decisions often aligned with the goals of a market logic. Compared to Soar and Precision, the health logic was least intense at Spin City. The owner's race and membership in the community influenced the adoption and interpretation of a community logic, which evoked the tenets of the black church evidenced by tools such as call and response, gospel music and the relationship with a local church. The black church, as one of the oldest institutions in the black community, often bleeds outside of church walls (Lincoln & Mayima, 1990) evidenced at Spin City. Spin City avoided ClassPass, choosing to protect the boundaries of community.

Implications

The findings from this study have theoretical, methodological and empirical implications. Theoretically, this study builds on institutional theories by understanding how organizations navigate logic complexity when more than two conflicting logics exist. While market, community and health are not the full array of logics in the boutique fitness field, understanding how organizations navigate these three moves closer to gaining a more robust understanding of logic complexity.

Additionally, this research demonstrates how individual characteristics shape organizational logic adoption in small owner operator businesses. The findings suggest

the importance of understanding the social, historical, and cultural context of logic adoption and builds on existing theories that highlight the importance of looking beyond organizational characteristics to understand organizational logics. Individual characteristics of owners such as race and gender and their social and cultural context shape logic adoption in small organizations, an area that has room for further study (Allison, 2018; Greenwood, 2010).

Methodologically, this study shows the benefit of non-traditional data to explore research questions. Using administrative data from three boutique fitness studios allowed examination of actual behaviors rather than self-report survey data of consumer habits and helped bridge the gap between academic and business analysis. I was initially convinced none of the gyms would grant me access to their administrative data. But, making the ask was the hardest part as I learned these small business owners were more than willing to share data, both to gain insights from the analysis, as well as to support my education. In the future, scholars should continue to think of ways to integrate their research with “real life” businesses and data to complement survey and self-report data. Businesses are increasingly collecting more data from consumers every day. Academics need to find ways to access and leverage these data to gain insight into society.

Finally, the findings from this study provide empirical insight into two recent trends in small business: technological disruptor and niche marketing. First, understanding how organizations responded to ClassPass and the subsequent impact of ClassPass, may provide insight for how companies can and should respond to technology disruptors, which are increasingly prevalent across a variety of industries. While technology disruptors have been hailed as open market solutions that save consumers

money, understanding their broader implications is critical. Soar struggled to navigate the relationship with the large tech aggregator. While initially, it was helpful for business, the owner claimed a dependence on the tech aggregator ultimately led to the organization's demise. Continued research on the role of third party technology disruptors on industries and on individual organizations is critical.

Second, this study provided an example of a fitness facility that catered to black middle-class women, an example of targeted marketing. Fitness has been a middle-class privilege (Bourdieu, 1978; Stempel, 2005), that has not been historically extended to the black middle class (Ray, 2017). Studies have called to understand the environments where black middle-class exercise and the role the black church may play to encourage health and fitness in black communities. My observations at Spin City, a boutique fitness studio demonstrated that community, fellowship, and culturally relevant music kept individuals working out multiple times per week and prioritizing their own fitness. My findings also highlight the role of the black church in supporting fitness. While the links between Spin City and a particular church in the community were explicit, Spin City went beyond these explicit links to a particular church and evoked the spirit of the black church in its daily operations.

While boutique fitness studios, exercise classes and cycling are far from the only methods to maintain a healthy lifestyle, movement and physical exercise are critical to long-term health (Fletcher et al., 1996; Warburton et al., 2006). Though boutique fitness is cost prohibitive for many, there are benefits to offering middle class women an environment where they can sweat together and build community. Unfortunately, such benefits seem more prevalent in white neighborhoods and communities. Fitness studios

like Spin City could be replicated in cities across the country to provide a space for black middle-class women to work out also while supporting minority entrepreneurs.

Supporting minority entrepreneurs to open fitness facilities should be a key aspect of health policy funding.

