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Tipping and the 'New Servants'

labour, gender, and subjectivity in the global political economy of neoliberalism

Tipping and the 'New Servants':

Labour, Gender and Subjectivity in the Global Political Economy of Neoliberalism.

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Abstract

This dissertation presents an ethnographic analysis of tipping in the restaurant sector of The Hamptons of Long Island, New York. Taking the form of a full participant insider ethnography, the research is based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with co-workers and in-role observations. The research took place in a small restaurant (under fifty employees) that served casual and moderately priced food and drink. The ethnographic research offers access to the processes of subjectivity formation, as well as to the economic relations produced by tipping. Tipping is a technique of labour control particularly suited to the neoliberal political economy. In this study neoliberalism is understood as a series of political, economic, and ideological practices that centre around individual and entrepreneurial freedoms, pure market logic, and consumerism. Those economic relations produce governable subjectivities for capital by making workers complicit in their own domination. This is done through a process of mobilization at the site of the server, whereby servers: 1) internalize a neoliberal logic and self-commodify; 2) are incentivized by the potential of working for tips; and 3) are informalized and individualized within their work and wage relations. Tipped workers are subject to a sub-minimum wage, which at the federal level is as low as $2.13 per hour. Some workers benefit from the tipped-wage system more than others, and those nearer to the top maintain the inequality and exploitation of this system as a whole. Tipping is both a post-Fordist technology that relieves capitalist companies from paying wages in full, and a neo-feudal master/servant relation of unequal dignity. That contradiction forces workers into an asymmetric relation outside of market neutrality. Tipping reinforces the hierarchies of class, gender, and race, and constructs an embodied labour that requires a sexualised selling of the self.

Acknowledgements and Dedication

> *come quei che va di notte,*
> *che porta il lume dietro e sè non giova,*
> *ma dopo sé fa le persone dotte.*

> (Dante, Purgatory XXII, 67-9 in Sassoon 2010 : 130).

You are my best friend, my partner, my love, my Virgil. This would not have been possible without you. I thank you from the very bottom of my heart.

Author's Declaration:

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

Signed: Jacqueline A. Ross
Date: 22 December 2022

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Chapter 1: Introduction, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework

The early 21st century is currently witnessing an evolution in the global political economy throughout the capitalist core states away from production and toward an increase in services (Harvey 2015: 60,67; Ross and Welsh 2021). This type of political economy transforms work, employment, and labour relations into forms more appropriate to this shift (Ross and Welsh 2021:193). At the same time, work and labour control in the neoliberal paradigm are increasingly characterized by informalization, internalization and incentivization in their techniques and apparatuses of control, all of which are exemplified in the technique of tipping. In particular, notions of entrepreneurial performance, subjectification, affectivity, precarity, and 'conative enslavement' (Lordon 2014) have come to the fore in these techniques with apparently novel forms of productive organization materializing around them. The result is the growth and proliferation of modes of work closer to personal services than to productive employment, the outcome of which is an emergent class of the 'new servants' across the economy (Görz 2012).[1] Understanding how this class is generated, controlled, exploited, and mobilized becomes an essential task for critical sociological analysis.

The contemporary buzz around 'the gig-economy', how to classify the work done within it, and the conundrum of establishing whether the 'new servants' are legally or actually 'workers', independent contractors, entrepreneurs, rent-seekers, servants, etc., all stimulates a need for renewed and innovative critical analyses. These 'analyses will have to grasp the central importance of "technique" in this transformation of labour control, and then link the forms of work emergent from such' techniques to 'the new global political economy, if effective' strategies and tactics of counter-conduct, worker resistance, social movements, and labour organization are to be conceived (Ross and Welsh 2021: 195) . If we want begin to understand new work forms globally in the new political economy – the gig-economy, precarious employment, etc. – I propose we look to examples of them and begin critique from there. The well-established technique of tipping is one such example, and specifically at its primary historical context within the restaurant industry of the United States.

Within restaurants and bars in the United States, tipping is a common practice. However, it is not simply a custom but a legally recognized form of labour remuneration upon which millions

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[1] See Görz, A. (2012) *Capitalism, Socialism, Ecology.* New York: Verso. Chapter 5 for an elaboration on the term 'new servants'.

of workers rely. It is a contested custom that divides workers, some revering the custom, and others finding it highly problematic. Tipped restaurant workers in the U.S. have historically received the lowest and most stagnant wages, 'harsh work environments, and [the] risk of sexual violence' (Hunt 2016: 167). The restaurant industry is notorious for its difficult working conditions and a lack of general benefits with many workers being kept below full-time status by employers in order to avoid the legal requirement to pay health insurance benefits, resulting in a workforce that feels compelled to work while ill (Hunt 2016: 167). The formal wage policy around tipping varies between each individual state within the U.S. (Ross and Welsh 2021), and these policies are not only complex but the basic 'traditional' wage-relation associated with work becomes blurred with most tipped workers predominantly relying on tips as their main source of income.

Tipping is a highly contested practice throughout the globe, with some cultures even considering it 'rude'. In practice, tipping varies from directly giving cash to workers, placing cash in small envelopes, or the addition of a 'service charge' to the bill. It exists in various forms, customs, and traditions, but invariably these forms of remuneration exist somewhere between formality and informality. Looking specifically at the United States where tipping is both culturally and legislatively imbedded provides a wealth of information about the custom, its relations, and how workers who get tips experience this. The U.S. restaurant industry sees sums of $46.6 billion (BeomCheol Kim et al. 2017: 15, Azar 2011) given in tips each year with some projections exceeding this number (Tang et al. 2021:2). Tips play an important role for servers and restaurant owners alike as workers' labour is heavily remunerated by tips, allowing owners to keep wages low so long as tipping remains a customary practice.

As work and wages often control and exploit individuals in terms of mobility, stability and security my basic initial question asks, what can the technique of 'tipping' with specific emphasis on the server within the restaurant industry in the United States, reveal about the generation of social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation within capitalist societies, and how does tipping specifically reproduce and express these relations? Additionally, this research also asks how the technique of tipping is integral to emerging apparatuses of control in contemporary political economy of neoliberalism in the capitalist core states. Specifically, the tipped relation, as opposed to the wage relation, relies on emotional labour as well as affective relations to mobilize workers for their direct and immediate remuneration in an unstable and insecure profession that emphasizes self-

commodification and individualisation (Micro level). At the level of industry, policy, and custom, the acceptance of behaviours surround 'the customer is always right' attitude, which maintain levels of domination, harassment, and servility throughout the industry at large, which are reinforced by the relations of tipping (Meso Level). Expanding outward from individual experience, and industry norms, the main question of the research connects tipping to other contemporary techniques and contradictions which produce and maintain precarious work forms with the increased reliance on services creative of more governable subjectivities under capitalism (Macro Level).

Tipping functions economically, politically, and sociologically in a way that does not fit with hegemonic systems of classification in terms of wages, policy, contract, and status. To understand tipping, what is required is an in depth study pointing to its micro, meso, and macro characteristics. Instead of clear definitions and categorisations, tipping holds within it a certain ambivalence, historical complexity and a set of internal contradictions among each of these levels and layers. Contradiction, according to Harvey, occurs 'when two seemingly opposed forces are simultaneously present within a particular situation, an entity, process, or event' (2015:1). This conception of contradiction is central to any attempt to unpack or describe what tipping is and is a feature throughout the research. The categorical ambivalence of the tip as something that is 'in between' the economic/affective, wage/gift, modern/traditional, and public/private which are part and parcel to its inherent characteristics. This ambiguity, or contradiction, creates and reinforces the social relations of tipping. Imbedded structurally within these relations are norms of class, gender, and race and there is a consistent emphasis on dependence, hierarchy, and inequality in the tipping system that mobilises labour through reinforced internalization, incentivization and informalisation.

By sharpening the focus on the contradictions of tipping, we are able to understand what might otherwise go unnoticed. I argue that imbedded within tipping in its current instantiation, are elements of both feudal and neoliberal ideology that hold within them a generative, or mobilising, force that exploits, dominates, and appropriates labour. The relevance of this productive force to our current moment of capitalism is obvious. However, it is underdeveloped and under-explored. I look at tipping as a technology of neoliberal capitalism, and a technique of labour control that individualizes, alienates, and appropriates labour making workers, who might otherwise bond in solidarity, compete for limited resources within a

hierarchy.[2] This competition is based on the mobilizing force of tipping that emphasizes a self-commodification of individual workers. Foucault (2008) formulated the idea that subjects (citizens and workers) have become 'ideal economic actors' by applying 'the economic logic of the market to all areas of life, including the self' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 4). Through the use of tipping, there is a cultivation of this mentality whereby workers invest in a production of the self. However, this production is imbedded in relations of subordination, and dependency, all of which precede the 'modern' notion of capitalism that purport equal and rational economic actors meeting in the market and emphasise personal relationships of dependence more akin to feudal modes of production.

The sociological importance of tipping goes much further than the context of the restaurant industry. When stripped of context, tipping manifests as an almost archetypal technique of incentivization, informalization, and internalization, and conforms very closely to the general logic of the emergent modes of work in the new political economy. These modes of work find historical parallels to domestic service and servitude, they are at once both feudal and capitalist in nature, and hold the tipped worker as an individual and purely economic actor whilst appropriating their personal labour and private lives.

I have chosen to analyse tipping, and the social relations it generates, in the particular setting of the restaurant and personal service industries in New York's 'Hamptons'. The acute social relations that exist in that setting make it a perfect location for observation of the empirical phenomena at the core of this research. This space provides a glimpse at an economy of service and servitude. Aside from providing some empirical focus and structure to the work, this 'case study' can therefore provide useful insights into the emergent techniques of labour control in the personal services sector in a way that connects such techniques with more strategic social technologies and apparatuses.

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[2] A technology of neoliberalism refers to phenomena that reinforce neoliberal ideology and rhetoric, and more generally technology 'refers to the ways in which modern social and political systems control, supervise, and manipulate populations as well as individuals' (Behrent 2013: 55). Tipping is a technology of neoliberalism in that it promotes neoliberal ideology, i.e. in entrepreneurial logic, the commodification of everything and subjecting of everything (even emotion, affect, the body) to market forces. Whereas technique has an ambivalent distinction from technology, it refers more to the active and the activity of production, it has more of an 'objective' domain as opposed to an abstract or theoretical domain (Behrent 2013: 59). However, this does not mean that it is not abstract or theoretical. Tipping is a technique of labour control (whilst also being a technology of neoliberalism) as it dictates the terms within which workers labour, and how workers are controlled. The difficulty in defining 'technique' and 'technology' in relation to each other stems from what is lost in translation between 'technique' and 'technologie' in the French language, and in the change over time of their usage by Foucault (see Behrent 2013 for a detailed elaboration).

1.1 Aims and Objectives

The research investigates what tipping is, who tipped workers are and what affects tipping has on workers. Specifically, the ethnographic component of the research seeks to understand the ways that tipped workers, through their own language, perform emotional, aesthetic and embodied labour, to discover the types of affective relations which emerge in the space of the restaurant and how these narratives fit within a framework of neoliberalism. Additionally, in understanding how and what work is performed we can further understand how these relations are generative of domination, exploitation, and appropriation. This research looks at tipping as not simply a form of remuneration but also as a technique of labour control reliant on norms of class, gender, and race in the specific location of "The Hamptons" in New York. This is a specifically seasonal location and this seasonality exacerbates the precariousness that many workers experience. The underlying objective of the research is twofold. The first objective pursues an investigation into tipping which focuses on those who are exposed to it and how they are affected economically, socially and experientially. The second objective seeks to unpack tipping in terms of its political economic function, history, and contemporary use through close contextual analysis and the examination of documents.

1.2 Research Question and Hypothesis

Research Question: What can the study of 'tipping', with specific emphasis on the server in the restaurant industry, reveal about the generation of new social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation in the neoliberal paradigm within contemporary capitalist societies, and how does tipping specifically express and reproduce those relations? Subsequent questions to the research are as follows:

1) How does tipping function, and how is it ordered and organized?
2) How is the ambiguity of tipping part and parcel of its contradictory logic as something that is both feudal and neo-liberal?
3) What are the social and political effects of tipping on the server, and how does tipping shape the subjectivities of those exposed to its logic?
4) How does tipping fit into a labour process analysis, and how are workers exploited?

5) What are the wider implications of tipping in the United States and how can we relate these effects to similar emerging work-forms and organizations, specifically in the 'gig economy' (Uber, TaskRabbit, HourlyNerd, Upload, etc.), and into the a wider trends in political economy?

My main hypothesis is that the proliferating techniques that produce and reproduce social relations of labour control and domination in the neoliberal paradigm have specific similarities to the labour technique of 'tipping' to the extent that comparing the two will allow for a clear and articulate explanation of wider global trends in contemporary labour control methods. By focusing on the experience of tipped workers I believe that personal insights into tipping can provide useful data about emerging work forms and their similarities to previous forms of work. In the process, I expect that the insights from this analysis will suggest and inspire new forms of counter-conduct, resistance, and organized action for those subject to these relations of subordination and exploitation.

1.3 Dissertation Structure

The structure of the dissertation is designed to build up toward two main focal points, the force of tipping as it exists in individuals and in relations, and second, how the force of capitalism is driven through ideology and ambiguous modes of production embodied in the custom of tipping. In order to do this a general background understanding of the tip, its history, and emergence in the U.S., and in the industry is necessary. After this an understanding of the context of study, and the extent to which uneven geographies of wealth concentration can split workers in the rewarding power of the tip provides further context. Once this background is given, the function of tipping in terms of the labour process in which it takes place, and within organisational norms shows how tipping generates competition, hierarchy, and inequality. After this, the effects of tipping on the individual as a subject are discussed in relation to commodity production of personhood, and appropriative requirements of labouring for tips in the industry studied. Finally, the wider implications of such a force as imbedded in the contradictions of incomplete transitions in the mode of production are discussed.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Following this chapter (Introduction), the review of the literature will situate this research. First, the literature on tipping will be discussed in order to place this research within the appropriate context. Then, the gap in the previous literature is discussed, providing insight into how and why this particular research is necessary to broaden the understanding of tipping. Lastly, the theoretical framework and subsequent literature is elaborated in order to anchor the approach and epistemological leanings of the dissertation.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Following the review of the literature there is an explanation of the methodological approach to the research. This is an essential component of the project because the methodology focuses heavily on the experience of being a tipped worker and the methodological underpinnings of the research are an essential element to its theoretical and political ties. The experiential element of the research was best suited to an insider ethnography that incorporates critical theory and labour process analysis at its core.

Chapter 4: Gift or Wage? Understanding the tip

The analysis of tipping starts in chapter 3 and asks what are tips, how do they function, and where do they come from? Tips are discussed here in terms of their 1) historical emergence from European origins to their emergence in the United States, 2) connection to feminized aesthetics, and their racially exceptional acceptance, and 3) current instantiations in U.S. policy discourse and law. Addressed in this chapter are the social, economic, and political history of tipping, which is imbedded in relations of servitude, gender disparities and racial oppression, all of which are still embedded within tips today. Additionally addressed in this chapter is the conundrum between American ideals of democracy and equality with the acceptance of the undemocratic system of tipping and the inequality it generates. Lastly, policy and legal existence of tipping in the United States is discussed in relation to the tipped-minimum wage differentials seen throughout the country, this sets out the general policy landscape of tipping and how tipping legally and practically exists in the United States.

Chapter 5: Tipping in the Hamptons: Setting the Scene For the Field of Research

This chapter narrows the field of analysis to the site of the fieldwork, the Hamptons in New York. Included here are questions about how spaces, regions, and states contribute to the hierarchy created by tipping. Further to this, the chapters addresses how affluent areas further incentivize workers to labour for tips due to seasonality, conspicuous consumption, and in terms of social and class relations. This is an essential component of the research itself as the relations of tipping are very much imbedded into the socio-spatial relations in which it takes place.

Chapter 6: Labour Process, Industry Background, and Informalisation

This chapter focuses on the labour process of tipping, restaurant industry background, organisation, and the informal nature of the industry in relation to the custom. The questions addressed in this chapter are, 1) How does the labour process of tipping contribute to the wider capitalist system and the extraction of surplus value, 2) What problems arise from tipping and what inequalities emerge from its practice and 3) How does the informal and ambiguous character of tipping contribute to the exploitative nature of the custom? The emphasis of this chapter is on the informal nature of tipping, how workers are situated in a space of ambiguity between a formal wage relation and the informality of tipping, and how this leads to exploitative practices.

Chapter 7: Becoming the Server: Subjectification, Internalisation and Incentivization

This is perhaps the crux of the research in relation to the experience of tipping. In this chapter the process of individualisation and subjectification according to neoliberal logic and ideology is discussed in relation to tipping whereby the body becomes the central focus of the technology of tipping. Questions addressed in this chapter include, 1) How does tipping mobilize workers to self-commodify, or sell the self, in what looks like autonomous decision making according to rational market forces, 2) How is this decision making a process of consent toward dominating practices that increase the rate of exploitation within a capitalist (neoliberal) framework, and 3) How does this bounded in-betweenness within tipped workers' personhood require an internalised neoliberal logic, an incentivization regime centred around self-mobilisation with tipping at the heart of this process, and the appropriative way in which

workers are motivated/coerced into accepting the conditions of their work. This renders the body as the site of the technology of tipping in its mobilization of performativity (Butler 2004) due to the reliance on remuneration outside the wage relation.

Chapter 8: Continuities and Ruptures: Feudal meets Neoliberal

In chapter 7 tipping is situated and problematized as something that exists in both neo-feudal and neo-liberal relations and is part of the incompleteness of transition between the pre-modern and the modern, something essential to its functioning. Tipping is taken to a macro scale whereby it is related to wider discourses, ideologies, and market functions. By situating tipping into a potentially grander analysis we can understand its potential impacts in the subsumption of labour, on fashioning subjectivities to be more penetrable to capitalist social relations and the logic of accumulation, and how this logic penetrates societies and individuals creative of more atomized and exploited existences.

To begin, the review of the literature is the most appropriate place to start. This will situate tipping in relation to previous studies of the custom and will coordinate the areas and disciplines associated with these studies. Further, the following chapter will highlight inspiring research, gaps in the literature that this research will fill, and the theoretical framing of this research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Tipping is a topic that has been researched in the social sciences, within history, economics, etc. It has a broad research scope, but still remains elusive in its definitions and understanding. It is often discussed using a singular approach that limits a more nuanced understanding of the custom. This research aims to understanding tipping both in a broad sense historically, and politically, whilst also researching it from a particular sociological position. By bringing together varying aspects of the custom, a more thorough and more nuanced understanding of the custom is possible. This brings out the possibility of relating tipping to other work forms, historical paradigms, personal experience, in the shaping of hierarchies, etc.

To begin, the research that has influenced and inspired this research on tipping will be discussed in order to do service to what has come before. Following this a broader review of the literature, and the particular intervention of this research, will be laid out. Lastly, the theoretical framing, which is an essential component to the methods and approach of studying tipping here will be thoroughly articulated.

2.1 Previous Research

In order to understand this research more thoroughly, it is important to discuss the research that has come before. Tips and restaurant work have been studied previously from varying perspectives. This section sets out the parameters of this previous work, its importance, but also what that literature has missed and the gap that this research fills. This section explores the literature in three key areas, 1) Tips in relation to economic and management studies, 2) Ethnographic and auto-ethnographic studies on restaurant work, and 3) Historical studies on tips and tipping.

Tipping has been widely researched from normative perspectives such as from management frameworks or economic dispositions. This research is often aimed at policy makers, and 'industry leaders' such as owners of businesses and corporations. Often, this work studies tipping from a macro perspective looking at tips from a wider context in which broad generalisations can be made. This literature is helpful in establishing a basis for understanding tipping, where it occurs, why people tip, and how varying factors can affect how tips are made. For example Azar (2020) looks at the motivations behind tipping. He looks at whether tips

are given as social norms or from an economic perspective of rational consumers making calculated decisions. Conversely, Azar (2005b) and Lynn (2010) both look at the correlation between tips and service quality, i.e. larger tips would in theory result in better service, or better service would result in larger tips – there are conflicting results as to whether there is a correlation between the two.

Tips have been studied in relation to business strategies. Azar (2011) looks at the implications of mandatory service charges being implemented, and whether or not tipping could be to other new industries with success. Azar (2004b) looks at tipping as an 'external incentive' outside of a firms incentive structure in relation to the monitoring of workers performance intensity- Meaning that tips serves as an additional incentive to performance. Azar (2004a) also studies why a social norm of tipping, with seemingly little obvious benefit to the tipper has been maintained over time. His 2005 study (Azar 2005a) looked at tipping in relation to social welfare attitudes despite tipping having a negative correlation with workers' income.

Studies have been done on factors relating to why customers tip, both from the demographic of the customer, and even the ways in which workers present themselves. Maynard and Mupandawana (2009) found that tipping is correlated with the price of the bill and customer's tipping history in a study done in Canadian restaurants. Lynn et al. (2013) studied the effects of the shirt colour worn by tipped workers and tips received. Jacob et al. (2010) researched whether or not makeup had an effect on the tip left to waitresses, opening up the possibility for further research on the particularities of attractiveness and tips. Much of this kind of research is aimed at 'industry stakeholders', toward policy implementation and is useful in informing legislative bodies and for business owners who are curious about customer perceptions and work performance. Whilst this literature answers basic questions about tipping, it often focuses on why customers tip, or how workers get tips, but does not go deeper into tipped relations or experiences of tipping.

Further sociological studies into tipping look deeper into the social and political motivations and ramifications of tipping. For example, Lynn (1997) studied the relationship between tips and status seeking, i.e. leaving a large tip gave the tipper more status and social power, and Lynn's (2019) research looked into the role that occupation plays in relation to customers willingness to leave a tip. For example, he found that in occupations where the 'server is subordinate to the customer', customers are more likely to tip (2019: 221). Similarly, Tang et

al. (2021) looked at the effect of the minimum-wage that a server received, and how that wage had an effect on guest tipping behaviour using equity theory. They found that guest perceived that the federal sub-minimum wage of $2.13 per hour was less 'fair' than the current highest minimum wage of $16.00 per hour (2021: 25). One study by Azar (2020) looked into the economic impacts of tipping and the restaurant industry as well as the taxi industry. He noted that in high-end establishments many tipped workers make much more than their co-workers in the kitchen, making it difficult for restaurants to recruit back of house workers. Additionally, this same study looked into tipping and race between taxi drivers and their patrons showing variations in the amount of tips given, and the amount of tips received based on the race of both parties. This kind of research brings out the social and political problems of tipping and serves as a basis for asking deeper questions about the subject. This literature is often conflicting, and has little interaction with the experiences of workers in relation to the experience of tipping. Instead it emphasises tipping as a kind of 'cause and effect' phenomena rather than one that is socially, politically, and historically contingent – a gap that this research on tipping provides. However, much of this previous work creates a firm ground to study tipping from, and has benefited this research in those terms.

Ethnographic methods have been an excellent tool to study tipping in a more in-depth approach to experience and interaction. This research often focuses in on the experiences of tipping and brings together lived experience with sociological analysis. Brewster and Wills (2013) studied tipping in relation to workers, management and empowerment, and specifically look at how tipped restaurant workers describe their experiences with ownership and self-management techniques. Tibbals (2007) did a full participant ethnographic study on the role of gender as a form of resistance within a corporate restaurant setting, and within a 'family' restaurant setting. In this study Tibbals (2007) set gender performance in relation to standardization and routinization of those workspaces, and found that gender performances could be used against the standardization of a particular workplace and its set practices and procedure. Suarez (2009) used symbolic interactionism alongside ethnographic methods in order to understand the motivations behind why customers tip beyond simplistic economic frameworks. He found that customer tips have a moral and economic symbolism that often has to do with the customers' feelings about themselves within tipping interactions (2009: 309). Paules (1991) ethnography studies waitresses in a low-end restaurant and discusses waitresses experiences at work, in relation to management, customers, living in a low-waged and low-income occupation, and the fluidity of working in restaurants. She emphasises the

power and resistance that waitresses have in their day to day actions at work, and how waitresses take ownership of their positions, something that was helpful in developing this dissertation. The focus here is on attitudes, stubborn behaviours, unwillingness to listen to management, territoriality etc., as ways of coping with limited upward mobility in the industry and as a type of worker 'pushback'. Loe (1996) studied a highly sexualised relationship, 'Bazooms' through participant observation. In her study she discusses the ways in which her co-workers describe themselves in ways that are not passive or as simply objects. She also brings out that women who work in restaurants, especially waitresses, need to fill an epitomized and stereotypically feminine role or type. This stereotyping was something that came through in my own research. Spradley and Mann (1975) endeavour to understand waitressing in a particular bar set in a college town in the Mid-Western United States. Their observations bring out both the particularities and day to day actions and functions of being a waitress, getting along with customers, co-workers, etc. whilst also bringing out the experiences of being a waitress. They emphasize the sexualised culture of the 'the bar' noting how women who work in that space work within a 'man's world'. They also discuss the division of labour within the workplace, relationships, territoriality and the specificity and accuracy needed to perform tasks efficiently. Wilson (2019) focuses his ethnography on the way in which tips can be divisive among workers in terms of who has access to tips, and who does not. Particularly that research brings out the immediate relations that develop among workers who work together and are affected by tips, this was important in the development of the concept of hierarchies in this research. These ethnographic endeavours bring a significant richness of description and depth to studying tipping, all of which have had a significant influence on this research and have modelled how to do ethnographic research in the workplace.

Ehrenreich (2001) explored low-paid work in the United States, with tipped restaurant work being one of those endeavours. Her research brought out the richness of the experience of working in the restaurant including the physical demands of the job. Here she enters the world of low paid work to try to begin to understand and explain the difficulties of many Americans. She describes the work setting, the unfamiliarity with the surroundings and procedures as she enters as an outsider (Ehrenreich 2001: 16-17). Her mishaps and mistakes are all accounted for, even her explanation of waking up out of her sleep as she remembers something she forgot to do during service is all too familiar to anyone who has worked in the industry. This auto-ethnographic journalistic endeavour brings out the richness and importance of

experience when undertaking research, and influenced the kind of rich experiential data that I set-out to get during my fieldwork.

Dowling (2007) also takes an auto-ethnographic approach to understanding waitressing and ties this to social and political theory. Her work focuses on the affective labour it takes to create 'the dining experience', but also the impacts these have on her as a worker – a great source of inspiration for this rsearch. Dowling takes this further, pointing to how the immateriality of this experience of labour can help us to better understand the labour process of affective labour and work. She explores mechanisms of control and measurement of this work, and brings out how her comportment with customers and co-workers was controlled by management, something different to the research presented here. Dowling describes that the restaurant trained her in 'affective skills' but also relied on her to be herself (Dowling 2007: 120). In this paradigm it was the waitress that created the 'dining experience' and produced value for the restaurant, which is something argued in this dissertation. Dowling's (2012) study on waitressing focused on the relation of affective labour to the embodied labour it takes to perform as a waitress. In narrative details she brings out the tangible sounds, smells, spaces, and feelings of being at work in this capacity. These descriptions illustrate the schizophrenic nature of the role, at once entirely frantic and multitasking, whilst exuding pleasantness, calm, and enthusiasm. The experiences described in that study brings out formal and scripted element of serving as a waitress that does not exist in this study, there were no scripts or prescriptions by management in the restaurant being researched, and come to think of it, in my twenty years I have never had to follow a script. However, her work brings out the connection to political theory and the development of affective labour in relation to tipped restaurant work and are an invaluable sources of inspiration.

Historical studies on tipping and restaurant work often try to understand the origins of tipping, its emergence, and the ways in which workers have navigated this type of work. Segrave (1998) writes about tipping and its introduction and implementation in the United States. This study showed how socially and politically contested tips were in the 18th and 19th centuries, but also how negative connotations surrounding immigration, race, and sex were associated with tipping. Cobble (1991) discusses women in the serving professions, their introduction into waitressing roles, in what establishments they were accepted, and how women transformed restaurant work in a feminization of the industry. Van de Eeckhout (2015) researches the history of tipping in Western Europe before the start of World War I. This study looks at the

labour market conditions in which tipping emerged, the ways in which workers were exploited in relation to tips received and rents extracted, and used a comparative model to bring out differences between countries within the European context. Additionally, this study brought out the contested nature of tipping and the role of labour organizations and unions in regulating tips, and in working against them.

All of the work on tipping and restaurants that has come before lays a firm foundation for further study of the custom. However, this work is often normative in its aims and research approach aiming much study toward industry and business management readerships. Ethnographic studies often explore tipping from outsider perspectives, observing the arena of restaurants and doing interviews with workers and patrons. Participant observation brings a further level of analysis to the study of tipping, and this research brings out the experiences of working for tips. Whilst this is fruitful methodological approach, it can miss elements of work and experience that someone with an insider knowledge of the industry can shed light on. Additionally, insider perspectives can create connections with research participants that bring out information due to a shared understandings of experience and nuance. This brings us to auto-ethnographic approaches to tipping and restaurant work. These often richly descriptive studies model how to describe the experiential elements of tipped work and bring out aesthetic and corporeal details of experience, but can be limited to a singular experience. Historical studies on tipping bring out the political and social conditions under and through which tipping is situated. By bringing together this previous work on tipping and coordinating these varying perspectives, this research positions tipping and restaurant work in a multidimensional framework and situates it within a(n) social, political, experiential and historical context, specifically one that takes account of neoliberal ideology.

2.2 Additional Ethnographic Literature

Whilst this literature review has dealt with the tipping related literature and ethnographies that have come before, there are several other ethnographies outside of the purview of tips that serve as models for this research and for studying workplaces, elite spaces, and spaces with limited accessibility. Wacquant's (1995) ethnographic study on the experience of pugilists emphasised the need to get close to the world one is studying in order gain insight into the experience of others. Ehtnographic studies into the workplace hold significant importance for this research. For example, Burawoy (1985, 2014, 2021) brings out the need to participate in

the field of research to understand the dynamics and details of the relations of work and between workers when studying the modes of political and social control of the capitalist apparatus. Mears' (2015) insider position in the field of study hones in on the experience of participating in the field of research, she brings out subtle details of the lived experience of the world one studies and is also a part of. Additionally, that work brings out the importance of being an insider and how that position can afford one access to elite cultural practices and spaces that would otherwise be off-limits or difficult to gain access to for other researchers. Studying elite spaces from an insider perspective can also provide insight (as Mears does) into elite social worlds that others with less experience or exposure to might not understand or observe – this was helpful in developing my own insider position. Similarly, Allison's (1994) study of Hostess Clubs in Japan takes her full participation in the field of research where she is able to examine not only the elite practices of the businessmen that attend the club she works in, but she is also able to study the practices and dynamics of the workplace and of her co-workers. Allison is also able to bring out the variation in hostess clubs more generally, but is also able to tie these variations (differences and similarities) to the experiences she had personally. Hobbs' (1988) study was also a source of inspiration in terms of its ethnographic bearings. That research brought out the importance of being an insider in the world one studies and how that position can open up access not only to the people and the world one studies, but also how being an insider can help research participants in trusting you, not simply with information, but in that your ability to understand their meaning and lived experience. In addition to the work that has come before related to tipping and the restaurant industry described in the introduction, these ethnographies have been a real source of inspiration, have set a high standard, and have modelled how to undertake ethnographic work.

2.3 Context Within Existing Literature

Whilst the literature discussed above is a fruitful starting point for understanding tipping, much of the literature devoted to the topic of tipping, and to the topic of serving in restaurants, fails to approach the subject holistically and critically, both methodologically (Madison 2005: 29-30; Reyes 2020; Schwandt 2007: 50-51; Bourdieu 2003; Davis 1999) and analytically (Horkheimer 1989; Dowling 2007: 117; Ross and Welsh 2022: 20). To understand tipping from a sociological perspective that goes beyond a normative analysis requires a multidisciplinary scope and focus that is rooted in sociological and political theories and

sociological method, but that also incorporates its history (Azar 2004a, Van Den Eeckhout 2015, Segrave 1998), policy debates (Ross and Welsh 2021), place in labour processes (McFadden 2015; Burawoy 1979; Braverman 1974), discussions about the restaurant industry (ROC-United 2014, 2015; Jayaraman 2016, 2021), food systems analysis (Hunt 2016) and through the incorporation of experiences of the custom (Dowling 2007; Loe 1996, Paules 1991).

I provide a theoretical intervention into the heavily normative and quantitative literature on tipping in order to problematize it within our current neoliberal paradigm (Bourdieu 1998). This problematization is done by incorporating political economy literature that is critical of neoliberalism (Burawoy 2014, 2009, 2008; Görz 2012; Lordon 2014; Harvey 2005, 2014; Dean 2020, Varoufakis 2021), post-structuralist critical theory (Foucault 2003, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, Bröckling, 2016, Hofmeyr 2021; Purcell and Brook 2020; McDonald et al. 2017; McNay 2009), Critical Theory (Bourdieu 2005 [2000], 1998, 1996, ,1977; Adorno 2000, 1998), perspectives on work to do with the body, sexualized labour, emotional labour, aesthetic labour, care work, and feminist perspectives on experience (Wolkowitz et al. 2013; Brook 2013a, 2009a, 2009b; Federici 2012, 2008; Warhurst and Nickson 2009; Anderson 2000; Hochschild 1983; Mies 2014; Oksala 2011, 2014), and historical literature of tipping, servitude, and employment (Biscetti 2015; Segrave, 1998; Hill 1996; Dru Stanley 1998; Patemen 1988). Specifically, I integrate the literature on affective, emotional and performative labour and relations of power (Andreescu 2016, Bröckling 2016; Hofmeyr 2021; Görz 2012, Lordon 2014, Hochschild 1983; Butler 2004, Purcell and Brook 2020; Brook 2009a, b, 2013) with Marxian political economy on rent-seeking and techniques of accumulation (exploitation, domination and appropriation) that generates internalised mode of being and subject creation that occurs within the relations of tipping.

The literature on tipping is dominated by normative and quantitative social science, and is aimed primarily towards policy formation and industrial governance rather than toward a critical theoretical intervention. This research uses critical theory to analyse tipping so as to illuminate both its operation as part of a technology of control (Foucault 2010a) and its continued relevance within sociological and political discourses on work. A major problem with the literature on tipping is its lack of critical analysis generally, but more specifically a critical interrogation of its informal nature, contradictions and ambiguity. Instead, tipping literature is comprised of either data specific literature imbedded within literature from a

management perspective (Lynn and Withiam 2008, Lynn 2019), within legal discourses (Allegretto and Cooper 2014; Hallet 2019; Kapur 2017), from behavioural/business management (Lynn and Withiam 2008; Azar 2004b), within applied economics (Azar, 2003, 2004a, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Bodvarsson et al. 2003; Even and Macpherson 2014), equity theory (Tang et al. 2021), economic psychology (Azar 2011, 2015), social psychology (Shamir 1984), public policy and labour economics (Jayaraman 2016; Archibugi 2004; Azar 2012; Ross and Welsh 2021; Haley-Lock and Shah 2007; Margalioth 2006), with additional governmental reports and publications by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (USBLS), or the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), and investigations by the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC – United).

Although this literature provides firm ground to study tipping, it lacks any critical insight into how tipping as a technique has similarities to other contemporary forms of labour control, and does not place tipping into a more strategic historical, political, or economic contexts. What little critical literature there is on the occupation of serving/waitressing has included theoretical intervention in terms of emotional and affective labour (Dowling, 2007, 2012; Hardt 1999, 2007), worker autonomy (Ross and Welsh 2022; Brewster and Wills 2013; Cobble 1991; Paules 1991), and the problems of tipping (Wilson and Setter 2020; Wilson 2019; Suarez 2009). However, the work only touches the surface of the critical theoretical resources available that can be applied to tipping.

Tipping literature is situated in analyses of the restaurant and personal services industry, and remains stuck in a sociology of categories typical of the discourses of the Sociology of Work, this means that work and labour in these sectoral and industrial contexts are treated as categories (occupational groups, orthodox class, sex, identity groups, arbitrary groupings, demographics etc.) rather than as social relations (gender, affects, class, generated from modes of production, etc), which explains the normative and uncritical disposition of the extant research. This categorical sociology is unable to account for the techniques, apparatuses and technologies of exploitation, domination, and appropriation and fails to demonstrate their role in the generation of subjectivities through the relations that they establish.

In order to shift analysis into a more critical sociological idiom – from categories to relations – the relation-generating techniques must be explored rather than data on categories collated. Tipping creates specific relations within the industry in terms of exploitation (server-

proprietor), power dynamics (server-customer) and disaggregation (server-co-worker), and as such constitutes a technique of internalization, informalization, and incentivization that is part of wider neoliberal apparatuses and technologies of labour control. This research looks at tipping as a technique of control under the auspices of neoliberal capitalism (as a macro force), and specifically at how tipping is one technique through which this macro force is creative of more 'willing' and governable subjectivities (Lordon, 2014). I used theoretical frameworks of Marxian political economy, Critical Geography, Bourdieusian analysis of social fields and production, Foucauldian power analysis and Feminist elaborations around experience and work to inform the research and data gathering. This was a sociological investigation into tipping that was embedded in critical theory's attempt to investigate and root out contradictions in society and started from a relational framework of tipping as an economic activity fixed in social relations (Zelizer 2012).

