



“I will never quit dancing”. The emotional experiences of social dancing among older persons

Eva Alfredsson Olsson*, Satu Heikkinen

Faculty of Arts and Social Science, Department of Social and Psychological Studies, Karlstad University, 651 88 Karlstad, Sweden



ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Older people
Dancing
Positive emotions
Negative emotions
Emotional energy tropism
Emotional energy
Interaction rituals

ABSTRACT

Research on dancing in later life has mainly focused on the health-promoting effects of dance, including aspects of well-being, while studies focusing on emotions are rare. The purpose of this article is therefore to contribute to research on older people's dancing through examining emotions in social dancing. Qualitative interviews were conducted with 44 older persons. The analysis shows how successful interaction rituals create positive emotions such as joy and pride and contribute to emotional energy. However, there are also unsuccessful interaction rituals which contribute to negative emotions of sadness and anger. These negative emotions can drain emotional energy, but, importantly for this study, they may also contribute to a forceful counter-energy which motivates the interviewees to try again. We discuss these patterns as emotional energy tropism and as negative emotional energy and positive emotional energy working together. The study provides insight into how and why dancing feels good as well as why older people do not give up dancing despite setbacks. Overall, the study contributes to research discussions about emotions in gray dancing as well as sociology of emotions.

Introduction

Studies of older people's dancing have been focused on health, putting forth many positive aspects of dancing, for example how dance promotes well-being and good health in this age group (Connor, 2000; Keogh, Kilding, Pidgeon, Ashley, & Gillis, 2009). Despite the fact that both health and well-being include emotional components, emotions involved in older people's dancing have been scarcely studied in previous research. One exception is Paulson (2009), which examines emotions from a psychological perspective. Paulson points out that dancing involves joy but also sorrow, for instance when the body fails due to illness. Studies of the social dimensions of dancing can also shed light on emotions, since emotions arise from social interaction and in social situations. One such example is a study by Cooper and Thomas (2002) which illustrates different feelings in dancing, such as feelings of joy and community with people of the same age, experiences of entering a second “teenage” period when dancing only for fun, and positive feelings based on a sense of being attractive and proud of having acquired certain skills.

Dancing, in other words, seems to entail a wide range of feelings; both positive ones, such as joy, and negative ones, such as sorrow. But since little research has explored emotions in older people's dancing this means that there is a lack of knowledge regarding the social

significance of emotions for individuals and groups. Studies have shown that dancing is a popular leisure activity among older people (Ronström, 1998; Krekula, Arvidson, Heikkinen, Henriksson & Olsson, 2017), but we know little about why older people dance aside from the fact that research indicates positive health effects of dancing. There is limited knowledge about how feelings arise in dancing, and when positive or negative feelings develop. Based on qualitative data from Sweden the purpose of this article is therefore to contribute to research on older people's dancing through examining emotions in social dancing. We use a sociology of emotions perspective, primarily based on Hochschild's (1983) perspective on interaction and Collins' (2004) interaction rituals theory, both which emphasise how feelings are produced and shaped in social situations. By focusing on how feelings create what is called emotional energy (Collins, 2004), one of our findings as we will show, is how negative feelings like sorrow and anger can be central for older individuals to overcome difficulties and continue dancing. This means that our understanding of the significance and managing of emotions needs to be complex and we cannot just take it for granted that positive feelings are revitalising and negative feelings should be avoided. Instead, it is crucial to pay attention to the complex interplay between feelings and emotional energy, in which both positive and negative feelings play an important role in making older people keep on dancing.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: eva.olsson@kau.se (E. Alfredsson Olsson), satu.heikkinen@kau.se (S. Heikkinen).

Literature review

Older people's dancing has been emphasised as a meaningful activity (Brown, McGuire, & Voelkl, 2008; Nadasen, 2008), in which both physical and psychological health aspects have been seen as greatly significant (Cooper & Thomas, 2002; Nadasen, 2007; Guzmán-García, Hughes, James, & Rochester, 2013). The main target for research has been dancing for older people organised as physical exercise, while social dancing has attracted much less attention from researchers (Roberson Jr & Pelcova, 2014; Krekula et al., 2017). Previous studies of the social dimensions of dancing that focus on emotions suggest that older people have fun when dancing, they reenact many positive memories of dancing from when they were young and they sense a belonging to a community (Cooper & Thomas, 2002; Thomas & Cooper, 2002, 2003; Lima & Vieira, 2007). Paulson (2009) describes a range of feelings, from the joy of older people who feel capable, both mentally and physically, when dancing to sorrow related to illness and loss. However, the majority of these studies focus on what this means for older people's health and the health advantages of dancing. The discussion shows that dancing, supposed to promote physical activity, social relations, and quality of life, is regarded as a kind of health work (Nadasen 2007; Cooper & Thomas, 2002; Lima & Vieira, 2007). Several studies also advise organisations to arrange more dancing events for older people to support their health and well-being (Lamdin & Fugate, 1997; Netz, Axelrad, & Argov, 2007; Elsayay & Higgins, 2010; cf. Cairney, McGannon, & Atkinson, 2018). Moreover, the studies indicate that older people themselves may consider dancing as a health-promoting activity, which means that the discussion concerning active ageing is also prevalent in people's everyday lives (Krekula et al., 2017). In summary, it is clear that older people's dancing is a multi-faceted phenomenon which has primarily been studied in terms of health. Emotions have been mentioned in research, but have rarely been examined more closely.

There is, however, general research on dancing and emotions, but without a focus on age. The participants in these studies have typically been middle-aged or young people, but what these limited age groups mean for the results and theories is not discussed. This work includes for instance research on how individuals dance to express specific feelings (Van Dyck, Burger, & Orlandatou, 2017), how improvising dancers understand each other's intentions and emotions in dancing through empathy (Ribeiro & Fonseca, 2011), how dancing affects endogenous hormones and hence feelings (Maroun & Wagner, 2016), how dancing influences children and adolescents emotionally (Perrotta, 2011), and how dancing can be used as therapy for various afflictions and mental illnesses or emotional problems (Chaiklin & Wengrower, 2015). There is also research on ritual religious dancing and ecstasy (Haley & Richeport-Haley, 2015), and on feelings of attraction and intimacy, for instance in relation to tango (Törnqvist, 2012). In general, these studies are framed by medical and psychological perspectives, barring a few exceptions such as Törnqvist's tango study. There is essentially no sociology of emotion research on dancing.