In the future, I hope to leverage the data collected in this study to gain further insights into the worlds of boutique fitness, the role of individual characteristics such as race and gender, and the role of technological disruptors. In this dissertation, I analyzed the administrative data at the organizational level providing insight into how the introduction of a technology disrupter impacted small businesses. In future analyses, I will study individual level data to answer questions about how individual consumer behavior changed with the introduction and price change of ClassPass, and how the characteristics of the consumers may impact the influence of the technological disruptor. In addition to more in depth analysis of administrative data, I will further analyze survey data (n=240) to study consumer attitudes and behaviors about their particular boutique fitness studio, boutique fitness, overall, and ClassPass.

Boutique fitness studios, with their growing pop culture relevance in the US and globally provide a unique empirical example to study organizations, business owners and fitness more broadly. Fitness plays a direct role in health and health inequality in the U.S. by race and gender, as well as class. Fitness and fitness organizations are social institutions that make and remake ideas about race, gender, and other social inequalities (Carrington, 2013) and should continue to be a site for further sociological examination. By examining the supply side of fitness, in conjunction with studies on the

consumer side, studying fitness organizations provides unique insight into reducing health inequity in the U.S.

Finally, accounting for individual characteristics of owners plays a critical role in how businesses operate, particularly small businesses. Boutique fitness studios are just one example. As the economy continues to change, and disruptors, middlemen and franchises continue to grow, understanding how individual characteristics shape how companies engage or avoid these shifts will continue to grow in importance.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Consumer Survey

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Researchers are required to provide a consent form such as this one to tell you about the research, to explain that taking part is voluntary, to describe the risks and benefits of participation, and to help you to make an informed decision. You should feel free to ask the researchers any questions you may have.

Principal Investigator Name and Title: Rowena Crabbe, MS, PhD student, Sociology

Department and Institution: Department of Sociology; University of Illinois at Chicago

Address and Contact Information: Behavioral Sciences Building, 1007 W. Harrison, Chicago, IL 60647

Why am I being asked?

You are being asked to be a subject in a research study about the experiences of individuals at boutique fitness studios.

In this study, we aim to expand our understanding of the experiences of individuals in boutique fitness settings, understanding why individuals attend these gyms. We also hope to learn more about how characteristics of individuals as well as characteristics of boutique fitness studios shape individuals' experiences.

You have been asked to participate in the research because you work or attend a boutique fitness studio.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future dealings with the University of Illinois at Chicago or with the fitness studio. **If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting that relationship.**

Approximately 250 subjects may be involved in this research at UIC.

What is the purpose of this research?

The objective of this research is to examine why individuals attend boutique fitness studios, why they attend specific boutique fitness studios and how characteristics of individuals (e.g. race, gender, class) and studios (e.g. location, ownership) shape experiences. The findings from this study will be useful to understand more about individuals' experiences in fitness facilities and our understanding of fitness organizations and their characteristics.

What procedures are involved?

You will participate in this online survey from a location of your choosing.

The survey will take approximately 15 minutes.

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

Our research does not involve questions that are likely to generate discomfort. However if at anytime you feel uncomfortable, please feel free to stop taking the survey or skip any question. Although your privacy and confidentiality will be protected to the extent technologically possible, the security of information transmitted/collected digitally and stored on a computer can never be 100% guaranteed. There is a risk of a breach of privacy (others may find out you participated in this research) and/or confidentiality (others may find out information that was collected or disclosed during the research).

Are there benefits to taking part in the research?

This study is not designed to benefit you directly. This study is designed to learn more about the experience of individuals who work at or attend boutique fitness studios. The study results may be used to help other people in the future.

What other options are there?

You have the option to not participate in this study.

What about privacy and confidentiality?

Information about you will only be disclosed to others with your written permission, or if necessary to protect your rights or welfare (for example, if the UIC Office for the Protection of Research Subjects monitors the research or consent process) or if required by law.

A possible risk of the research is that your participation in the research or information about you might become known to individuals outside the research.

We engaged in a number of actions to protect the confidentiality of your participation:

- Your contact information that were used in recruitment correspondence will be deleted from our files immediately after the interview.
- Only the principal investigator will have access to the data.

What are the costs for participating in this research?

There are no costs to you for participating in this research.

Will I be reimbursed for any of my expenses or paid for my participation in this research?

You will not be offered payment for being in this study

Can I withdraw or be removed from the study?