Relations are not simply the dynamics between individuals, but are imbedded in spaces, places, time, history and ideology. Bandelj reminds us that a relational approach to work and sociology emphasizes the 'matching [of] social relations with economic transactions' (2020: 251, Zelizer 2012: 152) and that 'the basic unit of analysis for sociology should not [simply] be individuals or macrolevel institutions but, instead the social relations between actors' (252; See also Emirbayer 1997). Whilst the focus of this research is on the social relations of tipping as both a social and economic interaction, the social relations of it cannot be understood without the individuals who perform the transaction and undergo the relations of it, nor can the macrolevel institutional, ideological, political and economic frameworks that these relations are embedded in be forgotten. Afterall, 'social relations are multiplex, and exchanges are interdependent and infused with meaning, which derives from broader cultural repertoires' (Bandelj 2020: 254). Whilst understanding that the social relations of tipping are at the forefront of this research, social relations are meaningless without their micro and macro counterparts. This research emphasizes the relational nature of tipping, but also focuses on the individual, spatial context, and broader conceptions of modernity and capitalism. Therefore, the micro, meso, and macro levels of tipping are necessary to the holistic understanding of the custom, and are represented in the varying literatures used to understand it. These three levels will collectively describe and build on the discussion of tipping as a technique in the apparatuses of informalization, internalization and incentivization. The first level is that of the individual, the second that of relations and context, and lastly modernity and capitalism are discussed.

2.3.1 *Micro*

The first level of literature pertains to the technique of 'tipping' itself. What is tipping, who is tipped, where, why and how much are all essential elements of the micro level. Here I rely on data from legal perspectives (Alegretto and Cooper 2014; Archibugi 2004), from applied economics (Azar 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2011, 2014) managerial studies (Bodvarrson et al. 2003; Lynn and Withiam 2008), the sociology of work (Jayaraman 2016, Haley-Lock and Shah 2007), labour reports (ROC-United 2019; The Economic Policy Institute – Sabia et al. 2018) and governmental data (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019a, 2019b, etc.) to define who tipped workers are. Additionally, I include a co-authored published article in chapter 3. The section on the tipped minimum wage entitled 'Problematising Tipping Policy in the United States: Understanding the 'Tipped Minimum Wage' is taken from my co-authored article (I was lead author), Ross and Welsh (2021) 'Understanding the Tipped Minimum Wage: Critical Directions for US Policy Research', *Social Policy and Society*, 20(2): 192-210. This original publication provides a clear understanding of the legislative existence of tipping as it exists in public policy. The research in this publication was undertaken during my studies and forms an important piece of the puzzle when understanding the custom of tipping.

However, a simple explanation of policy, demographic divides (Wilson 2021), or legal frameworks only scratches the surface and provide demographic categories for who workers are without contextualisation. To understand who tipped workers are and why they are thus, we must look to the socio-historic emergence of tipping, specifically within the United States (Segrave 1998, Azar 2004; Van den Eeckhout 2015; Cobble 1991; Dawes 1989; Jayaraman 2016). This historic contextualisation exposes trends, norms, and relations of how some workers come to receive tips and how this is imbedded within the historical transition of norms of servitude and domestic service (Biscetti 2015; Meldrum 2000; Hill 1996; Sutherland 1981; Crouch 1936). The incorporation of socio-historical literature contextualises the demographic and statistical elements of who is tipped and places it within a wider field of vision.

Bringing out the relationship between the history of tipped restaurant work (Azar 2004; Segrave 1998; Cobble 1991) and the history of servants an servitude (Biscetti 2015; Hill 1996) is an essential element to understanding the imbedded relations of dependency within tipped work, and it allows for a connection to feudal modes of production and to discourses on

domestic work. Most research on tipping that touches its historical elements only point to the historical relations of tipping and the individuals within them. For example BeomCheol Kim et al. (2017) point to the 'social disadvantages' that often result in tipping, but do not unpack what kind of relations are present within these disadvantages, and further, they do not discuss these in relation to a social and historical paradigm, missing critical components of the custom of tipping that would be illuminating to any analysis of it. Azar (2004) even points to instances where the master of servants who received vails (tips) would 'supplement his income' with the servants' tips, but does not go further in this analysis. Biscetti (2015) delves into the behaviours of master and servants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even goes on to analyse the relationships between them, but this is never tied to tipping directly, which is an important point of intervention for this research. Incorporating socio-historical accounts bring out the transcendent quality of the relations of tipping.

What emerges is that tipping is not simply some spontaneous occurrence, but is part of a longer social history of keeping wages low for marginalised workers based on class, race, and sex. Who tipped workers are becomes political in this contextualisation in terms of these categories, but needs further articulation. For example sexual harassment in the industry is reported in the literature (ROC-United 2014, Johnson and Madera 2018), but without any contextualisation of why it occurs in this industry. Using literature on body work, emotional work, and care work along with work on the sexualised nature of industries creates a connection between the subjective experiences of tipped restaurant workers, and the expectations of sexuality in the industry, and the consequences of this (Hearn and Parkin 1987; Wolkowitz et al. 2013; Nickson and Warhurst 2009, 2007; Allison 1994; Strom et al. 2021; Deshotels and Forsyth 2006; Hochschild 1983; Anderson 2000). Additionally, some research has pointed to the 'undemocratic' nature of tipping and its lack of acceptance early on in U.S. history (Shanker 2016, Segrave 1998), but fails to unpack how for some members of society (lower classes, immigrants, black Americans, and women) this custom was deemed acceptable due to differential expectations of dependence, inequality, and hierarchy. By looking to those who are deemed acceptable to receive tips, we can point to an illuminating point of contradiction between rhetoric (democracy) and reality (inequality).

Sociologically, this is the level at which 'tipping' is directly experienced by those who are subjected to its logic (the 'server'). This level pertains to the ethnographic component of the research and will address the gap in the literature centring around experience (Oksala 2011,

2014; Mears 2015). Looking closer at workers who are subject to the logic of tipping, we can see how the practice of tipping has a specific impact on the subject formation of workers reliant on neoliberal logic, and performative norms of servility. Literature that emphasises tipping as simply an exchange between workers and customers oversimplifies those involved in its practice. Previous research is often imbedded in applied economics, psychology, business management and social norm theory (Azar 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2011, 2014; Bodvarsson et al. 2003; Lynn and Withiam 2008; Lynn 2019). A specific problem with much of this literature is the presupposition of individuals as primarily economic agents or as consumers who simply have 'behavioural predispositions, emotions', or 'follow social norms' (Tang et al. 2021: 4), emphasizing tipping as 'an enforcement mechanism' (Margalioth 2006: 123). The emphasis on individuals who participate in tipping and who are tipped as primarily economic agents in terms of research parameters and outcomes (Bodvarrson et al. 2003: 1661) limit the complexity of the interactions of these individuals, and do not interrogate the force of the mechanism of tipping beyond social norms, or the origin of these norms. Whilst social norm theory brings into focus emotion and behaviour that the rationality of neo-classical frameworks do not, both posit the individual as primarily economic in their subjective position, and both tie the propensity to tip with conditional or unconditional future outcomes as the basis for decision making (Tang et al. 2021: 4; Bodvarrson et. al 1994). These studies are heavily weighted toward why customers tip and not how workers make tips, or even wholistic view of both perspectives. This literature misses the powerful relations created by tipping and miss its historical contextualisation. Whilst workers are often motivated by tip maximisation within the transaction (Mars and Nicod 2018 [1984]; Bodvarrson et al. 2003; Lynn and Withiam 2008), they are also placed into a relation in which they have to succeed as a form of 'rational domination' (Bourdieu 1998: 3).

Tipping emphasises individual responsibility for economic successes, therefore incorporating literature on how neoliberal governmentality (Oksala 2013) is inscribed in individuals (and society as a whole) and is creative of an entrepreneurial logic is essential. Workers internalise these neoliberal norms, they are self-incentivizing in terms of managing themselves, being self-motivating and mobilised, and workers are also individualised in the process of working for tips by a) being held responsible for their individual success, and b) in that they undergo a commodification of the self (Purcell and Brook 2020; Bröckling 2016; McNay 2009; Davis 2003, Bourdieu 1998).

Bröckling's (2016) book *The Entrepreneurial Self* studied the regimes of subjectification according to entrepreneurial logics but did not go as far as investigating 'those who are subject to the regime and who constitute themselves as subjects via this subjectification in reality say or do' (xiii). This research studies a technology of entrepreneurial logic, the tip, and how those subject to it operate and what they say and do. Using Bröckling's (2016) regime of subjectification as a piece of economic sociology shows how current economic operations and regimes control all facets of life, including how individuals have 'no free choice except to continuously choose between alternatives they have not themselves chosen' and how 'people have freedom forced upon them' (xiv). This is how the individual worker is situated into wider relations and practices on the meso level.

Tipping in this research occurs in the restaurant industry making 'dining out' something that is not simply done outside the home. Instead, it is something that occurs in a 'socio-spatial location outside the home' and involves 'commercial provision', work done by someone else (Ward et al. 2020, 50) and occurs within a set of relations. Tipping is embedded in processes and realised through relations and practices. This is where a spatio-temporal contextualisation is necessary for an understanding of not simply how tipping works, or who tipped workers are, but how tipping functions within a situated existence.

2.3.2 *Meso*

This next level of literature marries tipping in its statistical and demographic space and uses organisational concepts (flexibility, hierarchy, competition, etc.) that are imbedded in relations to understand the dynamics of tipping. This is where the organisation of the restaurant industry, it's laws and policy (USDL 2016, Economic Policy Institute 2017, Ross and Welsh 2020) are critically discussed in relation to labour process analysis (Braverman 1974) to reveal the mechanisms of surplus extraction and exploitation (Cole et al. 2022) that are imbedded within the structured and informal hierarchy that tipping creates. Simply looking at how much workers make in tips, or at how wage theft occurs (Hallett 2019: 99-100, Stephenson 2022) is not good enough. Instead, an understanding of the informal nature of the industry, and of tipping, provides a base of understanding for how tipping is so successful at getting labour to labour. This is done through flexibility, hierarchy, competition (Bourdieu 1998) and through the 'compulsive' desire to work (Hofmeyr 2021:36) as a result of the inherent informality of

tipping that also makes it difficult to legislate and control. Adding to this informality is the highly affective and aesthetic nature of the tipped relation.

Looking at the normative literature on tipping, there is often an attempt to explain relations and practices through the power of social norms, economic practices and calculations, performance incentives, or even demographic factors and features (Azar 2011; Tang et al. 2021, Bodvarrson et al. 2003, Lynn 2019, 2012; Lynn and Sturman 2010: 269). Social norm studies do bring out the 'psychological utility from tipping' whereby 'positive emotions' can be 'generated from impressing others' or where 'positive sentiments' are experienced in an empathetic response toward 'a hard-working server who earns a low-wage', or how 'enhancements to self-image' occur 'through actions of generosity' (Tang et al. 2021: 5). What is missing here is the reasoning or conditioning behind why customers often feel good about tipping, and how those feelings are imbedded in asymmetries, patronage, and dependency. Additionally, subjective understandings/preferences/assessments of who is a hard worker and deserving of tips is a problematic starting point for tipping and feeds into discourses of master and servant relations (Biscetti 2015; Hay 2000; Hegel 1997), and/or an oversimplified market logic. Behavioural studies (Lynn 2012) suggest that demographics are predictors for tipping behaviour, or that personality features of consumers can predict tipping outcomes. Lynn connects predictors of tipping with relations based on server subordination to the customer, monitoring of the server, the necessity of the customer being wealthier than the server, etc. but frames these toward management policies (2019: 221) and misses the greater link between relations of domination and tipping. Some studies link subjective assessments of service (Lynn 2010), or discriminatory practices and preferences (Brewster and Lynn 2014), with tipping behaviour, or with a way for consumers to seek status (Lynn 1997, Tang et al. 2021). These assessments are normative in scope, do not problematise the relations and practices of tipping at their core, and maintain a shallow understanding of relations.

Additionally, equity theory is used to research tipping (Tang et al. 2021: 23), however, the understanding of 'equity' and what is equal or 'fair' in terms of tipping is looked at uncritically. Whilst studies have concluded that customers believe tipping to be more fair than 'service inclusive pricing and mandatory service charges' in order 'to reward servers effort' (Tang et al. 2021: 24; see also Lynn 2013), these studies and their subsequent findings do not problematise the notion of what is equal, or how the problem of 'reward' in the tipped relation as a highly subjective and biased norm of remuneration. Questions should be asked in these studies about

customer opinion on why restaurant workers do not deserve a base wage but other service sector workers do, helping to determine the qualities of the perceived equity and fairness. Tipping is incredibly unequal, and access to tipped income streams is determined by customer preference and by workers' looks and personality, social forces, and even geography. Bringing a geographical element into the research on tipping provides both a broader and a more focused understanding of the relations of tipping in the United States. This element specifically critiques statistical information on the differentiated tipped minimum wage as it is structured through the federal system in the United States (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2018, Ross and Welsh 2021).

The case study of the Hamptons of Long Island looks at space through a critical lens and the literature here (Saldanha 2013; Gibson 2009; Banjeree-Guha 2008, Brenner and Jones, 2008; Katz 2001; Harvey 2001) attempts to translate the functions of tipping in relation to this particular space as a space of capital concentration (Harvey 2001) where a dominant service economy is presaged there. There is not just a shift to a post-industrial society but an increase in personal services, and the kind of social relations of subordination and subsequent subjectivations (the New Servants) that come with it (Görz 2012). This brings us to an additional layer of relations and practices whereby consumerism (McDonald et al. 2017) and neoliberal practices imbed workers into relations of dependence with exploitative/appropriative features, but in a way that makes them 'willing subjects' (Lordon 2014) to exploitative practices.

Looking to the spaces of tipping as geographical areas of wealth concentration productive of inequalities (Harvey 2010: 241) becomes essential to a critical understanding of tipping. Space, can be considered that which is 'built in the image' of socio-economic practices and landscapes that facilitates the accumulation of capital (Banjeree-Guha 2008:52; Harvey 2000) and something that facilitates social division (Smith et al. 2010: 1). The individual subjectivity, the relations and practices of tipping, all fit into a wider global political paradigm of neoliberal capitalism.

2.3.3 *Macro*

Branching out further to how tipping is situated within capitalist modernity, but also as something which retains its historical pretexts imbedded in feudal relations and modes of

production, illuminates how tipping is specifically exploitative in its contradictions. This final level ties the previous two together acting as ligature between the micro-sociological functioning of the tipping mechanism and the wider implications of political economy. This is the level where tipping is shown to be not merely an isolated technique, but a practice that is a component of more encompassing political technologies or apparatuses of control that code the social relations generated by the technique of tipping in the mode of production and its accumulation regime. To a great extent, this is where the theoretical ingenuity of the dissertation will be located and where the theoretically coherent statement of the research will be coordinated. It is where the dissertation research will clearly position tipping in emergent technologies of control as the centrepiece of the dissertation's original contribution in terms of theoretically informed empirical analysis. To do this a move to the theoretical framework of the research is a necessary transition.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The core theoretical element of this ethnographic research is critical theory, the aim of which is an 'emancipatory interest' with respect to society whereby 'an interest in freedom…questions the overall social framework of existing economic and political relations' (Hearfield 2004, see Horkheimer 1992). This research employs a multidimensional theoretical framework in accord with a 'pragmatic approach' to social theorizing (Baert and Silva, 2010), which brings a number of critical theoretical traditions into coordinating critique of the object of analysis. The principal theoretical approaches that frame the research are a critical analysis of neoliberalism, Marxian political economy, poststructuralist governmentality, and feminist theories on work. Importantly, an implicitly immanent critique (Stahl 2017) plays a central role in the theoretical underpinnings of the research in relation to the elaboration of contradictions in society's ideals, rules, and systems specifically in relation to tipping.

Hearfield reminds us that 'the function of theory' according to Adorno, 'is to intensify the critique of already existing practices' (2004: 10) and to demonstrate how human suffering, and domination are 'maintained or reinforced through contemporary social relations' (2004: 3, See also Horkheimer 1992). This research is then an interrogation of experience that brings theory to bear on it in an attempt to illuminate specific issues in the labour processes in this late stage of neoliberal capitalism (Fairbanks II and Lloyd 2011; Harvey 2005). Doing this exposes how ideology is reproduced in social relations, and specifically in the social relations of work

(Burawoy 1979, 2012). This approach aims at a detection of societal contradictions in social processes and practices that might lead to emancipatory social change. In keeping with this method of critical theory, the mode of analysis is rooted in non-positivist epistemology. This is 'a means of detecting the societal contradictions which offer the most determinate possibilities for emancipatory social change' (Antonio 1981: 332). This method is definitionally rooted in labour and the process of labour as 'labour transforms natural objects into human objects, creating a human history open to rational understanding' (Antonio, 1981: 333). This is precisely the point of this particular analysis, to focus on the transformative potentials within the tipped work form, whilst also elaborating the societal contradictions that exist within it. This is done in order to come to a rational understanding of tipping in an attempt to find immanent contradictions in its function and dominating characteristics whilst also looking toward an elaboration of emancipatory potential.

Contradictions are immanent in the concept of neoliberalism, a word that is both complex and vague with many referring to the term without an adequate representation of what is meant. For this research neoliberalism serves as a framework for understanding the data around tipping and is thus a crucial element to be understood. Perhaps Bourdieu's (1998) essay on neoliberalism is the most accurate description. For him neoliberalism is an ideology and a practice applicable to everything. This is not simply a programmatic ideal in the sense of being an underlying policy distributed globally by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – it is that, but it goes far beyond that. The underpinnings of neoliberal logic are found in corporations, state actors, policy, legislation, and individuals. There are governing technologies that aid in the distribution and proliferation of neoliberal ideology reinforcing it as 'truth' and at the same time disciplining everything according to its logic, it is what Bourdieu (1998) referred to as not simply a discourse but a 'strong discourse' (Goffman 1961) that has behind it both 'relations of forces' and 'its own symbolic force'.

The simplest explanation is a paraphrasing of the essay by Bourdieu (1998) where he lays out defining characteristics of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism:

1) Requires destructive action toward collective structures, i.e., workers unions, cooperatives, etc., with the intended effect of atomizing workers.

2) Finds social power drawn 'from the political and economic power of those whose interest it expresses' i.e., stockholders, financial operators, benefactors of wage legislation, etc.

3) Has a globalising effect on the mobility of capital and thus creates an imperative toward short-term profit maximisation that has significant effects upon employment, wages, and hiring.

4) Requires flexibility i.e. temporary hires, fixed term contracts, independent contractors and other forms of flexible work and remuneration.

5) Needs, and feeds, competition, especially amongst individuals through the wage relation (or lack thereof) in the 'establishment of individual performance objective[s]' and evaluations, bonuses for individual merit, all of which delegate responsibility or responsibilise toward 'the self-exploitation of staff' who are simply 'wage labourers in relations of strong hierarchical dependence'. These workers as individuals are 'held responsible for their sales', products, etc. ('participative management'), all of which are 'techniques of rational domination… [which] impose over-involvement in work…and work under emergency or high-stress conditions…[as] they converge to weaken or abolish collective standards or solidarities'.

6) Requires struggle in Darwinian terms of competition and hierarchy, 'that finds support through everyone clinging to their job and organisation under conditions of insecurity, suffering, and stress'.

7) Facilitates precarious arrangements productive of insecurity and a '*reserve army of employees rendered docile by these social processes that make their situations precarious*'.

8) Has a foundational symbol of 'freedom' and autonomy, but simply as an economic order that promotes 'structural violence' through unemployment (and under-employments) and job insecurity, and wage insecurity.

9) Diminishes the labour contract and limits or eliminates 'all temporal guarantees of employment'.

10) Has an overemphasis of theory (economic) without the 'occasion to submit to the test of experimental verification'.

11) Has beneficiaries of the system who 'sanctify the power of markets in the name of economic efficiency, which requires the elimination of administrative or political barriers capable of inconveniencing the owners of capital in their individual quest for the maximisation of individual profit' and this becomes the model of rationality.

12) 'Tends on the whole to favour severing the economy from social realities and thereby constructing, in reality, an economic system conforming to its description in pure theory, that is a sort of logical machine that presents itself as a chain of constraints regulating economic agents' and reimagines and assigns everyone toward being an individual economic agent.

This is not an economic rationality of laissez-faire, but of 'vigilance, activity, and intervention' (Foucault 2008: 131-2). Neoliberalism is active, not passive, it demands, requires, and imbues, without consent and often without conscious awareness of those subject to it. Neoliberalism establishes itself, often through 'juridical and legal mechanisms', and in discursive and non-discursive ways, that are creative of domination through relations of power and 'modalities of subjection' (Lazzarato 2009: 114). At the heart of the theoretical framing of this research are the 'intersections of domination and consent' (Lordon 2014: 9) in neoliberal capitalism – or what Lordon refers to as 'enchanted acquiescence' (2014: 91), whereby in order to acquiesce, the individual must take on a neoliberal governmentality through which they view themselves, their actions, and the rest of society in order to exist in society.

A focus on governmentality is then an additional element of the theoretical framework of the research. Governmentality, according to Foucault, is the 'conduct of conduct' or the 'art of government', it is the hegemonic governing logic of the time, in this case it is one that promotes the economic logic of the market to every facet and corner of life (2007: 108-109). It requires structures conducive to its logic, along with modes of thinking and behaving, and employs any technology (i.e. tipping) that reinforces this logic. One problem with an overemphasis on Foucauldian governmentality is in its potential for an 'overemphasis on the individual's atomising experience of governmentality', further reducing the individual to a position of depoliticization (Purcell and Brook 2020: 6).

There is truth in this problematic as research on tipping often equates the custom with individual freedom and agency (Brewster et al. 2013) and fails to qualify notions of freedom and flexibility (See point 8 above) with a critical awareness of this flexibility in relation to the socio-historical circumstances of neoliberal capital (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008). What is missed in an overemphasis on freedom and autonomy is how many workers become complicit in their own exploitation and can even enjoy it (Dean 2008, McNay 2009: 65; Lordon 2014, Burawoy 2012, 2008: 4; Bourdieu 2000). Tipping is an example of this. It is a productive

technology (Foucault 2010a) that encourages those exposed to its logic to mobilise their efforts (bodily, psychologically, emotionally), increasingly commodifying themselves according to market demands (Jensen and Prieur 2016). Here we can see Bourdieu's 'twofold truth of labour' (2000[1997]:202-5) whereby workers are not simply exploited through the extraction of surplus labour as an 'object' or the 'objective truth of labour', but 'how exploitation is sustained by workers themselves' (Burawoy 2012: 188). Although the atomising emphasis seems like a predetermined fixity for failed resistance, what can be retrieved from a critical interrogation of this governmentality and its techniques is a focus on 'contested social process[es] with the potential for collective – counter hegemonic – resistance' (Purcell and Brook 2020, 6). This contestation lies in the understanding of how this governmentality works, functions, and exploits, and an unpacking of this from the level of the atomised individual, the particular technique (tipping), and the relations imbedded within them, providing an opportunity for broader analysis.

This unpacking, with the aim of broader analysis requires Marxian notions of the exploitation of labour (as a dialectic method and tool for critical analysis) to relate to the current mode of production (Buck-Morss 1979: ix). Added to this, due to the increasing popularity of service labour as the main mode of production described earlier, is a feminist theorising of work in relation to body, aesthetic, and affective work, and emotional labour. Additionally, a nuanced understanding of incomplete transitions in the mode of production from feudalism to capitalism (Sayer 1991) is necessary to debunk any illusion of a market sphere that is devoid of social and affective interaction and relations (Zelizer 2012: 148). Domination, exploitation, and appropriation serve as guiding theoretical conceptual aids in this broader endeavour. For the purposes of this research domination is used to understand how tipping controls, specifically how tipped workers are controlled by tips and in the relations of tipping. Exploitation explains how workers are used, how wealth is extracted from the work that they do and how the social value of services is obscured by the market mechanism. Lastly, appropriation is the action through which something (in the case of tipping, the affective, aesthetic, corporeal, care and emotion are unwittingly invested in the labour process of the creation of the dining experience) is taken from the worker without their permission or conscious knowledge. Crucially, workers are often mystified and unable to see how they are dominated, exploited, and appropriated, or how their consent is manufactured (Burawoy 2012: 189; 1979). The relational nature of tipping is extremely potent at manufacturing consent and mystifying. As Burawoy explained, 'individuals are the carriers and the effects of social

relations, so if they experience things upside down then this is the consequence of the social relations in which they enter' (2012: 190-191).

There is a gap in the literature whereby the limited frameworks discussed above do not do justice to a deeper understanding of tipping as imbedded particularly within a social, political, and economic moment. The incorporation of social and political theories in relation to previous study produces wider connections to the global political economy, exposing the custom of tipping to a critical, but potentially dynamic conversation. I contend that the literature is 1) Overly normative with little to no connection to political and sociological theory, 2) That perspectives of 'for' or 'against' tipping are imbedded in overly simplified policy debates and fail to find the nuance between the two poles as a part of the ambiguous and contradictory nature of the custom, and 3) That ethnographic studies and interviews of tipped workers are limited in their scope and fail to put experience in relation to critique – in this case framing experiences and narratives of experience in relation to neoliberal governmentality.

Moving toward the methodological underpinnings and literature, ethnographic research based in critical theory relies on identifying discourses and practices, a critique of ideology and domination, and more precisely a critique of actors and techniques that reproduce the effects of ideology and domination (Jessop and Sum 2016: 105). It is an *Ideologiekritik* that aims to 'free us from captivity to an ideology' (Owen 2002: 216). An intervention into tipping in the restaurant industry is immanent in its point of, or object of, intervention. This intervention analyses discourses and practices of the more general neoliberalisation of work forms through the lens of how they occur within the custom of tipping in the United States. This same method can then be applied to similar instances of neoliberalised work in other arenas and settings (i.e. gig-economy, care-work, feminization of labour, etc.). Looking at how tipping functions within the specific location of the Hamptons, an extension of 'Manhattan's glamour zones' (Fairbanks II and Lloyd 2011: 4), provides an opportunity for ethnographic investigation at the 'street level, where practical contradictions of navigating neoliberal terrain in everyday life are made manifest' (Fairbanks II and Lloyd 2011: 5). This intervention exposes tipping as a technique through which domination occurs whilst highlighting and critiquing neoliberal ideology that is reinforced through daily practices, socialized behaviours and within actors, their subjectivities, and the relations surrounding tipping. Critique and theory are brought to bear on that which exists in the world, and is experienced by people, showing how such techniques and practices reinforce specific ideologies in a very real way – in daily

behaviours at work. At its very core, critical ethnography is not just a methodology but is an 'ethical responsibility' that should 'address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular *lived* domain' in an attempt to grapple with 'neoliberalism as both theoretical abstraction and embedded reality' (Madison 2005: 24; Fairbanks II and Lloyd 2011:5). Therefore, I must now turn to the methodological elements of the research.

Chapter 3: Methodology.

The dissertation addresses questions about what the technique of 'tipping', with specific emphasis on the Server (waitress) in the restaurant industry, reveals about the generation of social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation in contemporary capitalist societies, and how tipping specifically expresses and reproduces these social relations. This chapter focuses mostly on the ethnographic element of the research, providing a description of the research context, the fieldwork design, and research process, followed by a discussion of my own positionality and other ethical and methodological issues that are relevant to contextualising and evaluating the data that are presented and analysed in the thesis. The documentary element of the research is briefly described at the end of the chapter.

This research looks at tipping as structurally imbedded within legislation, as occurring within a paradigm of capitalist neoliberalism, as historically contingent, as a productive technology, and as something which is experienced by people and through relations. The underlying objective of the research has been twofold. The first objective sought an unpacking of tipping in terms of its political and economic function, history, and contemporary use. This was done through close contextual analysis and the examination of documents. The second objective pursued an investigation into tipping that focused on those who are exposed to it, and how they were affected economically, socially and experientially. A mixed methodology was the most appropriate approach for this research, because of the complexity of tipping and the intricate unpacking of tipping that I wanted to perform. The aim of this research was to study tipping in relation both to the political and economic hegemony of neoliberalism and the more concrete context of the practice.

The research was inspired by my own experience as a tipped worker, which now spans almost twenty years, although is grounded in both documentary and ethnographic investigation. The central methodological component of the research design was that of an extended ethnographic case study (Burawoy 1998a, 2014), which involved fieldwork undertaken over the course of two summers in the region of the Hamptons on Long Island in New York State, (2019-2020). The research was designed as an 'insider ethnography' and I worked in the restaurant over the summer periods from May-September, observing both my own experiences and the experiences of my co-workers.

This project involved a mixture of sociology, politics, history, and critical theory, which meant that a suitable analysis of tipping required a plural methodology. The data were gathered in several ways: 1) The approach incorporated an insider ethnography where I became a complete participant (Mears 2015; Allison 1994), this included first-hand experience, observations, and in-depth interviews; 2) Data about tipping, specifically as it occurs in the restaurant industry, was gathered. This consisted of statistical information, government documents including current policy information, and documents from non-governmental organizations; 3) Social and political theory was used in parallel with historical information on the custom of tipping, in order to give a greater depth to both the concept and the practical history of the technique, its emergence, and its problematic character. The latter is dealt with more thoroughly in the Literature Review.

3.1 Research Context

The Hamptons, located on the East End of Long Island, New York, lies approximately two hours by car from Manhattan. This is a summer holiday destination that has been popular historically amongst the rich and famous. It is a summertime region surrounded by beaches, and centred upon leisure activities. The production of this space of leisure requires an entire service industry that drives the region. This includes restaurants and bars (the field of research is discussed thoroughly in chapter 4). The beaches, restaurants, shopping opportunities, and nature attract people escaping the summer heat of New York City and elsewhere. I undertook ethnographic fieldwork in one waterside restaurant in one of the towns of the Hamptons, which I will refer to as "Hampton Bistro". Hampton Bistro is a casual restaurant that operates from March-December with its main busy months between Memorial Day (Late May) and Labor Day (Early September). This is colloquially known as the 'season', or the summer, with the remaining months referred to as the 'off season'. I originally planned to undertake fieldwork during two consecutive summer 'seasons', first in 2019 and then 2020. However, between the first and second rounds of fieldwork, the COVID-19 pandemic hit the region (and the globe). Though I was able to stick to the plan and return for a second period of fieldwork, the research context was greatly affected by the pandemic. There had been a mass exodus of people from New York City who fled to the Hamptons to second-homes they already owned, or in a mass real estate buy-up of anything available. During 2019 'normal' service was given in the bistro including sit down service, and servers going up to tables. In 2020 the COVID-19 pandemic was in full swing so the style of service had to be changed to

meet state and local regulations. Customers were not allowed in the restaurant and the standard table service changed to 'window service' where customers would order in one window and then be called to pick up their food and drink in another window. They would then take this back to their tables outside. Whilst COVID-19 was an impactful event, it is not the focus of this research, but it did show how research on the social world must remain flexible to the circumstances of that world, a stance that an overly positivist position might find difficult. Some of the impacts are described further down.

The restaurant is a small establishment on the East End of Long Island. It is situated on the water, which gives it a particular popularity - diners can sit as close as five feet from the water whilst dining. This restaurant serves middle-range priced items and often focuses on seafood as per the proximity to water on Long Island. Food menu items range from $10 – $40 which is middling in price in terms of the Hamptons. The restaurant has a 'full bar' which means that the restaurant served beer, wine, and liquor. During the first tranche of fieldwork in 2019, the bar was open and customers could sit, eat and drink at the bar. In the second tranche, which took place during the pandemic, we still served drinks but customers were not able to sit at the bar itself. The customers were often varied demographically and could often be comprised of low/middle income through to very wealthy customers, and even celebrities. This is a popular restaurant that is typically very busy in the summer months of 'the season', but can be very slow in the winter months or the 'off season'.

The organisation of the restaurant included approximately ten members of staff (pre-COVID) and five members of staff (during COVID) in the 'front of the house', and five or six members of staff in the back of the house per shift. Front of house staff included bar tenders, servers, bussers, and hosts while the back of the house staff included cooks and porters. The 'front of the house' was the focus of this research, because this research focused on tipped workers. Back of house staff did not work for tips, so I did not interview or do detailed observation work with back of the house staff. Additionally, some front of the house staff, including some bussers and hostesses, were excluded from the research as some of them were under 18 years of age.

Front of house staff worked shifts – 'lunch', 'dinner', or 'doubles' (i.e. both lunch and dinner). These members of staff worked as a 'pooled house', whereby each server accepted tips and put those tips into a general pool to be divided evenly among servers and bartenders. Support

staff, bussers and hosts, received a 'tip-out' from this general pool. Bussers were given five-percent each, and hosts were given four-percent each with the remaining pool split evenly among servers and bartenders. The logic behind this being that support staff were younger, less experienced, had fewer encounters with customers, and received higher hourly pay or shift pay than servers and bartenders. There would usually be three bussers and two hosts per shift, resulting in a 23% tip out to support staff. There were three servers and one or two bartenders per shift leaving the remaining split per person at 15.4% or 19.24% per server/bartender respectively. Servers and bartenders were usually older, and had more experience, and had more interaction with customers, which accounts for the general logic behind their place in the tip-out hierarchy.

Hosts would greet potential guests, give them wait times for tables, seat them at tables, and give them menus. Bussers would get water for tables, clear dishes between and after courses, take out garbage, and clean-up the restaurant at the end of the night. Servers would greet tables, take drink orders, answer questions, deliver food, give orders to the kitchen and bar, tally checks, run credit cards, get change for cash payments, break-down the restaurant at the end of the night (or set-up at the beginning of the day), and do the tip-out (count money, tally percentages, and give out the tips). Bartenders would set up or close down the bar depending on their shift, including re-stocking liquors, wines and beer, making cocktail mixes, cutting fruit for drinks, make drinks during the shift, taking orders at the bar, and could also be a part of the tip-out procedure at the end of the night. Two members of staff (server or bartender) did the tip-out at the end of the shift.

3.2 Design of the Ethnographic Research – Extended Case Method

I took Burawoy's (2014; 1998; See Also Schritt 2022) 'extended case method' to shape the methodological framework of the research and looked to the four part structure of 'participation', 'process', 'global context', and 'theory' to articulate how the research was designed, undertaken, and presented. The four-part framework of Burawoy's extended case method, consists of: 1) *Participation*, or the 'extending out from being the observer to also being a participant' is done throughout as I share my experiences alongside the observations and interview data; 2) *Process*, or the 'extending observations over time and space' is done over the course of two rounds of fieldwork, and by looking at the national policies and differences centred around tipping; 3) *Global context*, attempts an 'extending out from micro to macro

forces', and this is done in the connection of the experience of tipping to history and policy (Chapter 3), the space of the Hamptons (chapter 4), and to neoliberal force and political economy (Chapter 6 and 7). Finally, 4) *Theory*, or the 'extending or reformulating existing theories', is done in chapters 5, 6 and 7, as I analyse tipping in relation to political economy, and social theory (Schritt 2022: 42; Burawoy 2014: 963).

As tipping is situated in social processes, relations and history, the extended case method was the most conducive approach to a 'situational analysis' or an '*in situ* examination of social processes…[that also locates] those processes within their broader economic, geographical, and historical contexts' (Burawoy 2014: 962). This research looks to one specific arena in which tipping occurs and does not presume 'statistical representativeness', but instead serves to illuminate 'theoretical relevance' (Burawoy 1985: 17). Furthermore, and as discussed in detail later in this chapter, the critical ethnographer takes account of their positionality by describing it and critiquing it, making known and understood potential issues, bias, power, privilege, etc., with the aim of reflexivity (Madison 2005: 29-30; Davis 1999; Reyes 2020).

This insider ethnography using full participation as a form of participant observation shows 'how idiosyncratic experiences methodologically subjected to sociological control constitute irreplaceable analytic resources, and that mobilizing one's social past through self-socio-analysis can and does produce epistemic as well as existential benefits' (Bourdieu 2003: 281). This method or 'device' (Bourdieu 2003: 281) required me to immerse myself in a 'social universe so as to observe' activities, rituals and interactions whilst also 'taking part in it' (Bourdieu 2003, 282). This position, especially from the insider perspective required me to recognize the difficulty of holding both subject and object positions at the same time. Bourdieu recognized this difficult position and assigned to it 'the *objectivation of the subject of objectivation*' (2003: 281). This was what I hoped to achieve in my positionality description and throughout the research itself.

3.3 The Research Process

3.3.1 *Choosing and Accessing the Field*

I chose Hampton Bistro as the site of my research because of the previous experience I had working there, and because I wanted to study this space in relation to tipping. I am not from

the Hamptons, but from close by, and I have worked in the Hamptons from the age of fourteen. Doing an 'ethnography at home' is not a foreign approach to social science research (O'Reilly 2012: 2; Bourdieu 2003; Hobbs 1988) and the argument that 'ethnographic methods' are 'needed to understand' our 'own societies' is part and parcel to this research (O'Reilly 2012: 2).

I wanted to study tipping in a more in-depth analysis that skipped the normative puzzles and hurdles that someone unfamiliar with the custom would have to overcome in a participatory role. Studying tipping as a technology (Foucault 2010a) required an insider perspective of imbedded knowledge of the custom, but also the required direct occupation of the space in which it occurrs, in order to bring out its mobilizing force beyond a simple explanation of the custom. Doing this would require that I knew not only how to work for tips, (how to work in a restaurant, take orders, interact with customers, etc., an otherwise steep learning curve for a researcher unfamiliar with this terrain), but also how these relate to the relations of the space of the Hamptons. This allowed me to become a 'key informant' (O'Reilly 2012: 2), and to study tipping not only as a custom or transaction, but with an eye toward contextualising tipping within a wider framework. Using my 'past' experience, and following Bourdieu's (2003) example that the 'researcher can and must mobilize his experience, that is, this past, in all his acts of research', I decided to study tipping in an environment that was familiar to me. Having already worked in six separate restaurants in the Hamptons, I decided to use this past and re-gain access to this field as a researcher.

Accessing the field was simple. My employer knew I was a good worker, needed workers for the summer 'season', and was already aware of my academic pursuits. My ethnography was conducted overtly. I approached him through text message to ask permission to conduct ethnographic research alongside working for the next two summers (2019 and 2020), and he was happy to accommodate me. It was agreed that I could work, make observations, and interview co-workers.