Age is seen as significant, however, in several sociology of emotion studies not focusing on dancing, for instance in terms of emotional norms for different age groups, and how individuals handle their feelings in relation to age (Fineman, 2011; Fineman, 2014; Urry & Gross, 2010). There are still many traditional ideas in society concerning how older people are expected to feel, express feelings, and behave (see Fineman, 2014; Urry & Gross, 2010) which go against the expectations of today's older people since they experience old age differently compared to previous generations (Schuck, 2010). Age and emotional maturity are also seen as significant for how people handle both their own and other people's feelings (Scheff, 2008; Urry & Gross, 2010). According to several researchers, older people report higher levels of well-being compared to young people. The reason may be that older people over time have learnt or developed strategies for handling their feelings in order to maintain their well-being (Gross et al., 1997; Charles,

Piazza, Luong & Almeida, 2009; Barbalet, 2009; Urry & Gross, 2010). Such strategies can for example be to choose social participation in situations that contribute to joy, to adjust expectations to the situation at hand, or to reinterpret the situation (Urry & Gross, 2010).

Generally, emotions have received a great deal of attention in recent years in humanities like cultural studies, geography, sociology, and psychology due to the trend often called the "affective turn" (see for instance Gregg & Seigworth, 2010). It can be noticed as has been shown above that this trend is quite absent in research on older people's dance, even if emotions have been studied in research on dance and sociology of emotions has been applied in studies about age.

Theoretical framework

In emotion research in general, a distinction is drawn between positive and negative emotions, since there is a consensus that people experience feelings in different ways; they are happy, sad, or angry, and this results in different consequences (Bornheim, 2010; Nettle, 2006). In medical and psychological research, positive feelings like joy and contentment which contribute to perceptions of competence and community have been shown to have long-term effects on experiences of both physical and mental well-being (Fredrickson, 2003; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002; Paulson, 2009). It has even been shown that positive emotions develop individuals' strengths and resources into "back-up" for less positive times. On the other hand, negative feelings such as anger, sorrow, and shame are considered likely to cause illnesses such as depression, cardiovascular disease, and cancer, as well as social problems such as violence and crime (Fredrickson, 1998). Sociological research has pointed out that negative emotions are not always "negative"; they also signal danger and prepare us for flight, or tell us when we should discontinue an activity or a relationship that is not beneficial for us (Hochschild, 1983; Scheff, 2000).

This article is based on a sociological interactionist perspective on emotions (Bericat, 2016; Collins, 2004; Hochschild, 1983), which assumes that emotions have biological, social, and cultural foundations. Following Hochschild's interactionist perspective, we do not use the term affect, since we use the terms

emotion and feeling synonymously.

We learn what to feel and express in different situations through socialisation, which means that we have to work with our feelings in relation to the emotional rules of the context we are in (Hochschild, 1983; Hochschild, 1990). There are age-related norms for how to feel and express emotions just as there are gender-related ones. We tend to understand what emotional norms are in play for a certain situation only when we transgress them, which also means that emotions function as a system of signals which help us find our way in social life (Barbalet, 2002; Fineman, 2011; Hochschild, 1983, 1990). The task of the signalling system is to prepare us for, or make us aware of, "what-is-out-there-from-where-I-stand" as Hochschild (1990:119) puts it. The way we interpret "what-is-out-there" and "where-I-stand" depends on the cultural and social context, and is simultaneously negotiated in social interaction with others. Emotions are not just "there" ready for "activation"; they are generated, handled, changed, and expressed in and through social interaction.

According to Collins (2004), social life comprises a series of interaction rituals among people and is characterised by a constant pursuit of emotional energy, which Collins describes using the concept Emotional Energy Tropism. Like plants that turn to the light, we humans turn to those interaction rituals that will result in the best payoff in terms of emotional energy. Collins holds that all social interaction between two or more persons engaged in some kind of common activity, either in the form of conversation or in some other type of group activity, is an interaction ritual. Collins does not, however, use the concept of ritual to describe a consensus arrangement at the level of structure like Durkheim (1912/1965), but instead uses the concepts interaction rituals, interaction chains, and emotional energy to show

that both consensus and conflict situations can be analysed at the macro and the micro levels alike. Rituals, then, have effects on both the individual and the community.

A successful interaction ritual results in solidarity for the community/group on the one hand, and emotional energy for the individual on the other. What Collins calls emotional energy can be described as the individual's inner source of power, which can be replenished or drained through interaction rituals and interaction chains. The positive energy and sense of power also last beyond the ritual itself, as the individual retains them until the next interaction ritual – hence the expression “interaction chains” (Collins, 2004). Also shame, anger, and hatred as well as sorrow and depression ensue as consequences of the dynamics of social situations (Boyns & Luery, 2015). All of these feelings may form as the result of failed interaction rituals (Collins, 2004). They can, for instance, follow from the non-fulfillment of the individual's expectations related to the situation at hand or to the interaction partners in the situation (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Collins, 2004; Scheff, 2000). They can also arise when currently shared symbols of the sense of community in a group are threatened or not respected, which may lead to different kinds of conflicts (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Bramsen & Poder, 2014).

Collins's model has not been developed much theoretically, specifically not the notion of emotional energy (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Bramsen & Poder, 2014), despite the fact that it has been used widely for various kinds of empirical studies such as studies of social movements, feminist studies, studies of civil rights, and of religious movements, (see for instance Heider & Warner, 2010; Milne & Otieno, 2007; Olitsky, 2006). However, a significant exception is Boyns and Luery's (2015) development of emotional energy which argues the existence of both positive and negative emotional energy and suggests that both generate action and agency. Negative emotional energy leads to action as well since the opposite of positive emotional energy is not just drainage of energy as Collins suggests. The experience of being diminished, offended, in disagreement, sad, angry, and so on can also provide the energy required to be able to act (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Bramsen & Poder, 2014).