If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

Contact the principal researcher:

Rowena Crabbe (rcrabb3@uic.edu)

703.598.8722

Dept. of Sociology,

1007 W Harrison Street – 4th Floor

Chicago, IL 60607

If you have questions about the study or your participation that the principal investigator cannot answer, you may contact the faculty sponsor, Dr. Barbara Risman at brisman@uic.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may call the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) at 312-996-1711 (local) or 1-866-789-6215 (toll-free) or e-mail OPRS at uicirb@uic.edu.

By continuing with this survey and moving to the next screen, you consent to the above. You are free to stop the survey at any time or refrain from answering any questions.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this study! This survey should take approximately 10 minutes to complete. Feel free to stop your participation at any time and skip any questions you'd prefer not to answer.

The survey references **boutique fitness studios**. For the purposes of this survey, boutique fitness studios are defined as fitness studios that primarily offer instructor led group fitness classes. Some examples include: [focal boutique fitness studio], Orange Theory and Shred 415.

The survey references **big box gyms**. For the purposes of this survey, big box gyms are gyms that primarily offer monthly memberships granting access to their facilities to work out on your own. Some examples of big box gyms are: Equinox, XSport Fitness, FFC, and LA Fitness.

How long have you been attending fitness classes at [focal boutique fitness studio]?

- ☐ This is my first time
- ☐ Less than a month
- ☐ 2 - 5 months
- ☐ 6 months - less than a year
- ☐ 1 - 3 years
- ☐ 4 + years

Thinking back over the past two weeks, how many times a week did you do each of the following...

Attend a fitness class at [focal boutique fitness studio]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attend a fitness class at another boutique fitness studio	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exercise at a big box gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exercise outside	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The next set of questions relate to THE OWNER of [focal boutique fitness studio]. Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

The owner of [focal boutique fitness studio]...

is charismatic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
cares about my health goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
cares about my life outside of the gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
is motivational	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
is knowledgeable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
is in great shape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
is accessible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
is friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The next set of questions relate to THE INSTRUCTORS at [focal boutique fitness studio].
Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

The instructors at [focal boutique fitness studio]...

are charismatic	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
care about my health goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
care about my life outside of the gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are motivational	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are knowledgeable	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are in great shape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are accessible	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The next set of questions relates to the PEOPLE WHO ATTEND FITNESS CLASSES at [focal boutique fitness studio]: Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

People take good care of their health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People talk before or after classes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are concerned about their looks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People know my name	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are friendly with each other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People keep to themselves	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People feel welcome	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are concerned about their budget	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are in great shape	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People live in my neighborhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People work hard during class	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People have been attending for a long time	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People want others to know they go here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People often wear clothing with the brand of the gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The environment is relaxed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

People get along with one another	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are serious about their work out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The next set of questions relates to the PEOPLE WHO ATTEND FITNESS CLASSES at [focal boutique fitness studio]: Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

People typically attend with others they know outside of the gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are different from those who attend other boutique fitness studios	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People share a sense of accountability	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People feel good about going here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The people who go here feel like family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are proud to attend this gym	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are concerned about their health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People feel comfortable here	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The location is convenient	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People are like me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The fitness classes are strenuous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The environment is competitive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The classes help me achieve my fitness goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The classes are unique	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

My health has improved since I started attending	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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How often do you attend [focal boutique fitness studio] with people you know from outside the gym (e.g. friends, family members, coworkers, etc.)?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Always

In what ways do you interact with people you've met at [focal boutique fitness studio]? Please only think about those people you met AT [focal boutique fitness studio].

Front desk staff	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Others who attend classes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Instructors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The owner	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Overall, how would you rate [focal boutique fitness studio]?

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor

Overall, how satisfied are you with [focal boutique fitness studio]?

- ☐ Extremely satisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Extremely dissatisfied

If friends or family members were looking for a place to work out, how likely would you be to recommend [focal boutique fitness studio]?

- ☐ 0 Not likely to recommend
- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4
- ☐ 5
- ☐ 6
- ☐ 7
- ☐ 8
- ☐ 9
- ☐ 10 Extremely likely to recommend

How far away do you live from [focal boutique fitness studio]?