3.3.2 *Accessing Participants:*

To understand tipping, I wanted to understand the experience of tipping and the relations necessary to the custom, but not simply from my own experience. This required that I both observe tipping, and ask tipped workers about their experiences. I wanted access to

participants who would speak with me openly about their experiences, and chose to observe and interview co-workers whom I already knew, giving me access as an insider to the experience of tipping and using the camaraderie developed in the work environment.

Recruiting participants consisted of asking co-workers in person at work if they were interested in being interviewed, and/or sending them a text message asking if they were willing to be interviewed. Most people were very willing to be interviewed, and even enthusiastic. It was easy to plan and find a place to meet, this consisted of cafes, restaurants, bars, and even one home (of a friend with children who had trouble finding a babysitter). In the second round of interviews in 2020, COVID-19 restrictions made it more difficult to recruit interviewees. There were fewer employees working during 2020, due to downsizing of the restaurant in the wake of COVID-19 (Aaronson and Alba 2020), so there was a smaller participant pool than originally anticipated. Whilst the sample is small, and the location is particular, this research does not broadly claim that 'the slice of the world we examine is typical of the whole' (Burawoy 1998: 10, 23), but merely that 'the particular can only be understood critically when placed in relation to the general (and vice versa)' (Ross and Welsh 2022: 10).

To accommodate restrictions placed on in-person interviews I had to ask co-workers to meet over Zoom. Some had experience with Zoom, though others did not. It took longer to arrange interviews and there were some co-workers who I contacted that did not get back to me. I could not ask co-workers too many times if they would like to participate because I had to work with them and did not want them to feel uncomfortable or harassed by me. Interview participants were all female but one, this reflected the demographic of the staff in both rounds of fieldwork. Participants age ranged from 21-44 with varied levels of experience as a tipped worker. The interview participants' background information is listed below in the **Table 1**.

Table 1 Interview Participant Information

Respondent Name (Pseudonyms)	Gender	Racialised Identity	Age	Years as a Tipped Worker.
1. April	Female	White	29	10
2. Kristin	Female	White	35	21
3. Jessica	Female	White	32	11
4. Ashley	Female	White	39	25
5. Valerie	Female	White	44	32
6. Nicole	Female	White	25	13
7. Maggie	Female	White	21	7
8. Jason	Male	White	34	17

The national demographics for servers indicate that women make up approximately seventy-percent of the occupation, and that over seventy-percent of servers are white, with fourteen-percent of servers coming from an Hispanic background, and black servers make up approximately nine-percent of this occupation (U.S. BLS 2022a; DATAUSA, 2022). All but one of the participants were women, and all of the participants were white. Thinking back I have worked with very few black servers (only one that I can recall), and a few Hispanic servers (three or four) at other establishments in the Hamptons. Demographics of the Hamptons in more general terms of population are approximately 73 percent white, 19.8 percent Hispanic, and 4.05 percent black (see **Table 5** in chapter 5).

The average age of female servers in the United States is approximately thirty, whereas for males it is twenty-nine (DATAUSA, 2022). In this research the average age of female participants was slightly higher at thirty-two, and the only male participant was thirty-four. The average time spent as a tipped worker (not necessarily a server) was seventeen-years – many participants started in the industry at a young age and worked their way from being support staff, i.e. a busser or back waiter to being a server or bartender.

Accessing participants required some strategic handling, because I was a co-worker and did not want them to feel like I would not be doing my job alongside them – this would almost certainly result in hostility and resentment. As I was a returning worker, I knew and was known by all participants. When I arrived early on in the research I would approach my co-workers at the beginning of a shift in a conversational tone and explain that I was continuing my

academic interests, pursuing a PhD, researching tipping in the Hamptons and would be observing what happens during service, and so observing them. I also explained that anything they wanted to share with me during the shift would be welcomed and that I would be asking them if they would like to be interviewed about their experiences of tipped work in the restaurant industry. These initial informative conversations were met with interest from co-workers and agreement with words like 'that sounds great' or 'make sure you include when…' etc., and served as consent for my overt observations. I also explained that if anything they shared with me during a shift and did not wanted it to be included in the research, they simply had to say. The reaction to my research role was often either enthusiastic, with participants wanting to share stories, or unsurprised, given my academic activities were already known amongst the cohort. When participants were specifically asked to be interviewed, written permission was taken from all interviewees.

Brewis noted that interview participants can be excited to share their stories, and this was the case for many of the research participants in this research who wanted to be 'heard' and 'understood' (2014: 855). It was seen as a form of legitimate complaining about the job, customers, and even co-workers, and these qualitative interviews acted as a 'cathartic' process for some participants (Brewis 2014: 856). One participant even commented 'you can use my name!', I did not use her real name to protect her, mainly because using her name would narrow down the identities of other participants, but her willingness to participate fully and without reservation was evident in this statement.

At almost every restaurant in which I have worked, I have developed friendships, some lasting longer than others, and some deeper than others. Not all participants were friends, but the restaurant industry does create situations where a closeness develops and 'work friendships' arise. This is often due to the intense working conditions. Many of us knew each other well, about our families, likes and dislikes, etc. No interview participants were strangers, I had some kind of working friendship with all of them. Some were mostly co-workers, others were friends with whom I worked. All of the friendships that I had with research participants were previously developed through working with them at this or other restaurants.

Using friends as research participants often results in more detailed and honest responses about personal behaviour, preferences, etc. and participants are often less guarded (Brewis 2014: 854; Taylor 2011: 13). This gave me access to in-depth interviews where most

participants were very willing to tell me their stories. I did find that some participants seemed nervous about the interviews, because they did not know what I would ask them (until I gave them the Participant Information Sheet p. 166) or they were worried that they would not be able to provide me with adequate or 'good enough' information. Often, participants who had already been interviewed by me would reassure upcoming participants not to worry, and that the interview process was really fun, and like having a chat – this was the aim of my interview design.

However, there is also the potential that friend-participants divulged more than they otherwise would because of the 'intimacy' of friendship, and that they may have forgotten that they were being recorded, and that the information shared would be published (Brewis 2014: 855; see also Taylor 2011: 14). The line between friend and researcher was difficult to draw. However, I did explain that they would be recorded and that their responses would be used in published work. I also tried to maintain a boundary for research participants during interviews, i.e., if a participant began going into too much detail about their personal life (away from the research topic/question) I tried to steer the conversation back on track. This effort both protected the participant from accidently revealing too much in a situation in which they were comfortable, and it maintained the focus of the research more generally. It is important to recognize that during observations and interviews I was never just a friend or simply a co-worker, and that I was always a researcher whether or not this was explicitly recognized in the moment by participants.

3.3.3 *Participation and Observation*

During work shifts I would take mental notes of specific interactions or write down short reminders for myself to write about ways I was feeling, information shared with and from my co-workers, and any other observations that I made. I would usually jot down one or two words during service on the back of my order taking booklet. This would remind me of the interaction or event that I wanted to discuss. Later on, these insights and observations would serve as prompts to more fully elaborate what I wanted to write down. This would be done at the end of the night when I got home, or the following morning as I was far too busy to do so during the shift. I kept all notes in a journal-like format on a word document and these were labelled with dates. These notes were often written in an informal, speaking tone as this is the way I remembered interactions. Similar studies have been undertaken, in terms of

studying the restaurant business through working in one (Dowling 2007; Ehrenreich 2002; Loe 1996; and Spradley and Mann, 1975).

Throughout my direct participation in the field, I monitored my daily work, interactions not only with co-workers but also with customers, all the time accounting for their tips and behaviours. Individual tips were never directly recorded, as this would prove too difficult. Cash tips were always put directly into a 'tip-bucket' when they were collected and the credit card tips were 'closed out' at the end of the shift by any of the servers or bartenders on that shift. The responsibility usually fell to whomever had a free moment at the conclusion of service. This entailed looking up credit card transactions, manually recording the tip amount, according to what the customer wrote on the credit card slip or typed into the credit card machine – thus the difficulty in keeping track in the middle of service. There was, however, an expectation that tips would be somewhere in the range of fifteen to twenty percent of the corresponding bill. This changed during COVID-19, when tips would often range from 0 to 20+ percent.

I worked full-time, and beyond a traditional forty-hour work week for just under four months in each round of field work. This equates to well over 1,500 hours of observations as a participant in the field. In my observations of service, I focused particularly on what kinds of behaviour were necessary at work, including the emotional management and emotional output I gave in order to satisfy customers. This was also a topic of conversation within the interviews. I compiled my field notes to include my interactions, feelings (physical, emotional, mental), experiences, as well as any other experiences shared with me by others. This research focused on the subjectivity necessary to be successful in tipped service interactions. This often required a change of mindset, a repression of genuine feeling, subservience, and the ability to read the customers and act in a way that I thought would please them. My interactions with co-workers were observed, but the majority of the observations were with customers because in the midst of the shift interactions with co-workers were minimal, often practical, but occasionally socially interactive. When I was able to have interactions with co-workers, these were often centred around commiseration or making fun of customers – it was a form of worker pushback. There is little recourse when it comes to which customer you get, their behaviour or the tip they leave, or even treatment from the kitchen. These little moments of chatting or joking between co-workers were often the only way to alleviate the stress of the circumstances we were under, and they served as a data source for the research and provided prompts for the interviews to come. To account for the experiences of my co-workers in more depth, I

interviewed co-workers in order to 1) compare my experiences/observations, which provided an objective comparison for the assessment and analysis of my own research findings and 2) ask about the personal experiences, feelings and opinions on being a tipped worker to inform the research more broadly (and as a central aim of the research).

3.3.4 *Interviews*

Interviews were necessary to this project, in order to gain access to worker experiences, and to the narratives through which the participants saw themselves, their activity, and even the wider world. Narrative plays an important role in public discourse, and in how workers 'frame the conditions of their labor' as they 'reinforce beliefs, illuminate cultural beliefs and values, aid in the management of social norms, and even cultivate cultural identity…[and] provide a lens for understanding everyday experience, cultural history, and social reality' (Hunt 2016: 169-170; see also Clair et al. 2014). The narrative serves as an 'interpretive prism' that has 'implications for a particular configuration of social categories' and participants' experiences were an essential element in understanding narratives about tipping (Hunt 2016: 169; Hammack 2011: 312).

Interviews took place in a one-to-one setting, either in a café, a bar, one home of a participant, or due to restrictions stemming from COVID-19, Zoom. The location of the interviews needed to be somewhere in public, in a way that would enable a casual yet private conversation. This was important because it translated the work environment (public, food and drink space) to the interview. I wanted my relationship with interviewees as a co-worker maintained during the interview process and wanted to reduce (as much as possible) any intimidation or overfamiliarity. In order to keep them comfortable and willing to share I wanted to maintain a work environment (where our usual interactions took place) but where we could relax and have a conversation. Changes to this design, and the incorporation of Zoom was necessary due to COVID-19 restrictions. This did prove difficult in creating the atmosphere described above. There were also technical interruptions, calls being dropped, words cut off, loss of volume, etc. In order to thank and reimburse participants for their time, and for sharing their experiences I purchased food and/or beverages during the interview to acknowledge the gift they gave me by agreeing to be interviewed, and gave them vouchers to a restaurant.

Interviews were semi-structured and open ended. This allowed the interviewees to express themselves as 'naturally' as possible and the aim was to have a conversation with co-workers. Interviewees were provided with detailed information on the research in the participant information Sheet (See Appendix pg. 217) before being interviewed and were given a consent form to sign and date (See Appendix pg. 218). The interviews initially followed several broad themes including: Emotion, Harassment, Motivation, Waged/Salaried Work, Positive/Negative Views of Tipped Work, Effects of Serving on Personal Life, Customer Interactions, Objectification, and Responsibilisation. Additional themes emerged during the transcription and coding of the interviews, and expanded to include: Age, Anxiety/Feeling Overwhelmed, Back of the House vs. Front of the House, Class, Confrontation, Individualisation, Customer Interactions, Drugs- Alcohol, Emotional Management, Family, Financial Struggles, Financial Success/Comfort, Fluidic Nature of Tipped Work, Freedom, Gender, Getting Tips, Hamptons Dynamics, How They Started in Tipped Work, Kitchen Staff, Mental Health, Owner/Manager Interactions, Personal Life, Power Dynamics, Providing Service, Reality vs. Performance, Resistance, Seasonal, Sexual Harassment, Tip Theft, Tipped Minimum Wage, Value Creation in Experience, Work Ethic, Work Tactics, and Motivation. To begin the research I asked workers about themselves and how long they had been a tipped worker. This progressed to questions about how many restaurants they had worked in, whether those experiences were good or bad and why, if they knew about minimum-wage laws in these establishments, and then about general experiences of being tipped. The interviews expanded from there. Each interview began in the same way, but followed different courses depending on what the participant revealed, but the general themes above were maintained and touched upon.

Framing was important to how I conducted the interviews, I wanted to maintain the themes above, but did not want to influence participant answers. This was part of the interview design because I was aware that the way in which 'communicators strategically construct messages to delimit, characterize or otherwise shape perception of an issue or argument' can 'influence judgments, attitudes, or behaviour' (Hunt 2016: 168). I did not ask research participants about neoliberalism, or whether they saw themselves as entrepreneurs, or if they thought they were desensitized to sexual harassment, etc. because I had to remember that 'they do not all have the project of understanding and explaining which is mine as a researcher; and, consequently, to avoid putting into their heads, as it were, the problematic that I construct about them and the theory that I elaborate to answer' (Bourdieu 2003, 288). I wanted their authentic (or as

authentic as possible) voice to be heard, and allow what they said to bring out instances of, or examples of, neoliberal frameworks.

Taylor warns of the danger of the closeness of the field in relation to an 'unsympathetic critique' (2011:14). The framework through which I looked at tipping was critical, and I was therefore in danger of losing a 'closeness to the field' or the people within it (Taylor 2011: 14). I did my best to maintain a neutral, warm, friendly, but professional disposition during interviews, and did not want to dig too deep into responses if it revealed my critical disposition. However, I could not perform an overtly professional disposition and needed to maintain a friendly conversation, otherwise this over-professionalized persona might feel strange to the participants and would jeopardise the aim of putting them at ease.

Interviews often had a mutual, empathetic, emotional and sympathetic quality to them. As an insider and full-participant I worked alongside participants 'in the trenches'. We depended on each other in difficult moments, and became sources of strength, shoulders to cry on, and as ears for listening. This often came out in interviews, as they were usually conversational in tone, and there was an emotional understanding of events, stresses, etc. This required a balance of emotional labour on my part, but also the keeping of a professional gaze throughout the interviews, so as to deter oversharing beyond the remit of the research, to reassure participants of confidentiality, and to keep the interview on track. Additionally, my knowledge of the field, and of the workers themselves, gave me a better understanding of what they were saying, i.e. slang, references etc.

Interviews were extensive with some lasting for longer than three hours. This gave a distinct depth to the research, whereby workers' experiences were given in great detail and went beyond a simple numerical account of experience, i.e., a participant stating 'I have been sexually harassed four times'. Instead, the conversational tone of the interviews brought out these experiences without any rigidity or need to account. This approach also allowed the depth of experience to transcend the space of Hampton Bistro and the limits of the fieldwork. Interview participants brought forth experiences from the entirety of their experience as a tipped worker with the average participant having an average of seventeen years of experience. This included experiences at other restaurants and with customers outside of the purview of Hampton Bistro. Additionally, workers with this much experience often had varying roles as a tipped worker with many starting out as bussers and working their way up to being servers

and bartenders, giving the research an additional qualitative richness. This level of depth, and the years of experience brought to this research does give credence to interviewing a small number of participants as the research goes beyond their experiences at Hampton Bistro and outside of the fieldwork timeline. Additionally, my years of experience as a tipped worker informed this research and my ability to ask certain questions and make specific observations was available to me only because of the nearly twenty years I worked for tips in restaurants. It also provided me with insight to an 'elite' space whereby the interactions, people, and setting held its own knowledge complex that an outsider might not initially understand or observe.

Insider ethnographies can 'lead to social insight' that draws the 'attention to complexities of feeling' in a social setting, and which are 'at once connected and estranged' (Taylor 2011: 5). There are 'deeper levels of understanding afforded by prior knowledge', including knowing the language/slang used in a particular setting, and this provides a type of literacy of the field of research and of the research participants themselves (Taylor 2011: 6). Additionally, there was a 'more detailed consideration of the social actors at the centre of the cultural phenomenon', along with a 'quicker establishment of rapport and trust between researcher and participants', as well as more 'accessible lines of communication' (Taylor 2011: 6).

3.3.5 *Transcription and Analysis*

The interview data was analysed through both a deductive and inductive close textual analysis (Hunt 2016: 169). The purpose behind this was to relate interview data to wider narratives in their social, economic, and political contexts (i.e. how does what the participant say about tipping relate to neoliberal discourses). This method of analysis focused on 'how messages influence public audiences', both by revealing how workers internalize those messages, and reproduce those messages in their words (Hunt 2016: 170). The analysis of interviews followed a close textual analysis, in order to 'examine how tipped workers use narratives' to explain their experiences of tipping (Hunt 2016: 169). This method of analysis aims for a 'mindful, disciplined reading of an object [a text] with a view toward deeper understanding of its meaning' (Brummet 2009: 25 in Hunt 2016: 169).

Transcribing the interviews was crucial to this somewhat hermeneutic method and to the analysis of the data. I gained a deep understanding of workers experiences through the manual transcription of the interviews and this provided me with further insight into tipping. It also

brought out inductive 'themes' as I transcribed. I was generally familiar with all of the interview stories before I transcribed them, but the process of writing down and re-listening, provided both a tangible account of the story, or 'textual artifact', and that allowed me to understand more deeply the meaning of what I was hearing and seeing (Hunt 2016: 170). It felt like I knew the interviews not simply as texts, but almost as something that was alive and familiar to me. All interview transcriptions were saved on individual word documents. I was then able to dissect from the textual artifacts (each word document) and code for themes, themes that I developed during the preparation for the fieldwork, and those that emerged in the data. For example, one theme that emerged from the data with several participants was the notion of 'real life' outside of work and 'not real life' at work, which is discussed in Chapter 6 and 7. I re-read the interviews after transcribing and often something within one transcript would relate to something else in another, the interviews 'spoke' to one another.

In terms of analysing, these frequently repeated topics/themes were identified in all possible transcripts (word documents) and I would then take theses sections of the interviews and put them into a new word documents labelled by each theme. This created a space for me to begin the analysis and rereading the related data together, which brought out variations and similarities amongst them (Hunt 2016: 170; Lindelof and Taylor 2011: 252). I then looked to my field notes document to see how these related to the themes that emerged from interview transcripts. In combining and analysing interview data with my own notes I took themes that emerged from workers' narratives and allowed them to speak to my field notes and observations. I set my co-workers experiences as the primary source of data and if and when my own notes connected with or contradicted their experiences I included them in the themed word documents described. Additionally, these themes and experiences were often set in relation to theory, statistical data, or historical data. The analysis of interviews and observations were set in direct relation to these three elements. The data was analysed in a threefold manner. Firstly, interview data was analysed through the process of transcribing whereby themes emerged. Second, themes were then connected between interview transcripts, and then to my observations, similarities and differences in experience were brought out in the themed word documents. Lastly, these themes and extracts were set in relation to theory, statistics, and history' and brought out in the writing up of the dissertation'.

The narratives of workers in this research constituted a discourse about tipped work and to some extent more generalizable experiences, even if not all tipped workers' experiences are

the same. It was important to look into how workers perspectives and daily experiences fit into both the more local experience of work, and into the more global trends of precarious work, neoliberalisation, and feudal/capitalist relations and to relate the experiences either to the theoretical framework of the research (deductive), or a new insight that the interviews provided (inductive) .

The presentation of the interview data relied on a narrative approach and was chosen in the research process for its 'ontological status of telling stories' (Rome and Lambert 2020: 508; Shanker et al. 2009). This allows interviewees, whilst recounting their experiences, to construct discursively their subjectivities. This communicative framework also 'aid[ed] in agenda-setting, playing a critical role in the creation of public discourse about a social problem' (Hunt 2016: 169). Throughout the use of ethnographic data and observation in this research, I was careful not to reduce the analysis to 'pre-notions that social agents engage in the construction of social reality' only or entirely, but also I tried to encompass the idea that 'the social conditions of the production of these pre-constructions' are as just as important (Bourdieu 2003, 282).

3.4 Positionality

Inspired by my own experience as a tipped worker, the research was animated by a desire to understand how tipping is a technique of labour control that has certain characteristics that make it illustrative of precarious service labour in neoliberal capitalism. Bourdieu (2003) noted that the subject of research (i.e. dissertation topics) can legitimately be linked to the 'social origins' of the researcher and that the 'choice of discipline and topics', as well as research orientations, are principally 'socially constituted' - the same applies to 'scientific choices' of 'discipline, method, object' (283-284, 285; See also Soulié 1995). This makes a discussion of positionality essential to methodological accounts of any piece of research.

When undertaking this research, I was in my early to mid-thirties, and I am a woman from the United States, specifically Long Island, New York. I am racialised as white, and although the concept of 'class' in the United States is more difficult to pin down (everyone thinks they are middle-class), I will define my class origins for my British readership and examiners as working-class. I have always worked in parallel to my education, and it is the restaurant business that I have relied on most heavily to earn money to pay for my schooling and to support myself – it was that experience that prompted me to research tipping. This explanation

challenges the idea that 'cultural producers have themselves and their propensity to see themselves as free of all cultural determinations' (Bourdieu 2003: 283), and instead attempts to account for my positions, and the underlying determinations behind them.

To that end, a critical and reflexive methodology is necessary, one that can provide a confrontation and interrogation of society and social processes (Horkheimer 1989), and more specifically a social practice (Schwandt 2007: 51). As a researcher it was important that I understood my position in relation to my social inquiry. The position taken in this research was a 'critical theory model', where 'social life is represented and analysed for the political purpose of overcoming social oppression, particularly forms that reflect advanced capitalism through the overt polemics of the researcher' (Madison 2005: 28). For me and for this project, this started with my experiences working in the restaurant industry alongside learning political and social theory. What emerged was a realization that hegemonic dynamics, social and political problems, and the contradictions of ideology on the pages being read and in the surrounding discourses of critical theory, were very much alive and well in reality. They were occurring every day and being experienced by real people immersed in a social world of contradiction, strife, and of course exploitation in the realm of work, and more specifically in tipped restaurant work. What became apparent was that the bringing of a hypothesis to bear on facts 'is an activity that goes on, ultimately not in the savant's head but in industry' (Horkheimer 1985: 196). Without the experience of the industry, the reality of the theory would be minimal. This connection between work and the academic realm resulted in my Master's Degree thesis at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY) where I focused on tipping as an extension of the domestic space entitled, 'The Politics of Service: Affectivity, Social Relations, and the Power of Tipping in the Restaurant Industry' and for which I earned a Master of Art in Politics. This initial research on tipping was mostly theoretical and tied to research on domestic labour and performativity, but it inspired me to broaden my research (both theoretically and methodologically) and to undertake this doctoral research.

In terms of my position, I also see this research as tied to my own emergence as a worker cum-academic, and as a fusion of the experience of work with intellectual merits and ideas (Burawoy 1998b). This position recognises both 'the good sense embedded in the common sense of the working class' in a Gramscian sense, but also aspires for 'the good sense of sociology,

elaborated within the autonomous arena of the academy' in a Bourdieusian sense (Burawoy 1998b: 3).

Identifying my positionality in the research is essential to the kind of reflective ethnographic study that I wanted to perform, and recognizing my relationship to the 1) subject under investigation, 2) the research participants, and 3) the research process and context was essential to that end (Darwin Holmes 2020: 2). In relation to the subject of tipping, I am thoroughly familiar with the custom having worked as a tipped server from the age of sixteen (as I write this I am now thirty-six). In relation to the participants, I was familiar with most of them, and very familiar with some considering a few of them friends of mine. I was familiar with participants, and they were familiar with me. As a full participant, I was directly imbedded in the research itself as both worker and researcher with all of the benefits and problems of each position. This required an ethical responsibility to recognize this positionality and to pay attention to the reflexivity of my research, and the 'production of knowledge' that this research would ultimately generate (Sultana 2007: 380; Darwin Holmes 2020: 3), the aim of which was toward an ethical and reflexive approach that would reduce bias (Rowe 2014; Darwin Holmes 2020: 4).

3.4.1 *Insider, Critical, and Reflexive Ethnography*

The central methodological component of the research was ethnography and an extended case method was employed in structuring that ethnography (Burawoy 1998a, 2014). Ethnographic research was the most appropriate method to study tipping in both a micro and macro encounter and I took Fairbanks II and Lloyd as a guide, noting how 'the intimate method of ethnographic research demonstrates… [the] encounter of market utopian-ism with local realities' (2011: 9). The primary data was taken through an ethnography that was insider, reflexive, and critical in which I became a full participant in the field of research. Whilst positivist perspectives might find the insider position problematic, I contend along with Bourdieu that, 'nothing is more false…than the maxim almost universally accepted in the social sciences according to which the researcher must put nothing of himself into his research' (2003: 287; See also Bourdieu 1996).

Rejecting the notion that the researcher could somehow be separate from society or that the researcher's background and biography are separate from the research (Darwin Holmes 2020:

3) my aim was toward a reflexive account of my influence on the research process (Darwin Holmes 2020: 3). This carries over not simply to fieldwork, but also my understanding and interpretation of what happened during the research (David Holmes 2020: 3). I wanted to explore 'the social conditions of possibility…of experience' with the aim of 'objectivizing the subjective relation' to tipping (Bourdieu 2003: 282; see also Bourdieu 2001). In short, as a researcher I did not have to choose between 'fictitious immersion' and fictitious objectivism 'from afar' (Bourdieu 2003: 282).

The ethnography itself is an insider-ethnography that emphasizes reflexivity. I bring my previous personal experience as a tipped worker to inform the research as an insider, and this serves as a part of the ethnographic method. In this research, previous experience is considered to be a 'toolkit' whereby 'the resources, skills, and privileges available' (Reyes 2020: 222) to the researcher are used 'to make accessible – to penetrate the borders and break through the confines' of the social world 'in defense of – the voices and experiences of subjects whose stories are otherwise restrained or out of reach' (Madison 2005: 24-25).

Previous experience in the restaurant industry, and at Hampton Bistro, is employed to access the field and participants. This insider position allowed me generate data that would not be available to someone who was simply observing the space, or that came into the field of research as a waitress without prior experience (for example Spradley and Mann, 1975). Additionally, having already worked at Hampton Bistro prior to the research, my relationship to participants was unique. They knew me personally, and knew me as a worker prior to being a researcher. This effected our interactions in the interviews, and we were able to more thoroughly understand one another due to our shared experiences of working in the restaurant together, which generated qualitative data that would be unavailable to a researcher who did not have this same disposition. It also helped to provide the interview environment with an informal feel. When working in a restaurant, workers will often tell each other stories about what happened in a previous shift, and this same dynamic and willingness to share experiences was brought into the interviews. This insider status also provided me with a means to observe the space of the restaurant and the interactions within it, generating data that perhaps has more nuanced understandings than research done from a perspective that has more of an outsider position. For example, instead of observing the mundanities or day-to-day processes of waitressing, I was able to go beyond these observations and notice in more detail comportments, temperament, and the aesthetic qualities of service whilst also understanding

the normal surface functioning of service. The data generated from this insider status, its qualitative richness, detail, and embeddedness in experience contributes to sociological and ethnographic research and can serve as a model for future insider ethnographies'.

However, to prevent an overreliance on my subjective experience, I kept in mind that I should 'refer continually to…[my] experience but not…in a guilty, unconscious, or uncontrolled manner' (Bourdieu 2003: 288). It was important that the experience of the research participants was used primarily, with my experience informing the research more generally and secondarily. Insider ethnographies have gained traction in many fields such as business, non-for-profits, and even nursing (Hepso 2016). Following the idea that 'a detailed analysis of the real conditions of workers today is necessary to validate any analysis of contemporary capitalism' (Dowling 2007: 117), I employed my sixteen years of experience in the tipped restaurant industry, and understandings of the dynamics, relations, benefits and problems of being a tipped worker. This understanding served as the basis of the research, provided orientation, and gave the general background about being a tipped restaurant worker in the location of the Hamptons. The critical component of ethnography aims at providing 'insight into a social relation that is little understood by outsiders' (Ross and Welsh 2022: 10). This ethnography followed an endeavour of critical ethnographies that are

> focused, theorized studies of specific social institutions or practices that aim to change awareness and/or life itself. They may engage in ideology critique or demystification showing, for example, interests hidden behind or vested in, cultural meanings and practices or revealing forms of domination and power (Schwandt 2007: 50-51).

An insider-ethnography that is critical is a method of rigorous analysis of experienced cultural, social and political phenomena that uses techniques of: 1) 'thick description', which allows the research to induct the reader into the cultural experience; 2) Secondary data provides a tangible background for the research; and 3) scholarly literature is applied to experience for the purposes of analysis and critique. This tripartite structure allows for objectively valid abstract analysis of assemblages of experience. By employing an 'ethnography of personal experience' it 'allows us to expose parts, relations, and interactions of the social world that might otherwise go unnoticed' including 'the emotional labor of interactions at work' (Ross and Welsh 2022: 11; see also Poulos 2017; Mears 2015; Hochschild 1983). Using comparative techniques to juxtapose experience against existing literature provides an additional force in the validity of

the research. Theory serves as a guiding intervention and 'constitutes situated knowledges into social processes', it also 'locates those processes in their wider context of determination' (Burawoy 1998: 21).

As Taylor notes, 'insider research is not faultless' and the assumption that an insider offers the 'correct way of seeing' the phenomenon being researched is problematic (2011: 6). Additionally, there is no clear dichotomous position as either insider or outsider (Taylor 2011: 6). Whilst I had insider knowledge and positions, I was never the same as those I was researching as my researcher position made me an outsider, and in researching tipping in restaurants in the Hamptons, I was often very different from the customers I was serving (Ross and Welsh 2022: 11).

Creating personal distance between myself and the intimacy of the field and the participants was both necessary and part of the research design (Taylor 2011: 15-16; Larabee 2002: 108). I had been studying in Bristol for nine months prior to the first round of fieldwork and this gave me an intellectual (objective), emotional and physical distance from the space I knew well. I felt refreshed stepping back into the work environment, although this did not last for the entirety of the fieldwork round. The last few weeks were difficult and I was ready to leave. Taking again, another nine months in Bristol away from the field I returned for a second round of fieldwork. This hiatus was absolutely necessary to provide me with a critical distance and personal wellbeing.

In the research space I had an intimate knowledge of the interactions, performances, and with many of the people in that space. This required me to look 'both outward and inward', and to be 'self-aware' and 'researcher-self-aware' as I observed the field and noted down my personal experiences (Taylor 2011: 9). I was always aware of my researcher status, and that I could never simply act purely as myself. I felt a sense of responsibility and a need to maintain a sense of pose around certain situations in keeping with ethical practices. I can't say there was a moment when I wanted to be unethical and then behaved otherwise. It was more an underlying sense of duty and propriety of which I was consistently aware of.

If I were to do this research and had never been a waitress before, or if I had never worked at this restaurant before, there probably would have been moments of misunderstanding, a continuing learning process, more moments of being flustered, confused, and I probably

would have made more mistakes on the job itself. In this same respect, as a seasoned waitress during the fieldwork I may have been more sensitive or annoyed by customer behaviours than if I were a waitress just starting out. This personal history and knowledge influenced how I perceived the field and the interactions in it, and this position is never unproblematic (Taylor 2011: 9). This research understands that 'we can never objectively describe reality' (Darwin Homes 2020: 4; Dubois 2015), but that we should attempt to, whilst in parallel recognizing our own biases and positionality as researchers.

3.5 Ethics

As I used a mixed qualitative approach for my methodology, the ethical guidelines were complex, but I always followed the British Sociological Association Guidelines for Ethical Practice, and was given approval by the SPAIS Research Ethics Committee on 28 May 2019 (see Appendix pg. 219). In order to ensure transparency, as previously stated, I was given approval to conduct the ethnographic research from the restaurant in which I was employed. I assured the owner that all information about the restaurant, including the name, exact location, the clientele and the employees would remain anonymous. If I used any direct quotes from co-workers, I obtained their permission. I informed my co-workers that, 1) I was conducting research, 2) what my intentions were for the research and 3) what my research question would be, so that they were able to keep certain thoughts or ideas to themselves if they are uncomfortable with how I might use the information. Alternatively, they could ask me to specifically keep certain statements off the record. I obtained informed consent and got explicit written permission from interviewees via the consent form enclosed and provided them with the participant information sheet. I stressed to all interviewees that their participation was completely voluntary and confidential. Daily record keeping of events provided me with the opportunity for self-reflexivity regarding my critical and objective distance to the project.

My influence and the effects of my presence in this space are elements of the research that must be discussed. Whilst I was an insider, and I did already know the participants before I took on the formal and professional role of researcher, my status was changed to a certain extent. I was an overt insider with those I worked with and interviewed, and thus my status as a researcher was at the forefront of the investigation. I previously worked at this restaurant whilst doing a Master's degree in political theory where I also studied tipping. I shared many

discussions with co-workers and they were aware of my interest in the topic. However, having left the restaurant to receive the formal training necessary for the PhD program, taking on the role of researcher, and then returning to the restaurant to study the space, the people, and the custom, I took on a new role. I informed those who were subject to my observations about them, and many of my co-workers would come to me with stories and anecdotes about their experiences as a tipped worker. This was convenient for me, because they would willingly share their experiences when they happened. My presence then, made them aware of these potential experiences and perhaps put them on the lookout, provoking them to notice interactions in a way they had not previously.

However, there was a 'tension' (Strudwick 2019) between my overt position with co-workers and my potentially covert position to customers. Research can never be purely overt or covert, there is always a grey area. I tried to be as overt as possible with research participants, but at the same time, I did not disclose my role as a researcher to customers, which was a necessity of the research. Lugosi (2006: 541) notes that 'concealment is sometimes necessary, and often unavoidable' and also that 'criticisms levelled against covert methods should not stop the fieldworker from engaging in research that involves covertness'. My observations of customers and co-workers were in the public space of the restaurant. Strudwick (2019: 187) identifies one point of tension or a 'grey area', remarking that whilst 'overt participant observation' would mean that 'all participants should be aware of the reason for the researcher's presence, it would be 'difficult to gain the consent of everyone passing through any particular research field'. Many people come in and out of a restaurant within the course of the day and it would be impossible to get written consent from all those I observed. Additionally, confronting my customers with my position as a researcher could have changed their interactions with me ('Hawthorne effect') (Strudwick 2019: 186), making them nervous and potentially uncomfortable when it came time to leave a tip.

Although these observations take place in the public space, I protected research subjects by maintaining their anonymity at all times. I used pseudonyms for all persons and places and did not provide any level of detail about a person that I observed which would make them easily identifiable. The public space of the observation and the maintenance of anonymity doubly protects those who are involved in the observations of the research. Additionally, co-workers were interviewed about their experiences of tipped work throughout their lives and they discussed their interactions with customers from not only the restaurant in this study, but also

previous places of employment. Therefore, interactions with customers from beyond my remit were discussed and included in the research, and it would be impossible to present my role as a researcher to all customers discussed in this study.

Following the BSA guidelines on consent and ethical research practices is of course necessary to all research, and especially qualitative research such as ethnographies. However, the extent to which researchers need to critically engage with these guidelines beyond black and white thinking or a box checking mentality should be addressed. There are many grey areas of research, especially in research which is participatory like this project. My interactions with participants in the field could never be simply defined by guidelines.

As I write up the dissertation and realize the potential benefits this research might have on my future, and my career I feel an increased sense of indebtedness to the research participants. This begs the question of what my obligation to participants is beyond or after their consented participation (O'Connell Davidson 2008). In what O'Connell Davidson describes as an 'ongoing *process* of consent', the parameters of research require an objectification of research subjects as a snapshot, or in a moment in their lives (2008: 60). Whilst participants consented to their involvement in the project, did they, or could they, consent to the process of objectification that takes place during the research process, and the definite point of conclusion that results from publication (O'Connell Davidson 2008: 59). This is something that I continually (and must continue to) bear in mind during this project, and if and when I use these experiences in other work.

Relating to what Agarwal et. al describe as 'moments of discomfort' within the research process, I had to account for the ethical dilemmas faced in the field, after all the choices made surrounding these discomforts are a part of the production of knowledge (2021: 1), this was especially apparent during the writing-up stage of the research and was a factor behind which interview excerpts were used, and the way in which they were interpreted. In the objectification of research subjects, they undergo a process of reduction and participants are 'represented' in a particular way within the research – this is political (Agarwal et. al 2021: 2). In order to handle how I presented participants, I did contextualized the practices and the words of participants within a social/political/historical framework and also recognize the limitation of my representation of participants, there was and could be no full representation of the participants (Agarwal et. al 2021: 2-3). This is not to say that there should be no partial representation of

participants in research, but that a reflective and critical disposition to the representation presented in research is part and parcel of ethical practice (Agarwal et. al 2021: 3). Whilst there were times when research participants expressed views that personally, I found politically unappealing, these were always listened to with an open disposition that aimed at understanding this viewpoint. I never let on that I found what anyone was saying to be uncongenial, and I tried to represent these viewpoints within the research and to contextualise them so as not to bring out stark and overly limited representations.

In terms of an obligation to participants and to the political aims of the project as a whole, it was important to think about how to 'contribute something back' to those involved in this research (Agarwal et. al 2021: 4). This was quite the conundrum, because the community represented in this research often benefits from the tipped system of the restaurant industry and by problematising tipping I was constantly considering whether or not this problematisation would do 'harm' to the participants in the long-run. Therefore, it was important to show both, how tipping is a problematic custom, but how much workers who benefit from the system rely on it and to have that perspective be a part of the conversation. Whilst I wanted no harm to come to my research participants, I had to balance their well-being with the wider political implications of this research and my personal solidarity with movements to increase the minimum wage for tipped workers and improving the conditions of the industry more generally. My ethical obligations had to be balanced within this juxtaposition.