The notion of emotional energy accounts for the long-term aggregated levels of emotion, instead of focusing on separate and more transitory emotions such as joy or anger. Emotional energy, whether described as positive or negative, results from interaction rituals, but based on different feelings. Positive emotional energy arises as a result of a combination of emotions such as joy, happiness, self-confidence, and so on, and negative emotional energy as a result of a combination of several negative emotions, for example unease, anger and anxiety (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Bramsen & Poder, 2014). In our analysis, we combine Collins with the perspective of Boyns and Luery (2015) and Bramsen and Poder (2014). Positive emotional energy can be replenished or drained just like Collins describes it, but we claim that the phenomenon emotional energy is more complex than that. There is also negative emotional energy which does not contribute to drainage of energy but instead to a desire to act. We focus on the aspect of negative emotional energy that Boyns and Luery have described as follows: “Negative emotional energy is an important source of motivation to action that takes on a different quality when it is simultaneously accompanied by positive emotional energy. Positive emotional energy when stimulated by negative emotional energy can become dramatically invigorating” (2015, p 164). This means that, while emotional energy tropism is about the ways in which we are motivated to find interactions and contexts that replenish our supply of positive emotional energy, something that makes us feel good, we also need occasional replenishment of negative emotional energy in order to counteract drainage in situations that create negative feelings. Both positive and negative emotional energy can therefore function as emotional energy tropism.

Method and context

This article is written within a research project focusing on the social aspects of older people's dance. The methodological approach in the project is ethnographical and exploratory. All data were collected in 2016. We have done participant observations and qualitative interviews (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The study complies with the ethical requirements specified by the Swedish Research Council. This article is based on the interviews.

The informants have been recruited in the context of the participant observations carried out for the study, which involve a number of different dance settings in Sweden that can be summarised in terms of three categories: association dance, exercise dance, and social dance. Association dance is arranged by a dance association, exercise dance is focused on health and fitness, and social dance is the kind of dance that people do when they go out in order to have fun and meet people. The recruitment has been done by four researchers aged between 38 years and 64 years, three women and one man, who have been participating in different dances. The recruitment has taken place both through convenience sampling, i. e. among those that the researchers danced with, and through the researchers' selection of possible participants to create variety based on gender, age, and other characteristics (e.g. beginner-experienced dancer).

Who was considered older varied between dances. One venue for older people's social dance had 50 as a lower age limit. We therefore decided to interview people above the age of 50. The median age of the interviewed dancers was 72. The youngest informants were 52 years old and the oldest 81 years old. The type of dance that we analyse in this article is so-called social dance, specifically couple dance. The informants quoted below have all referred to this type of dance, even if they were recruited from other dances or were even no longer active in couple dance. The analysed material comprises a total of 44 interviews. We have interviewed 32 women and 12 men, and as the informants also confirm, this sample reflects the gender distribution in the dance studied.

The data collecting team of four researchers held regular meetings to reflect upon the data collection and the selection of interviewees. The team meetings were also important in relation to reflections upon the insider-outsider dilemma that is found in many studies with older people (Grenier, 2007) since the researchers are often younger than the participants in the study. In relation to the present study, it can be pointed out that an important characteristic of the dances studied was that the participants gathered on the basis of their interest in dancing, which shaped the interactions and the dancing context. It was therefore seen as important for the researchers themselves to take part in the dancing, in order to fit in and partly overcome social disparity, for instance age-related differences. Another typical trait of the dances studied was the wide age range of dancers; at some dances there were single participants around 30 years of age, even if the majority were 50 years old and up, and at the dances arranged by senior citizens associations the participants could be 60 years old and up. This undoubtedly facilitated the researchers' participation in dancing. In general, the researchers felt that they were welcome to and included in the dancing events, and it was easy to recruit informants for interviews.

We used a thematic interview guide which allowed for open-ended answers and follow-up questions. Themes included in the interviews concerned for instance experience of dancing through life, the experience of dancing when older, norms and the transgression of norms, as well as questions about feelings, the body, and intimacy in relation to dancing. The question that was asked initially of the interviewees was “What does dance mean to you?”

The interviews lasted between one and two hours. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The information was anonymised and coded in NVivo, which is a software that supports qualitative data analysis. The codes were derived through abduction from a combination of inductive themes that emerged from the preliminary analysis,

such as specific feelings in specific situations, and deductive codes that relate to our theoretical framework of emotion theory and previous research. When the data had been coded and categorised thematically, the themes were analysed more theoretically in relation to selected emotions (cf *Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009*). For example, positive and negative emotions have been interpreted in the light of emotional energy and previous research on connections between positive/negative emotions and positive/negative emotional energy in relation to active participation in social interactions and social activities. As far as we are concerned, it is primarily those emotions that signal belonging or alienation in relation to the situation and the group that recur in the empirical material, and our focus is how these emotions can lead to both positive and negative emotional energy and have the emotional energy-tropic effect that *Collins* describes. The interviews have been conducted by the participating researchers in the research team, and each researcher has conducted about 10 interviews. The coding and initial analysis with the help of emotion theory have then been performed by one of the authors of this article, after which the analysis was developed jointly by both authors. Both authors have then written the text to the article together.

The methodological quality of the study was elaborated through *Hammersley's (1992)* criteria of validity and relevance. The interviews were informed by the participant observations which strengthened the validity in the interviews, e.g. details from a specific dance could be discussed in an interview as the interviewer had been present at the dance. The validity was further ensured by that the analysis and results were discussed at the regular meetings in the research team as well as meetings with the external reference group of the research project. The analysis has thus been discussed and also challenged, as it was developed. Furthermore we have gone back to single interviewees to get their views on some results in order to strengthen the validity (cf *Miles & Huberman, 1984*). The study was judged to be of relevance for the research community since it addresses an area of obvious scarcity in previous research, at the same time as it was also seen as relevant for the target group and practitioners since it contributes new knowledge about an important everyday activity among older people.

In the results section below, excerpts from interviews function as examples of our analysis. That is, quotations represent the different emotional states that have been interpreted and analysed. The excerpts/quotations, originally in Swedish, have been translated into English. In order to ensure the anonymity of the informants, we have only named them by gender and age.

The joy of dancing is felt throughout the body!

In one interview after the other, the informants highlight the ways in which dancing gives them positive feelings. They become joyful, happy, euphoric, and self-confident (cf *Maroun & Wagner, 2016*), and this fills them with something that can be described as positive emotional energy; they feel strengthened and experience an increase in energy. In this section, we discuss positive feelings that arise in dancing and how they create positive emotional energy, and finally relate this to aspects of ageing and the context of older people's dancing.

A crucial aspect of the positive feelings, which indicates the importance of a sociology of emotion perspective, is that they are not only individual but also collective, in the sense that they are shared among the participants. The positive feelings are combined and make specific feelings difficult to name and distinguish from others. Several informants describe "the joy of dancing", which can be seen as a cluster of feelings like delight, euphoria, and happiness, and the energy as present in the room and how they are inspired by the others who take part. One example is a woman who observes the following about dancing: "But anyway you go there. And you feel joyful and energetic because of the others. I think that is an important aspect..." As this quotation illustrates, feelings and energy levels are related; the positive feelings arise at the same time as more energy makes this woman feel more spirited.