- ☐ A couple of blocks
- ☐ Under a half mile
- ☐ Approximately a mile
- ☐ 2 - 4 miles
- ☐ More than 5 miles away

How long is your usual commute to [focal boutique fitness studio] via your usual mode of transportation?

- ☐ 1 – 3 minutes
- ☐ 4 – 5 minutes
- ☐ 6 - 10 minutes
- ☐ 11 - 15 minutes
- ☐ 16 - 30 minutes
- ☐ More than 30 minutes

Thinking back over the past two weeks, what is the farthest you've traveled to visit any gym?

- ☐ 1 – 3 minutes
- ☐ 4 – 5 minutes
- ☐ 6 - 10 minutes
- ☐ 11 - 15 minutes
- ☐ 16 - 30 minutes
- ☐ More than 30 minutes

Are you a member of ClassPass?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If you are a member of ClassPass, how has being a member of ClassPass changed how you work out? (Select all that apply)

- ☐ I have attended boutique fitness studios I would not have otherwise
- ☐ I only attend gyms on ClassPass
- ☐ I attend gyms that are farther away from my home
- ☐ I have tried new types of classes that I would not have tried otherwise
- ☐ I visit the boutique fitness studios I was visiting more frequently
- ☐ I visit the boutique fitness studios I was visiting less frequently
- ☐ I have a more consistent workout routine
- ☐ I adapt my workout routine based on class availability via ClassPass
- ☐ I attend classes at boutique fitness studios more
- ☐ I attend classes at boutique fitness studios less
- ☐ I work out at big box gyms less
- ☐ I spend more money on fitness than I did previously
- ☐ I spend less money on fitness than I did previously
- ☐ It hasn't changed how I work out
- ☐ Other _____

What is your monthly budget for the gym and fitness classes? Please enter a dollar amount

What is your monthly budget for GO Row/GO Cycle? Please enter a dollar amount.

A few final demographic questions... thank you again for your time!

What year were you born?

What is your race/ethnicity? (Select all that apply)

- ☐ White
- ☐ Black or African American
- ☐ Hispanic/Latino
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- ☐ Other

What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Non-binary
- ☐ Other

How would you describe your current fitness level?

- ☐ Extremely active
- ☐ Very active
- ☐ Active
- ☐ Somewhat active
- ☐ Not at all active

In general, how would you rate your health?

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor

How would you rate your mental health?

- ☐ Excellent
- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Good
- ☐ Fair
- ☐ Poor

What is your current marital status?

- ☐ Married
- ☐ Widowed/Divorced/Separated
- ☐ Never married

What is the highest level of education?

- ☐ Less than high school
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ Some college/2 year degree
- ☐ 4 year degree
- ☐ Professional degree
- ☐ Doctorate

What is your sexual orientation?

- ☐ Heterosexual
- ☐ Homosexual
- ☐ Bisexual
- ☐ Other
- ☐ Prefer not to say

What is your zip code?

How many adults (18+) live in your household?

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ More than 4

What is your annual household income?

- ☐ Less than \$39,999
- ☐ \$40,000 - \$59,999
- ☐ \$60,000 - \$79,999
- ☐ \$80,000 - \$99,999
- ☐ \$100,000 - \$149,999
- ☐ \$150,000 - \$199,999
- ☐ \$200,000-\$249,999
- ☐ \$250,000+

Appendix B: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule

Respondent	Race	Gender	Studio	Role
1	Black	F	Spin City	Consumer
2	Black	F	Spin City	Consumer
3	Black	F	Spin City	Consumer
4	Black	F	Spin City	Consumer
5	White	F	Spin City	Consumer
6	White	M	Spin City	Consumer
7	Black	F	Spin City	Consumer
8	Black	M	Spin City	Consumer
9	Black	M	Spin City	Consumer
10	Black	M	Spin City	Owner
11	White	F	Soar/Owner	Consumer
12	White	M	Soar	Consumer
13	Asian	F	Soar	Consumer
14	White	F	Soar	Consumer
15	White	F	Soar	Consumer
16	White	F	Soar	Instructor
17	White	F	Soar	Instructor
18	White	F	Soar	Instructor
19	White	F	Precision	Consumer
20	White	F	Precision	Instructor
21	White	F	Precision	Instructor
22	White	M	Precision	Instructor
23	White	F	Precision	Owner
24	Black	M	n/a	Instructor
25	White	F	n/a	Instructor/owner
26	White	F	n/a	owner
27	Black	M	n/a	Owner/Instructor