3.6 Secondary Data

As already noted, the overall research design included documentary as well as ethnographic methods. Secondary data was compiled in order to understand the nature of tipped restaurant work, i.e., who worked as tipped workers, their demographics, the average and median salaries of these workers and differences among them. Secondary data consisted of statistics taken from the United States Department of Labor (USDL), The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (USBLS), the Economic Policy Institute (EPI), and the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC-United).

The United States Department of Labor (USDL) is a department of the United States federal government. This department gathers statistics on specific industries, jobs, etc., the mission of which is,

> to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners, job seekers, and retirees of the United States; improve working conditions; advance opportunities for profitable employment; and assure work-related benefits and rights (2020).

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (USBLS) 'measures labor market activity, working conditions, price changes, and productivity in the U.S. economy to support public and private decision making' (BLS, 2020). The statistics used from the USDL and the USBLS provided a broad landscape of the 'waiter/waitress' occupation, including median annual wages, top and lowest percentile of wages, number of persons employed in the U.S., and made available specific information regarding this occupation. This data has limitations. It only provides a narrow framework to situate the data. It gives little or only partial information on the difficulties of the occupation. For example, during the research I was invited by the owner of Hampton Bistro to sit in on an in-person survey with the USDL about the physical demands of the front of the house occupations at the restaurant being studied. The employer was asked questions about the physical difficulty of actions performed on the job, but often did not answer them accurately (not intentionally). I filled in the gaps and elaborated on the answers provided by the owner. This kind of data on workplace activities is often simply provided through spreadsheets. When information is gathered it is done in person, but employers answer questions on the occupation and work environment, not necessarily workers themselves, missing out on crucial information about jobs, and the industry at large.

It was important to get additional secondary data beyond the USDL and the USBLS, I used data from the Economic Policy Institute (EPI) and the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC-United). The former is a non-partisan thinktank created in 1986 whose mission is 'to include the needs of low- and middle-income workers in economic policy discussions' (EPI 2021). Reports and statistics provided by the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC-United) were used to put into perspective the problems of these statistics and situate them within a labour struggle occurring in the United States over the tipped-minimum wage. ROC-United is a national nonprofit organization that 'works to improve the lives of millions of workers in the restaurant industry' and aims to unite and engage 'restaurant workers of all backgrounds

around shared goals and values to contribute to a larger worker movement aimed at raising the standard of living for all the working class' (ROC-United, 2020). Conversely to the mission of ROC-United, additional information about the industry was taken from the National Restaurant Association (NRA) a nonprofit trade association that 'represent[s] and advocate[s] on behalf of more than 500,000 restaurant businesses' (NRA 2020). The NRA also has a powerful lobbying unit that operates in the U.S. Congress.

Whilst the data from these secondary sources can give a better overview of the tipping landscape than the small study that I did, this can in no way be thought of as comprehensive or objective due to problems and limitations of data gathering itself (there is no information on what questions are asked and who answers them), as well as in its use of statistical definitions (i.e. medians rather than means), etc. To further inform the statistical data I used socio-historical studies on tipping, its emergence and its functioning. These sources were historical accounts of servants, waiters and waitresses, and tipped workers more broadly. Specific literature has been discussed more thoroughly in the literature review, but it is important to mention that this data was necessary to understand the emergence of tipped work historically, the people who were subject to it, and how and why they were subject to it. This provided a historical background to the custom, illuminating who tipped workers were, and still are, why they were tipped, political struggles surrounding tipping, and the cultural evolution of the custom. Bringing the historical information, statistical data, fieldwork and interviews into relation with the theoretical framework of the research brings tipping into perspective in a way that allows for a richer analysis of the subject.

3.7 Implementation

- The ethnographic research took place over the course of two three/four-month periods between May and September of 2019 and 2020, or the 'summer season'.
- I became a full participant and was employed as a server/bartender for both seasons in a restaurant where I had previously been employed.
- I took notes and made observations about my experiences at work, and about what I witnessed other workers experiencing, as well as about stories participants openly shared with me. All research participants were all my co-workers at the Hampton Bistro, as I wanted to study their experiences of tipping in relation to my observations and participation. All research participants were informed of my position, data collection

methods, and were all-too-happy to share their personal stories with me. For the most part notes were written down at the end of the evening when I got home from work, or the following morning. Typically, shifts were too busy for me to stop and make notes.

- I conducted in-depth interviews with research participants ranging from forty-five minutes to over three hours in length. Interviews were open ended and covered themes (discussed further down), interviewees were asked basic questions, but each interview allowed interviewees to talk freely about their experiences, though I kept the conversation within the boundaries of restaurant experiences, experiences and thoughts on tips, or effects of working in the industry.

- Interviews were conducted either in-person or via Zoom when COVID-19 restrictions made in-person meetings difficult. The original forecast was to conduct fifteen interviews. However, because of COVID-19 staff numbers were lower in the second-round of interviewing and this lead to fewer participants.

- I manually transcribed interviews. This process was both difficult and illuminating. It allowed me to have an intimate connection with, and knowledge of each interviewee. I began using NVivo software to code interviews for themes. However, I stopped this process when I found it more useful to select sections of interviews that had resonance with others and create word documents for these.

- The interview data was analysed in relation to sociological, political, geographical and economic literature as well as labour statistics and historical data on the subject.

Now that the basic framework of the research has been laid out, along with the methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the research, it is necessary to move toward a better understanding of tipping itself. To begin, a socio-historical understanding of where tips have come from, and how they exist today, is necessary. The next chapter introduces tipping in this way.

Chapter 4 Gift or Wage? Understanding the Tip

In the United States, upwards of $40 billion dollars are exchanged in restaurants each year in the form of tips (Suarez 2009: 1; Azar 2007a), but what are tips, how do they function, where do they come from, and why do people tip? Tipping is currently a system of remuneration most popular and embedded structurally in the United States. Tips, or small amounts of money set and charged to customers in proportion to a total bill, are given to workers who provide some kind of service. Tips can be given before or after the service and are meant to be 'a little something extra', a thank you for a job well done, or a prompt for better service, and are considered a 'compensation practice' (Miller 2010). Whilst tips are an informal custom based on consumers' decisions (Lynn and Witham 2008: 328), and are not required or enforceable by law, they have taken on a formal existence in that they are considered taxable income, and are a calculated component of minimum wage policies.

Car washes, nail salons, hotels, private apartment buildings, delivery services, and in the case of this research, restaurants, are the main arenas for this practice. Restaurants have the greatest prevalence of the tipping custom as 58% of tipped workers in the United States are waiters or bartenders (National Employment Law Center 2015: 4). Suarez describes the tipping phenomenon in restaurants as a 'fundamentally disorienting puzzle…[that] confuses…both academics and restaurant diners alike' and as something that is 'as much ritual as proper economic exchange' (2009: 308). The restaurant industry, where tipping takes place, is a space of symbolic interaction inclusive of a 'richness of socially constructed and variably conceived expectations, meanings, values, and social norms negotiated in a variety of ways by participants' (Suarez 2009: 310). The symbolic interaction accompanying the tip does not aid in its classification, but adds further layers of complication. When accounting for why consumers tip when they do not have to, further variables come in to play. Tips are given: as a valuation of good service; to secure preference; as an adherence to a social norm; as a gesture of sympathy; to enhance social standing; to compensate for guilt, because of inequalities between the consumer and worker, etc. (Suarez 2009: 307; Lynn and Witham 2008: 329; Bodvarsson et al. 2003: 1665). There is no clear or definitive motivation behind why people tip.

To better understand the tip, we need to look to Zelizer's assumption that 'earmarked' economic interactions are a form of cognitive accounting of monetary transactions, whereby

'feelings evoked by particular kinds of money create "affective tags" that influence its uses', and are thus contextualised by relations (2012: 159). She notes that 'people introduce monetary distinctions that serve to create and maintain significantly different sets of social relations and transactions; they correspond to distinct social ties and their meanings' (Zelizer 2012: 156). It is not just individual people that set up relations of transactions, but 'with varying techniques, governments, organizations, and people fashion monies that match distinct kinds of relations and transactions' (Zelizer 2012: 162). These transactions are created within relations, imbedded in structures, and within socio-historical temporality and the 'creative adaptations [to money transactions] operate within boundaries set by historically accumulated meanings, legal constraints, and structural limits (Zelizer 2012: 164). Tips are not just money given from one person to another in an unbiased and equal market but are a part of 'social relations, transactions, and media [that] each come with histories and cultural packages we cannot shed' (Zelizer 2012: 164). Whilst the tip has an imbedded history of relations (in the pre-modern/feudal), it exists now within a neoliberal (modern/capitalist) paradigm.

Therefore, in order to understand the tip, an elaboration of its contradictions mentioned in the introduction (specifically the wage/gift and modern/traditional contradictions) and a brief social history is appropriate. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a background on tipping, and to begin to lay the groundwork for the chapters ahead. First, a brief social history of the emergence of tipping, first in the Tudor period, and then in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (particularly within the United States) provides insight into the imbedded structural relations of inequality in the tip that 'cannot be shed'. Tipping is transactionally peculiar, relies on social difference and asymmetries, and as 'monetary differentiation serves as an instrument and marker of inequality… any account of gender or other forms of categorical differentiation and inequality will show, for instance, how certain forms of currency enforce the dependency of discriminated or subservient populations' (Zelizer 2012: 163). Second, the a discussion of how tips are imbedded in policy will provide further understanding around issues of legally moderating and legislating the custom, its ambiguity, and the upholding of differentiation and inequality.

4.1 Tipping, Servitude and Pre-capitalist British/English/European Origins

This section provides a brief, general, and social historical background of tipping as it emerged in the United States. It is by no means exhaustive, but the intention here is to show how tipping correlates to social relations and practices.

Tipping in a more formal sense was practiced initially in the Tudor period (1485-1603) in England in the form of vails. This practice continued throughout the seventeenth century and was later abolished in the latter half of the eighteenth century (Van Den Eeckhout 2015: 352). Vails were a form of remuneration that was practiced when visitors to aristocratic homes did not bring servants of their own, and servants from the house being visited would be provided. In exchange for the services of the host's servants there was an expectation that visitors would give 'vails' to these servants at the end of a visit (Segrave 1998: 1). In wealthy homes, which entertained often, tips would significantly increase the servants' incomes, but also their workload (Van Den Eeckhout 2015: 352).

The master or lord of the house creates a dynamic where he increases the work of the servants but does not wish to compensate them, instead he relies on vails from visitors to supplement the income of his servants and subsidize his wage output (very similar to sub-minimum wages and tips discussed below). There was even a case where a master had large parties and 'shared the vails with his servants…to supplement his income' (Azar 2004: 753) – 'share' being an interesting term for take. Vails could vary in amount, regularity, and predetermined fixity. Sometimes vails could amount to a months' wages (Dawes 1989: 134). In terms of fixity there are accounts of servants 'flanking the door' in neat rows upon the departure of guests all expecting a tip. However, the amount often varied with the rank and status of the family worked for, the social standing of the visitor, and the rank of the servants themselves (Dawes 1989: 134-135) a confusing hierarchy within another hierarchy. In some cases there would be a 'fixed schedule of service charges ranging from having tea, to breakfast served in one's room' (Dawes 1989: 134).

Vails became something that, to a certain extent, were expected and within the hierarchy of servants more vails and perquisites were expected by the 'upper servants' than by the 'lower servants' – a hierarchy that is still present in the restaurant industry (see Chapter 5) and

between workers and patrons in the Hamptons (Chapter 4).[3] An hierarchical order within the informal and paternal system of vails and perquisites creates an additional layer of custom and 'formal informality'. First, the household within which one was employed was distinctly important, the more well to do one's employer the more benefits one could expect. Second, the upper servants, and those in strategic positions within the household such as head cooks, distinctly benefitted from the hierarchy more than others (Meldrum 2000: 204). These benefactors were usually men, with footmen being the most valuable in terms of political power, wages, as well as access to vails and perquisites.[4] This is a reinforcing system. If an employer had more male servants, he could employ more well paid workers, which in turn signalled wealth and status (Hill 1996: 27, 31).[5]

Tips were problematic, and some even referred to servants expectant of tips as 'beggars' (Hill 1996: 94). Bernard Mandeville wrote of vails, 'This Custom is a National Reproach…Tis too much Money, excessive Wages, and unreasonable Vails that spoil Servants in England' (1970: 349 quoted in Richardson 2010). In 1734 *Gentleman's Magazine* wrote, 'There is no Grievance more complain'd of than giving Money to Servants…This custom is a National Reproach' (in Segrave 1998: 131). The vail was not something to depend on like a wage, but a token of thanks for work performed, or a varied in sum remuneration for additional work. As the custom of vails faded, and contractual employment ensued, servants found, 'greater occupational freedom for themselves', as well as an increase in 'contractual power' (Biscetti 2015: 292). With this power of wages some observers of the time noted a breakdown in household discipline and subordination amongst servants (Biscetti 2015: 292). Although vails were abolished in the latter half of the eighteenth century, they never truly disappeared, but remained as a custom (Van Den Eeckhout 2015: 352), sustaining imbedded relations of servitude.

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[3] As with domestic service, serving in restaurants is one of the few choices one has when entering the job market with little to no skills (Hill 1996: 103). There is a degree to which being a server, as with servants in the past (Hill 1996: 105), can ascend the social scale and change their conditions. The exposure to the right people, the right scene, certain knowledge, can benefit those that enter. This unfortunately, only applies to a limited percentage of those employed in the industry.

[4] The closer to the master and the higher up the servant, the more problematic vails became. Vails and education contributed to what Mandeville called 'the servant problem'. The overeducation of servants made them 'discontented with their lot in life' and 'undermined that bond between men and their masters' (Mandeville 1970: 307, quoted in Richardson 2010: 185). Additionally he recognized that 'a servant can have no unfeigned respect for his master…as soon as he has sense enough to find out he serves a fool' (Mandeville, 1970: 296, 308) quoted in Richardson 2010: 185). Vails, 'spoiled' servants into wanting too much from their masters and their lot in life (Richardson 2010: 185).

[5] I was once let go at a restaurant after a former male server of the restaurant wanted his job back, and the manager told me that 'the head chef likes male waiters, he says it looks better'.

It was from vails that tipping spread in popularity to restaurants, hotels, pubs, cafes and later on even to private homes, but the 'collection of tips in Victorian private houses was nothing like as well organized as the system of "vails"' (Dawes 1989: 134). As a public hospitality sector grew in the eighteenth century and onwards in England and Europe more generally, the custom spread with it. Spreading along with the tip was the social relation of servitude mired in class inequality and master-servant dynamics. Tipping was popular 'especially in areas that had a servant class' (Azar 2004: 754). Serving grew out of domestic service into a distinct occupation of its own, with tipping as its main form of remuneration. Tipping became a custom for travellers staying in hotels where tipping customs were very similar in nature to those in private homes. Waiters, chamber maids, ostlers, etc. were all expected to be tipped (Crouch 1936: 544-545). These tips provided an often necessary addition to income, as servants employed in these jobs were not well paid. This is where we see a custom of low or underpaid work being accepted through the expectancy of remuneration through the social custom of tipping, a parallel to today's tipped minimum wage policies in the United States.

Emerging in the late 19th/early 20th Centuries was an overcrowding of the labour market in the European hospitality sector, resulting in 'cost-free' labour for the employer. Those working in hospitality, in restaurants and hotels were often caught in a life of poverty, a struggle for survival, or the possibility of good fortune. Tipping was so effective at controlling labour and maintaining low wages that on occasion, allowing workers to work in one's establishment required a payment by the workers, a form of rent-seeking on the part of the owners. This is to say that 'serving staff paid for the opportunity to collect tips' sometimes referred to as *frais d'entrée* or 'admission fees' (Van Den Eeckhout 2015: 349-350) a custom that is similar to rent-seeking. Whilst 'feudalism relied on direct expropriation and capitalism relied on free workers freely selling their labor power' what is seen in the case with tips is an amalgamation of both with rent-seeking (Dean 2020: 13). Rather than being characterized by an employer-employee contract, or 'bilateral employment relationship' (Albin 2011: 181-206), there was instead a 'worker-employer-customer triangle' (Ditton 1977: 39-71). The cultural and social relations, practices and stigmas attached to tipping travelled with it, and its problematic existence took on new forms as it spread across the Atlantic.

As the United States has had a close cultural and social relationship with Europe, it can trace its adoption of tipping back to the European origins described above. The practice of tipping servants spread to the U.S. through traveling aristocracy and into the homes of the gentry, roughly from the late 18th Century, and eventually had taken hold by 1900 (Segrave 1998: 3, 5). However, it was not well received. In reference to its undemocratic, patronizing, and aristocratic principles, one reformer stated that 'tipping is what we left Europe to escape. It is a cancer in the breast of democracy' (Segrave 1998: 24). During the Progressive Era (1890's-1920's), activists were particularly opposed to tipping, and one reformer from the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) cautioned that those who received tips would 'become servile, slavish, mealy-mouthed and beggarly' (Cobble 1995: 42). Another reformer noted that tipping

> belongs in countries where begging is a recognized channel of revenue, where class distinctions are sharp and oppressive, and where cultivated servility is an art. But the custom is rooted in the United States and it will grow and thrive until the great army of the tipped rises in rebellion and creates and demands a right to straight pay (Segrave 1998: 71).

With much public backlash and strong moral and political rhetoric against the custom, how did tipping become such a ubiquitous part of the restaurant structure in the United States? Whilst proclamations of democracy and equality have continuously been rhetorical elements of American nationhood, ideology does not often equate with reality. There is an ambiguity between the real and the imagined. The acceptance of tipping as a custom, despite objections to it, highlights inequities in terms of class, race, and gender, and how the custom is generative of social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation. The insidious and slow acceptance of tips in the United States occurred through the production of social relations that can inscribe servile dispositions.

Initially, exploitative employer practices began through the gradual acceptance of tips, and the concomitant decrease in wages, and even the complete lack of wages. As mentioned above, some employers even 'required a fee from its waiters for the privilege of working' (Segrave 1998: 50). Employers were able to dominate the remuneration terms of the industry, so long as negative public attitudes to the custom did not reach a critical mass. Tactically, 'business

owners began to lower the wages of employees until tips were needed to supplement their income, and people became accustomed to the practice as a way to ensure the livelihood of workers in the service industry' (Margalioth 2006: 121). Additionally, an influx of workers in the labour force in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries meant an overabundant workforce accepting of these terms. Appeals to public sympathy (often from businesses, and even from workers themselves) to provide tips perpetuated exploitative practices of inadequate and no-wage employment. Tipping policies were often reliant on racist sentiments and the vulnerability of newly freed African Americans in the 19th Century needing employment – these policies maintained a system of dominance, exploitation, and even primitive accumulation. In this same period the type of service emerging in the United States increasingly relied on domesticity and servility. Tipping was acceptable to many because the domestic association with serving, especially with the increasing number of women in the industry (feminization of labour) in the early and middle portions of the 20th Century, provided a second-class workforce based on sex that was not deserving of straight payment and a public willing to appropriate the work of the woman fulfilling a domestic role. Over the 19th and 20th centuries a hierarchy emerged that was reliant on class, race and gender, which can still be seen today.

4.2.1 *Early Emergence and Dynamics*

Tips became common in hotels, although not in the post-colonial period, because landlords initially paid good wages to American servants, 'especially [as] native whites, were too proud to prostrate themselves as mendicants' (Sutherland 1981: 111). As the custom spread later on in the 19th Century to

> urban areas and at resort hotels…the rapid growth of tipping was blamed by some Americans on the increasing number of European immigrants working as servants. Europeans, it was said, were raised in an environment where tipping was customary and where servants were not ashamed to grovel for gratuities. Also, because hotel employers apparently allowed cash wages to decline as the century progressed, gradually integrating tips into their estimates for fair wages, tips became necessary for survival (Sutherland 1981: 112).

Tips were related to aristocratic practices (*noblesse oblige)* and distinctions of class. Any acceptance of a tip by an individual would indicate an inferior class status and social standing. Tipping connoted poverty and begging. Although the spread of the custom was blamed on European immigrants, it became common even for many even 'native' white Americans to take tips. However, many preferred a cash wage as the custom was 'unpopular with the public', and they did not want to be seen as "grafters" as it reduced 'the respectability of their occupation' (Sutherland 1981: 112). The custom was divisive amongst workers, as it still is today, although 'most seemed to favour abolishing tips *if* they could be assured of respectable salaries' (Sutherland 1981: 112).

Tipping was publicly divisive. However, the logic of tipping penetrated into workplace psychology. In the early 1900s one waiter described the incentivizing and internalizing effect that tipping created:

> Suppose every waiter here got a regular salary with no chance for extras, do you suppose he'd be jumping hurdles for a lot of fussy people? Do you think he'd present the glad smile to those he'd like to choke, break his neck making everybody comfortable, and then listen to their hard-luck stories or more painful jokes? No sir; he'd serve the stuff just as he got it from the kitchen (in Sutherland 1981: 112).

Tipping was often lucrative for employers. Accepting the custom could offset a decrease in wages paid to workers, and increase owner profits. Many employers even took some of the tips for themselves. Employers and companies devised methods to take advantage of the incoming tip stream. One example given in Segrave (1998) shows how contractors would pay high-end restaurants or hotels to run the coat check concession. This often came at a modest fee. The contractor would pay the coat check workers a minimum wage, whilst keeping the tips from the customers. All the while customers thought the tips were going to the employees (1998: 15). This forced the workers, who were often minors, to smile and be kind to the customers even though they were not benefiting from the tip. Another example referred to by Cobble points to 'kick backs' required by bosses in order for workers to keep their jobs (1991: 38). Tips were not regulated in terms of any assurance that they would reach those for whom they were intended. Tips have, even to this day, an informal existence. Legislating the practice of tipping has and continues to be problematic, increasing regulations around tipping can improve practices, but there is often no corresponding enforcement of these regulations and

there are often other ways in which illegal practices take place. With the varied policy landscape in the U.S. (discussed below), and varying degrees of public sentiment, it is hard to legislate the custom comprehensively, especially without a thorough understanding of the custom.

4.2.2 *Insidious Emergence and Race*

Employers often paid workers very low wages. This was not just in restaurants, but on ships, in barber shops, and on passenger trains as well. Feeding into racist sympathies and structures of the Reconstruction Era, the railroad (The Pullman Company particularly) and hospitality industries fought to keep tipping through the 19th Century. The Pullman Company argued that they should not have to pay their employees full wages, because many workers were former slaves and received tips (Jayaraman 2016: 33-34), the logic being that former slaves used to work for free, therefore full wages were not necessary if tips were given. In this view, Black Americans were not deserving of full wages, and tips made this more acceptable.

This same company only hired black porters from the south, because 'the southern negro is more suited to the work than the northern blacks' and because 'the southern negro is more pleasing to the traveling public…he is more adapted to wait on people and serve with a smile' according to a company executive (Segrave 1998: 17; Scott 1916: 105-107). This view pointed to the assumption of an innate servility within Black Americans (specifically southerners exposed to the dynamics of slavery and servitude), and was perpetuated by creating a framework through tipping, where they had to appeal for charity through their pleasant and servile personality and disposition. As proponents of tipping, the railroad company even advertised the low-wages of the porters in order to appeal to customer sympathies to give tips. A newspaper of the time wrote of the insidious nature of tipping within the railroad industry, 'it remained for the Pullman company to discover how to work the sympathies of the public in such a manner as to induce that public to make up, by gratuities, for its failure to pay its employees a living wage' (Segrave 1998: 18). This particular worker-customer-employer triangle creates relations of manipulation reliant on the charitable/paternal relation or worse the master/servant relation of the customer to the unfortunate worker.

Although slavery was formally abolished, tipping became one of the many exploitative practices that created a social, legal, and importantly economic asymmetry for former slaves,

and Black Americans more generally. The social acceptability of tipping as a practice can be partially traced to an acceptance of the custom for those deemed socially inferior based on racial prejudice, contradicting many of the principles of republican democracy described above. Tips were used as a way to subsidise companies who did not pay their workers by appealing to the sympathies of customers and socially accepted views on racial inferiority. In 1925 a trade union named the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (composed of the Pullman porters) reported to the Interstate Trade Commission that since 1867 the Pullman Company 'had saved at least $150 million in salaries to its porters' due to the use of tipping and underpaying (Segrave 1998: 52).

Many objections to tipping were centred around democracy and the underlying assumption of equality. Through an acceptance of tips for African Americans, a racialized notion of democratic citizenship emerges whereby undemocratic practices were accepted as one moves down the hierarchy from 'native' born white, European male-immigrant, to black American. Relating to public sentiments about those who were tipped, a journalist from the American south went to the north in 1902 for the first time and commented:

> I had never known any but negro servility. Negroes take tips, of course, one expects that of them – it is a token of their inferiority. But to give money to a white man was embarrassing to me. I felt defiled by his debasement and servility. Indeed, I do not now comprehend how any [white] native-born American could consent to take a tip. Tips go with servility, and no man who is a voter in this country by birthright is in the least justified in being in service. – John Speed (Segrave 1998: 10-11).

To take a tip meant that you were beneath citizenship and inferior to others. It is a custom that was seen as 'despicable, undemocratic, and wholly un-American' (Shanker 2016). One reporter commented in 1905, 'anyone [who] accepted a tip from her "is not my equal. From such persons I demand Yes, Ma'am's and a certain deference. Tips and servility go together"' (Segrave 1998: 10).

As tipping spread, black male waiters were often very successful in high-end restaurants and hotels. Due to 'the availability of black job-seekers, and the southern tradition of black servants in the home' black male workers were accepted into the American Hotel scene (Cobble 1991: 18). This outlook brings two contradictory elements into conversation. Whilst hotels require

the 'impeccable service' of men that 'befitted European traditions of formal dining', they and the public were also accepting of the 'domestic' connotation of service brought by black men. Tipping requires a contradiction such as this. High-end hotels and restaurants required higher levels of training and professionalism, but professionals, according to the logic of the time, should not be tipped. However, if there is an acceptance of the lower social standing of the receiver of the tip, the contradiction is not as problematic. If someone is poor – they are in need of charity. If someone is black – they have a certain domesticity or servility. Further on, if someone is a woman – they too have an innate domesticity and servility. Tipping specific categories of people becomes an acceptable exception.

Tipping as a form of remuneration spread as more workers in service economies received tips with employers realizing the economic benefits of tipping. Whilst the custom spread, black waiters earned less than white waiters and white waiters moved on from tipped employment as soon as possible. However, black waiters often resumed this profession permanently as there were 'few other options for them' (Segrave 1998: 11). Some 'waiting crews [were] composed entirely of black men' because of a shortage of white-immigrant or white-native labour and a surplus of black job-seekers (Cobble 1991: 18). Black men even composed 'a disproportionate share' of service work until the 1940's (Cobble 1991: 18). The decrease in numbers beyond the 1940's started with the decline of black men in the 'best positions' in the nineteenth century, then an increased decline in numbers in middling and lower-end positions with the influx of women and an increasing feminization of the industry in the early and mid-twentieth century with the increase of women in the workforce(Cobble 1991: 18).

Despite the emerging dominating presence of women in the serving occupations, 'black women had never comprised a large percent of the occupation, their proportion dropped precipitously after 1920 and never recovered' (Cobble 1991: 23). Their sex meant that they could never occupy the same spaces as black men, i.e. high-end hotels, restaurants, train cars, etc., and because of their race they were at a disadvantage because 'employers were becoming self-conscious about their public image' and 'sought out waitresses who conformed to the white American standard of beauty' (Cobble 1991: 23). There was additionally a north/south divide whereby black women's visibility was more accepted in serving positions, 'because southerners were accustomed to intimate social interactions with black servants' and in the North black women found themselves competing with white immigrants 'who unlike white

southerners, were less inhibited about taking on personal service work – work that in the South was associated firmly with black labor' (Cobble 1991: 24).

4.2.3 *The Feminization Aesthetic*

Women have historically worked in the service industry, but their movement into a majority position in the U.S. restaurant industry came in the early to mid-portions of the Twentieth Century. Women workers in this industry were on the receiving end of 'paltry salaries' which often led them to engage in 'sex work to make a living' (Gattuso 2019). Regardless of whether or not working class women engaged in sex work, they were often associated with prostitution (Gattuso 2019). Being at the receiving end of an immoral reputation and the presumption of being sexually available and 'for sale', women in the service economy have historically been subject to a power relation of dominance and sexual harassment that still exists today – the 'restaurant industry has the highest report rate of sexual harassment of any industry' (Ross and Welsh 2021). In the United States, ninety percent of women in the industry have reported being sexually harassed (Johnson and Madera 2018), and underreporting is most likely in 'industries already reporting the highest rates' (Strom et al. 2021: 19). The introduction of the tip into this service economy only served to fuel the production of relations of dominance along gendered lines.

Historically, the best restaurant jobs usually went to male waiters and there was a prejudice against women working in 'first-class establishments' (Cobble 1991: 17). Although women had had a long history of serving food, from colonial hostelries and boarding houses in the 19th and 20th centuries, they were not initially welcome in the food service industry at large, especially not in the exclusive hotel restaurants. According to Cobble (1991) World War I and changes in the food service industry opened up and made more acceptable female employees. With increased food service commercialization and its movement out of the home, women were accepted as waitresses more generally. This in combination with increased demand from restaurant patrons from the middle and lower classes (and the paralleled increase in demand for cheaper labour) resulted in an historical transformation and a feminization of the food service industry (Cobble 1991: 17). This translated and naturalised the non-skilled domestic servitude of the female in the domestic/servant realm into the public space of the food service industry. It is an example of what Fraser refers to as the 'masculine subtext' of paid work where women are 'presented differently' from men as feminized, sexualized, and as low-skilled

workers often in 'service positions' (2020: 47). There is a 'conceptual dissonance' between femininity and the worker role in classical capitalism' that creates skewed distinctions between workers based on sex (Fraser 2020: 47).

The majority of exclusive hotels and restaurants still employed men in the 1920s, as 'fashion demanded the superior presence of the male' (Drake 1913, quoted in Cobble 1991: 20). However, the industry as a whole was moving more toward a female dominated labour market as the 'move toward inexpensive, simple dining added to the demand for women' (Cobble 1991: 21). Women replaced male-immigrants, black men, and 'native' white men (Cobble 1991: 20). It could be argued that with the increased demand by middle and low income patrons, cheaper and more efficient food service was needed, thus cheaper labour: enter ladies. Women appealed to employers because they were seen as 'superior employees' as they were 'more obedient', 'compliant', and 'cost much less' than male waiters (Cobble 1991: 19). Waitresses were also seen as having 'greater cleanliness, tact, efficiency, and adaptability' all positive markers for a service worker and at a lower cost to the employer (Cobble 1991: 19). The change in venue and type of service required a change in personnel. Women were expected to be quick and personable, courteous, friendly, attractive, smiley, and having sex appeal and men simply could not compete (and did not want to accept lower wages) (Cobble 1991: 21). Instead men were regarded as leisurely and aloof, forgetful of smiling and making visible their animosities (Cobble 1992: 21-22). Once restaurants and service moved from an arena of exclusivity, expense, and extravagance, to a more inclusive, informal, and inexpensive market, the valuable labour of men was no longer required. This can be seen as a shift of the domestic space for women to the public space of the market (Ross 2018).

Through large portions of the Twentieth Century, and today, the majority of servers were women and white. The feminization of the industry, and the sex and race segregated work spaces 'were in large part a result of employer actions' (Cobble 1991: 29). Increased consumer demand for places to dine out, and the emphasis on female service resulted in a concerted effort to appeal to customers through preference. The 'fashion' was less about the professional superiority of the male, and more about femininity and hegemonic standards of beauty. Whilst the types of women working as waitresses varied as much as the establishments in which they worked, there was a 'type' that was often emphasized in hiring practices. The warmth, smiles, and subservience of women was paralleled with sex appeal and beauty. Northern European immigrant women were often waitresses. Studies in the early period of the Twentieth Century

point to immigrant women of English, Irish, Scotch, German, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian descent dominating the demographics of waitresses (Cobble 1991: 29). Women of colour, Italian, Jewish, and women of Southern or Eastern European descent, were present in the occupation, but with fewer numbers. Black women, specifically, often found 'work in the small number of black-owned restaurants or those catering to an all-black clientele' (Cobble 1991: 33).

Waitresses became an aesthetic appendage to the restaurant in which they were employed, 'Female servers' in varying types of establishments were hired to 'complete the effect' (Cobble 1991: 22). Matronly figures were often hired for family-style dining. A staff of similar physical proportions and looks were hired to create the effect of 'a corps of waitresses of uniform size and color' (Cobble 1991: 22). Hair colour was even important as some themed restaurants employed women to work in specific dining rooms dependent upon whether they were blonde, brunette, or red-headed (Cobble 1991: 22). Some themes that display the extravagance of some establishments are the costume-like appearances of the 1960s, and the clear sexualization of workers: the Play-boy bunny, diner waitresses in matching dress uniforms, or air hostesses (Cobble 1991: 48; See Hochschild 1983; Warhurst and Nickson 2009). Beyond the appearance of waitresses were the personal and domestic skills required to create a dining experience.

Waitressing was and continues to be labelled as 'unskilled', a problematic and political term in identifying socially recognized value (Iskander 2021: 6). Often, 'employers maintained that waitress work, being one of the domestic trades, required neither skill nor ingenuity' and one hotel in Buffalo (New York) included in their employee code the description of workers as 'the persons who are to fetch and carry…whose portion it is to render intimate, personal service to others…[and] since time immemorial, this class of servitors has been of the rank and file' (Cobble 1991: 53). The lack of value placed on domestic duties, the low pay, and reliance on informal and arguably charitable reimbursement only serve to highlight the relations of exploitation, domination, and appropriation present within tipping.

Opposing the view of service work as menial and unskilled, workers considered themselves to be skilful, relying on 'judgement and memory' and a general 'dignity that attends to basic human service' to be provided in an 'expert manner' (Cobble 1991: 53). In addition to the lack of social recognition and value of the skills required to be a quality server, there was the

tendency toward recognition of the aesthetic preferences of customers through tipped income streams. For waitresses, 'as they aged, their range of employment possibilities narrowed and their ability to attract tips declined' (Cobble 1991: 519). Whilst many who enter the field look for the 'perfect formula' – a restaurant with decent management, great tips, and steady business – this could only be achieved by few, and for those that did, it was not a way of making a sustained living income in the long-term.

Looking after customers in service professions required an inferior social standing. This standing along with the inferior relations of the domestic servant mires service in a relation of inferiority, superiority, and domination (Salazar Parreñas 2015). Service work has historical ties with the sexual division of labour and domestic labour without pay (Fraser 2020: 152; Federici 2004; Hartmann 1976), as well as the gender specific tasks that arise from the removal of the 'conditions of subsistence' (Illich 1980: 16). This apartheid translated to the public realm of production as more women began working outside of the home and more tasks which were generally limited to the domestic space moved with them. This is true of the food service industry (Ross 2018). What was once the 'unproductive work' or 'non-work' of the domestic (Federici 2004: 92) was now available publicly to consumers, and with it, the undervalued and underpaid labour of women (Huws 2019; Anderson 2000; Shaw et al. 2016). There is a hierarchy of social status among professions and it 'condemns groups of individuals engaged in poorly valued professions to be recognized through inferior social status' (Dejours et. Al, 2018: 120). This is applicable to care work, service work generally, and tipped service work.

4.2.4 *From History to Policy*

Tipping in its social practices and social history engender relations of domination, exploitation and appropriation. This is done through techniques that rely on social inequalities, and inequalities are constituted through hierarchies of difference (Spike Peterson 2012: 5). Tips are associated with low-skill, lower classes, and the inscribed categories of class, race, and gender and are key strategic differences through which the technique takes hold. Understanding these historical associations gives us a better understanding of why tipping exists today, and why certain people are more likely to be exposed to it. Tipping was not, and is still not simply an accepted custom. Legislative battles, public sentiment, and even disputes among workers all centre around the tip as a monetary transaction imbedded in relations, and made real in practice.

Tips in the United States have had a tumultuous history. There were movements in the Twentieth Century to ban tipping and 'between 1909 and 1918 seven states…enacted anti-tipping laws' that nevertheless proved futile (Cobble 1995: 42). Specific restaurants, cruise ships and companies have all tried to legislate for and even code the custom. This trend continues today.

The banning of tips would be very difficult to achieve. It is a custom embedded within social relations and exists informally, and a structure of hierarchy in society. An editor from an 1886 issue of *Spectator* magazine concluded that

> The notion of abolishing this feeling of partial dependence and partial patronage simply by abolishing the actions by which the good will of the richer for the poorer classes is expressed, is altogether a false one. The only effect of suddenly stopping this system of gratitude would be that you would diminish the cordiality of feeling between different classes, without increasing the moral equality (Segrave 1998: 39).

Customers like the option to tip, the opportunity to feel charitable, or to feel empowered to transact a deal (Bodvarsson et al. 2010; Lynn and Withiam 2008), but the requirement to tip is often problematic as it gets caught in the gift/wage dynamic (chapter 7). Some workers like tips, and others need them. Asking workers not to take tips, especially in a low-wage job, proves difficult. Getting rid of tipping without changing inequalities that surround (and are perpetuated) by tips, would not help anyone. Some jurisdictions facilitate more equitable conditions for their workers, others do not, especially in a country with a federal structure such as the United States.