The joy and energy of dancing are not only present in the room in general but also created in the couple dancing as such, between the two people dancing, as the following quotation from a man 78 years old illustrates:

... and when you dance with a lady who is delighted... I mean, that is such goddamn happiness... it makes you so happy!

In the situation described in the quotation, emotions are contagious (*Collins, 2004*). There is also a sense of euphoria, which can be seen as a particularly exalted feeling of happiness or joy (*Brülde, 2007*); it is not just happiness, it is "such goddamn happiness" as the informant puts it.

The situation when euphoria occurs is described as an evening of dancing when everything falls into place. The feeling is based on a shared view of the situation; as one woman says, "you hear it in the same way". That means that the people who are dancing with each other share the same definition of the situation (cf *Collins, 2004*), which results in the feeling that "everything works so well" and "we are just sort of floating" around on the dancefloor, as the interviews also show. These feelings of flow (cf *Bloch, 2001*) in dancing can be seen as the result of successful interaction rituals, as the positive feelings are amplified in interaction and turn contagious between the dancing partners. If the rituals are successful, interaction chains are also created in the sense that one dance after the other will increase the positive feelings and energy.

Yet another important feeling that is formed in interaction rituals and that builds positive emotional energy is self-confidence. According to *Barbalet (1996, 1998, 2009)*; *Scheff (2000)*, self-confidence is one of the calm background feelings that are very important for us to act at all, but also for us to feel satisfied with who we are. Self-confidence is also a cluster of feelings, among which pride is one of the most significant (*Barbalet, 1996, 1998, 2002*; *Poder, 2010*), and this is represented in descriptions of dancing in terms of being able to learn difficult moves and follow a dance partner, for example by a 75 year-old woman:

... if you have been able to follow those backwards steps and moves in all directions you can feel quite proud! Really, because these are not the regular dance steps, and you have been able to get those other... crazy steps... then you feel proud.

The quotation indicates the importance of the body in interaction rituals, as the body interacts with other bodies in a joint effort (*Collins, 2004*). This also means that the feelings and the energy are corporeal, they can be felt throughout the body. As a man, age 56, says:

... but then you are happy throughout your body and excited at the same time. It can be a bit difficult, perhaps, to calm down when you get home.

The quotation illustrates how the feeling of being "happy" affects both mind and body, and that the feeling can last (cf *Fredrickson, 2001, 2004*). It describes how the positive emotional energy that develops ("being" excited") also remains when the dance is over ("difficult... to calm down").

Some descriptions also suggest that the typical overrepresentation of women in older people's dance influences the creation of positive emotional energy. Usually there are many more women than men involved in older people's dance, creating competition among the women about the chances to dance with the few men who are present. This means that if a woman gets the chance to dance all evening, having been able to dance takes on a particular significance. A 75-year-old woman describes what dancing means to her and her female friend:

Well, in a way I think I can say that it means almost everything to the two of us... because first of all we enjoy meeting other people socially, we like dancing, we consider ourselves pretty good at dancing... since we get asked to dance and... nobody... well it seems as though we are good at it...

The fact that the two friends are asked to dance enhances the

experience of being skilled and good at dancing, especially since this is not true for everyone. This quotation also shows once again how feelings operate together; it is both enjoyable and a source of pride to be a skilled dancer based on their own assessment of their skills and other people's views of them as competent (cf Cooley, 1972). Another quotation illustrates even more clearly the significance of "getting the chance" to dance for a 79-year-old woman.

[I feel] Content. Oh today was great fun indeed and I got the chance to dance and it makes me feel that I am not out of action yet! And then there is always a favourite partner to dance with ... There are some I usually dance a lot with and it is so enjoyable.

The phrase "not being out of action yet" can be interpreted in relation to common conceptions of ageing as misery and decline (Tornstam, 1998), and older women as unattractive (see e.g. Hurd-Clarke & Griffin, 2008 on lookism). This informant risks being evaluated negatively by others, she risks experiencing herself negatively, but when she gets the chance to dance she obtains a positive evaluation from others which means that she cannot be reduced to these negative things, and this in turn causes pride. Similar accounts of getting a chance to feel attractive, in the context of negative conceptions about unattractive older people and ageing as decline, can be found among male informants as well. One of the men, when he describes the feeling of still being appreciated by dance partners, says "It is sort of like testing myself".

Another aspect mentioned in the interviews concerns the ageing body and experiences of pain relief through dancing. One woman, age 55, says:

... there is a special feeling in my body when I dance. I feel that the body keeps up and there is no pain anywhere. I had a complicated fracture in my foot ... But [after a while] I went dancing and it took only 2–3 dances before it was gone. I felt no pain, it disappeared. ... it makes you happy, and when you are happy you feel young and pretty.

The account can be interpreted in relation to the idea that the ageing body may not necessarily be able to keep up, and also the possibility that pain is inevitable. According to the informant, something special happens in dancing that makes pain disappear and increases feelings of joy. Once again it is obvious that feelings are connected to age, since the positive feelings and energy are described as being "young and pretty".

This section illustrates how the emotional energy that we call positive emotional energy is formed by several positive emotions (Boyns & Luery, 2015). This happens through interaction rituals which also generate a sense of community and belonging (Collins, 2004). To get a chance to dance or to be able to dance is therefore central for the creation of positive feelings and positive energy in the context of the challenges of an ageing body or being a woman in a space dominated by women. Overcoming such challenges contributes to pride and joy.

Bounce back or emotionally drained

Dancing also generates negative feelings that drain the energy of the participants or, and this is one of the main points of this article, creates emotional energy. This emotional energy is called negative emotional energy since it consists of negative feelings, while functioning like a power that contributes to action (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Pearlman, 2013). In this section, we first discuss negative feelings and emotional energy in relation to the situations in which they arise, and then we examine situations in which the issue of age is particularly salient.

While the joy of dancing is described as something shared collectively in space and between pairs of dancers, the negative emotions are usually described as temporary and individual. They often arise when the older person does not feel included in the community at the dance setting and cannot take part in interaction rituals and interaction

chains, for instance when he or she is rejected or is unknown to the other dancers and therefore not seen as a possible dance partner.