Appendix C: IRB Approvals

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Exemption Determination
Amendment to Research Protocol – Exempt Review
UIC Amendment # 1

July 25, 2017

Rowena Crabbe, MS
Sociology
1007 W. Harrison Street
BSB 4005, M/C 312
Chicago, IL 60612
Phone: (703) 598-8722 / Fax: (312) 996-5104

RE: Protocol # 2017-0538
“Boutique Fitness Studios: Where people go and why?”

Please obtain verbal permission from the gym owner(s)/manager(s) prior to utilizing the revised survey instrument.

Dear Ms. Crabbe:

The OPRS staff/members of Institutional Review Board (IRB) #7 have reviewed this amendment to your research, and have determined that your research protocol continues to meet the criteria for exemption as defined in the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services Regulations for the Protection of Human Subjects [(45 CFR 46.101(b))].

The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You may now implement the amendment in your research.

Please note the following information about your approved amendment:

Exemption Period: July 25, 2017 – July 25, 2020

Amendment Approval Date: July 25, 2017

Amendment:

Summary: UIC Amendment #1: Amendment to update the survey instrument that will be administered to gym consumers. Version 2 of the survey includes additional questions about consumers feelings of community towards the gym, their budget and modes of transportation in addition to questions that were included in the previous survey.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

1. Amendments You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.
2. Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
3. Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
4. Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research should be presented to subjects as detailed in the research protocol, application(s) and supporting documents.

Please be sure to use your research protocol number (2017-0538) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need

further help, please contact me at (312) 355-2908 or the OPRS office at (312) 996-1711.

Sincerely,
Charles W. Hoehne, B.S., C.I.P.
Assistant Director, IRB #7
Office for the Protection of Research
Subjects

cc: Maria Krysan, Sociology, M/C 312
Barbara Risman, Sociology, M/C 312

Approval Notice

Initial Review (Response To Modifications)

October 12, 2017

Rowena Crabbe, MS
Sociology
1007 W. Harrison Street
BSB 4005, M/C 312
Chicago, IL 60612
Phone: (703) 598-8722 / Fax: (312) 996-5104

RE: Protocol # 2017-0687
“Boutique Fitness: Consumption & Usage Behaviors”

Dear Ms. Crabbe:

Your Initial Review (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by the Expedited review process on October 12, 2017. You may now begin your research

Please note the following information about your approved research protocol:

IRB has acknowledged that data transfer agreements will be completed between the research sites and the UIC investigator/UIC ORS for this research and, in reliance on those agreements, is granted a waiver of consent for this minimal risk research.

Protocol Approval Period: October 12, 2017 - October 12, 2018
Approved Subject Enrollment #: 60000
Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors: These determinations have not been made for this study since it has not been approved for enrollment of minors.
Performance Sites: UIC

Sponsor: None

Research Protocol(s):

- a) Boutique Fitness: Usage & Consumption Behaviors;09/18/2017

Informed Consent(s):

- a) A waiver of consent/permission/assent has been granted under 45 CFR 46.116(d); minimal risk; data regarding gym use transferred under agreements between the research sites and the UIC investigator/UIC ORS.

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific category(ies):

(5) Research involving materials (data, documents, records, or specimens) that have been collected, or will be collected solely for non-research purposes (such as medical treatment or diagnosis).

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
06/21/2017	Initial Review	Expedited	07/11/2017	Modifications Required
09/19/2017	Response To Modifications	Expedited	10/12/2017	Approved

Please remember to:

→ Use your **research protocol number** (2017-0687) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the guidance:

"UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects"
 (<http://research.uic.edu/irb/investigators-research-staff/investigator-responsibilities>)

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the protocol must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 996-9299. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Allison A. Brown, PhD
IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research

Subjects

cc: Maria Krysan, Sociology, M/C 312
Barbara Risman (Faculty Sponsor), Sociology, M/C 312