4.3 Problematising Tipping Policy in the United States: Understanding the 'Tipped Minimum Wage' (Publication Chapter/Section)

This section of the chapter is taken from my co-authored article (I was lead author), Ross and Welsh (2021) 'Understanding the Tipped Minimum Wage: Critical Directions for US Policy Research', *Social Policy and Society*, 20(2): 192-210. It forms an integral part of understanding the background of tipping and how it exists within the United States.

In the restaurant sector of the United States, where the practice of *tipping* is axiomatic, there exists a two-tiered minimum-wage system consisting of the regular 'minimum wage' and the 'tipped minimum wage'. The 'tipped minimum wage' is a sub-minimum wage paid by employers to tipped workers that is ostensibly designed to compensate tipped workers up to the regular minimum wage in the event of a shortfall in their tipped income below that level, but which does not otherwise oblige employers to pay above the compulsory base of the 'tipped minimum wage'. The effect is to create a two-tier minimum wage system, and it is a highly contested element of employment and welfare policy in the United States. At both the Federal and State levels, it has become the focal point for an emerging discourse of labour struggle in the expanding service sectors that dominate certain regions of the economy. In 2018, Commissioner Reardon of the New York State Department of Labor (NYSDL) began a public hearing on the tipped minimum wage by stating that 'Governor Cuomo has directed this agency to ensure that no workers are more susceptible to exploitation because they rely on tips to survive' (Reardon, NYS Department of Labor 2018)[6]. In 2019, New Mexico passed legislation – following states such as California, Alaska, and Washington – toward creating one single minimum wage in place of the two-tiered system (ROC-United 2019). At the Federal level, the 'Raise the Wage' Bill, proposed to Congress in 2019, aims to raise the regular minimum wage to $15 an hour by 2024, and gradually to eliminate the 'tipped minimum wage' entirely. As a technical device, the 'tipped minimum wage' is evidently a problematic and controversial issue, and it is at the policy forefront of questions regarding labour control, neoliberalization, industrial relations, social reproduction, immigration, capital accumulation, and the intersectional racing and gendering of social relations.

Tipping is an instructive and illuminating place to direct our sociological analyses, because the societal significance of the technique of tipping goes much further than the setting of the restaurant industry. Apparently a simple means of labour remuneration in determinate processes of production, tipping is actually a key device of social reproduction in general, and is thus marked with extraordinary societal importance. When stripped of context, the technical operation of tipping conforms very closely to the post-Fordist logic of work and economic

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[6] Since then, New York's Governor Andrew Cuomo has ended the tipped minimum wage in New York for 'Miscellaneous Industries' such as nail salons, car wash attendants etc. but has excluded the restaurant industry which has the highest number of tipped workers of any industry in the state. (New York State 2019: Sutton, R. 2020).

organization that is characteristic of neoliberal political economy (See Lash and Urry 1987; Offe 1985; Piore and Sabel 1984; Görz 2012).

4.3.1 *The Problem of Tipping*

First, it is important to be clear on what *tipping* actually is. According to Daniele Archibugi, a 'tip' is defined as 'the price, determined unilaterally by the customer, for a service received… It is not obligatory, and its amount is not fixed in advance, except by a social code' (2004: 1). Commensurately, a 'tipped employee' is one who 'engages in an occupation in which he or she customarily and regularly receives more than $30 per month in tips' (USDL 2019c). Whereas wages are fixed and allow a worker to depend on income, tips are something unfixed, flexible, and subject to arbitrary determination. They are then clearly a more precarious source of income than wages. Tipping in the United States is a customary and expected practice in various service industries, specifically within the restaurant sector, and constitutes the bulk of many restaurant workers' incomes. It is not merely a marginal supplement to a regular waged income, as one would find in other societies e.g. Europe). The general ideal around the use of a tipping system is that it incentivizes workers to improve the quality of service provided and to increase the economic efficiency of work performed (Azar 2007a: 1917). However, the quality of service does not necessarily or proportionally effect the tip given in practice (2007a: 1924-1925), and service quality is contextually dependent upon a range of variables, from the type of establishment or disposition of patron in question to the cultural mores and economic environment of the geographical locale. The other aspect to tipping, often not discussed, is that it allows restaurant owners to pay their workers a lower wage, irrespective of sweeping claims to the contrary, and understanding how and why this is the case will be at the core of this section.

Tipping is a prevalent custom across the United States, though it is becoming increasingly common in other economies across the core of the world-system. Focusing the analysis on the restaurant industry we find that as of 2016, there are 2,600,500 persons employed as waiters or waitresses in the United States, along with 611,200 bartenders, according to the *U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics* (USBLS 2019a, 2019b). The 3 million tipped workers in the US restaurant industry are situated in a plural and heterogenous restaurant landscape. High end restaurants are juxtaposed with more affordable chain restaurants, as well as so-called 'mom and pop' stores. This variable landscape, combined with the uneven tipped wage policies across the

United States, creates a structure that exposes many to exploitative practices, especially in terms of gender, class, and race, whilst others enjoy more comfortable, remunerative, and secure circumstances. There is then a considerable variation in wages, tips, revenues, costs, etc., depending on the state, city, neighbourhood, cuisine, and clientele in which the tipped worker finds themselves.

How then can we understand the support for tipping and the tipped minimum wage policy? In keeping with neoliberal theory, tips are seen by agencies like *The Heartland Institute* or *The Mises Institute* as a device that provides freedom and choice in the spirit of entrepreneurialism and 'free market' ideology (Zahringer 2014; Glans 2018; Foodie and the Beast 2018).[7] It is seen to give choice to the customer, granting them the 'freedom' to leave a tip determined by what they think is appropriate as the purchaser of the service. Owners of restaurants are seen to be partially freed from the burdens of paid wages and red tape (Adams 2018), and are instead able to concentrate upon organization and provision of overheads. Finally, the tipped workers themselves benefit from the provision of a space that liberates them from wage limitations, and frees them to enjoy greater returns on their productivity. The worker is given the opportunity to become a mini-entrepreneur who works a 'space',[8] and who can make tips well in excess of prospective wages, as long as they are good enough, work hard enough, and stay productive. While this rhetoric is doubtless connected to the 'flexibilization of labour' discourse (Felstead and Jewson 1999; Reilly 2000), and so is congenial to the ears of those in business and other uncritical devotees of 'free market' ideology (ie. Siebert 1997), they are often in practice closer to the realities of 'precarious' and 'contingent' labour (See Gray 1995; Barker and Christensen 1998; Kalleberg 2003; Standing 2011). Across the economy as a whole, the beneficiaries of the practice of tipping constitute a minority, privileged by a range of factors including geography, sex, and race (Haley-Lock and Shah 2007: 488; Jayaraman 2016: 9-10).

Studies funded by fiscally conservative think tanks, like the *Employment Policies Institute* or the *Economic Self-Sufficiency Policy Research Institute*, deny that a raising of the tipped minimum wage would deliver financial benefit to poor restaurant workers (See Sabia, Burkhauser, and Mackay 2018). Tasked politically with reducing the minimum wage generally, these studies arguably

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[7] Such arguments are legion amongst employer groups, and can readily be found on the webpage for *Restaurant Workers of America*, which is a US employer organization for employers and owners from across the restaurant industry. See https://www.restaurantworkersofamerica.org/faq.
(Employer Group called).

[8] 'Space' here is that point carved of the medium of social relations, and which is entailed in the notion of a 'social production of space' (See Lefebvre 1991).

conform the terms of their analyses to their ideological and special interest objectives. For example, by replacing the individual with the household as the basic unit of analysis, Sabia *et al* demonstrate that raising the tipped minimum wage would be a 'poorly targeted policy to deliver income to poor restaurant workers' (2018: 637). Such an analytical move subsumes the individual into precisely those asymmetric social relations that the tipping technique relies upon for its subordinations and control. Vested interest studies do not (cannot) consider whether or not the very existence of the tipped minimum wage itself increases poverty levels. Whilst studies such as this focus on the manipulation of the tipped-minimum wage as an object of policy tinkering, this analysis advocates explains and problematises the tipped minimum wage, and thus of the matrix of social relations that it brings into being.

Despite the sanguine portrayal of the practice, tipping actually brings with it an impressive historical legacy of inequality, disparity, and a particular asymmetry of power relations, not to mention a problematic relationship with the distinctively 'modern' logic of Society. It is an undemocratic means of control, for it creates a 'system of distorted incentives' that instrumentalize the individual (Archibugi 2004: 2), rather than treating them as ends in themselves (See Fromm 1960; Marcuse 2013), and through which service is aligned with the wills of others (See Lordon 2014), leaving the server without a clear and unambiguous structure on which to base their rights and recourse. It also devolves onto the server a large share of organizational labour usually left to the managerial and proprietorial levels, and it places the server into a divisive set of relations with other workers, both tipped and non-tipped.

Whilst there is literature on tipping policy to be found on US Government websites, such as the *US Department of Labor* and the *US Bureau of Labor Statistics*, or from think-tank institutions like the *Economic Policy Institute*, they are limited in sociological scope. Likewise, while a few labour pressure groups, such as the *Restaurant Opportunities Center United* (ROC United), have done extensive research on tipping and 'tipped minimum wage' policy that is informative, it lacks a theoretically articulate critique of social problems and does not reach the level of sociological analysis required for an academic literature on tipping. However, aside from a number of cursory and relatively descriptive pieces (Archibugi 2004), the academic sociological literature on tipping is surprisingly small and too often treats tipping as a normative 'puzzle' to be 'solved' (Azar 2007a). Critically effective policy research however can be built upon a number of pillars. *Historical* analyses are essential to understand the profound social logic

operative in the tipping practice (See Van Den Eeckhout 2015), as well as the socio-political agenda that they serve. *Sociological* analyses that work auto-ethnographically at the intersection of personal experience and critical theory can be especially propitious for the constitutive process of critical praxis that is informative of policy production (Dowling 2007, 2012). Finally, Allegretto and Cooper (2014) offer the point of departure in the loose *policy-oriented* literature around tipping, particularly around the question of the 'tipped minimum wage', and it is this issue that will be addressed after a brief introduction to who is tipped in the restaurant industry.

4.3.2 *The Restaurant Industry*

Servers and bartenders receive the bulk of tips in the restaurant industry. According to the USBLS, the median income for servers and bartenders in 2017 was $20,820 and $21,6901 respectively (USBLS: Waiters and Waitress; USBLS: Bartenders). The national median income for that same year was $37,690 (USBLS: Waiters and Waitress; BLS: Bartenders). It is important to note that nearly half of those persons employed as a server and two-fifths of those person employed as bartenders are part-time workers (USBLS: Waiters and Waitress; BLS: Bartenders). The average wage of tipped employees in restaurants varies significantly by, restaurant, city and state. I take for example three different states, 1) Texas which complies with the federal minimum, 2) New York which has a higher minimum and tipped minimum wage but are not equivalent and 3) Washington which has one wage for all workers. The minimum and tipped minimum wages are taken from the EPI 2019 report whereas the average yearly income for tipped servers comes from the BLS Occupational Statistics.

Table 2 Average Income for Servers by State, U.S. BLS 2018; EPI 2019

State	Minimum Wage	Tipped Minimum Wage	Avg. Yearly Income for Tipped Servers.
Texas	$7.25	$2.13	$23,940.00
New York	$11.10	$7.50	$31,310.00
Washington	$12.00	$12.00	$33,890.00

The variation in the minimum wage between each state shows the potential for income variations across regions and comparing these three states to the national median income of $20,6901 shows the additional variation across the country as a whole. What this varied landscape does is create a confusing policy landscape where workers are subject to variations in pay and potentially exploitative practices. In order to fully understand the complexity of the tipped landscape it is now necessary to unpack what the tipped minimum wage is and how it works.

4.3.3 *The 'Tipped Minimum Wage'*

The parameters to tipping policy in the US are established essentially by the federal government, but individual states have some jurisdiction.[9] Minimum wage law is governed by the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). This initially provided protection for government employees and those who worked in interstate commerce, but the law has exponentially expanded since then, and a 1966 Amendment to the FLSA widened its scope to encompass service workers, including restaurant workers (Allegretto and Cooper 2014: 2). This in turn means that the minimum wage base is controlled predominantly by the federal government. States must at least meet the minimum established by the federal government, but states can elect to increase their minimum wage above this level. In addition to the regular minimum wage there is also a 'tipped minimum wage' for legally recognised 'tipped workers', creating a 'two-tiered wage system' in those sectors of the labour market (Allegretto and Cooper 2014). The federal 'tipped minimum wage' stands currently at $2.13 per hour, as opposed to the regular federal minimum wage of $7.25 per hour. We have used information from the *Economic Policy Institute* to compile a table which shows the various state minimum wages, both 'tipped' and 'regular' (Table 1).[10]

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[9] See the Handy Reference Guide to the Fair Labor Standards Act (2016).

[10] Not only do states often have a different minimum wage to the federal minimum wage, but regions and cities may have different minimum wages as well, for example New York City. The information in the chart only shows the general minimum wage for the state.

Table 3 Federal and States' 'Minimum Wage'/'Tipped Minimum Wage' (Economic Policy Institute, 2019)

	US States + DC	Minimum Wage	Tipped Minimum Wage
1.	Federal (USA)	$7.25	$2.13
2.	District of Columbia	$13.25	$3.89
3.	Alabama	$7.25*	$2.13*
4.	Alaska	$9.89	$9.89
5.	Arizona	$11.00	$8.00
6.	Arkansas	$9.25	$2.63
7.	California	$12.00	$12.00
8.	Colorado	$11.10	$8.08
9.	Connecticut	$10.10	$6.38
10.	Delaware	$8.75	$2.23
11.	Florida	$8.46	$5.44
12.	Georgia	$5.15**	$2.13
13.	Hawaii	$10.10	$10.10
14.	Idaho	$7.25	$3.35
15.	Illinois	$8.25	$4.95
16.	Indiana	$7.25	$2.13
17.	Iowa	$7.25	$4.35
18.	Kansas	$7.25	$2.13
19.	Kentucky	$7.25	$2.13
20.	Louisiana	$7.25*	$2.13*
21.	Maine	$11.00	$5.50
22.	Maryland	$10.10	$3.63
23.	Massachusetts	$12.00	$4.35
24.	Michigan	$9.25	$3.52
25.	Minnesota	$9.86	$9.86
26.	Mississippi	$7.25*	$2.13*
27.	Missouri	$8.60	$4.30
28.	Montana	$8.50	$8.50
29.	Nebraska	$9.00	$2.13
30.	Nevada	$8.25	$8.25
31.	New Hampshire	$7.25	$3.26
32.	New Jersey	$8.85	$2.13
33.	New York	$11.10	$7.50
34.	New Mexico	$7.50	$2.13
35.	North Carolina	$7.25	$2.13
36.	North Dakota	$7.25	$4.86
37.	Ohio	$8.55	$4.30
38.	Oklahoma	$7.25	$2.13
39.	Oregon	$10.75	$10.75
40.	Pennsylvania	$7.25	$2.83
41.	Rhode Island	$10.50	$3.89
42.	South Carolina	$7.25*	$2.13*
43.	South Dakota	$9.10	$4.55
44.	Tennessee	$7.25*	$2.13*
45.	Texas	$7.25	$2.13
46.	Utah	$7.25	$2.13
47.	Vermont	$10.77	$5.39
48.	Virginia	$7.25	$2.13
49.	Washington	$12.00	$12.00
50.	West Virginia	$8.75	$2.63
51.	Wisconsin	$7.25	$2.33
52.	Wyoming	$5.15**	$2.13**

Tipped Minimum Wage same as Federal Minimum.

▢ (grey box)	Minimum and Tipped Minimum Wage are the Same.
☐ (outlined box)	Minimum and/or Tipped Minimum Wage Above Federal Minimum.
*	State has no minimum, federal minimum applies by default.
**	Workers not covered under Federal Labor Standards Act receive below federal minimum.

The 'tipped minimum wage' is used as a way to pay workers in order to benefit the employer under what is called a 'tip credit' system. The idea being that tips will make up the difference from the 'tipped minimum wage' of $2.13 an hour to the regular federal minimum wage of $7.25 an hour, a difference of $5.12 an hour. For example, a Server is paid the federal 'tipped minimum wage' of $2.13 an hour, with the assumption that their tips will be at least $5.12 per hour, thus taking the Server's hourly income up to $7.25 per hour in total. The employer claims this $5.12 per hour as wages paid toward the employee via tips. In practice, this system relieves the owner of providing the full minimum wage to their employees. The logic behind this relief is that the employee is customarily receiving money for their work from customers in the form of tips and so the burden of a full minimum wage is unfair and economically deleterious for the employer. The federal Fair Labor Standards Act §3(m) outlines the requirements of this 'tip credit' system. Below is an outline of the five requirements in the FLSA §3(m), and in addition to this an employer must inform any 'tipped employee' of these five requirements, either in written or in verbal form, in order to claim the 'tip credit' (FLSA: Fact Sheet #15):[11]

1) The amount of cash wage [wage] the employer is paying a 'tipped employee' must be at least $2.13 per hour.

2) The additional amount claimed by the employer as a 'tip credit' cannot exceed $5.12 (the difference between the minimum required cash wage of $2.13 and the current minimum wage of $7.25).

3) The 'tip credit' claimed by the employer cannot exceed the amount of tips actually received by the 'tipped employee'.

4) All tips received by the 'tipped employee' are to be retained by the employee except for a valid tip pooling arrangement limited to employees, who customarily and regularly receive tips.

5) The 'tip credit' will not apply to any 'tipped employee', unless the employee has been informed of these 'tip credit' provisions.

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[11] See https://www.dol.gov/whd/regs/compliance/whdfs15.htm.

Naturally, restaurant owners with tight margins benefit from this $5.12 'tip credit', by virtue of the lower labour costs it entails, and employer groups lobby intensely for its maintenance (discussed further in Chapter 7). How can we handle the problems with this 'tip credit' system? First, there are a number of problems with the system as defined, which can be subject to critical scrutiny on its own terms.

There is an obvious incentive to keep pay low, pay workers 'off the books', and to report false-tips. It can prove quite lucrative for an employer to manipulate the $5.12 differential that they report for many employees over the course of many months. Additionally, it can also be difficult to prove that employers are not paying the 'tip credit' differential, when employees tips do not add up to the $7.25 minimum. One might assume it to be an uncommon occurrence, but in January of 2019 a restaurant called Max's Pizza Inc. (New York) was found guilty of violating the tipped minimum wage law and of not paying their employees the necessary difference to reach the $7.25 federal minimum (USDL 2019b). A Tennessee restaurant group was required to pay back over one-million dollars in lawsuits over tip and wage theft (Stephenson, 2022). Instances such as this require the Federal Government, under the FLSA, to retrieve back wages for employees. However, if for some reason an employer has been stealing tips from their employees, the FLSA only requires restitution up to the $7.25 minimum wage to the Server, no more.[12] In addition to the wage theft in the form of non-payment, owners and managers of restaurants have been known to 'skim off the top' of workers tips. This is very difficult to prove, especially if tips are in the form of cash. Tipping generally, and the policies that surround it, reinforce informal remunerative procedures in the workplace, and it is workers who pay the cost of this informality.

Lastly, the federal tipped minimum wage has been frozen at $2.13 per hour since 1991 (Allegretto and Cooper 2014). According to Saru Jayaraman, the head of ROC United, the *National Restaurant Association* (NRA) has much to do with this wage freeze. The NRA is a powerful association of restaurant owners and corporations. They have previously worked with restaurant groups such as Darden, whose holdings include a chain called *The Olive Garden*, and they boast a membership of over 500,000 other restaurant business, for whom they advocate. It also has a board membership ranging from the CEO of Wolfgang Puck

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[12] The U.S. Department of Labor website states that the FLSA 'does not provide wage payment collection procedures for an employee's usual or promised wages or commissions in excess of those required by the FLSA'.

Worldwide – a high-end restaurant group – to a member of the elite US Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100. This association has great lobbying power (Dixon 2016) in the US Government, and is even referenced as a source of information on the USBLS *Occupational Outlook Handbook* on Waiters and Waitresses (2019a)![13] The Policy Agenda on their website is focused specifically at benefitting restaurant owners, [14] with little mention of other perspectives. The influence of this association was made clear back in 1996, when Congress increased the regular minimum wage to $7.25 per hour on the understanding that the 'NRA would not oppose a modest increase in the overall minimum wage, as long as the minimum wage for tipped workers would in turn stay frozen *forever*' (Jayaraman 2016: 8-9). The $2.13 per hour tipped minimum wage has been thus frozen for 23 years, and this policy has endured since to the direct benefit of large corporations and restaurant owners.

These are some of the problems with the 'tipped minimum wage' policy, and the 'tip credit' system, on their own terms. However, if we are to delve more critically into tipping as a technique of labour control, and into its *societal* implications, the problematisation of the 'tip credit' system has to go beyond the terms of the tipped minimum wage itself, and into the space that it creates.

4.4 Conclusion

The historical background of tipping illuminates an ambiguity imbedded in the tip as something that is not a wage, but not simply a gift. It is something done in private homes, but also in public and in the arena of business. It functions in modernity, but holds within it traditional dynamics of patronage and class distinction that developed in servitude.

The tip credit system is vague and confusing at best, and lack of clarity combined with great variation in policy creates a structure that promotes exploitation and domination of individuals along the categorical contours of gender, race, and class, *inter alia.* The various minimum wage policies in the United States create a confusing and at times unnavigable terrain. This produces significantly different work environments and experiences for employees, and the difference between a standard minimum wage and a tipped minimum wage may have significant effects on workers in different regions. To put the matter starkly, the 'tip credit' system for a male

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[13] See https://www.bls.gov/ooh/food-preparation-and-serving/waiters-and-waitresses.htm#tab-9.
[14] See https://www.restaurant.org/advocacy/policy-agenda.

waiter in an upscale New York City steakhouse might not be harmful, but the 'tip credit' system for a single mother working as a waitress in a rust belt town without many employment opportunities is something entirely different.

The confusions which surround these policies make them difficult to navigate and any campaign which aims to change this policy will have to deal with both the confusing policy topography and the political influence of a wealthy and powerful association of vested interests. Whilst valid, necessary, and critical intervention into the 'tip credit' system can be undertaken through the terms of the extant discourse on the 'tipped minimum wage', research on tipping must include the greater historical, political, and even philosophical bearing, of the practice, especially given the relative absence of such consideration in the policy literature. If the societal implications of the technique of tipping are to be integrated into policy formation and analysis, then it is from this second area of research that it will come. Whilst the policy topography is confusing, understanding how tipping works in specific spaces becomes important to any critique of this geography.

Chapter 5: Tipping in the Hamptons, Setting the Scene for the 'Field' of Research

In the previous chapter we saw how the tipped minimum wage differs throughout the United States. What was not discussed was how spaces, regions, and states contribute to the hierarchy created by tipping. Affluent regions are better for tipped workers due to the abundance of leisure, economic surplus, and a higher propensity to spend income. In this chapter, the space of the Hamptons is discussed as a facet of the research itself, because the geographical location where tipping occurs is essential to how it functions. Tipping and the tipped minimum wage create a divide between workers in the same occupation through a difference in geographic, economic, and social space.

The space, relative affluence, and demographic of the tipped worker can make tipping relatively lucrative. A good-looking, young, female in the Hamptons working for tips during the summer is in a different situation than the single mother working for tips in a Waffle House in Durham, North Carolina (See Saslow 2020). It is important to remember that 'the class inequalities upon which capital accumulation rests are frequently defined by identities of race, gender, ethnicity, religion and geographical affiliations' (Harvey 2010: 241). Tipping is thus incredibly divisive. Some do well under the tipped system, whilst others suffer. By studying an area of wealth concentration and privilege, this chapter focuses not simply on the reduced minimum wage as a mechanism of control, but instead situates tipping in relation to wealth, privilege, and the consumption of services and crucially the role of servility in the neoliberal paradigm (discussed at length in chapter 7).

This chapter presents and analyses the space of 'The Hamptons' in New York as a facet of the fieldwork and describes the qualitative and quantitative components of the space. It is the space within which tipping is experienced, that is to say, it is the operative 'field' (Bourdieu 2005 [2000]: 148, Thompson 2012: 63) of those who live and work there. Looking merely at social interactions, according to Bourdieu (2005) would be inadequate (2005 [2000]: 148). We need to further understand the 'social space' of tipping, where 'interactions, transactions, and events occurred' (Thomson 2012: 65). The space of the research is part of the data itself and the Hamptons points to a space where many benefit from this custom. The people who work here are often on, at, or near the top of the hierarchy described earlier, depending on the restaurant they work in and their 'rank' within it. These workers are also imbedded in class

relations given their relative proximity to wealthy patrons, and this proximity can have an incredibly effective mobilising effect on workers.

In identifying this experience, and the problems faced here, we can begin to understand the problems that lie elsewhere and in other spaces with less privilege, and understand the divide between workers who are subject to the custom. The point of studying tipping in the Hamptons is to show how it functions, and how it is generative of social relations under capitalism, and how these social relations can be more or less extreme given the relative position of the worker, the region, state, or restaurant. One of the research participants, Ashley (39, white), describes the experience of the Hamptons, and tipped work in the Hamptons as a 'bubble' saying

> We're in a bubble of our tipped work, our experience of tipped work is probably different to anybody else's… I sometimes, you get stuck in this little bubble, especially the Hamptons bubble…

5.1 The Research Setting

Located approximately seventy-five miles east of Manhattan, 'The Hamptons' begin roughly at the border of Southampton Township (See **Map 1**). On the East End of Long Island and on the 'South Fork', the Hamptons stretch from Remsenberg to Montauk. There are varying hamlets and towns throughout, many with their own character, municipal governments, and with different property price-tags, and levels of status. As a general rule the further east you go, the more prestigious, but only to a certain point. Southampton is more 'old money', whilst East Hampton is more 'new money'. Where you have a summer home matters. It is discussed at parties, in restaurants, at the country club, and with whispers of judgement or gasps of approval and envy. One real estate agent, Alicia, described the Hamptons and why people buy second homes or try to rent homes for the summer there saying 'The Hamptons are marketed as this beautiful, wealthy, vacation spot, ninety minutes from Manhattan… It's status, it's one-hundred percent status'.

Map 1 Suffolk County New York Townships
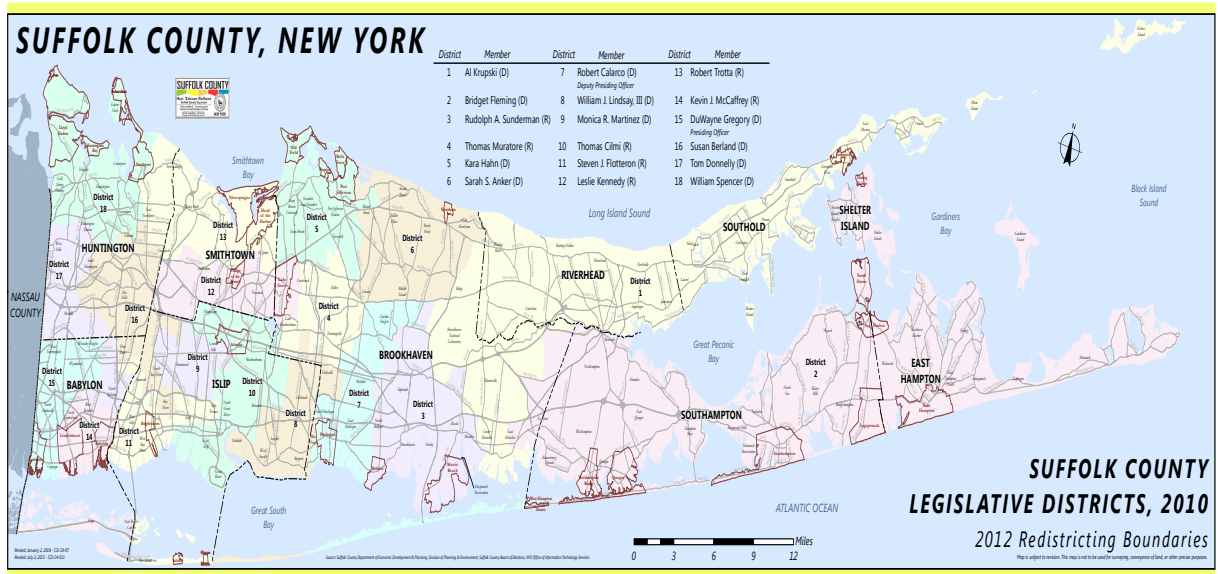
(Suffolk County Government)

She also describes the level of wealth in the region

> If I learned anything (from being in the real estate business), there is just so much more money out here than we even know… there is just so much money, and I just don't understand where it comes from…what do these people do?

However, the Hamptons are not simply comprised of multi-million dollar mansions for the rich and the beautiful. Less visible to a wider audience are the locals, the year-round residents, many of whom struggle to make ends meet,[15] as well as the Native American Indian Reservation of the Shinnecock Nation. This reservation is located on 900 acres of prime waterfront real estate adjacent to Southampton Village, notorious among locals as a place you do not go unless you are with a member of the reservation. There are 1,300 members of the tribe, but only 720 live on the reservation where the median annual income is approximately $30,000 (Kilganon 2021) – a stark contrast to their Southampton neighbours whose median household income was $100,772 for 2016-2020 period (U.S. Census Bureau, Southampton, 2021). The juxtaposition of those who have and those who have not is often stark, but often rendered invisible. Workers often cannot afford to live where they work. I asked Alicia (the

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[15] The poverty rate for Southampton during the 2020 Census was 7.9%, and for East Hampton that number was 11.3% (US Census Bureau 2021, Southampton, East Hampton).

real estate agent) the following question: 'the laborers, where are they living'? Her response was

> in the outskirts because you just flat out can't afford to live where you work anymore, or live where you've grown up, or what you know, because it's just, the pricing is so astronomical.

Whilst the New York elites use this as their summer playground it also requires a significant workforce to provide the leisure of those elites. There are residents who live in this space year-round. However, the summertime economy requires an influx of labour commensurate to the influx of summertime residents and visitors. Internal and international migrant and local labour are all necessary to supply the seemingly endless list of jobs that pop up in this seasonal service economy. Many workers flood in, only to find limited and poor housing. The lucky ones work for high end companies that rent out homes for their employees.[16] Some can find a share house with other workers, others live on site at clubs like the exclusive Maidstone Club in East Hampton. Others are forced to pay astronomical prices to live in cramped, and run-down motels that most people will not go near and pretend not to notice. This fieldwork was only possible because I was able to stay with family that lived in a town nearby.

There are nannies, housekeepers, camp counsellors, gardeners, landscapers, pool maintenance workers, drivers, waitresses, bartenders, personal assistants, shop attendants, lifeguards, as well as personal lifestyle instructors of every imaginable kind (surfing, yoga, etc.). This is an economy clearly based on service labour, and service aimed mostly at a wealthy and powerful elite. Many year-round residents with full-time employment find themselves working at weekends or in the evenings to make extra money during this time. Immigrant student labour visiting on J-1 work visas arrive from various global locations. Undocumented immigrants (some who reside in this location year-round) arrive to fill the demand for labour. Others rely on the seasonal summer work to fulfil the bulk of their income needs, and work in the hospitality and service sector year-round with specific emphasis on 'the season'. It is these workers, specifically tipped workers in the service economy that are the focus of this analysis because they are particularly beholden to the seasonal influx. It is important to understand just

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[16] The real estate agent interviewed mention that her company, 'just rented one house to a restaurant group for their employees' and described the situation as 'pretty common out here because of the, I believe it's the J-1 program, they bring people over from Europe and they basically, the restaurant gets money to employ them and house them, so they have to find somewhere for these people to live..'.

how significant this influx is, this is described through demographics data below. During the second round of fieldwork the COVID-19 pandemic was at its height, vast swathes of people flocked to the region buying and renting any accommodation they could get their hands on. This changed the housing market, and the influx and outflux of 'the season' to some degree.[17]

5.1.1 *The Restaurant*

The ethnographic research took place at Hampton Bistro, a small restaurant (in terms of staff numbers and physical size) in the Hamptons, located by the water, and in very close proximity to a private marina. Hampton Bistro is privately owned, and it is the only establishment owned by the two owners. One of the great appeals of the restaurant is the waterside dining it provides. It is incredibly busy during the summer season, but slower in the 'off-season', even closing for two months during the deep winter months. The front of house staff (pre-COVID) consisted of approximately ten workers per shift, whilst back of the house (the kitchen) consisted of approximately five workers per shift. During COVID-19 the front of house staff consisted of five members of staff, and the back of the house consisted of an average five workers per shift. Clientele ranged from working-class locals, day-trippers to celebrities and wealthy second-home owners.

The tipped workers in the front of the house made the full-minimum wage and were not subject to a tipped minimum wage despite no legal requirement to do this. Previously, the tipped members of staff did make a tipped-minimum wage, this changed in 2018. During both rounds of fieldwork, tips comprised nearly seventy-five percent of my total income, despite the full-minimum wage received. Given my previous experience in multiple restaurants, and restaurant types, the overall working conditions here were the most fair in terms of wages. It was an incredibly busy restaurant and the worst part of working there was the ease with which overwork occurred (working too many shifts, 'covering' other members of staff, etc.), the hectic nature of the busy shifts worked, the heat of working outside, and unpleasant or rude encounters with customers.

This research points to one of the best possible scenarios for a tipped worker. We made a full wage with tips on top, although our wages received from the owner were a significantly smaller

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[17] The Hamptons housing market has revolved around second-home buyers for some time, however after the pandemic this emphasis increased. During the pandemic, many second-home owners stayed out in the Hamptons beyond the limits of the season. The extent to which this trend has become permanent is unclear.

portion of our total income. During the busy summer months we would often receive 'void' or $0.00 pay-checks as our wages went to paying the taxes on the tips we made.[18] This differential between wages and tips resulted in our continued reliance on customer generosity for the bulk of our income during the season. Our need to appeal to our customer base was heightened and our interactions with them resulted in an asymmetrical power relation based on economic necessity. In studying this relatively privileged space, I point to instances of domination, exploitation, and appropriation, despite the relatively good conditions of the work environment. Before the critical analysis of the space can take place, a better understanding of the region itself is necessary. This includes an understanding of the demographics of the region and the seasonality of the economy.

5.2 Demographics and Seasonality

The Hamptons are made up of the Town of Southampton and the Town of East Hampton encompassing many villages, townships, hamlets, and also a federally recognized Native American Reservation of the Shinnecock Indian Nation. General information about the towns can be found on the United States Census Bureau website. I take population estimates for 2019 (the first year of the fieldwork) and for 2021 (to show the increase in population due to COVID-19 migration). In **Table 4** the geographic area, and year-round population and are provided.

Table 4 Hamptons Population 2019 and 2021

	Southampton 2019*	Southampton 2021**	East Hampton 2019*	East Hampton 2021**	Total 2019*	Total 2021**
Area (Square Miles)	139.2	139.2	74.33	74.33	213.53	213.53
Population	58,314	69,036	22,007	28,385	80,321	97,421

*Population based on estimates as of 01 July 2019 from the U.S. Census Bureau, Population Estimates Program (PEP) (United States Census Bureau 2019a, 2019b).
** Population based on estimates for the 2020 US Census (01 April 2020 – 01 July 2021) (United States Census Bureau 2021a, 2021b, 2021c).

The population and the ethnic/racial and foreign population breakdown of the towns is also important to the creation of space. This information was also taken from the United States

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[18] Pay-checks were more substantial in the off season when business, and tips, were not as abundant and were more heavily relied upon.

Census Bureau PEP Estimates for 2019 and 2021 (U.S. Census Bureau 2019a, 2019b, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c) and provided in **Table 5**.

Table 5 Hamptons Demographics 2019 and 2021

	Southampton 2019	Southampton 2021	East Hampton 2019	East Hampton 2021	National 2019	National 2021
Hispanic/Latino	19.8%	19.7%	19.8%	26.1%	18.2%	18.9%
White (Not-Hispanic/Latino)	71%	70.5%	74.6%	68.8%	60.4%	59.3%
Black (Alone)	5.4%	6.0%	2.7%	2.4%	13.4%	13.6%
Asian (Alone)	2.4%	2.0%	2.1%	1.9%	5.9%	6.1%
Foreign Born	18.6%	17.2%	19.9%	21.1%	13.5%	13.5%

Whilst census data can be problematic (collecting data on persons without legal status in the United States is difficult and skews results), it does show how The Hamptons compares to the U.S. national averages generally. Additionally, many part-time residents claim their primary residence elsewhere, skewing the data further. The Hamptons have a greater proportion of white non-Hispanic, Hispanic/Latino, and Foreign- born persons than the national average. It has fewer Black alone and Asian alone persons than the national average. In terms of foreign born persons, immigration to the Hamptons is not a new phenomenon. However, there is an ongoing conspicuous demand for undocumented immigrant labour to fulfil the needs of the rich. This has brought a growing tension to the east end of Long Island generally, regarding the increase of this immigrant labour (Dolgon, 2005). This tension often reflects structural divisions according to racial lines, and discourses of illegality and immigration reform.

An understanding of housing in the Hamptons is acutely important to the demographic composition of the space as it is indicative of the economy of the space and the socioeconomic status of the inhabitants. This is detailed in **Figure 1**. This figure includes the median value of housing units nationally, in Southampton, and in East Hampton. The median gross rent is displayed in **Figure 2** for these same regions.