Being rejected is sensitive, and several informants describe e.g. feeling "sad" (woman 55 year-old), almost "depressed" (man 78 year-old, woman 75 year-old), and "failed" (woman 75 year-old), and experiencing "poor self-confidence" (woman 79 year-old, man 78 year-old), after being turned down. They feel tired, lose their interest in dancing. However, not only feelings which lead to weariness can follow upon rejection. Several informants also describe anger, for example a woman 74 years old declares:

... but then someone has to go out for a drink of water as well, just as I was going to dance... Or they need to go to the bathroom... well that's more polite (than open rejection). Yes, sure, I am turned down, but to hell with that... but sometimes it is actually disappointing... because I think I am not a bad dancer really, and I can follow almost anybody, and I think "you should know that, you bastard" taht's what I think...

What the informant describes is the feeling of being belittled and spurned – and wanting to retaliate (cf Kemper, 1987). This involves two distinct feelings, then, being sad and being angry. According to Collins (2004), sadness can drain a person of energy. This could make him or her leave the dance and go home, or not want to go dancing anymore. But both feelings can also create negative emotional energy (Boyns & Luery, 2015). This will instead cause a person want to fight for his or her position (or the position of the group), not wanting to give up. The anger described can also be explained by hiding one feeling with another, which means that a secondary emotion hides a primary emotion (Kemper, 1978). Sadness is camouflaged with the feeling of anger since the situation will then be easier to handle, and it will be possible to mobilise energy instead of being drained through emotion work. The latter can also happen in interaction with others, when people cooperate to neutralise or transform undesirable feelings (Hochschild, 1983). The transformation of unwanted feelings can also be interpreted as that the "emotional rule" of dancing is for it to be fun, and that there is a desire for positive interaction rituals that will generate positive emotional energy.

It is also demonstrated in the interviews that it can be difficult to return after having been away. A phenomenon that several informants mention concerns being part of the dancing crowd, which has its own particular expression in Swedish, "in-dansad". To become part of the dancing crowd ("in-dansad") takes time and effort, and whenaway the ties to the community weaken. The person is then no longer acknowledged as a possible dance partner for others and will not "get the chance to dance". A woman of 68 years of age explains:

... something that can make a difference is if you are away from dancing for a while, for instance when my husband had passed away and when he was ill I did not go out dancing a lot at the time... and what happens then is you are away from the dancefloor for a while and people forget about you and it takes a while to become part of the dancing crowd ("in-dansad") again.

When the informants do not get the chance to dance and thus are not being accepted as part of the community, they are drained of energy (cf Collins, 2004) or manage to mobilise negative emotional energy, which generates energy for new attempts to get the chance to dance and be included in the community (cf Boyns & Luery, 2015). The interviews show that exclusion can also follow from different attitudes towards dancing, for instance when someone does not like dancing in the same way as others to a certain type of music. That makes him or her unworthy of taking part in the ritual as a proper member of the dancing collective; in other words he or she is not included in the community or in the interaction rituals (Collins, 1990:38).

Some negative feelings also concern an ageing body which cannot accomplish as much as it used to in the past. When someone is not able

to dance or does not have the strength to dance, he or she is excluded from dancing both as interaction ritual and as community. This is obvious in accounts of bodies that are ill or so changed that it is difficult to take part in dancing. A woman, age 64, describes an occasion when she was very ill:

I can tell you it was awful, it made me so low. Oh, it made me sort of, it felt as if I was 20 years older after just 24 h. ... And it was terrible you know, it was so dreadful. ... I was like that for two months, I just wanted to die. I even said so to my son – why am I supposed to get out of bed? Nobody will miss me when I am just lying here. And of course he thought it was terrible when I said that, but that is how bad it was. And no dancing, no exercise, nothing. I thought I was going to die you know, so miserable. I was so darned low.

The informant's description above of her experience of illness highlights both how our perception of the body determines our sense of age and the significance of taking part in activities like dancing. The importance of participation is also expressed by a male informant, 78 years old, in response to the question how it would affect him if he did not have the strength to go out dancing:

It... it would be very difficult, but, well then... then I will try to find another way... because friendship and all that, it would probably be difficult... I think ... you want to dance until the day you die ...

The negative feelings described by the male informant are not only related to social belonging or that the body is failing, but also to the ageing body being seen and experienced as “old” (cf Paulson, 2009), something that the informant expresses as follows:

Well... it is sort of shameful, have I reached such an old age now that... that I am an oldster, I cannot do it anymore... and you sort of feel it, and you try to master it but... but... and I have to slow down... and rest for a couple of dances... and sit down on a chair for a while, because... I felt it last Thursday in particular... that I... it is only this last year that I have felt it. You actually get tired... so... it is not a good feeling either... you are sort of reminded that you are old.

The quotation illustrates how negative feelings and drainage of energy are linked to feeling old, something that we have explained above in relation to negative cultural representations of old age.

In this section, we have shown how negative feelings which arise from dancing can drain individuals of energy as well as provide renewed energy for bouncing back. Exclusion and alienation appear to be key sources of negative feelings. There are accounts of setbacks and failures in dancing, but still no one who is an active dancer at the time of the interview says he or she wants to quit dancing. On the contrary, the informants express determination and a will to continue.

Next week there is another dance!

In the sections above, we have shown how feelings create positive and negative emotional energy among older people when they dance. In this section, we will develop the analysis of emotional energies in order to understand why the informants keep going to one dance after the other even after setbacks and how dancing is assigned such an important role that it contributes to the organisation of everyday life.

Following Collins (2004), the informants are emotional energy tropists, which means that they are constantly in pursuit of those situations, activities, and interactions that will give them energy and make them feel good – despite the risk of occasional setbacks. One man, who earlier talked about his poor self-confidence after a failed evening of dancing, says:

... but it is a lot of fun you know, I will be there again next Thursday... and shake my stuff, and everyone I know will be there...

and the ladies are pretty stylish as well and it is... well... it... people who go there are classy at least fairly so and it's a fun...

The quotation shows that both the situation and the interaction play a part when the informant decides to return to the dance next time. Emotional energy tropism, then, explains why many older people are not affected by the negative emotions that they experience when dancing to such an extent that they quit. We would like to suggest, however, that this is only one aspect of it. The fact that the older dancers experience both positive and negative emotional energy also explains their determination to keep dancing. They are not only drained emotionally by negative feelings; on the contrary negative feelings also generate energy that contributes to action. One woman, age 75, describes an occasion with a female friend when they realised that they were not wanted at a dance venue because there were “enough ladies already”:

But then [my friend] told those who arrange the dance [about us being turned down], and they said that was the most stupid thing they ever heard. So now they keep asking “are you never coming back”... But it has not happened yet, we have not been able to go, but we will! And some people don't go there because there are too many ladies. But hey! What are we supposed to do? We cannot find men who will go there [with us, so we go there by ourselves]! And we are not looking either, so that's that!