VITA

Rowena Crabbe

RESEARCH AREAS OF INTEREST

Race, Gender, Organizations, Education, Quantitative and Qualitative methods

EDUCATION

2018 Ph.D., Sociology, University of Illinois, Chicago
Concentration: Race, Ethnicity and Gender

2007 M.S., Business Management, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA
Concentration: Marketing Research

2009 B.S., Marketing Management, Virginia Tech, Blacksburg, VA

PUBLICATIONS

Articles in Preparation

Crabbe, Rowena, Kerry Hofer and Rachel A. Gordon. “Classroom Quality and Children’s Development in Head Start: An Integrative Analysis of Four FACES Study Years”

Crabbe, Rowena, Lilla Pivnick, Julia Bates, Rachel A. Gordon and Robert Crosnoe. “A 21st Century Breakfast Club: Continuity and Change in High School Social Groups

Crabbe, Rowena, Gordon, Rachel A., “Childcare Center Director and their Networks: A Latent Class Analysis of Center and Neighborhood Characteristics”

White Papers

Scarborough, William, Sarah Steele, **Rowena Crabbe**, Allison Suppan Helmuth, and Maria Krysan. “Welcome Home: How the Housing Crisis Has Affected Small Apartment Building Owners in the Austin Neighborhood – and What Can Be Done.”

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

2017	Abraham Lincoln Retention Fellowship (\$22,000)
2016	Chicago Area Study: Summer Research Program (\$5000)
2014	Liberal Arts and Sciences PhD Travel Award to attend 2014 Society for Research on Child Development Special Topic Meeting: Developmental Methodology in San Diego, California (\$500)
2014	Liberal Arts and Sciences PhD Travel Award to attend 2014 American Education Research Association Conference in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (\$500)
2013	Kathleen Crittenden Graduate Recruitment Fellowship 2013 (\$5000)
2012	University of Illinois at Chicago University Fellowship 2012 (Declined)

PRESENTATIONS

2014	Crabbe, Rowena , Gordon, Rachel A., Fujimoto, Ken A., Krysan, Maria. "Using Item Response Theory and Differential Item Functioning to Further Examine Concerted Cultivation" Presented at Society for Research on Child Development Special Topic Meeting: Developmental Methodology in San Diego, California, September
2014	Gordon, Rachel A., Galindo, Claudia, Fujimoto, Ken A., Crabbe, Rowena , Fuller, Bruce. "How Teachers Gauge Children's Social Development: Differential Item Functioning among Ethnic Groups" Presented at Society for Research on Child Development Special Topic Meeting: Developmental Methodology in San Diego, California, September

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

2015-2017	Research Assistant, NIH, Predictors of Achievement from Early Childhood to Adulthood; PI: Rachel Gordon and Robert Crosnoe
2015-2016	Research Assistant, UIC Faculty Equity Committee; Leads: Barbara Risman, Stacie Gellar, Beth Ritchie
2013-2015	Research Assistant, IES, Measuring Preschool Program Quality: Multiple Aspects of the Validity of Two Widely-Used Measures; PI: Rachel Gordon
2013-2015	Research Assistant, Oak Park Regional Housing Center, Understanding Affirmative Moves; PI: Maria Krysan

- 2013-2015 Research Assistant NSF, Collaborative Research: Neighborhood Knowledge, Selection, and Segregation; PI: Maria Krysan
- 2013-2015 Research Assistant HUD-Urban Institute, Housing Discrimination Housing Search Study; PI: Maria Krysan

OTHER RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 2012-2013 Senior Manager, Global Corporate Social Responsibility, Diversity & Inclusion, The Nielsen Company
- 2010-2012 Associate Consultant, The Cambridge Group,
- 2009 - 2010 Manager, Research & Analysis, Home Entertainment Custom Research, The Nielsen Company
- 2007-2008 Management Development Associate, The Nielsen Company

SERVICE

- 2016 Founder, Dissertation Proposal Writing Program
- 2016 Mentor, Chicago Lights
- 2014 Organizer, UIC Sociology Recruitment Day

MEMBERSHIPS

American Sociological Association
 American Education Research Association
 Society for Research Child Development

SOFTWARE

Microsoft Office Suite, STATA, MAX QDA