Figure 1 Hamptons Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Unit

Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Unit

- National: 204,900 (2019), 229,800 (2021)
- Southampton: 653,800 (2019), 686,700 (2021)
- East Hampton: 850,000 (2019), 883,300 (2021)

■ 2019 ■ 2021
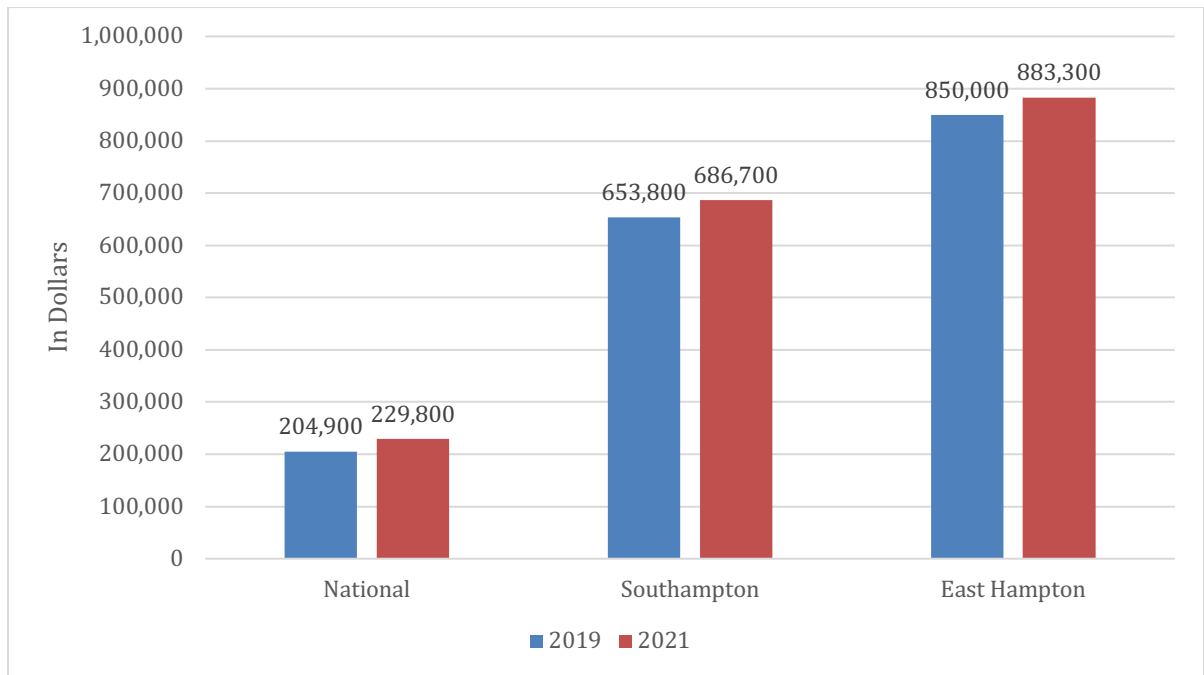
**Median House Value of owner-occupied housing units 2014-2018, not including non-owner-occupied housing. Data for 2019 was taken from the U.S. Census Bureau 2019a, 2019b. Data for 2021 was taken from the U.S. Census Bureau 2021a, 2021b, 2021c, 2021d.

Figure 2 Hamptons Median Gross Rent

Median Gross Rent

- National: 1,023 (2019), 1,096 (2021)
- Southampton: 1,792 (2019), 1,886 (2021)
- East Hampton: 1,867 (2019), 2,290 (2021)

■ 2019 ■ 2021
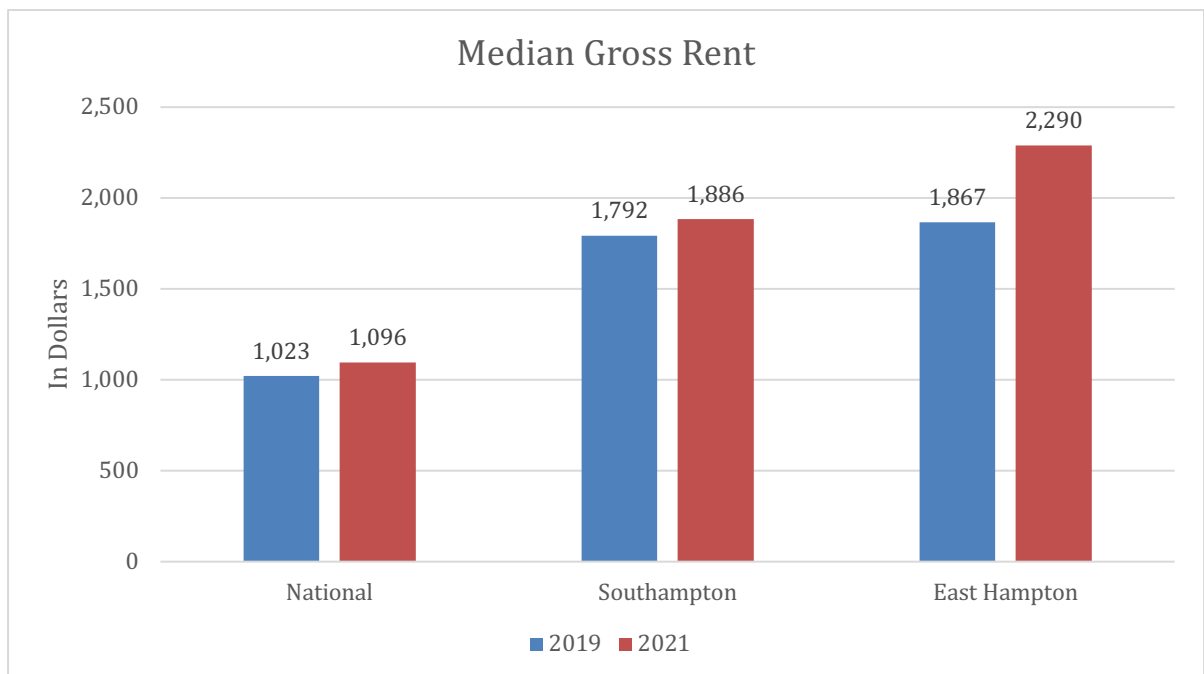
Again, this data does not provide a completely clear picture of the space of the Hamptons. Many are second homes, rental homes, etc., but it does illuminate some characteristics of the space when compared to national averages. This data was shown to Alicia, the estate agent in

the Hamptons, to test whether the numbers and statistics rang true with the experiences 'on the ground'. The response, when asked about the numbers corresponding to house value and rental costs for Southampton and East Hampton, was laughter from the estate agent. She said 'I'd love to see what they are doing this data on…it's very low'.

Former Southampton Town Supervisor Fred Thiele commented during a 1990 study on seasonal population influx that 47 percent of residential homes were in fact second homes (Cummings 1995), a qualification outside of the 'owner occupied housing unit' depicted above. With the COVID-19 pandemic this phenomenon has been exacerbated. When asked to describe the real estate market in the Hamptons the estate agent above stated

> it's insane…we have a unique market because it's a secondary market for the most part versus a primary market, which is what any place that's not a vacation area is, essentially, so when the market is effected by interest rates or mortgages or pricing, anything like that, the Hamptons kind of goes by unscathed, like, they are not as effected by those kind of things. If anything it just makes it easier for these people to buy.

'These people' she is describing are the wealthy. When asked where average working people who grew up in these towns live, or where workers who work in the Hamptons can find homes she said 'Not the Hamptons…they are going to have to be on the outskirts'.

Similarly, when discussing rental properties this same estate agent described the rental market as almost exclusively targeting summer or 'seasonal rentals' and pointed to one house being rented for $20,000 for the month of August. When asked how 'normal working people' might find a year-round rental she responded with 'there is no more of a year-round rental market, it's so hard to come by, and if you do come by something it's over $3,000 a month for a rental'.

Moving to the experience of a tipped co-worker, Ashley talks about how, despite making good money in tips, finding housing proves difficult, and the ability to save or get ahead is a struggle if you want to live near where you work.

> **Ashley:** The servers here are making excellent money, but our cost of living is astronomical, so we're still not getting that far ahead necessarily, because of where we

live. So that's I feel like a little bit of a pull in and out of like wanting to be here and not wanting to be here sometimes.

Despite the privileged position of being able to make good money in tips in the Hamptons, many workers still find it incredibly difficult to keep up with the high cost of living and the increasing housing prices being driven up by wealthy second-home owners. Jessica describes how many people who are locals find it difficult to afford housing in the area they are originally from, and are forced (through high cost housing and rents) to move further away.

> **Jessica:** And I mean we can't buy anything so we rent or live with our parents. Or we try to find a way to live in a surrounding neighbourhood for a liveable income, and like a liveable rent and make it work. Which is fucked.

Valerie talks about the inability, despite making good money, to save money. The majority of money saved in the summer season is used for rent, food, etc., and to subsidize lower tipped income throughout the remainder of the year.

> **Valerie:** When people say they have a nest egg (savings), I'm like a nest egg is what I use to get through the winter, there is nothing left of the nest egg come the next season. I never, I think I would save let's say $10-15,000, but that would be gone by the next season.

Despite the problematic nature of the data sets above, they do indicate a disproportionate concentration of wealth in the region compared to national data. When this data is put into relation with the experiences of those who work and grew up in the region, a problematic and political issue emerges. The pressure to work, but without the ability to afford housing puts workers in an incredibly difficult position. The market works against them and is almost exclusively there for those who can afford second homes. In addition to the concentration of wealth and the demographic makeup of the area, an elaboration of the seasonality of the economy and population is necessary. Pointing to how the second-home market in the Hamptons dominates the entire housing and rental markets is one way to look tangibly to the economic, political, and social power playing out in this space.

I had an interesting interaction with a customer during the fieldwork period. He was in the oil business and a foreigner that summered in the Hamptons. He discussed the name of one particular town of the Hamptons, noting that the name should be changed to give it more appeal and increase the value of homes and properties of the town. I asked him, 'where are the workers supposed to live if all of the housing prices go up? How are the locals supposed to pay taxes on their increased property values'? He did not say anything else. The influx of people with great wealth creates a space that is dictated by their needs and their dispositions. They do not think that any of 'their' space needs to remain affordable or in the hands of the locals. It is their playground; it is their property (that needs to increase in value because it is an investment, not a home). This is a social production of geographical space 'in the image' of a new socio-economic landscape that facilitates capital accumulation (Banjeree-Guha 2008: 52; see also Harvey 2000; Lefebvre 1991).

5.2.1 *Seasonality*

So how does tipping relate to seasonality and what exactly is meant by 'season'? The term 'season' in this case indicates fluctuation and restriction: Between Memorial Day, at the end of May, and Labor Day, at the beginning of September, the summer 'season' brings an influx of tourists, second-home owners, and out of town labour. This short and restrictive span of time creates a fluctuation and surge in population and economic activity, and crucially a restricted window of opportunity to generate income streams. Along with the quantitative nature of this surge, its qualitative nature is equally important – the space of the Hamptons appeals to the elite, creates a space of exclusivity and thus exclusion and division. I turn first to the qualitative description. For the workers of the Hamptons, the bulk of their income is made during this season, and for tipped workers, the bulk of their tips are made during this time. April (29, white) describes what working under this seasonality feels like stating 'I work in seasonal places and I feel like my life is very seasonal and so I will work my ass off for a certain amount of time and then leave and come back and do it again'.

Nicole (25, white) makes a similar observation stating

> working in the summer for those two months working my ass off, dealing with the shitty people, customers, just bad situations, I'll put up with it because I know come January, February I'll be ok with the money. Like I can survive.

The pressure to work intensely can be so acute that many workers feel that in addition to the period of overwork, that to take time off, even if incredibly ill, is impossible. Valerie explains

> You almost feel like, if you do miss work, like that first of all it's a lot of money, and second of all it's, the season is so short. I don't understand how people can take off one of their shifts or two of their shifts or three of their shifts, ever!

The restaurant industry is notorious for a lack of sick days or time off. If you do not go to work, you cannot get tips, so you do not get paid. The pressure of the seasonality adds to the imperative to work. An extended conversation with Valerie reveals what the pressure feels like.

> **Valerie:** And that's the other thing about that industry, you're like a horse, they'll shoot you if don't work.
>
> **JR:** When you're done, you're dead.
>
> **Valerie:** Oh you got a broken leg? Sorry! (Fires finger gun).
>
> **JR:** That's the thing, there's no sick days, you have to go to work. Unless you can't get out of your bed, you have to go.
>
> **Valerie:** I was having an ectopic pregnancy and bleeding, and I worked my whole shift, miscarried and worked the whole shift.
>
> **JR:** And not knowing about it (the severity or diagnosis of what was occurring), you know it's not an option.
>
> **Valerie:** Who is going to cover you if you leave…
>
> **JR:** When I went to the emergency room this summer and was in pain…my husband was like 'you are not going to work tomorrow,' and I just nodded at him like, 'yes, ok'. But I absolutely knew I was going in. I left the emergency room at 5:30 in the morning and just thought I know I have to go in (I did).
>
> **Valerie:** Who is going to cover?
>
> **JR:** Then I felt bad even trying to ask… I know no one is going to be able to cover…
>
> **Valerie:** Exactly.
>
> **JR:** And also, you almost feel like it's not even warranted, you know, which is so messed up. You are like, I still have my leg so how dare I call out.
>
> **Valerie:** Like me last Monday with a broken toe!

Additionally, Kristin describes the way she felt about being pregnant while working for tips and about the pressure of the season.

> **Kristin:** I mean, I, both times (when pregnant) was just, I felt nervous about, you know, losing my job in a way because, you know, I knew I would be out for a while and in the restaurant you have your busy seasons and you know you don't want to be missing that, I don't know…

In addition to the qualitative experiences of seasonal pressure, some information on the population fluctuations will be helpful in painting the picture of 'the season'. For Southampton, 'tourism and the vacation home industry drives the economic development engine of the town' (Town of Southampton 2020). This creates a highly dynamic and frenzied season of money-making that relies on internalisation of discipline by workers according to the needs of the service economy. This discipline requires subordination and servility (Ross 2018; Anderson 2000), affective relations (Dowling 2004, 2007), emotional labour (Hochschild 1983), etc., as service and pleasing the customer is key.

The influx of visitors and seasonal residents illustrates the economic seasonality of the Hamptons. Using census data from 2000, the Suffolk County Planning Department did a study on the saturation of towns on the East End of Long Island, including the Hamptons. This measured the year-round population vs. visiting population, including full occupancy of seasonal housing units. In the town of East Hampton 54% of housing units were seasonal, and in Southampton 35% of housing units were seasonal in 2000 (Suffolk County Department of Planning, 2001: 2). The data for population increase in the year 2000 is shown in **Table 3**. The exercise has not since been repeated, and so we must rely on old data.

Table 6 Hamptons Population Year Round and With Visitors

Southampton Year-Round Population	Southampton Population with Visitors	Southampton Percent Increase	East Hampton Year Round	East Hampton Population with Visitors	East Hampton Percent Increase
55,216	105,676	91%	19,719	54,386	175%

(Suffolk County Department of Planning 2001: 7-8).

Taking into consideration the more current population numbers listed in **Table 1**, an intense picture of population flux starts to emerge. Buttressing this study, and based on the Town of Southampton 2000 Census, the Town of Southampton website boasts a year round population of 55,210 persons, and states that 'the summer population can swell to twice that number or more' (Town of Southampton 2020). Additionally, the *New York Times* reported that 'growth in the summer population… had increased 30 percent from 2000 to 2010' (Rutenberg 2015).

Such influxes of persons, in addition to economic activity, bring road congestion, pollution, and crowded public spaces that are not designed to accommodate such flows. As one local journalist noted in 2015, 'overcrowding and lack of vision in local government at all levels to stem the tide of development, both residential and commercial in nature, have reached the tipping point' (Rattray 2015). Whilst the quantitative influx is significant, the qualitative component of the influx is important. For example, enforcement of traffic laws is problematic, 'after all, what is a $75 fine to someone driving a $250,000 car?' (Rattray 2015).

Whilst the Hamptons have always been a haven for the wealthy, their numbers are growing, the scale of their wealth increasing, and their behaviours are changing. One Hamptonite has commented on the qualitative and quantitative change stating that 'there's so much money it's nauseating', and that the 'conspicuous consumption is just gross' (Krikorian 2021). Rutenberg (2015) notes 'this new Hamptons breed is' changing the landscape and is equipped with 'strong lawyers, big political and public relations guns and sheer financial brawn'.

Whilst the numbers in **Table 6** are twenty years old, they do illustrate the significance of the influx of people during the summer months. This influx brings with it significant economic activity and consumer demand, a demand which can hold the local businesses to ransom. Many of the businesses in this space have to earn the majority of their income during these months and heavily rely on this influx of people. The social and economic relations generated are then disproportionately in favour of those with purchasing power, because there is a short window of less than four months to earn the majority of money for the year. When money is no object to someone there is the potential for great financial reward, if you do what they want. The relations created in this space are not just between the consumer and the owners of businesses, but pressure is also brought to bear on the workers in this space. Servers (waitresses, waiters and bartenders) are the agents within the field of the Hamptons. It is

important to articulate their perception of the social space and their practices within it. This is done through the idiosyncratic relations of the space.

Space incentivizes workers in terms of the proximity and visibility of conspicuous wealth and consumption (Veblen 2007). In parallel to the conspicuous consumption of the region, an economy based on services exists. If one can accurately and appropriately internalise the relations of service and servitude, the economic niche of the Hamptons can be a profitable space. Jessica describes this by saying

> The Hamptons are special because it is basically a playground for wealthy people, it's their vacation homes. We are surrounded by mansions and McMansions and severely wealthy people…and you know in the summertime everyone comes out here and its infiltrated with all these wealthy people who are throwing money around and they're entertaining, and they have people out and they are doing this, that, and the other thing… they are spending money to keep their status, to show who they are so we tend to make really good money.

What relation is created between the 'severely wealthy' and those that serve them? What kind of space emerges from these relations? As Bourdieu recognised, people 'who are very distant from each other in social space can encounter one another and interact, if only briefly and intermittently, in physical space' (1989: 16). It is in the realm of service that one can observe this interaction between economic/social elites, middle classes, working classes and the working poor, and the field that is created from these interactions. Again, as Bourdieu observes

> this is one of those cases where the visible, that which is immediately given, hides the invisible which determines it. One thus forgets that the truth of any interaction is never entirely to be found within the interaction as it avails itself for observation (1989: 16).

It is not simply the interaction that must be observed and accounted for, but the space in which it occurs. The waitress may seem happy and pleasant whilst serving the customer, and perhaps she is, but is this observable interaction the entire interaction? Is there something more? Kristin's experience portrays this unobservable interaction.

Kristin: When it all comes down to it, I can fake a smile…

JR: Do you ever feel like that faking has an effect on you as a whole?

Kristin: Yeah, because I don't know. When like tables are like, 'Oh you're so happy' and I mean in general I am a happy person, it's not all fake, but at the same time I feel like it is also an act, you know like. And there's definitely days when it is an act, and it's hard not to be yourself totally, but again your money is relying on it so you kind of do have to put on an act.

5.3 The Relations of the Space

Starting from the assumption that 'space mediates the production and reproduction of key social divides' (Smith et. al 2010: 1), it is crucial to understand space as a system of relations in process, and as outcomes of social practices (McCormack 2013: 2; Bourdieu 1989: 16; Stanek 2008: 63). These relations and practices exist in, are creative of, and created by, capitalist relations (Stanek 2008; Lefebvre 1991). The endeavour then is to understand bodies and spaces as relational, productive, aesthetic and as having 'force' – socially, politically, and economically (Colls 2012: 431; Bennett 2004). The further aim is to locate positions of power in this space and understand their productive potency particularly within a neoliberal idiom (Foucault, 2010; Bourdieu 1989: 16). To this effect, power is not simply power over the subject, but a mobilizing force (See Foucault 2003). Tipping exacerbates lines of difference. It is an effective means of establishing hierarchies, and produces servile, dominant, subordinates, whilst also mobilising affects (Brewster and Wills 2013). Zelizer points to the relational power of tipping, and reminds us that those who get tips are those that serve (2005: 155-165). In looking at tipping, we can locate positions of power and point to its productive and mobilizing force, especially within the Hamptons.

The Hamptons serve as an empirically observable social space as a social product (Schmid 2008: 28). This has, so far, been established through an empirical explanation of the space and its structural differences – its demographic makeup, and economic composition. These structures of difference are formed through the powers of capital, 'which are effective in the social universe under consideration' (Bourdieu 1998: 32). The experiences of the space help to further illuminate the 'field' of the research.

The space of the Hamptons creates a 'field' of forces, whereby agents are subject to the imposition of these forces (wealth, privilege, and a squeezing out of the geographical space),

but must also confront each other in a field of struggle (Bourdieu 1998: 32; Lefebvre 1991). When working for tips, struggle is problematic, as appeal to the possessors of wealth is necessary. Workers are instead informalized in their wage relation with those that tip them, incentivized by the ability to make tips and by the wealth around them, whilst they internalise the responsibility of their income and the production process of creating the dining experience (elaborated in Chapter 6).

An exchange with April, a research participant, about an encounter with an inappropriate customer, points to the difficulty of struggling against the customer base, especially as only one individual.

> **April:** So I had an instance that happened… that really took the cake for me too, one of our clients who spends a lot of money at that restaurant, he was a dentist, made a comment about my teeth about my mouth and what he thinks belongs in it.
>
> **JR:** Did he use specific words?
>
> **April:** So he said, 'how much cum did you have to swallow to get your teeth that white'?
>
> **JR:** [Gasps] Was this at the table?
>
> **April:** It was at the table, his wife was there, three other women and two other men, and I just like stared at him and then he was like, his wife said, 'oh no, he's a dentist, he can say that'. And I like stared at him, walked away from the table told my manager what he just said. She didn't do anything really until he left and then the owner got word of it…The next day at work I worked a party and the owner said, 'listen…you know April, he does like spend a lot of money at our restaurants, especially when this restaurant closes and our other year round restaurant is still open'.
>
> **JR:** You are basically giving license to this man to behave however he wants.
>
> **April:** And talk to someone who like busts her ass for your restaurant and really cares about your restaurant and I don't get that support back, and I'm like imagine that was your daughter? Would you tell [her] like hey babe… he spends a lot of money at daddy's restaurant, how am I gonna put you through school? No you wouldn't say that.

Kristin shares a similar experience saying

> I do remember one time in particular, where there were like these group of middle aged men and uh, you know they see this cute young girl and they just kept making rude comments to me, and my boss at the time like was like listening to all this stuff and kind of let it go on. You know? And I felt um… you know? I was uncomfortable, but couldn't say anything about it either because I am taking care of them and you know…

The wealth of customers renders them less likely to receive consequences. Additionally, if there is little support for your general wellbeing or working conditions, and if your income is dependent upon the contentment and goodwill of wealthy customers, there is little to be done in the way of individual struggle. 'Taking care' of customers requires that their positive experience is maintained, even if this is detrimental to the worker providing the care. In addition to this form of dominance, a potentially more insidious and indirect dominance exists in this space of wealth concentration.

The conspicuous consumption and displays of wealthy are an incentivizing force (Veblen 2007). The consumer culture of the elite sweeps through the Hamptons, in an unachievable struggle to 'keep up with the Jones's'. This attempt to have what 'they' (the rich) have constructs a hegemony (Banjeree-Guha 2008: 58; Lefebvre 1991) and a dominant culture that idealizes the wealthy and their consumption. Maggie (21, white, female) describes how she assesses wealth, when working at the restaurant explaining, 'There's a woman that comes in… you can just tell from the credit card that she has, and what she wears, and the car her husband drives, that they have money'.

When Nicole was asked

> We are located in the Hamptons, we are surrounded by wealth – Everywhere we go, nice cars, high-end food, high-end clothing all this stuff is constantly around us, so I wanted to know, does working in the Hamptons have an effect on you? Does seeing that wealth motivate you to get those things as well?

Nicole responded with

Yes! Absolutely. Um I mean you know I'm someone, I save my $5 bills for a luxury item every season, and you know I bought a Louis Vuitton the first summer, with literally all my five dollar bills. Last summer I went to Nashville (on holiday) with all my $5 bills. Like I think, and also I want my next car to be an Audi, I want these nicer things, so when I see people, I'm always checking out someone's clothes, I'm seeing what purse they have, car they are driving, credit card they are giving me…

Alongside the pressure to work within the confines of 'the season', workers are additionally motivated toward the emulation of the surrounding wealth. The exercise of control and influence over workers that this pressure creates is not necessarily one of degradation. Instead, workers internalize the consumer standards of the people who rely on their economic subjugation, idolizing their masters (Veblen 2007). This is an instance where social dimensions and spatial configurations of where one works has an effect on those workers (Beaumont 2019: 5). This is how tipping alongside the concentration of wealth in the Hamptons becomes such a potent, and crucially mobilizing, force (Foucault 2003; 2010).

Like Beaumont's study of luxury hotel workers, working in the service industry, and especially where tips are involved, produces a tendency toward the adoption 'of new cultural traits' – the working/lower-middle class workers begin to adopt the culture of the wealthy (2019: 7). The Hamptons as a generative space create spaces of 'lifestyle' and 'scenes' often revolving around leisure and opulence. In relation to this wealth, workers, especially service workers, have access to seeing these scenes. Working in the restaurant industry has provided me with experiences and knowledges that I would never have been able to obtain elsewhere. I have tried foods and wines that I could never have afforded. I have seen homes that are only accessible to the general public in magazines, and worked parties of incredible opulence for powerful people, bankers, celebrities, and politicians. When it comes to spending, many tipped workers spend their tips (taken in cash at the end of every shift), seen as a kind of 'special money' (Zelizer 1989), on items that someone else of their same socio-economic status might not. Tipped service workers can have a tendency to emulate what they see, and so consume the exceptional (Beaumont 2017: 21), whether this be on a 'luxury item' like Nicole described above, or on lifestyle pursuits that Ashley describes in her interview.

Ashley: … but also like being a lover of the food and the beverage and sort of the scene when I was younger, and the excitement and the fun, and the activity, and the –

not even the Hamptons like famous people parts of the Hamptons, because that doesn't…

JR: Yeah the scene allows, there is a spill-over scene. You know what I mean?

Ashley: Yeah the spill over scene…

JR: You can get the scene at the top where there are celebrities and that kind of thing, but it's almost like that spills over into more and more people enjoying this thing, the food, beverage, the going out scene.

Ashley: Which is, I love that scene. I loved that scene growing up. I still love aspects of that scene now, so I think that's why I'm also drawn to this business too… I need like a little bit of culture, a little bit of fine dining, a little bit of you know drinking and socializing…

Beaumont refers to the 'consumption of the exceptional', and spending toward 'improving everyday life' for tipped workers (2017).[19] The latter are purchases of daily expenses around work and home that make life easier, and are part of a spending pattern for tipped workers, often to do with the cash-in-hand nature of tipping. Seasonal work creates great pressure around time. First, there is the pressure to work as much as possible during the season. There are less than four months to make the bulk of one's income. Second, the nature of restaurant work is intense. There are extreme periods of busyness that are physically, mentally, and emotionally demanding. The result is that there is little to no time for rest. You might work a busy and hot Friday evening shift, get home after midnight, but are wired when you get home from the intensity of the shift. You cannot get to sleep for another hour or two, you fall asleep after 2 a.m., but need to be up again for your shift in the morning that starts at 10:30. You need to sleep as much as possible to prepare yourself for the double shift ahead (you will leave the house at 9:30-10:00 am, and will not get home until around midnight). Maggie describes just how intense this period of work is, and how it is important to stay 'healthy' saying that

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[19] Beaumont (2017) refers to the unique way in which tips are spent by workers who receive them. As cash in hand income, tips are often treated differently to other income. Some workers save this cash, with many being wary of putting this cash in the bank (at least all of it), with many saving it in safes in their homes – this is often the case in the experience of tipped work in the Hamptons. However, many workers, especially if they are younger, will spend their cash tips in a way that is different from if they were given a pay-check. A 'cash-on-the-hip' attitude, and a proximity to wealth and consumption, often lead tipped workers to spend money on luxury food and drink, and even luxury items that would be an abnormal purchase for their income bracket.

> You have to work hard, you have to be able, you gotta stay healthy and take care of yourself, and be able to come in to work and work to the best that you can, so you can make that money.

Staying healthy is no easy task to begin with, and with little time off this becomes even more difficult. On days off I was lucky to go grocery shopping and do laundry. Cooking myself a healthy meal was a chore. I found myself sleeping as much as possible on a day off, due to exhaustion. There was little to no time for socializing, and pursuits of leisure needed to be fast, easy, and satisfying. Spending money on breakfast before a shift, or simply getting pizza for dinner on a night off became almost routine. The time crunch of being at work so often and expending so much energy at work resulted in additional spending that otherwise would not happen. In order to sustain this level of work, I bought more quick-fix products to improve my everyday life. I spent more money to keep myself physically and mentally able to make more money. This often included pre-prepared foods, snacks, beverages, etc. Time off from work or 'leisure time' is simply time to reproduce yourself to get back to work (Shippen, 2014), and purchases became aids to maintain this mode of living.[20] April's extended response below reveals the intensity of work, the level of rest and planning required to reproduce oneself for work, and the 'treats' of leisure and luxury.

> **April:** So I will look at my week in advance, I have four doubles in a row, I will pack a bag for each day. Or just set something out on my dresser, even as simple as like an outfit, and just make sure everything is the way that I want it. Because like in an industry where I feel like, I have no control, things that I can control like at home make me feel better. Um, and make me show up 100%. Um, so even something as silly as like ironing, making sure my clothes are ironed, and smelling like, and clean. That is something that is so important to me because at a time in my life, where I just feel like everything is out of control. I don't have a perception of time right, I don't have control of anything. So I make sure that I will get sleep, that I am drinking water. That on my days off that I have appointments that have to do with like self-care, silly stupid things… if I can do something… that makes me feel like a human in the time that I don't have. Get a manicure, get a massage, you know whatever. And another

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[20] 'The conditions of capitalism have reduced the classical understanding of leisure as a good in itself to an instrumental, disciplined, and commodified understanding of leisure and free time defined primarily in relation to production (work) and consumption (consumerism)' (Shippen 2014: 21-22).

reason why I am so early for things is because, during this time when I feel like I have no control, I also feel like I have no time. So, [it] goes along with my recharging, drink water, get sleep, I know when to say no, and for the most part I don't do much really during the day except be around my family in a different kind of energy. Before when I used worked at a different restaurant, I wouldn't even use my voice before 2 o'clock, and I am so serious.

When working so intensely, workers often want to 'treat' themselves to something. Usually this treat becomes something to satisfy a lack of leisure time, and therefore the expense or luxury of the treat becomes justified. An expensive meal, or an expensive purchase is met with the logic of, 'I don't have a lot of time off, and I work so hard, I deserve this'. Workers begin to emulate the culture of the rich that they see in these rewards and purchases. Without adequate leisure time tipped workers will seek intense rewards to parallel the intense work performed.

Pecuniary emulation was a term developed by Thorstein Veblen to describe the 'tendency for people to seek favourable comparisons with others', and emulation is a way in which people grade themselves as well as others in terms of 'worth' (Scott 2017: 386). In the space of the Hamptons, emulating the rich and famous is a constant desire for many. Some want the latest designer handbag, or to drive a particular type of car, to have the right style, to go to the right workout class, dine at the same restaurants, wear the same clothes, etc. Many workers, and locals, from income brackets far below those of the wealthy that they serve, strive for the emulation described above. In doing so they not only emulate, but recognize and regard the position and consumption of the wealthy as a good thing, acknowledge their behaviour as acceptable, and ascribe social value and 'worth' to wealthy individuals, all the while internalizing social conditions and creating social facts (Maton 2012: 52). This buttresses the superiority and position of the wealthy elite, whilst undermining the inferior position of the middle and working classes that surround them. Tipping encourages a sycophantic relation between the tipped worker and the patron. In order to emulate, the worker needs tips, and thus they appeal to, praise, and establish a relation of political neutrality to those who tip them. Whilst there are complaints about 'the rich people', these do not go beyond a moderate anger in the face of rude encounters. The dissatisfaction is unorganised, and a political consciousness around class and class struggle is absent.

It is the experiences of those that occupy the space who are the best to attest to the relations and positions in that space. Bourdieu notes that the 'familiar world' is 'taken for granted' or considered 'natural' and that these frank and honest descriptions can be illuminating (1989: 18). The structures of the world are internalized by the individuals living in that world. It becomes doxa or a 'doxic modality' (Husserl). There is a certain acceptance of the world as it exists for individuals, especially for those in a dominated position. Space is not just an objective constitution. It is created and perceived by those within it. Social reality is an object of perception (Bourdieu 1989: 18). This construction depends on the subject's position within this social space and it is therefore necessary to contribute subjective perceptions of this space.

Services have historically provided a connection and 'link between the middle and upper classes and the labouring poor' (Hill 1996: 5). Servants and masters have had a relationship of dichotomies – closeness-distance, intimacy-opposition – and this continues to characterize the relationships that arise during service in the restaurant (Hill 1996: 6). If there was not a motivated workforce to provide the services demanded by the wealthy, they would have to do the work themselves. The motivation is there not simply because of a need to reproduce oneself socially and economically, but also because of the tipping mechanism and the way it sustains tropes of paternalism and dependence.[21]

Objective relations are found in the interactions between persons in a given space, a space of a distribution of resources and access to 'flows' (Saldanha 2013; Massey 2005; Bourdieu 1989: 17). The resources in the Hamptons have a certain complexity, and the distribution of these resources is entirely skewed, i.e. accessible to some and not others. This creates a dynamic of power in which the wealthy can command the labour of those below them in unique ways. However, there can be a potential benefit to being in such close proximity to this level of wealth. Jessica points to the geographic importance of tipping and the hierarchies that it creates, where some regions and demographics benefit from the custom saying

> Well, so I think that there are some wealthy people who treat us like shit because they
> are just shitty people whatever it is. And then obviously we have our usuals and

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[21] Relationships of dependence and paternalism are specifically problematic if one is concerned with notions of 'self-determining liberty', autonomy, and the will. This notion is discussed in relation to Kant by Isaiah Berlin and he quotes Kant as saying 'The man who stands in dependence of another is no longer a man at all, he has lost his standing, he is nothing but the possession of another man' (1999). Tipping creates relations of dependence, and these are exacerbated in situations of desperation, and in situations where there is great wealth and opulence.

regulars who know us and love us and tip us well, but I definitely think if we lived in middle America we wouldn't be making this kind of money. We are also doing more volume, and are making more money because we live in a vacation town. I would assume that people who work on fire island, Miami, or Vegas, or other destinations that are vacation destinations they are making comparable salaries or more. I know some people who were bottle service girls and they made 1,000 dollars a night. So it depends on where you are working and what the demographic is. Yeah so we definitely make more money and stick with it because we are in a vacation town for a few months out of the year and yeah that does draw us to it

Given this description, the Hamptons as a space provides insight into how tipping can be lucrative for some in close proximity to wealth and opulence. This does not mean tipped workers are wealthy. Many struggle to make ends meet, due to the seasonal nature of the work there and the high cost of living, but some can make a living. In order to juxtapose the relations of the Hamptons, all interview participants were asked if they would work as a tipped worker in restaurants elsewhere. Most said 'no', flat out. One of the benefits of the proximity to wealth, and the economic generation of the summer season, is that working in a restaurant can be lucrative. It is a part of the privilege described earlier, and many of my co-workers described how they would not want to do this kind of tipped work anywhere else. Jessica describes her views on this bluntly

> Would I do this if I was living in like middle American and worked at a chain restaurant? Fuck no. And money wouldn't be comparable. The way of the life, and cost of living wouldn't be comparable.

The few that had worked elsewhere reported increased difficulty in their working conditions. Valerie describes working for a corporate chain restaurant in North Carolina

> I did it somewhere else and it was horrible… it was just I mean I dropped people off that didn't have running water that worked for me. People didn't know how to read in that community… I had people that would walk to work, make $26 dollars, $30 dollars [in tips], under fifty-buck shifts, and walk home. Miles! They had six kids, they had no running water, I mean, when I was there, I was driving more people around, picking more people up, picking my people up for work, so they would show up on

time… I honestly, it opened my eyes to how bad it could be for people working in that industry. It was so disheartening to see them get treated a certain way by other people and then not tip, you know… they would tip like the change of their bill, so if their bill was $29.13, they would leave $30. That's what they were tipping. I mean don't get me wrong there would also be people who would come in and tip 20%, but those were few. It was people from other restaurants, mostly…

The intense debate around the tipped-minimum wage and tipping in general is effected by the heterogeneous landscape of the industry, restaurant types, and amongst the workers themselves. Interview participants never saw themselves as comrades or part of a wider community of tipped workers. Ashley was asked about what she thought about the privileged position of being a tipped worker in the Hamptons versus being a tipped worker elsewhere or in other occupations (nail salon workers, car wash attendants, etc.). Ashley said

> Their experience is probably way different than mine. It's hard for me to even think about that end of things.

Without organisation and a wider class consciousness, tipped workers are often rendered individual mini-entrepreneurs whose aims and motivations are entirely self-centred, and often inspired by the opulence they see or simply by the drive to make ends meet. Workers are dominated in this sense by the short sightedness of their aims. Rather than banding together to point to the injustices and inadequacies of the industry at large, they pursue individual aims reinforced by the ability to make tips and accrue 'crumbs from the rich man's table'.[22] This type of dominance requires a subservience to, and therefore a lack of rebellion against, the rich. You can't bite the hand that feeds you.

The Hamptons are a 'dreamworld' of consumption and property ownership, forming part of the global 'geographies of exclusion' (Davis 2007: 12). Looking at the sociospatial relations of tipping in the Hamptons points to uneven development in national and global economies. Tipping is used as an economic tool to keep wages low. Through geographical spaces and economic wealth concentration, the tipped income system creates hierarchies of benefit.

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[22] In the In Our Time (2001) episode 'Food', Felipe Fernandez-Armesto discusses the status of food in remote antiquity as a form of division between people: 'In terms of food… the higher up in the ranks of society the more you eat', and this was seen as a type of 'redistributive justice because it creates crumbs from the rich man's table and it recycles wealth' – a form of 'trickle-down' economics, whereby the opulently wealth drop crumbs to the starving.