The quotation can be interpreted as an expression of emotional energy tropism in terms of the determination of the two friends to go dancing and finding different dance events. At the same time, the quotation shows that the originally negative experience leads both to action (“told” the arrangers) and to a positive experience as a result of this incident when the informant is vindicated (response from the arrangers). Another example that illustrates the interaction of emotional energies and emotional energy tropism is the following utterance:

Oh well... I do feel much better when I have been dancing and if I have had a fun evening and what I think is a successful one, and I have had the chance to dance and that lady that I like, she was happy as well and thought it was fun, I feel very positive and it makes me pleased... I was going to say this makes you content all week, it... it affects your self-confidence as well, you... it is only positive then... and if not... it would all fall to pieces it makes you pessim... nega... well it makes you... not depressed but you get... well it's not a good feeling, it makes you a bit low... but I think it means a great many... it adds to my self-confidence somehow, it is sort of like testing myself.

The quotation, which is from a man of 78 years of age, seems to describe positive emotional energy since he “feels much better when he has been dancing”, and this also leads to long-term effects in the sense that he feels good all week. At the same time, he also mentions drainage of energy when he feels pessimistic and low after setbacks. He will not allow this state of mind to prevail, however, but emphasises the importance of being brave, of “testing oneself”, because when that succeeds it strengthens you. This mobilisation of courage and willingness to test oneself can be interpreted in relation to ways that negative feelings generate strength which can be aimed at obstacles or memories of negative experiences and result in clearly positive emotional energy when the obstacles have been overcome, or, as Boyns and Luery (2015) put it, how negative emotional energy can “dramatically” invigorate positive emotional energy. This function of negative emotions to remove obstacles or overcome setbacks can further explain the determination to keep on dancing. After all, “I will be there again next Thursday”, as the informant says later, and this can then be explained by the interaction between energies in emotional energy tropism.

Experiences of positive emotional energy and the related aspects of positive feelings and social belonging also contribute to the effect that dancing, for several informants, has become a very important activity

and crucial for organising daily life. A male informant, age 69, gives an example of how he plans his week:

I have not been able to fit this lindy thing into my schedule, you see it collides with other things... I have been to two "introductions", the usual kind, but no I have not really been able to find time for it. So of course there is a lot more dancing that I would like to get around to doing. There is not enough time anyway in life and not enough evenings. I do Swedish bugg dance Monday evenings, dance ["spelbugg"] on Tuesday evenings, and on Wednesdays there is dancing for older people in the daytime... ["Dans för daglediga"], Thursday means polska. Fridays usually do not offer much in this department and on Saturdays there might be a dance at a folkpark [a common kind of dance venue in Sweden] somewhere. So I just can't fit it in.

Similar accounts of how the informants plan their lives in accordance with where and when they are going to dance recur. Several informants who talk about their dancing plans have also experienced sadness, anger, or sorrow after a failed evening of dancing. They will not, however, allow failures to have such serious consequences that they quit dancing.

In this section, we have illustrated the complexity of interaction between emotional energies, and shown that it has long-term effects as informants seek out occasions to dance again and again. The informants can be viewed as emotional energy tropists who pursue new interactions and situations that can replenish their emotional energy. For that reason, dancing becomes important for the organisation of daily life as the informants make sure that they will have opportunities to dance.

Conclusions

This article contributes to research on older people's dancing through a focus on emotions. As both Cooper and Thomas (2002) and Paulson (2009) have pointed out, our article similarly illustrates that social dancing to a great extent contributes to positive feelings among older dancers. Our informants talk about pleasure and energy in dancing, and phrases like "the joy of dancing" recur. However, we also explore and show how negative feelings play an important role in dancing. Paradoxically enough, they can even be crucial for an individual to keep dancing in the face of a failed evening of dancing or other setbacks.

The article shows how a sociology of emotion perspective contributes to an enhanced understanding of the role of emotions in older people's dancing. The idea of dancing as an interaction ritual (Collins, 2004) helps us make sense of all the intense experiences of euphoria, flow, and joy that the informants describe. Successful interaction rituals generate positive feelings (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Collins, 2004), and in dancing interaction chains are created from one interaction ritual to another which may turn into a spiral of emotional amplification. Interaction rituals are based on bodies sharing the same rhythm, which may also explain why dancing can be particularly effective for creating these clear feelings of joy (cf Collins, 2004).

One important result presented in this article concerns the combination of emotional energies. Successful interaction rituals contribute to (positive) emotional energy, something that humans constantly pursue according to the theory of emotional energy tropism (Collins, 2004; cf. Boyns & Luery, 2015), and this means that older dancers who experience successful interaction rituals desire more of them, keep dancing, and attend new dance events. Concurrently, various situations characterised by exclusion or failed interaction rituals arise all the time, and this leads to weariness, poor self-confidence, sorrow, and drainage of emotional energy. It seems as though this could make the informants quit dancing. We have seen, however, that negative feelings like anger also underpin an important negative emotional energy which mobilises the power to act and counteracts a possible ongoing drainage of positive emotional energy. Therefore, this negative emotional energy must not

be seen as the opposition of positive emotional energy. Generally, the total energy is created in a complex combination of energies that vary from one context to the other (Boyns & Luery, 2015), and in any given situation this combination" is best treated as an empirical question" (Bramsen & Poder, 2014, p 58). In our article, the combination of emotional energies that we have described must be understood in relation to the usual context of older people's dancing as typically characterised by high positive emotional energy, which influences the way in which negative emotional energy is expressed. i.e. it can mobilise action and turn drainage to energy. This may be true also in dances for other age groups and other kinds of dances, e.g. group dance, if they are characterised by a similar kind of usually high positive emotional energy. This is a question for future research to confirm. In other contexts, for instance situations of conflict, the combination of emotional energies may work differently and the role of negative emotional energy may differ (see e.g. Bramsen & Poder, 2014). This article is also, then, a contribution to the sociology of emotion field and the ongoing discussion of emotional negative energy, its occurrence and its role in different contexts (Boyns & Luery, 2015; Bramsen & Poder, 2014).