Workers are individualized, crucially disjointed and uncollectivized with little awareness of others in the same occupation. Bourdieu comments that the conditions that neoliberalism creates result in a 'Darwinian world' where 'the struggle of all against all at all levels of the hierarchy… finds support through everyone clinging to their job and organization under conditions of insecurity, suffering, and stress' (1998: 3). It is important to understand the geographical hierarchies of this condition, and why workers who benefit from neoliberal structures, at least for the moment, want to maintain it. In trying to look at effective forms of resistance toward tipping, taking into account the differences in geography, but also the relations that occur within the spaces of tipping must be accounted for, and it is important to note that neoliberal hegemonic discourse dominates these social relations (Banjeree-Guha 2008: 53).

5.4 Conclusion

The Hamptons are a caricature, a matrix of social relations immersed in a service and real estate micro-economy dominated by the rich[23], particularly between the months of May and September. It is a space in which political economy is centred around a global oligarchy and their opulent pursuits of leisure. The Hamptons are a perfect space for observation and empirical investigation of this broader oligarchic social formation. The service economy that booms there creates a particularly intense neoliberal landscape constituted materially by massive concentrations of capital. It is also a series of sleepy towns, old fishing villages, and populated by year-round locals and workers who are often very different to the summertime occupants.

There is 'an interrelationship that exists among space, spatiality of capital and the globalization process' (Banerjee-Guha 2008: 51). Although the Hamptons might seem like a 'bubble', it is not. There are enclaves similar to this all over the world, and these enclaves are maintained through global capitalism, through concentrations of wealth in some places, and extraction of wealth in others. This is not a study of a space of wealth and privilege (Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018), but a study of how a space of wealth and privilege shapes relations centred around tipping with specific emphasis on tipped workers. Not only does tipping individualize the worker in direct relation to their remuneration by internalizing, incentivizing, and

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[23] For the purposes of this research, 'rich' generously alludes to household annual income above $500,000. This excludes 'wealth', i.e. of real estate holdings, etc. This income bracket is approximately 1% of the population (Zandt 2022).

informalizing the worker, it also keeps workers separate, often in their place of work, but crucially within the restaurant industry more generally.

In keeping workers separate, they remain unorganized and unable to push back or fight for better working conditions, and for fair and equitable pay. Instead, workers are atomized and made responsible for their incomes at the level of the individual. If you are successful, you are a mini-entrepreneur and your success is all your own and has nothing to do with how you look, speak, your education level, and most crucially your access to regions of wealth (Brewster and Wills 2013). If you are unsuccessful, it is your fault. You could have done more to get better tips, and you should think of new ways to increase your income – write 'thank you' on the checks, tell people your name when you first go to the table, smile more often, etc.[24]

Geographical rifts between workers are an essential part of understanding how tipping functions as a technique of modern capitalism. Further, the space of the Hamptons is a space of capitalism that in 'abstraction' 'became true' through social, economic, political and cultural practices (Stanek 2008). It is a playground for the rich, a place of seclusion that was and is created through the aims of those that occupy the space and have the power to create it. Real-estate prices and other mechanisms present within economic, cultural, social, and symbolic forms create a space of leisure centred around wealthy elites (Pinçon-Charlot and Pinçon 2018: 115-116). The Hamptons should not be considered in isolation, or through what Stanek (2008) refers to as mere abstraction, but in relation to wider networks and relationships under capitalism. This requires a look at tipping more broadly throughout the United States (as in the previous chapter), a look into the experiences of being tipped, and a look at tipping in relation to the current capitalist mode of production, both of which follow in the proceeding chapters.

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[24] An article on fliptable.io dedicated to psychological methods of increasing tipped income cites these and other techniques to generate more tipped income: https://fliptable.io/how-to-get-more-tips-as-a-server-using-proven-psychology/

Chapter 6: Labour Process, Industry Background, and Informalisation

Framing the function of the tip within the everyday practices of restaurants in the United States provides valuable insight into its social function. Who is tipped and how much? Who is not tipped and why? Through what process or calculation are tips applied? What problems arise from tipping and what disparities and inequalities arise through the process of tipping? As an informal and ambiguous form of payment, how is tipping exploitative in nature, and how does this contribute to the reproduction of a wider capitalist system and the extraction of surplus value across it? This chapter gives insight into many of these problems and questions, but also highlights the generative quality of the tip in terms of the social relations that it exacerbates and creates. It also contextualises these processes through the use of ethnographic observations and interview data from the fieldwork.

Looking at the labour process of tipped restaurant work in the United States requires that we look at how employers 'ensure the conversion of labor power into actual work effort under conditions that permit capital accumulation' (Brook 2013a:3). The focus is then on what work is performed, how labour power is generated (by employer and workers), how surplus extraction occurs, and what the general conditions of the industry are. In restaurants there is much more produced than simply a meal. Whilst the production of food is crucial, it differs to picking up a take away where food is also produced. The 'dining experience' (Dowling 2007) is produced in parallel, not subsequent to, the production of food and drink.

The production of food traces a typical labour process. Money is invested in raw materials (food), labour (worker's wages), to produce a product (the meal) for sale, the price of which covers the materials and labour, but also a surplus extracted by the capitalist (owner). However, the production of the dining experience differs from this model. Encompassed in the price of menu items (food and drink) are the basic investments of the capitalist: materials; labour; rents, etc. What is not included in these prices are the full-wages necessary to command the labour necessary for the production of the dining experience – the labour of servers, bartenders, and other service staff. In the production of the dining experience labour-power is commanded by the system, and relations of tipping, not simply the wage. What we see is not a simple process of worker exploitation, but also a form of appropriation and domination.

This chapter outlines the labour process of the dining experience, the hierarchical tendencies of the tipped system, as well as the general workplace organization within the industry and the informal nature of tipped work. The labour process of the dining experience, and the use of tips to reimburse this labour exists between the server, customer, and owner of the restaurant. The gift/wage contradiction exists here with customary remuneration and gift-giving on the part of the customer and wages (often sub-minimum) given by the employer. The server is situated in a space between regulated work and the quasi-regulated tipped system. Tips are distributed in heterogenous ways according to each restaurant, but there is always a hierarchy of tipping. How and who distributes tips also changes from place to place. This ambiguity of workplace organization around tipping makes it difficult to regulate.

6.1 Labour Process

The reliance on customers to pay servers tips results in what Cole et al. (2022) refer to as a type of 'informal' wage theft that increases restaurant owners' ability to extract surplus. Using a tipped system, along with the sub-minimum wage, is a legally ambiguous mechanism through which reduced wages are used as a form of unpaid labour-time. The 'base wages' with which tipped workers are remunerated directly from the employer are often a miniscule portion of total income (Cole et al. 2022: 3).

In a tipped system, labour-power is purchased through wages plus the possibility of earning tips. Since wages are guarantees and tips are speculative, the capitalist or owner of the restaurant does not purchase the full capacity to work from the labourer. Owners are only required to pay tipped workers a sub-minimum-wage (see chapter 3.), which can be as low as $2.13 per hour as opposed to the regular minimum wage of $7.25 per hour. Service workers, or 'front of the house' staff, rely instead on customer tips and generosity, relieving the owner from paying the additional $5.12 per hour. This is a simple formula to follow, but it gets more complex than this. Tips increase the amount of surplus that the owner can extract from the production process, and is therefore a highly political matter and more like a neo-feudal rent-seeking relation than a wage-relation. During the ethnographic research, the income received in tips was approximately seventy-five percent of my total income. The business owner was

technically only paying me twenty-five percent of my income.[25] This puts into question the nature of the wage relation in a tipped system. If one works for the majority of their income through a tipped system, they are less wage-worker and more of an independent worker working on someone else's property. This is an ambiguous position that invites further exploitative practices.

Working for tips often creates an 'intensification of the working day', intensifies 'worker effort', and creates a subservient disposition in those who work for tips (Cole et. al. 2022: 4-5). This enables the production of relative surplus-value (Marx, 1976 [1990]: 283-339), due to the organisational practices of the division of labour within restaurants that have a tipped system (See Cole et. al. 2022: 5). The use of tipping as an ambiguous system of remuneration and surplus extraction should not 'be seen as simply the result of the moral or ethical failing of individual capitalists, but an inherent part of the system itself' (Cole et. al. 2022: 5).

There are significant problems with the ambiguous and 'in-between' nature of tipping and the use of a tipped minimum-wage. The tip-credit system discussed in chapter 3 is vague and often difficult to navigate. Workers are often unclear about what this system is, how it functions, and what their rights are within it. This lack of clarity opens the door for traditional wage theft and tip theft, which is a form of 'theft of variable wages' (Cole et al. 2022: 8, 16). In addition to the informal wage theft described above, these techniques increase the overall 'rate of exploitation' (Cole et. al. 2022: 8, 16) that occur in tipped work settings.

First, it is essential to call into question whether or not tipped employees are actually informed about the rules which surround the 'tip credit' system (U.S. Department of Labor 2018, 2021). I have worked as a tipped employee in numerous locations over the course of twenty years, and I have not once been informed of these rules. When research participants were asked 'Have you ever been informed of the legality around the tipped minimum wage and who is and who isn't allowed to receive tips?'. The responses were as follows:

> **April:** No, what is it?

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[25] 'Business writer John Henderson offered the thought in 1965 that an employee who received 75 percent or more of his income from tips was not an employee in the usual sense, but simply a private entrepreneur doing business on somebody else's property' (Segrave 1998: 104).

Kristin: No.

Jessica: They explained it (at one place) where you know the whole entire staff from like buss-kids all the way up to bartenders were all sitting in a dining room and were all sitting in front of this paperwork and they're explaining it to you, and you're like, I kind of have a question but I don't know how to ask this question because they explained everything so broad. And when somebody asked a question they would just kind of like repeat it the same way, there was no explaining it differently... And they were like don't worry you're good, you are paying taxes and I was like good, ok, I'm paying taxes that's what I've got to worry about right, I gotta worry about paying the government, good to go. So we all just kind of like let it roll off our shoulders... They definitely were, they were explaining it with the bare minimum and intimidating into like, stop asking questions. That was definitely the vibe and I say that with confidence because I know I wasn't the only one confused.

Ashley: Uhhh, I don't think so, I don't think. I think most of the time you were never really told that, and growing up in this business the emphasis wasn't really on like what you were getting paid by the business, it was more what you were getting tipped out at the end of the night, or at the end of the shift or whatever. So like what you were getting as shift pay or an hourly wage or that kind of thing, was never really talked about and yet not really thought about necessarily, because it was so insignificant that you didn't really ever see it in a check or that it didn't really matter, it was just like your stack of money at the end of the day was the thing... so like a lot of times I didn't even know what I was getting paid an hour...

Valerie: The only person who ever implicated that was Pear's (a large corporate company), very, very, very regimented, and very organized... Um, but no, I mean mostly (at other jobs) it was just you go in under, and we were at the time it was I think we were making like, we got paid by the shift it was $20 a shift, was my first shift pay as a waitress.

Maggie: No, like we get tipped minimum-wage right?

> **Jason:** I think, pretty much every time it was explained like, I could probably recall every one, it was $30 per shift in shift pay, it was $30 shift pay, if we worked a double you get $60, you know. Um, in every other place it was minimum wage for the restaurant worker which is much less than the minimum wage anywhere else, so I don't even know what it is here. $5 an hour? Or less?

Some participants were never told about the tipped-minimum wage. Others were told vaguely, but did not understand the complexity or the implications for themselves. Others thought this question meant 'did anyone ever tell you how much you make an hour or per shift', like Jason. The only exception was Valerie, who worked for Pear's (a corporate chain), but her other employers did not explain the legality of the tipped-minimum wage. In order to implement a tipped system, employers must explain how a tip-credit works, i.e. paying $2.13 per hour to employees and claiming the remaining $5.12, as long as the latter amount is made in tips. If it is not, then employers must pay the additional $5.12 per hour to employees. This lack of clarity is a form of 'non-disclosure' and perpetuates 'an asymmetry of information', whereby workers who lack information are more easily exploited (Cole et. al. 2022: 18: See also Cruz et. al. 2017).

Additionally, the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) requires that all employers who use the tip-credit system post the minimum wage provisions in the workplace, or verbally explain the provisions to employees. It is important to note that there is no requirement to post this information in any language other than English. There is a large Spanish-only speaking labour force in the restaurant industry of the United States and this omission shows how employers might be abiding *de jure* by the rule to inform, but not adequately informing their employees in practice (Ross and Welsh 2021: 201; Flores 2017).[26]

Second, there is no fixed unit of measurement regarding clarity regarding this 'tip-credit' – Is this credit based on an hourly, daily, or weekly measurement? How is the tip-credit applied? If the $7.25 per hour minimum is not reached every hour, must the owner of the restaurant make up this difference or is it applied on average for the day or week? Ross and Welsh ask,

> if a server receives only $15 in tips for an eight hour shift, and earns their $2.13 tipped
> minimum wage for those eight hours, their total income for the day (tips plus wages)

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[26] Over 30 per cent of the Hispanic speaking population in the United States do not have English Proficiency (Flores 2017). This percentage is much higher (65 per cent) among foreign born Hispanic populations.

would be $32.04. If instead the server were to be paid the federal minimum wage for this same eight hour shift without tips, their income would be $58.00 for the day, a difference of $25.96. Are employers required to make up the difference of the 'tip credit' for this specific day, for every hour, or do they make up the difference at the end of the week? If the income for the rest of this work week is taken on average, and thus these low income days are considered to be irrelevant, a space for abusive practices is produced (2021: 201).

Ross and Welsh state that 'the FLSA does define the work week for minimum wage workers as a 7 day period, but they do not define when the tipped minimum wage differential must be paid, whether this is hourly, daily or weekly' (2020: 201, see also Economic Policy Institute 2017: 7-8, U.S. Department of Labor 2016). The tip-credit policy is vague in key and important areas. Is this simply an oversight, or is this 'something essential to the informalisation of tipping as a technique' (Ross and Welsh 2020: 201)? Again, Ross and Welsh write

> Whether the policy allows for a rolling accumulation of tips, or just for an average of tips weekly, the Server can be exposed to seriously precarious and unstable circumstances, and, as tipped workers often live 'hand to mouth' with a high propensity to consume income earned, this uncertainty and ambiguity can have significant impacts. Though general payday requirements are regulated through the FLSA, 'Workweek' and 'Hours Worked' (U.S. Department of Labor, 2016) do not specifically touch on the complexity of tipped workers' wages and income. This adds another layer of confusion to the tipping policy in the United States (2020: 202).

Another problem with the 'tip-credit' system is that employers report employees' tip earnings to governmental authorities, and employers can skew this information in their favour. The US restaurant industry has one of the highest rates of wage theft in the country (Hallett, 2019: 100; Ross and Welsh 2020: 202). Tipped workers 'are especially prone to suffer wage theft, because of their separate treatment under the law [FLSA]' (Economic Policy Institute 2017: 7; Ross and Welsh 2020: 202). Any differences or discrepancies that occur because of the tipped minimum wage must be noticed and caught by workers tracking these differentials (Ross and Welsh 2020: 202). Wage theft occurs not simply due to the difference in treatment under the law, but in the direct theft of tips (Hallett 2019: 99-100). For example, 'employers can easily report false income for their employees, due to the fact that many tips are received in cash and

record keeping is often informal' (Ross and Welsh 2020: 202). Jessica worked for a restaurant, where her boss stopped paying some of the workers their hourly wages. She notes

> Nobody questioned anything, as far as we knew we were getting our hourly wage and then we were paying our taxes based off of that, whatever, call it a day. Then our second year we didn't get paid at all, like hourly. We just took home tips and I don't remember the reasoning for that but I do remember my first year. Nobody talked about unemployment [compensation benefits], which we should have been able to collect. Nobody talked about [it]. What ended up later on coming out was he (the employer) was kind of hiding from the government how many employees he had on the books to pay less insurance, and then he wasn't paying us. Not only was he not paying us, but he wasn't paying unemployment insurance on those employees.

This double form of non-payment of wages, and non-payment of unemployment insurance, meant that workers did not receive their wages, and when 'the season' was over and the restaurant closed, workers were out of a job and they were unable to apply for unemployment compensation.

Valerie describes a situation where she was aware that tips were being taken from her

> Well, at the other restaurant, they were totally stealing the tips in the beginning. Yes, so they um we would have to tip out, no matter what, you had to tip out I think it was three percent of your sales, and then they (managers/owners) divvied it up. So, uh no matter what, so like, even if you didn't have a bus person you would still tip out three percent of your sales, and they would say give it to the host or whatever, so this was in the very beginning, and most people were like unaware of what was happening.

April describes a situation where her previous employer tried to take tip money from the front of the house to increase the pay of some members of the back of the house, but without reaching in his pocket. April says

> So, my last job, when I knew I was done, it was because the owner was telling us how and where we should put our money as a tipped worker, instead of him doing the right thing and paying us as hourly employees, a legal hourly rate. He wanted to make up

for it out of our tips and he would in that last job, me and this other woman would do the money. And then he pulled her aside and kind of like manipulated her in a way that was like, 'oh I think the dishwashers work so hard, um, you know, I feel like you guys should throw them a few bucks. You guys make more than enough money'.

Ashley also describes the prevalence of tip theft

But yeah, probably the majority of the restaurants that I was working at people were trying to get one over on people or cut off the top, or not try to pay people…

Kristin describes one tipped position where the owner's wife started working at the restaurant that she (Kristin) had been employed in for years. The wife/owner took control of the tips, and the tip out procedure,[27] and created a 'tip jar'. Kristin describes the jar

It was a wooden tip jar that had nails all sticking out of it, like, so you can only put the tips in one way, you couldn't take cash out. Because she was very nervous that you know, she wasn't getting all of the tips at the end of the night or something. I don't know it was a very weird thing. There was also a weird situation as far as like, um, you know there was the Sushi guys, they had the sushi bar and we had the waitstaff on the floor and you know we had to tip out the Sushi bar guys even though they weren't necessarily, I don't know it was a weird situation there. And they got their own tips as well… and we didn't get to see their tips but they still got some of our tips. Anyways so it was like as soon as she started working there it became like she was, I don't know, paranoid that she wasn't getting, you know like, her cut.

6.2 Understanding the Industry

Whilst tipping is often ambiguous in terms of both how tips are allocated and their legal status, tipping is very effective at organising labour into hierarchies with those at the top having the best access to tipped income streams. Workers compete amongst each other, or struggle to get to the top of these hierarchies, rather than confront the owners/capitalists or question the system itself. Those at the top do well, and rarely think of those at the bottom, whilst they, at the bottom, struggle to get to a better position.

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[27] In New York state owners and managers are not legally allowed to handle, distribute, or receive tips.

Before going into the restaurant industry background in the US, it might be relevant and useful at this point to include an excerpt about tipping from George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London*. Orwell writes, "Waiting (serving in restaurants) is a gamble,' he used to say; 'you may die poor, you may make your fortune in a year. You are not paid wages, you depend on tips—ten per cent of the bill, and a commission from the wine companies on champagne corks. Sometimes the tips are enormous… 'You never know when a stroke of luck is coming" (1933: 26-27). It is this possibility frontier of tips that makes the system work. It is the possibility, the rumour of the potential fortune, the potential to move up the hierarchy, that keeps the system afloat. Orwell goes on to describe the hospitality sector as having an 'elaborate caste system' of those who benefit the most from the tipping system at the top (1933: 81).

This system allows some at the top of the hierarchy to reap the greatest benefits, the 'head waiters' of this world, but as you move down the hierarchy both on a macro (the industry at large) and micro (internal to individual restaurants) scale, the benefit decreases. It is the potential of getting to the top that keeps those at the bottom and those in the middle in their lower paid drudgery. Workers enter the industry because of its entry level opportunities, but often stay for the potential described above. It is an example *par excellence* of 'limitless postponement' (see Deleuze 1992: 5).

The restaurant industry varies from low-end to high-end establishments, small-businesses to global corporations, thus making the labour process variable, and unfortunately even more complex. Some benefit from this system more than others in the industry. On a macro scale there is a hierarchy that reproduces micro hierarchies within individual establishments. For example, tipped workers are predominantly women and predominantly white. However, 40% of tipped workers are Black, Latino, or Asian (OFW 2020). Black women make approximately $5.00 less per hour than white men, and this often has to do with place of employment and role within the tipped hierarchy (OFW 2020:2). Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics on occupational demographics for 2021 indicate that 68.2% of waiter/waitress are women, and that 78.4% are white (U.S. BLS 2022a). Latinos and African Americans are often employed in lower-paying positions as bussers, or runners, and women in general are found more often in lower-paying positions in casual and lower-end restaurants (ROC-United, 2015: 1). Fine-dining establishments are more prestigious, more expensive, and have higher check/bill

averages, and thus higher tips. In high-end restaurants people of colour hold thirty-two percent of positions, and women hold only thirty-three percent of positions (OFW 2020: 2). In high-end restaurants, where living wages/tips can be made, white men are typically employed as waiters and bartenders and receive the greatest benefits from the tipping system and hierarchy (Jayaraman 2016:14-15). Seven of the lowest paid jobs in the U.S. are tipped restaurant positions and women and people of colour suffer the most from the disparities of the industry (OFW 2020: 1). Whilst experience, the 'right' look, and language barriers often distribute workers along the tipped pay-scale, the tipped system itself perpetuates lines of difference.

For example, at one fine-dining restaurant I worked as a server, and there were several immigrant 'back-waiters' (bussers) from Central and South America. One was a dentist from Mexico. Whilst his English was good, he would not have been able to have the conversations that I had with customers as a native English speaker with significant restaurant experience. Despite his age and education, the language barrier and knowledge of service put him lower-down on the tipped hierarchy. Now, whether these barriers were to be overcome, and whether this would result in a promotion, is up for speculation.

On a micro-scale, regionally and at the individual restaurant, these same hierarchies appear. Gender, race, and seniority all play a role in the hierarchy. For example, Valerie describes her experiences of working in the Hamptons at more expensive restaurants versus working for a lower-end chain restaurant in a less affluent part of the state.

> **Valerie:** It's just so like different then when you move to (less affluent town), and it's just a bigger population, and there's just more, there's more. I never worked with a gay person, I never worked with you know just, so many different types of people. And like, when I worked out here [in the Hamptons] you know women that worked in the, where I worked, like it was based a lot on your looks, and uh, you know obviously I was always overweight, my whole life, and always nervous about that going into a job interview… And then here I am working next to someone like Ava, and all my friends that are like perfectly you know [attractive]. You are selling yourself…

She goes on to describe the different demographics of the chain restaurant versus the Hamptons

[At the chain restaurant] I had a big black gay guy as my manager, and they actually… it was more of universal sign of what there was in this world when I went there. You know there's the first time I ever worked with a black person. We didn't work with any black people here [in the Hamptons]… never in the front of the house.

There are often several types of workers who receive tips in 'the front of house'. This is the colloquial term that differentiates those who work in the kitchen 'back of the house' from those who work in the customer facing dining area. Servers, bartenders, bussers, food runners, expediters, and hostesses can all work for some percentage of the tips on a given shift and are considered 'front of the house' staff. Depending on the individual policy of that restaurant, the percentage or 'cut' of the tips will vary. If the restaurant is a 'pooled' or 'non-pooled' house is a very important distinction. A pooled house describes a restaurant where all servers and sometimes bartenders pool their tips together for a total sum and share of the tips. A non-pooled house describes a restaurant where individual servers and bartenders keep the tips they directly make (other than the required 'tip-out' for bussers etc.). In a pooled house there is more of a team effort. Workers will help each other. If one person is very busy and someone else is not, the non-busy person can get drinks, run food to tables, bring checks for the busier member of staff, etc. In a non-pooled house, there is little to no mutual help, and there is often a fight for the best sections.

First Valerie, and then Jessica, describe their experiences with the micro-hierarchies in individual restaurants.

Valerie: It was like super seniority…the hard part was you know you're constantly trying to get to the top of this food chain, and no one is leaving… Yeah, so you're like never going [up], there is no way I'm going to get a Saturday night, because it worked like that.

Again, Valerie describes her experience at the same establishment, where servers were ranked in the hierarchy by number (one being the most senior), and rank established who got to choose their section first.

Valerie: So like number one would get eight deuces (tables of two). Yeah. And I was like number fifteen and I would get three tables, and the salad bar section. So I would

have to maintain the salad bar while I had three deuces, that was my first Saturday night shift….And the other waitresses were making three, four, five hundred bucks, and I was making one-hundred dollars, one-hundred-twenty dollars, and maintaining the salad bar.

JR: So did that mean that no one helped each other out?

Valerie: Uh ugh! They would climb on you to get what they needed to get to.

The last description alludes to a restaurant where 'pooling tips' did not occur. Each person would take home their tips from their section, and only 'tip out' the bus persons, hosts, etc., based on a predetermined schedule. However, this system is not always so neat or above board.

Valerie: The *maître de* would, he would control your money. So I'd look over at Alice's section and she has an extension (making tables bigger to accommodate more customers) on every single one of her tables and I've got like three 'two adults one kid' [tables].

JR: Did you tip the *maître de* out?

Valerie: Yes, and it was supposed to be 2% and then I'd see people giving him a 20 [dollar bill].

JR: Giving him extra to get better tables?

Valerie: Uh huh, giving him 30 bucks…

Valerie's subsequent description of her experience of the upward movement in the hierarchy of the same restaurant she described above illustrates the dynamics of moving up the hierarchy.

Valerie: … but obviously the seniority system was so unjust to me, until I was number 4, you know, then it was great.

The day of the week, the shift (breakfast, lunch, or dinner), and the 'section' of the restaurant, can all determine how much you can make in tips. For example, some sections are more lucrative than others. In some restaurants there is an attempt to keep sections fair and equitable, in others they can have a different number of 'covers' (total number of available seats), different ambiance (outside versus inside, being close to a fireplace, etc.), and thus more of an attraction for customers.

Jessica's account describes her experience with hierarchy.

> **Jessica:** If like let's say we took reservations, once a reservation came in and they were going to be sat in my section, if there was somebody else who had worked there for longer, that had seniority over me, and that was one of their regular customers in the winter-time or people that they knew, they would take that table from me.
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> **JR:** So it wasn't a pooled house?
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> **Jessica:** It was not a pooled house. Um so that was really like, kind of shitty. Cause it's like I just lost out on a table and they're not giving me anything back to replace [it], like giving me one of yours. And what was really, I mean I never worked at a pooled house until Hampton Bistro, so that was really, like an eye opening experience when I started working at Hampton Bistro, we're all working together, we're all on the same team, there's not a competition. And that was a real eye opener coming from a place that was like cut-throat. And we all at the end of the night would you know compare tips and you know you would be sitting there and maybe you only made $250 because you had a slow inside section but then the other co-workers are walking away with like $400.

These experiences do not incorporate the other staff who get 'tipped out'. Hosts (*maître de's*), bussers, etc., all usually get a percentage of the tips. For example, let us that say in a pooled house the total amount of tips collected in a shift was $1,000.00: four-percent might go to the hosts ($40 x 2), five-percent to each bus person ($50 x 2), and the remainder would be split up between the servers and bartenders ($164 x 5). The logic behind this tip-out is that servers and bartenders are higher up in the hierarchy. They are usually older, more experienced, and have more knowledge about the industry, food, drinks, etc. Workers will often move up the hierarchy, starting out as bussers or hosts and graduate to server or bartender shifts with time and experience. However, there can be hierarchies among servers and bartenders, those with seniority (longer history of employment at that particular establishment), or even owner or manager favourites, might be higher up in the hierarchy.[28] It is important to note that there are very few growth opportunities in restaurants, especially in non-corporate establishments. There are few if any wage raises, and one of the only ways to 'grow' inside the business is with seniority and preference for busier and more lucrative shifts.

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[28] Higher positions in the hierarchy can connote domination over others below.

The back of the house, historically, does not get tipped out (referred to as 'tip-pooling'), but there are exceptions to this. The reasoning for this was that owners would often take tips from the front of the house staff and give it to the back of the house, but reduce back of the house wages. This transfer of tips and reduction of wages offsets the owner's contribution to wages, increasing surplus and profit. Toward the end of my field research, tip-pooling became legal (federally), as long as employers paid the front of the house staff the full-minimum wage (USDL 2020). Tip-pooling is highly contested. It causes great tension between the front and back of the house staffs. Tips are often given by customers to those who wait on them. They are typically intended for in-person service, and providing tips to the back of the house who do not interact with customers, and whom already get paid full wages, creates problematic relationships and a politics of division among workers. One problem that many servers face is that the kitchen staff can often control the quality of the food and how quickly it comes out of the kitchen. If the kitchen staff do not like you, they can slow-down your food or send less-than-perfect items out to your table. This can affect your tip. The kitchen can also blackmail you into giving them tips.

Valerie shares an experience of an illegal tip pooling scheme at a restaurant she worked for and the dynamics it created.

> **Valerie:** I worked there for so long and then, I mean we, we got hell from the kitchen. It was very abusive that way, where um they could call us 'cunts', they could tell us to 'shut the fuck up', they called us 'asshole'. They'd overcook a tuna and you'd ring in a re-order and they'd put in a rare tuna at the end of fifty dupes (order tickets) and not make it until it got to that dupe [rather than recognizing the mistake and addressing it immediately], so everyone else at the table would be done. They would just torture us, because they thought we made too much money. And actually when I first started working there we were tipping the kitchen out, so we were illegally tipping the kitchen out, um and it made. So we were tipping out like a lot of our money, and I actually got retro-paid because someone got fired and sued and told what happened. And so I got this like $4,000 check in the mail, for like three years of tipping out the kitchen illegally… and some of the waitresses got up to like $15,000 dollars.

And we were subsidizing, so we were tipping out the kitchen, I want to say it was some high number like 7% or 8%. They were making like hundreds and hundreds of dollars from the waitresses every single night. Every night…when we stopped tipping them out, they turned into even bigger dicks than they already were in the kitchen, and then they put out, oh, you'll love this, they put out a voluntary tip jar at the end of the night. At the end of the night if you did not put money in that thing, they watched to see who tipped them out. And I did because I was a young girl.

JR: Yeah, and you feel bad, and then you are pressured, and you don't want to make your job any harder!

Valerie: And then when they didn't make that tuna, they would make me mine, they wouldn't make Charlotte's because she wouldn't tip them out.

JR: Yeah it was a survival tactic.

Valerie: Total survival tactic, and also I used to just do whatever they asked me to do, because I wanted them to like me, because I needed them, you know?

An argument for tip-pooling is that back of the house staff do not make as much money as front of the house staff, and there is often a divide between the two. Looking at the numbers nationally in 2021, the median pay for cooks was $29,120 per year ($14.00 per hour) (U.S. BLS 2022b), for Head Chefs/Cooks the numbers are $50,160 per year ($24.11 per hour) (U.S. BLS 2022c), for food preparation workers it was $28,780 per year ($13.84 per hour)(U.S. BLS 2022d), for servers it was $26,000 per year ($12.50 per hour) inclusive of tips (U.S. BLS 2022e), and for bartenders it was $26,350 per year ($12.67 per hour) inclusive of tips (U.S. BLS 2022f).[29] These figures do not account for kitchen porters or part-time workers for either front or back of the house. Whilst statistics are not always reliable, they do point to a problem in the narrative that servers and bartenders 'make too much money', but they also point to the similarity of income between workers, with tips often dividing workers who could otherwise unite in solidarity around better pay. When tipping is involved, there is an illusion that there is 'so much money' being made because the cooks see the front of the house dividing up cash at the end of the night. Back of the house staff often do not take account for slow nights or the 'off-season', when they receive hourly pay or salaries and the front of the house is still reliant on a dwindling pool of tips. This creates a level of hostility between the two divided groups of staff, and it can be exacerbated by lines of gender and race.

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[29] The annual mean wage estimate for all workers in that same year was $58,260 (U.S. BLS 2022g).

Members of the front of the house are often white. In this case study all members of the front were white. There are often people of colour in the back of the house, but less often in the front, especially in high-end restaurants. The back of the house is male dominated, whereas the front of the house in restaurants are often spaces of occupational segregation by gender (ROC-United, 2015). This leads to further tension and divisions, especially if the front of the house is a female dominated space in opposition to the male dominated kitchen. If there are negative features of restaurant work from the workers perspective, as described above, there are also aspects of restaurant work that are perceived as positive.

Waitressing and bar-tending in the restaurant industry are jobs through which people can make quick money, and often good money when compared with entry level jobs paying minimum wages in a traditional nine to five setting. This has historically been, and continues to be, the case. Cobble notes that 'although burdened with adverse employment conditions and stigmatized for engaging in personal service, many working-class women preferred waitressing to the other jobs available to women with little education and training' (1995: 52). It is hard work, but it is often seen as 'flexible', as it does not follow a 9-5 format. This 'flexibility' makes it easier for students, people who need second jobs, and carers, to fit it into their schedules. Tips are often a driving force behind working in restaurants, because they can be very good, they can be bad, it can be a great shift, or a terrible shift, this is part of the experience. Tips, and the experiences of working for tips are variable, and the informal nature of the industry contributes to this.

6.3 Informalisation

The restaurant industry relies on informality. Some days are busier than others and some times of the year are busier than others. Staffing and the ability to make money fluctuate with these same rhythms. Working for tips creates additional informalities. There is only speculation. There is never a guaranteed amount that you will make on any given day. Fridays are usually busy, but what if it rains? The summer season is usually busy, but what if it is a particularly rainy summer?

Informalities create a condition of stress and anxiety in workers that compels them to work, 'I have to work right now, as a hard as I can, I don't know what tomorrow, next week, or next month will look like'. This logic carries over from day to day and the tipped worker is internally

motivating themselves to work in a condition of informality. This work is flexible and precarious. Each encounter with a customer (as an employer) requires a new negotiation in the sale of one's labour. However, the tipped worker has no right or recourse to a guaranteed or secure amount of reimbursement. This creates a self-responsible and internalised 'compulsive working', whereby workers appear to 'want to work' all of the time, as seen with the seasonal pressures described in chapter 4 (Hofmeyr 2021: 36). Precarity is based in a material condition of, and discourses around, informality and flexibility. Workers themselves often describe flexibility in a positive light, as workers are then able to fulfil other obligations or have additional jobs (see Milkman et al. 2021). The other side of flexibility is that it is a normalized condition of neoliberal market logic and austerity regimes. Workers become accustomed to non-standard working hours and conditions.[30] The flexibility and non-standard hours do in fact work for many people, whether that be a matter of practicality, force, or choice.

Informality often produces work environments based in individuality and even competition between workers. An 'economic rationality of competition' amongst workers is an effective means of depoliticizing those workers (Hofmeyr 2021: 47). At Hampton Bistro, we were a pooled house, so everyone working as a server or bartender made the same 'cut' of the tips. This created a more cooperative working environment, but there were still problems between workers that centred around tips. Some participants did not like working with others, because they did not work as hard, they were perceived to be lazy, etc., and were therefore not contributing their fair share. Then an air of competition and jealousy arose over who got certain shifts, or if a shift was particularly busy and an extra worker was added to accommodate this (therefore reducing the tipped income), many workers got angry. Variation in payment (due to the informality and fluctuations of business, and individual tipped income) results in undemocratic working conditions, whereby workers are often at odds with one another.

Tips, in relation to looks, offer a further way that informality often pits workers against each other. In all sectors of work, 'being perceived to be attractive enhances… pay and career prospects' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 390). When pay is received through tips, this creates an imbalance, hierarchy, and lack of democratic fairness amongst co-workers. Who does and who does not get hired, or who gets the more lucrative sections, are all examples of where the

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[30] Milkman et. al (2021) notes that many female gig-workers enjoy the flexibility it provides when working piecemeal hours around childcare needs. One could also point to the forced needs of mothers to work, or pay for childcare, due to austerity politics and the retreat of social welfare. The force of the latter encourages former.

informality exists. Valerie speaks at length about one of the unfair practices she has experienced

> When I first started working at Cat's Cradle I had way more experience than anybody else that worked there as a bartender (often a more lucrative position), and as I'm sitting there when they did the first hiring process I'm looking around, and I'm like wow I'm the fattest person in here, and that's an uncomfortable feeling. Like what are they going to make the uniform, what are we going to have to wear, what's going to happen, am I going to have to wear shorts. These are all the things, because I don't feel comfortable, I can't work like that. I'm not bending over, all these things that I've been thinking about, and they, when they picked the bartenders they did not pick me as a bartender. And, I said to my boss, I was like you picked Alice and she's never bartended before, and he was like I told you it's not based on whether or not you bartended before, and I was like ok…

The same job created direct tension and discomfort among the staff, Valerie recalled that

> They would say we (the workers in the front of the house) have to be 'date ready' when we come in there. That was the quote they used, 'date ready'. Then they would line us up and make us, like, line ourselves up in order of who was the best dressed that day… And I would organize everybody and put myself as last, as worse dressed, because I didn't want to make anybody else do it.

Informalisation is often experienced outside of the waged/salaried form. This occurs through a lack of guaranteed income, flexible scheduling, and in gig-work. It also arises in seasonal work where there is a limited time to make money in a given season, whether this be a harvesting season or a holiday season as experienced here in the fieldwork. Informal work conditions often leave the worker in a setting that is conducive to exploitation.

6.4 Conclusion

Tips fall both inside and outside of the law and regulation. The varied policy landscape, tendency toward hierarchy, and variation in practices within the industry more generally, make tipping difficult to regulate. The transaction of getting a tip is also ambiguous. It often feels

like someone is giving you a gift rather than receiving compensation for labour. People will often thank you in a rewarding way with a handsome tip, or directly give you a tip (palm tip) 'just for you'. Working for tips can also be an ambiguous experience. Sometimes it is terrible, other times great. For some the money is fantastic, for others a constant struggle.