One prominent result is also how emotions are understood and experienced as age, something that we suggest could be named as 'emotionally perceived age'. Feeling energetic and happy is described by several informants as feeling young. Being tired is defined as feeling old. In sociology of emotion terms, this can be interpreted in relation to emotional rules being connected to age (Fineman, 2011, 2014). Claiming that you are young allows for other expressions of emotion and behaviours, perhaps spontaneous displays of joy, while saying that you feel old may warrant weariness (cf. Fineman, 2014). Feelings are also socially and culturally construed, which affects how we interpret, understand, and name various bodily and psychological sensations (Hochschild, 1983). This emotionally felt age can therefore be related to how age is constructed in societal, organisational, and interactional practices, which cannot be separated from emotional practices. Emotionally felt age and how and when feelings or emotional energies are experienced as an age or age category is therefore an interesting subject for future research.

In conclusion, we would like to emphasise that our informants, who love dancing and are still able to enjoy doing it, do not provide an altogether positive account of ageing and dancing; everything is not "a happy dance" (cf Krekula, 2006). Our study illustrates how various situations in dancing generate different feelings and create emotional energies. This combination of feelings and positive and negative energy is of great importance. It is what makes the informants go dancing again next week!

Funding

The research was funded by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences (P15-0754:1).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank a number of colleagues who have taken part in the project dealing with older people's dancing, collected data, and later also read and commented on previous versions of this article. Many thanks from us to Markus Arvidson, Andreas Henriksson, and Clary Krekula.

References

- Alvesson, M., & Skoldberg, K. (2009). In S. Anleu (Ed.). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. London: Sage.

- Barbalet, J. (Ed.). (2002). *Emotions and sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Barbalet, J. (2009). A characterization of trust, and its consequences. *Theory and Society*, 38(4), 367–382. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-009-9087-3>.
- Barbalet, J. M. (1996). Social emotions: Confidence, trust and loyalty. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 16(9/10), 75–96. <https://doi.org/10.1108/e013270>.
- Barbalet, J. M. (1998). *Emotion, social theory, and social structure: A macrosociological approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bericat, E. (2016). The sociology of emotions: Four decades of progress. *Current Sociology*, 64(3), 491–513. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115588355>.
- Bloch, C. (2001). *Flow og stress: stemninger og følelseskultur i hverdagslivet*. Fredriksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
- Bornheim, N. (2010). Organizational conditions for positive emotions in the workplace – The example of professional elderly care. In B. Sieben, & Å. Wettergren (Eds.). *Emotionalizing organizations and organizing emotions* (pp. 63–83). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Boyns, D., & Luery, S. (2015). Negative emotional energy: A theory of the “dark-side” of interaction ritual chains. *Social Sciences*, 4(1), 148–170. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci4010148>.
- Bramsen, I., & Poder, P. (2014). Theorizing three basic emotional dynamics of conflicts: A situational research agenda. *Peace Res.* 46(2), 51–86. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24896065>.
- Brinkman, S., & Kvale, S. (2015). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Brown, C. A., McGuire, F. A., & Voelkl, J. (2008). The link between successful aging and serious leisure. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 66(1), 73–95. <https://doi.org/10.2190/AG.66.1.d>.
- Brülde, B. (2007). *Lycka och lidande. Begrepp, metod och förklaring*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Cairney, J., McGannon, K. R., & Atkinson, M. (2018). Exercise is medicine: Critical considerations in the qualitative research landscape. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 10(4), 391–399. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/2159676X.2018.1476010>.
- Chaiklin, S., & Wengrower, H. (2015). *The art and science of dance/movement therapy: Life is dance*. Routledge.
- Charles, S. T., Piazza, J. R., Luong, G., & Almeida, D. M. (2009). Now you see it, now you don't: Age differences in affective reactivity to social tensions. *Psychology and Aging*, 24(3), 645–653. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016673>.
- Collins, R. (1990). Stratification, emotional energy and the transient emotions. In T. Kemper (Ed.). *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Connor, M. (2000). Recreational folk dance: A multicultural exercise component in healthy ageing. *Australian Occupational Therapy Journal*, 47, 69–76. <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1440-1630.2000.00214.x>.
- Cooley, C. H. (1972). The looking glass self. In J. Manis, & A. Meltzer (Eds.). *Symbolic interaction* (pp. 231–233). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Cooper, L., & Thomas, H. (2002). Growing old gracefully: Social dance in the third age. *Ageing and Society*, 22(06), 689–708. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X02008929>.
- Durkheim, E. (1912/1965). *The elementary forms of the religious life*. New York: Free Press.
- Elsaway, B., & Higgins, K. E. (2010). Physical Activity Guidelines for Older Adults. *American Family Physician*, 81(1), 55–59. <https://www.aafp.org/afp/2010/0101/p55.html> (retrieved 2 February 2019).
- Fineman, S. (2011). *Organizing age*. Oxford University Press.
- Fineman, S. (2014). Age matters. *Organization Studies*, 35(11), 1719–1723. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840614553771>.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (1998). What good are positive emotions? *Review of General Psychology*, 2(3), 300–319. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.2.3.300>.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2001). The role of positive emotions in positive psychology: The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *American Psychologist*, 56, 218–266. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.3.218>.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2003). Positive emotions and upward spirals in organizations. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.). *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline* (pp. 163–175). San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
- Fredrickson, B. L. (2004). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B: Biological Sciences*, 359(1449), 1367–1377. <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2004.1512>.
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Joiner, T. (2002). Positive emotions trigger upward spirals toward emotional well-being. *Psychological Science*, 13(2), 172–175. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9280.00431>.
- Gregg, M., & Seigworth, G. (Eds.). (2010). *The affect theory reader*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Grenier, A. M. (2007). Crossing age and generational boundaries: Exploring inter-generational encounters. *Journal of Social Issues*, 63(4), 713–727. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2007.00532.x>.
- Gross, J. J., Carstensen, L. L., Pasupathi, M., Tsai, J., Gøttestam Skorpen, C., & Hsu, A. Y. C. (1997). Emotion and aging: Experience, expression, and control. *Psychology and Aging*, 12(4), 590–599. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0882-7974.12.4.590>.
- Guzmán-García, A., Hughes, J. C., James, I. A., & Rochester, L. (2013). Dancing as a psychosocial intervention in care homes: A systematic review of the literature. *International Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry*, 28(9), 914–924. <https://doi.org/10.1002/gps.3913>.
- Haley, J., & Richeport-Haley, M. (2015). Autohypnosis and trance dance in Bali. *International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis*, 63(4), 455–468. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00207144.2015.1062701>.
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What is wrong with ethnography?* London: Routledge.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography. Principles in practice*. London: Routledge.
- Heider, A., & Warner, R. S. (2010). Bodies in sync: Interaction ritual theory applied to sacred harp singing. *Sociology of Religion*, 71, 76–97. <https://doi.org/10.1093/soerl/srq001>.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hochschild, A. R. (1990). Ideology and emotion management: A perspective and path for future research. In T. D., Kemper (Ed.). *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions* (pp. 117–142). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hurd-Clarke, L., & Griffin, M. (2008). Visible and invisible ageing: Beauty work as a response to ageism. *Ageing and Society*, 28(5), 653–674. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0144686X07007003>.
- Kemper, T. D. (1978). *A social interactional theory of emotions*. New York: Wiley.
- Kemper, T. D. (1987). How many emotions are there? Wedding the social and autonomic components. *American Journal of Sociology*, 93(2), 263–289. <https://doi.org/10.1086/228745>.
- Keogh, J. W., Kilding, A., Pidgeon, P., Ashley, L., & Gillis, D. (2009). Physical benefits of dancing for healthy older adults: A review. *Journal of Aging and Physical Activity*, 17(4), 479–500. <https://doi.org/10.1123/japa.17.4.479>.
- Krekula, C. (2006). *Kvinna i ålderskodad värld. Om äldre kvinnors förkroppsligande identitetsförhandlingar (avhandling för doktorsexamen, Uppsala universitet)*.
- Krekula, C., Arvidson, M., Heikkinen, S., Henriksson, A., & Olsson, E. (2017). On gray dancing: Constructions of age-normality through choreography and temporal codes. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 42, 38–45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2017.07.001>.
- Lamdin, L. S., & Fugate, M. (1997). *Elderlearning: New frontier in an aging society*. R&L Education.
- Lima, M. M. S., & Vieira, A. P. (2007). Ballroom dance as therapy for the elderly in Brazil. *American Journal of Dance Therapy*, 29(2), 129–142. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10465-007-9040-9>.
- Maroun, M., & Wagner, S. (2016). Oxytocin and memory of emotional stimuli: Some dance to remember, some dance to forget. *Biological Psychiatry*, 79(3), 203–212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.biopsych.2015.07.016>.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1984). *Qualitative data analysis*. London: Sage.
- Milne, C., & Otieno, T. (2007). Understanding engagement: Science demonstrations and emotional energy. *Science Education*, 91, 523–553. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sc.20203>.
- Nadasen, K. (2007). ‘We are too busy being active and enjoying ourselves to feel the aches and pains’: perceived health benefits of line dancing for older women. *Quality in Ageing and Older Adults*, 8(3), 4–14. <https://doi.org/10.1108/14717794200700016>.
- Nadasen, K. (2008). “Life without line dancing and the other activities would be too dreadful to imagine”: An increase in social activity for older women. *Journal of Women & Aging*, 20(3–4), 329–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08952840801985060>.
- Nettle, D. (2006). *Happiness: The science behind your smile*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, US.
- Netz, Y., Axelrad, S., & Argov, E. (2007). Group physical activity for demented older adults—Feasibility and effectiveness. *Clinical Rehabilitation*, 21, 977–986. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0269215507078318>.
- Olitsky, S. (2006). Promoting student engagement in science: Interaction rituals and the pursuit of a Community of Practice. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 44(1), 33–56. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tea.20128>.
- Paulson, S. M. (2009). *An exploration of how various ‘cultures of dance’ construct experiences of health and growing older*. City University London.
- Pearlman, W. (2013). Emotions and the microfoundations of the Arab uprisings. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592713001072>.
- Perrotta, F. (2011). A project for the education psychomotor for developmental age. *Journal of Physical Education and Sport*, 11(1), 102–113. Retrieved 7 February 2019 from http://efsupit.ro/images/stories/14_macheta.pdf.
- Poder, P. (2010). Empowerment as interactions that generate self-confidence—An emotion-sociological analysis of organizational empowerment. *Emotionalizing organizations and organizing emotions* (pp. 106–125). Springer.
- Ribeiro, M.m., & Fonseca, A. (2011). The empathy and the structuring sharing modes of movement sequences in the improvisation of contemporary dance. *Research in Dance Education*, 12(2), 71–85. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14647893.2011.575220>.
- Roberson, D. N., Jr., & Pelclova, J. (2014). Social dancing and older adults: Playground for physical activity. *Ageing International*, 39(2), 124–143. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12126-013-9184-5>.
- Ronström, O. (1998). Pigga pensionärer och populärkultur? [Spirited pensioners and popular culture?]. In O. Ronström (Ed.). *Pigga pensionärer och populärkultur* (pp. 9–47). Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.
- Scheff, T. (2000). Shame and the social bond: A sociological theory. *Sociological Theory*, 18(1), 84–99. Retrieved 7 February 2019 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223283>.
- Scheff, T. (2008). “Universella behov? Efter Maslow” [“Universal needs? After Maslow”]. In Å. Wettergren, B. Starrin, & G. Lindgren (Eds.). *Det Sociala Livets Emotionella Grunder [The emotional grounds of social life]*. Malmö: Liber.
- Schuck, P. H. (2010). The Golden age of aging, and its discontents. *Faculty Scholarship Series*. 1681. Retrieved 7 February 2019 from https://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/fss_papers/1681.
- Thomas, H., & Cooper, L. (2002). Dancing into the third age: Social dance as cultural text, research as process. *Dance Research*, 20(1), 54–81. <https://doi.org/10.3366/1290869>.
- Thomas, H., & Cooper, L. (2003). *Dancing into the third age: Social dance as cultural text: A research report*. London: Goldsmiths College.
- Törnqvist, M. (2012). Troubling romance tourist: Sex, gender and class inside the Argentinean tango clubs. *Feminist Review*, 102(1), 21–40. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2012.12>.
- Tornstam, L. (1998). *Åldrandets socialpsykologi. [The social psychology of ageing]*. Stockholm: Rabén Prisma.
- Urry, H. L., & Gross, J. J. (2010). Emotion regulation in older age. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 19(6), 352–357. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721410388395>.
- Van Dyck, E., Burger, B., & Orlandatou, K. (2017). *The communication of emotions in dance. The Routledge companion to embodied music interaction*. 122–130.