It is important to understand that when tips make up the majority of your income, as was the case in this research, you do not want to see them go, however difficult getting them may be. I know I would not, and the servers that I worked with would not do the job we did for fifteen dollars an hour. It would be laughable. The work is hard, gruelling, and takes a mental, emotional and physical toll on the worker. We would often refer to a particularly difficult days in terms of the work, but successful day in terms of the tips, as a 'blood money' day. At the end of a day/shift we would often feel like we could not do this work anymore, but then the tips would be distributed and it makes you feel like you have to keep going. Tipped restaurant workers become almost gluttons for punishment as Cole et al. (2022) noted with chefs, whereby workers accept 'exploitation as part of their identity' and view suffering as a part of hustle culture. The workplace or system of tipping being unfair and hierarchical is part and parcel of the hustle. If you can work harder, have the right look or appeal, and are willing to submit yourself to high intensity and stress, etc., then you can make money.

This disposition of suffering, hustling, and enjoyment creates a confusing worker disposition that infrequently pushes back on the tipped system. By looking at this disposition within the framework of neoliberal governmentality and economic rationality, we can attempt to explain how this ambiguity or systematic contradiction exists. We can begin to ask how this 'economic rationality becomes normalized or mistaken as the natural order of things, which dissolves resistance to it and actively engenders compliance' (Hofmeyr 2021: 47).

Thinking more broadly, how is this trend of economic rationality productive of subjectivity? The worker or new subject is 'schooled in the discourse of flexibility, employability and entrepreneurial thinking' with the aim of 'eliciting consent to exploitation by capital' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 7). This creates a paradigm within work, whereby 'self-exploitation' is seen as 'the ultimate expression of freedom in the labour process' in that it 'seems to obviate the need for a manager or boss' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 397). This 'freedom' or control encourages workers 'to accept their jobs and working arrangements' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 397), something very common in the restaurant industry, and in tipped work more specifically.

Moving now from the labour process and framework of tipped work to the subjects who are tipped is an important transition in this research. The next chapter focuses more specifically on workers as individuals, and as neoliberal subjects.

Chapter 7: Becoming the Server: Subjectification, Internalisation and Incentivisation

This chapter focuses on the creation of subjects in relation to tipping. Consumer culture[31] and neoliberal[32] political economy intersect at the site of the individual by setting the rules, constraints and arenas of empowerment within society for social behaviour and create the habitus in which workers, as social actors, behave. (McDonald et. al: 2017). This habitus, or the material, political, and social conditions in which workers live and operate can be seen as a 'subjectification regime' (Bröckling 2016: xv). The argument here is that this subjectification regime aligns with contemporary societal norms and behaviours centred around the entrepreneur, a neoliberal logic and self-commodification (Hofmeyr 2021; Purcell and Brook 2020; Bröckiling 2016; Jensen and Prieur 2015: 96; Davis 2003; Foucault 1991). Workers take on acceptable roles within, and according to, society and market them within the tipped relation.

Included in the entrepreneurial logic are liberal notions of freedom, flexibility, and autonomy that emphasize a selling of the self and a self-commodification (Ross and Welsh 2022; Purcell and Brook 2020; Einspahr 2010). These autonomous expressions of 'consent' are also expressions of 'productive power' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 392). To quote Purcell and Brook at length

> The social relations that constitute the labour process act as a site for the production of consent. This is power in a positive sense, with workers engaging in meaningful actions that both alleviate the alienation of the capitalist labour process and result in their consent to increase the rate of exploitation through increased productivity and/or expending even more labour power in the service of capital (2020: 393; see also Burawoy 1985).

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[31] 'Following the transition to greater globalization (that which followed the breakup of the Soviet Bloc in 1989) and the growth in the service economy, citizenship became conflated with the consumer who was encouraged to pursue their self-interest through the economic freedoms conferred by the market in consumer choice' (McDonald et al 2017: 366).

[32] 'Neoliberalism is a philosophy that aims to generate new forms of subjectivity…based on a possessive individualism by introducing policies that enable people to freely participate in capitalist enterprise by removing the restraining powers of society…it assumes that liberating individual freedoms and internalizing market values such as *self-interest*, *self-reliance* and *competitive social relations* results in prosperity for all' (McDonald et al. 2017: 366, emphasis added).

Tipping is a technology of this productive ideology that elicits consent and mobilizes workers. Through a discussion of neoliberal governmentality and the contradictory tensions experienced by workers in this study, this chapter shows how 'subjective experiences of power can mystify underlying relations of control by reinforcing dominant notions' of neoliberal ideology and how workers reproduce them and the 'underlying relations of domination [become] obscured and naturalised' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 393).[33]

This chapter sets out how workers are bound to an in-betweenness or contradiction in their personhood. Workers struggle with a willingness to sell parts of themselves, emphasise their bodies, put on 'a show', share parts of their personal lives, etc., as both economically oriented but also personal and private subjects. Required for this is the employment of varying labour forms, including emotional work, gendered forms of labour performance, sexual objectification, and the acceptance of 'flexible' work environments. The aim of this chapter is to show how on a micro-level in this research servers have to work within the contradiction of selling 'the self' and the body, but within the additional contradiction of working outside and inside of the wage relation for tips. Workers: 1) internalize a neoliberal logic in the selling of the self; 2) are incentivized to work for tips; and 3) are informally appropriated within the ambiguous and exploitative tipped relation (as opposed to the wage relation). This internalization, incentivization, and appropriation contributes to a continuation of exploitation through precarious work forms that demand flexibility, whilst also valorising it (See Purcell and Brook 2020).

7.1 Contradictions and Subject Formation Between Hegemony and Consent

Before delving into the data, a discussion of subject formation in relation to tipping and neoliberal governmentality is in order. Subjecthood is both autonomous and heteronomous, it is dialogical and contains within it a 'contradictory tension' and it is between and within this contradiction that subjects are formed (Bröckling 2016: 1). Workers' attitudes and behaviours are shaped by the world around them and their daily interactions (Purcell and Brook 2020: 396).[34] It is here in the behaviours and words of workers that we can find ideology and unpack

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[33] See also Terry Eagleton's 'mystified subject' (1991: xiv).
[34] Gramscian hegemony and neoliberal governmentality help to point to how 'the subject is constituted within and outside of the labour process through a complex mosaic of institutions, ideologies and practices that make up political and civil society' (Purcell and Brook 2020, 6).

how it functions. Tipping serves as both a 'technology' of power and a hegemonic order, in that it assists in controlling, supervising and manipulating populations into behaving according to the dominant ideology (McNay 2009; Foucault 2007, 2010a). Tipping is a positive force. It mobilizes and aligns with entrepreneurial logics, creating often liberating or self-determining dispositions in workers. This hides the material and social conditions, as well as social relations, of domination and exploitation, and exemplifies how 'production regimes shape the way in which the subjective experience of the labour process distorts the reality of its underlying relations, only partially revealing its exploitative features' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 394). Neoliberal governmentality is understood as a governing rationality that promotes the economic logic of the market as central to all aspects of life. This operative logic functions not only through direct governing, legislation, etc., but through ideology and through the way in which subjects govern themselves according to that logic – a logic that benefits governments, elites, and profit maximisation.

Although under a neoliberal paradigm, work is still, according to a Marxian vein, despotic. An economic necessity is ever-present when entering into labour (wage or otherwise) relationships that make any 'free choice' in selling labour contingent to that end (Purcell and Brook 2020: 394-395). However, the negative emphasis on the necessity to work has transformed (within neoliberal ideology) to a positive force whereby workers defend their sense of self, invest in meaningful and dynamic activity but through and within the 'goal of profit maximisation' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 394, 395). This is why 'subjectivity, therefore, is understood to emerge *within-against* the relations of production, which direct the human capacity for creative labour towards the realisation of surplus value' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 395), and 'any apparent increase in individual autonomy in fact represents an intensification of a certain disciplinary power' that has the effect of 'blurring of the boundaries between the public and private realms' (McNay 2009: 65).

Working for tips requires an entrepreneurial logic. The worker is not simply selling food and drink. They are selling an experience (Dowling 2007) that very often includes a selling of themselves (or at least a part of themselves)(Ross 2018). Tipped workers are often split between enjoying the work and hating it, having a work persona, but also being required to sell parts of themselves, creating an almost schizophrenic public/private for profit persona. The persona(e) are often cultivated over time. More experienced workers can switch between, and engage with, these personae almost instantly, and have even made investments into their

appearance, in order to become the object for sale. An important distinction to make is that tipped workers do not 'simply work to earn a wage', but work for an income that is 'the product or return on capital' investments and efforts. These investments and efforts are often personal in nature and are either affective, emotional, or directly related to the body (Hofmeyr 2021: 39). Working on your persona(e), appearance, comportment, and the development of relationships are all investments that see a financial return in the form of tipping. They are crucial components of the dining experience, of how workers generate income, and how profit maximisation for ownership (of the restaurant) is produced.

In those moments when the worker is selling the self, and even when they are investing in the self, they transform themselves 'from the owner of a commodity into a commodity' (Marx 1976 [1990], 271). Workers are then autonomous subjects, and controlled objects, but the control is not simply within the hands of the worker. Instead, the worker is mobilised to sell themselves (commodify themselves) according the market demands, to accept sexual harassment, and to take on subordinate behaviours, etc. Strom et al. write how 'employees within an industry experience career imprinting such that they begin to develop mental modes of the behaviours and actions that enable them to perform, succeed, or survive professionally in a particular industry setting' (2021: 5; Marquies and Tilcsik 2013, Dokko et al. 2009). These 'mental modes' are taken by employees 'consciously or unconsciously' to other settings (Strom et al. 2021: 5). These modes of being do not simply exist within the workplace, but are taken on by workers, and taken with them into the rest of their lives. In one sense, the tipped worker becomes 'a machine that produces an earning stream' (Foucault 2008: 224 in Hofmeyr 2021: 52), but also a subject who takes on 'modes' of being.

In their daily routines, servers play a part in the 'negotiation of their own identity' within the context of working and receiving remuneration (Bourdieu 1989: 21). This research argues that this negotiation is not played on neutral ground, but within a paradigmatic framework of neoliberal capitalism. In attempting to negotiate (sell their own identity or create identities), tipped workers are continuously bound to the social and political structures around them and to their internalised self-governance or 'neoliberal governmentality' (McDonald et. al. 2017: 366; Foucault 1991). The server 'sells themselves' as Valerie noted, and as Ashley remarked 'you have to sell a show to the people'. This sale might even be enjoyable, and making people happy does produce satisfaction during that process. However, to quote Hofmeyr at length,

the worker is situated within the context of neoliberal control that pre-organizes the free choices at the disposal of the worker, conducting the conduct of the enterprise-unit [the worker] according to a cost-benefit calculus that serves the objective of neoliberal economics that includes all areas of life. What this form of control, then, actively harnesses are not mere productive output, but the very *thumotic* satisfaction that propels it (2021: 53-4).

The selling of the self is part of the dining experience and Ashley provides an example of this in terms of persona(e)

> I feel like my personality is multi-faceted, so I feel like I can kind of bring out a lot of those things… I think I can turn on all the different me's for people. Depending, you have to, you gotta read your table. For sure, that's part of the game.

This is an example of how 'the construction of the self that occurs within the labour process is the result of a dynamic engagement in meaningful activity, albeit within unequal and antagonistic social relations' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 395). Gearing yourself toward your patron is part and parcel of making tips. Knowing how to read people and emphasize what they will like about you is an important part of the entrepreneurial logic of working for tips, and 'the commodification of self-identity has become the behavioral response to this market-mediated mode of life' (McDonald, et. al. 2017: 366). Part of 'the game' is understanding what your client/customer wants, knowing what you have to offer, selling it to them, and in doing this tipped workers embody a neoliberal subjectivity with the aim of 'maximizing' economic outcomes. Whilst this 'game' requires autonomous judgement, tactic and decision-making on the part of the server, at the same time it mystifies 'the underlying conditions of domination [that] make the game possible' (McDonald et. al. 2017; Burawoy 2008: 24).[35] In other words, workers get so caught up in playing their role in the game, and internally negotiating with their own identity, that they fail to see the game for what it is.

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[35] The 'game' described aligns with how 'Habitus account for the practical sense, learned capacity to innovate, to play the game, to have a feel for the game – a creativity defined by accumulated dispositions, internalized from previous social structure, at the same time a creativity channeled by the actual existing social structure' (Burawoy 2008: 4). Additionally, 'Struggles are understood as unconscious strategies, expressed in the idea of having a feel for the game that absorbs the creativity and attention of the players. To the outsider the game may appear insignificant but to the players it becomes the meaning of their life, mystifying the underlying conditions of domination that make the game possible. The struggle for the articulation of the game, that is the struggle in the political field takes place in the field of power, largely, beyond the influence of the dominated class' (Burawoy 2008: 24).

The server is both servant, and thus tied to the domestic, and entrepreneur within an economic market. They must capitalize on their experience and learned behaviours within domestic spaces and personal relationships and apply these to market transactions with the aim of payment in unset values. Tipping is again a technology that works to affect behaviour according to an enterprising logic (Hofmeyr 2021: 45), and making people feel that they have been taken care of, making them like you, feel sorry for you, or be attracted to you for economic remuneration within a tipped system has an effect on the worker (see Deshotels and Forsyth 2006). The motivation for this is both the market return of financial gain, but also the personal investment of making people happy, neither of which can be divorced from the other, and there can even be enjoyment in the process.

<u>7.2 Selling the Self</u>

Neoliberal logic requires workers to embody a commodity (the self). This is done through the contradictory application of an entrepreneurial mindset (market/public) that is applied to interactions and relations (domestic/private), and which incorporates economic calculations into self-presentation and relationships. Neoliberal governance, as McNay recognises, orchestrates 'individual existence as enterprise atomizing our understanding of social relations, eroding collective values and intersubjective bonds of duty and care at all levels of society (2009: 64) – all of which are present when working for tips. Jason (34, white, male) describes the pressure to create a 'following' as a bartender. A following is a group of regulars who consistently go to the bar, primarily to see the bartender, and second to drink and dine. The following is often dependent upon a good relationship between customer and bartender that goes beyond simply providing food and drink. This type of interaction develops a deeper relationship and potentially even friendship. Required here is a build-up of relationships (personal and at the same time economic), a creation of persona (to be sold), and the creation of an atmosphere behind the bar (also to be sold). He says at length

> I always felt like very anxious, you know? Like I had anxiety about not being able to bring a crowd, like the other bartender would be able to, you know what I mean. In every spot (workplace) I always felt like that, I always felt very anxious, or anxious just about being like a 'entertainer' almost, you know what I mean. You have to kind of be outside yourself and put everything aside, and put on a smile, and like you're service.

People are paying for your service and like, not your show, but like it's almost like that. You can't just show up, you know, the old adage is like, drop everything when you come to work… Um, So I always had a lot of anxiety going behind the bar… before I came in it was always like I had to like give myself a pump up speech… You're there behind the bar, and honestly it was a lot about like just, I hope I can, I hope the bar is busy so it doesn't look bad.

This is an example of how 'prioritising the labour needs of business is increasingly embodied in the self' (Purcell and Brook 2022: 397). It is a form of self-responsibilisation that depoliticises workers (Hofmeyr 2021: 47), and Jason's internalized responsibility for success shows this clearly. If the bar was not busy, instead of thinking it was simply a slow night, or the restaurant was not doing an adequate job of advertising, Jason would blame himself for not having the right personality or for not creating the right 'scene'. His income, and the income of his employer, were his responsibility. He said

It's my fault, it's not the restaurant's fault that there's nobody at the bar… I felt and when I worked in a different town, I always sent out like mass text messages, like come down, I hired bands… try to create a scene, because I felt pressure to have people at the bar, always. Um, and whether I did a good job at that or not, I don't know.

Nicole noticed similar efforts from Jason, and even said

Well I love working with Jason, he brings in really good tips, I think he brings in a good customer…

Domination is obscured through responsibility and internalised standards of behaviour. One of which is that workplace rituals can 'fuse the desire to alleviate… alienation and/or pursue… interests [but] with the rationality of capitalist production' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 393). By bringing out your personality, or welcoming people and showing them a good time, you marry this interest with economic rationality. Jason is what is being sold here, *he* brings in tips, *he* brings in suitable customers, *he* shows them a good time. Not only does this require a selling of the self, and a creation of experience, but it also internalizes responsibility not only for one's own income, but for the business of the bar, the business's success, and in Nicole's comment, he is also responsible for the success of the team with whom he is working. Hiring workers

with good personalities that contribute to the atmosphere of the restaurant is essential to successful restaurants. People do not simply go out for food and drink, they also go out to have a nice time, and this is where tipped workers are so crucial to the business. Putting on a show, or creating a persona, becomes a part of the business, both for yourself as entrepreneur, and for the business you work for. Some restaurants require a distinct professionalism, attention to detail, and quiet servitude (often in fine dining establishments), and others require the persona of an entertainer. Jason and then Nicole comment on getting themselves ready to be the appropriate persona.

> **Jason:** I tell my wife, I did tell her, I said before, it feels like I have to be an entertainer in a way, meaning it's like it is kind of a show like you do have to kind of like step outside yourself… I mean that's the way I've kind of looked at it where it's like alright gonna go bartend now, gotta 'be a bartender'… I want to be friendly with everybody and make sure people have a good time, you know?

Nicole says that

> if I'm having a bad day, but I know I'm walking out of there with $300 like I'll put myself in a good mood, because I know like my car payment has to get paid, my student loans have to get paid…

This is an example of how the power of governmentality 'adapts individuals to new social contingencies' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 396). Nicole's emphasis here is on how her income is socially contingent, she must create a social atmosphere and even attitude within herself. Her money is contingent upon her ability to create moods, both within herself and others. Both Jason and Nicole internalized the need to have a particular kind of persona, in order to sell themselves, and Nicole specifically brings out the way that tips incentivize her to do this. She might be having a bad day, but that persona will not make her money. Instead she must adapt and get in a 'good mood', so that she can make tips and pay her bills.

Nicole also points to another facet of selling oneself.

> **Nicole:** If I had to choose my, you know, dream staff to work with, it would be all attractive girls. All attractive females. For the reason, I feel like a guy is more inclined to tip better if a girl is serving him, and most of the time guys are paying the bill.

Subjects 'perform their own creation', but those performances are 'built into orders of knowledge', and are a paradox or a contradiction (Bröckling 2016: 2). Tipping is an exacerbating force of this contradiction; It requires the subject to create of itself an object. Workers and subjects attempt to make sense of themselves in the social world in which they play a part. Nicole is partially correct in her above assumption, with some research suggesting that 'male repeating patrons tend to give larger tips' (BeomChoel Kim et al. 2017: 18). A post on social media by the Instagram handle @roc_united attached to ROC-United reported that servers were posting that they 'are wearing pigtails to work because they say they earn more in tips' (12 September 2022 on Instagram). In a world where 'sex sells', attractiveness, sex-typing, and similar tropes become mechanized 'strategically' (Hardy and Sanders 2015), but at the same time the person having, doing, and performing these strategies becomes objectified in the pursuit of tips. Workers here are obviously making a choice and putting in the pigtails themselves, but they are again playing 'the game' within a specific set of ordered knowledge.[36] Nicole notes

> I think waitresses and strippers are pretty much the same people. Like morals put aside, I could probably strip too for the tips. It's the same mindset.

The 'mindset' is a selling of an embodied labour that sells personality, attractiveness, and even the body but within a prescribed framework. What is personal property, or property in person, is now an instrument for capital within a knowledge framework and lived material conditions, not simply for the individual worker, but for the owner of the business (Dean, 2020: 5). Wolkowitz et al. write that 'commodification continually alters the social organization' of body work and that

> as commodification of body work takes place, transforming it into body labour, it produces two contradictory impulses: commoditization and individualization. Commoditisation involves standardizing the service offered and therefore the labour process' (2013: 10).

Thinking of this 'standardization' as an imbedding of acceptable behaviour (and often successful behaviour) within the hegemonic knowledge complex, and acting accordingly within that framework, situates behaviours toward making tips within a standardisation of the labour process. In the experience at Hampton Bistro, I did note that the majority of the workers there were attractive and were able to perform not simply the physical labour but also the service labour of selling themselves.

Most of us had different personalities that suited different customers. All of us had our regulars who came in to see us, and having a regular client base amongst all individual workers meant better tips for everyone, as well as frequent patronage to the business. Valerie had a customer who would come in almost every day. If she were there, this particular customer would leave a one-hundred dollar tip, If she were not, they would still leave a good tip but not the $100 dollar bill. However, this often meant that Valerie would have to leave her post to go and chat to them for several minutes (sometimes longer). It became a requirement for her to socialize and sell the interaction between them for that tip. Maggie also noted the imperative and incentivization to take care of regular customers or customers who tip well.

> **Maggie:** There's definitely people you go the extra mile for, you see them on line for window 1 (the line to order), you'll take them in window 2 (the line to pick-up) because they are really big tippers, you know everyone matters in the restaurant, but those people I feel like kind of matter a little bit more, because they're the people you see once or twice a week. They're not just here once and then, or if they won't tip at all, you know?

Valerie's personality was a particular selling point for that customer, and her friendly interaction with them was part of a sale that resulted in a large tip. Selling the self is not always so easy and sometimes it requires a split of personality. One persona is good at one table, but another is required at a different table. At Hampton Bistro there were times when I had eight tables at once, all potentially needing different parts of me, and when bartending, there were even more personalities to which I had to attune myself.

Paules (1991) writes that

> so the waitress maintains control over the emotions she experiences and, to some degree, expresses in the service encounter. The waitress may adopt a submissive or energetically friendly manner toward those she serves, but she recognizes this manipulation of self as a means of manipulating the other. The boundary between front and backstage, between manufactured and spontaneous emotion, remains distinct; even in the midst of a performance the waitress does not lose herself in her role or lose sight of her objective (150).

This analysis of the waitress is not in line with the experiences that I had, and does not align with many of the experiences of my research participants. The 'boundary' is not so distinct. It is more blurred. It is not that we 'lose' ourselves in our roles, but that we invest parts of ourselves into our role, never entirely or comprehensively, but little by little over time. During times of pressure, as with the summer season, this investment takes its toll, due the frequency and intensity with which the worker needs to invest in the role. There is, of course, the front stage and backstage element that Paules describes, but the backstage almost serves as a form of soothing to the feelings experienced in the front in order to get back out on the battlefield. Jessica noted that a table can change her mood and have an effect on her.

> **Jessica:** 100% agree, one table can say something or maybe they ask for something… Whatever it is and that sets you… Your whole mood can be thrown off or somebody says something or does something that will, you know, bother you. I know that I'm personally, when somebody says something or does something and my thing is just like repeating it to co-workers like just be like oh my god you will never guess what this fucking idiot said. And I'm like, I feel bad, because I don't want to put this out into the universe, or put this energy onto my co-workers but at the same time I can't keep this to myself…

Again, Paules writes that 'employees of service industries are encouraged to treat customers with unflinching reverence and solicitude, to regard their concerns and needs as paramount, to look upon them as masters and kings'. In seeing customers in this way workers must 'accept this image of the other' and this 'requires that one adopt a particular image of self… if the customer is king (or queen), the employee by extension is subject, or servant' (1991: 131).

Tipped workers are neither necessarily, nor consistently, commanded by their patrons. Instead, workers subject themselves to a particularly neoliberal kind of domination through their own self-government (Foucault, 2010). There is often a positive inducement to behave in a certain way. In creating a persona that aims to please the customer, and in bringing parts of themselves to the creation of experience, they are embodying a neoliberal logic that positively controls and mobilises. Within a limited choice structure workers often choose to be subservient or laugh things off, because that is the choice with the best pay out, or at least less trouble. These negotiations and 'choices' are constant, and the ability to suppress feelings, emotions, or even the desire to defend oneself is an exhausting task.

The server is part and parcel to the idea of 'service' in restaurants. Their work is never neatly separated from themselves. Within this self for self, or commoditised self, workers perform different types of work. In service labour, a kind of care work similar to other domestic work done outside the home is performed. If we were to consider restaurants without this type of service and care, we would imagine most dining experiences being similar to that of the touch-screen interactions that take place at McDonald's. The mechanisation of care in the service encounter drastically changes the experience of dining out. It is not possible to have the service that many consider part of the dining experience 'to be met by a machine', and 'the prospect of a totally mechanised' restaurant industry changes that industry drastically (Anderson 2000:117). The face-to-face action brings a level of care (Anderson 2000: 120) to the experience of dining out. Additionally, cooking, cleaning, and investing emotion and care into action is an 'extension of the domestic' space into the realm of work (Ross 2018). This care work, and its embodied labour, becomes appropriated by the owner and the wider industry through a labour process that is inclusive of service for tips.

7.3 Service Commodity

This section of the chapter looks at forms of work to do with the body and emotion, and how that work is appropriated, or how that work is taken from its owner (the server) without consent or remuneration. In the creation of the dining experience workers are expected to create a service interaction that relies on their personalities, their emotional management, their ability to perform care work, and their aesthetic and embodied labour. The expectation to use these forms of aesthetic labour reveals how both the 'corporeality, [and] not just the feelings, of employees are organizationally appropriated and transmuted for commercial benefit'

(Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 386). This ranges from tasks and care typically associated with domestic work, care work, emotional management of self and customer (Brook 2013: 1; Hochschild 1983: 7), aesthetic labour of personality and performance, and the embodied labour of sexuality.[37]

Each encounter with a table requires varying degrees of this labour, whereby the customer is rewarding the appropriate and accurate deployment of these labours (based on their subjective needs), and the owner of the restaurant is appropriating this labour through the use of, and reliance on, tips rather than wages to reimburse these skill sets and labours. Relying on tips, rather than simply wages, devalues this work as quasi- or non-work unworthy of financial recognition in the workplace contributing to unpaid labour time (Cole et al. 2022). The restaurant and bar industry (and services industries more broadly) rely on specific aesthetics 'to appeal to the senses of customers, creating [an] affective service-interaction', often based on having the 'right look' and the right temperament (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 386).

Each encounter with a customer can require you to take on a different role, some more demanding than others, and the requirement to seem pleased and happy to perform are necessary to the encounter. In the creation of the dining experience (Dowling, 2007), the server is often taking part in 'selling the self' and they are 'not just doing a set of tasks but… filling a role' – the personhood of the server is commodified (Anderson 2000: 108).[38] In selling the self the worker is commodifying themselves as labour power, and as Pateman (1998: 150-1 in Anderson 2000: 112-3) points out, 'labour power, capacities or services, cannot be separated from the person of the worker like pieces of property… the worker's capacities are developed over time and they form an integral part of his self and self-identity', and when personality and the ability to create experience is required, a part of one's identity is always sold, but never separated from the worker. Additionally, in thinking about workers in relation to property, Pateman goes on to point out that 'contracts about property in the person inevitably create subordination' (1988: 153, in Anderson 2000: 113).

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[37] Restaurant work is closely related to work done in the home, and therefore connected to domestic labour and social reproduction. It is important to make 'visible the hidden unacknowledged and unpaid reproductive work predominantly carried out by women…in gendered ways in the workplace' (Dowling, 2016:453). As the majority of restaurant servers are women, and the work they do in serving, cleaning up after, and providing interactive emotional labour and care work is associated with the domestic space, it is important to point to how unpaid appropriated gendered labours is an extension of exploited socially reproductive labour (Ross, 2018; see also Dowling, 2016).
[38] Although less so than domestic workers, especially nannies and live in workers, there is still a level of 'personhood that is commodified' (Anderson, 2000: 121).

There is a certain sacredness of the property in personhood (Anderson 2000: 113) that problematises the labour power of, and commodification of, the self. Tipping complicates this further, exposing this personhood to remuneration according to subjective preference. Care is also one of the factors that contribute to the 'mystification of exploitation' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 396). People generally want to, or cannot help but, care, and in doing so they are motivated to perform this type of work.

When workers rely on tips for the majority of their income, owners of restaurants are appropriating the care work, emotional labour, embodied labour, aesthetic labour, as well as the physical labour of their 'employees'. They do not pay for the entirety of this labour and it is from these labours that restaurants benefit, and 'so, particularly for those jobs which necessarily demand some human interaction, an employer can purchase the services of a human being who is not a real human' (Anderson 2020: 121; O'Connell Davidson 1998). In this case, for a subsidized wage. With tipping, it is not simply the employer who purchases services, instead, the employer hires workers to perform, using parts of themselves for customers at a reduced rate with the purchasing power given over to each customer. The human interaction that is demanded is variable and dependent on each interaction, some more human, others less. The assumption that emotional labour is necessarily passive, and thus that the control of labour is exercised entirely by management, is incorrect. It is somewhere between passive and active (Brook 2013a: 4).

Whilst many domestic workers struggle with emotions and attachments toward those they care for, in restaurants there is something similar that occurs. 'Regulars' often have an attachment to particular members of staff, and they develop a relationship somewhere between customer and friend. There are even genuine friendships that can develop. I have had regulars whom I waited on for years, even at multiple restaurants. Some regulars would only sit in my section. I met their children, their grandchildren, knew all of their names, etc. When they would walk into the restaurant, we would hug and give kisses on the cheek. I had genuine feelings for them, and I believe they did for me as well. I served them in the restaurant with the care of someone who was serving their friends or family, except they paid me. They even gave extra tips, perhaps like a grandparent would sneak you money. However, my relationship with them was ended when I moved to a different restaurant. Perhaps this was a hybrid relationship – one of convenience of place, but with real emotion.

Care as labour and care as emotion are not easily separated. One cannot always simply do care as work (Anderson 2000: 119). There is often an emotional toll that occurs from doing care as labour. Connecting, caring, sharing oneself with other people so often and so regularly is exhausting. It can also be confusing. It often feels like you develop 'real' relationships with customers. However, there is always this underlying feeling that if something goes wrong during service, the more intimate relationship can shift back to a consumer-provider relationship. The emphasis on feminine traits, and on the ability to emotionally connect with customers, is common in hiring practices of servers, both today and historically (Cobble 1991: 5, 19, 21-22). Care work is often associated with femininity and the variations of femininity that need to be articulated often run along lines of being motherly, daughterly, or sexualised.[39] Ashley describes being motherly saying

> yes you have to be sort of [be] sweet and kind of motherly to children sometimes if the parents are teaching them to say 'yes', and 'thank you', and what do you want to order, because you know they are trying to make their children better people, so you have to play along with that and be a mom.

Nicole described her frustration when looking after children, something she enjoyed but did not detach from remuneration, and said

> I'm looking for your kids while you are sitting at your table making sure they are not getting in trouble and I'm not getting tips?

She also described how waitressing prepared her for a 'mother' role.

> **Nicole:** I was a house mom in my sorority so I was in charge of ten girls that would be in the house. It came down to, I made everyone breakfast even though I didn't have to, I made sure everyone's chores were done. I think I picked that role because I already knew I could be a waitress so I could do that stuff, and take that role on.

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[39] Anderson writes, 'Care involves the whole person. It is bound up in who we are. A worker is not only a worker, she is a woman, a human being, and caring is, as Bubeck puts it, "a deeply human practise", with a particular resonance for women since "Caring as an activity, disposition, and attitude forms a central part of probably all cultural conceptions of femininity"' (Anderson 2000: 121, quoting Bubeck 1995: 160).

Sometimes care does not mobilise you to do something, but instead makes you maintain a certain degree of subordination. Kristin describes not doing anything about a table of men who were being inappropriate toward her, because she was 'taking care' of them. The care element necessitates a willingness to make someone else feel comfortable or happy, even if it means allowing inappropriate behaviour. She said

> I was uncomfortable but couldn't say anything about it, either because I am taking care of them and you know…

Being 'worthy' or daughterly is also a way workers are feminized in a way that is deserving of tips. Nicole remembered one instance with a particularly wealthy family that liked her because she told them about herself.

> **Nicole:** At the private club I worked for, there was the family that owned a major football team… My first summer working at Hampton Bistro, they came and they were like, 'oh, you work here too'. I'd be like yes, and they never got to know me prior to this, but then I got to tell them, 'oh well I just graduated college, I'm putting myself through grad school, I do this, I do that'. And then the next week there was an envelope for me at Hampton Bistro with a $1,000 check from them saying, 'you deserve this, put this toward your school loans'.

Again, Ashley describes the need to play many different roles to be successful.

> **Ashley:** Um, sometimes you definitely have to be a little funny, a little sassy, yeah you have to play all of the roles. Do you have all of those roles in you all of the time? No? Maybe you don't have them, you have to dig deep. You have to be smarter with some tables. Some tables want you to be really knowledgeable about wine and food, and you know all of that. Um, and sometimes you can be like a little, just, you know down home gangster girl with people. I don't know. Is it fake to play all those roles?

Ashley's description aligns perfectly with the idea that 'employees in interactive services' must be 'positive, joyful, and even playful' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 387-388; Burns 1997: 240). The 'willingness' to mould oneself to the needs and desires of someone else relies on a hierarchical way of thinking. Hierarchy is part and parcel of the subjectivity of the server.

Keeler explains that 'most Americans equate "hierarchy" with "inequality"' and describes hierarchy as referring 'to a way of organizing relationships based on the idea that power comes from above' (2021: 21). This explanation of hierarchy 'follows that if you do not feel powerful, the best thing you can do is to subordinate yourself to the powerful – willingly, even enthusiastically' (Keller 2021: 21). This is especially true, if your ability to reproduce yourself economically is reliant upon such subordination. It is this willing and enthusiastic subordination that can often be found in the server, exacerbated by the tipped relation or the need to appeal to the charity of others for economic remuneration. In the space of the Hamptons, surrounded by the rich and powerful, it would make sense for many 'who feel themselves to be structurally weak [to] make it their business to find a way to benefit from people who are powerful' (Keeler 2021: 21). This aids in a constitution of consenting subjects through 'complex social interactions' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 393), whereby the 'dominant ruling class is able to elicit consent' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 393; Gramsci 1971).

This is not necessarily explicitly or overtly experienced/articulated by workers, but it is something more insidious. Instead, workers often cope with it, or they perceive the things that happen to them to be 'not that bad'. If they were to recognize the abuses they experience, they probably could not do the job anymore. I take for example one instance that I experienced leaving a graduation party with a female friend/co-worker (both of us worked at the restaurant in this study). As we were leaving, our friend's father smacked my friend on the behind. I was shocked. It was not gentle; it was a smack. As we were walking to the car, I asked 'Are you alright, that was terrible. She laughed it off and said 'I mean it's not as bad as the things I get at the restaurant, so it's fine'. She had internalised the norms of sexual harassment, compliance, self-censorship/silencing, and objectification into her everyday life. This aligns with a recent study by Cornell University that found that 'current employment in an industry with high prevalence of sexual harassment reduces individuals' likelihood of identifying scenarios of sexual harassment' and that 'work experience in highly sexually harassing industries has a lasting negative effect on individuals' ' abilities to point out sexual harassment (Strom et al. 2021: 1). It all becomes normal. Individuals 'may adopt increasingly restrictive conceptions of sexual harassment and become less likely to identify harassing behaviors' (Strom et al. 2021: 5). These norms have even been shown to have 'spill over effects', whereby the perception of individuals about negative behaviour such as sexual harassment are taken with them to other parts of life or other industries, also known as 'imprinting' (Strom et al. 2021: 5).

When your aim is to please, and create a pleasant experience for someone, there is a certain reticence in embarrassing them, making them angry, or even displeasing them. The normal boundary of accepted behaviours shifts over to be more accepting of things one would otherwise not tolerate. Unfortunately, sometimes this 'shift' of the boundary of acceptability is taken out into our everyday experiences outside of work, and even in shaping the rest of the work environment.

Hearn and Parkin understood the importance of the role of organisations, specifically workplaces, in controlling and expressing sexuality (1987: xi). Historically, restaurants have been workplaces where sexuality could be, and often was, quite blatant. Historically, taverns were often places to buy food, drink, and sex. More contemporaneously, some restaurants have taken sexuality and branded it as a marketing strategy. This allows companies to benefit from the commodification and appearance of workers' 'embodied labour' (Wolkowitz et al. 2013).[40] Consider the restaurant chain Hooters. Servers wear short orange shorts, tight white crop T-shirts, and serve chicken wings and beer. That restaurant chain depends on both a particular sexualized image of its female employees, but also a particular kind of masculinity that it aims to accept, promote, and emphasize in its male customer base. In this case, 'sexualization is used by organizations as a source of commercial benefit', and is seen as a 'management strategy' that is 'organizationally driven' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 385, 393).

Sexuality is both shaped by, and shapes workplaces (Hearn and Parkin 1987, xii; 63-127; Warhurst and Nickson, 2009). What is often overlooked is how 'the body, emotions, and sexuality are sites of commodification' and are therefore often appropriated (Wolkowitz et al. 2013: 3). When tips are present, the commodification of sexuality and personality are incentivized (see Febos 2022, as an example). This employment relation 'shift[s] risk and responsibility for pleasing clients to the individual worker, thereby facilitating a highly sexualized environment' (Wolkowitz et. al. 2013: 9). This also results in what Strom et al. refer to as a 'broader industry normalisation of sexual harassment' (2021: 16).

At Hampton Bistro, there was no corporate hiring strategy, and no official policy in place for hiring. However, Nicole noticed that it was often attractive people who were hired at Hampton

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[40] In reference to Hooters, Warhurst and Nickson refer to their organizational strategy as 'management attempting to appropriate their employees' sexuality, to develop and mobilize the sex appeal of these employees for commercial benefit' (2009:398). The sexuality of workers in restaurants was already something appropriated. Hooters made it into a blatant corporate strategy.

Bistro, a trend that contributes to the 'implicit' construction of sexuality (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 394).

> **Nicole:** I've had so many people who find out I work at Hampton Bistro, they're like oh it means you're really pretty, because they only hire pretty girls. Kind of. That's just how it works…

This statement reflects the idea that if you hire good-looking staff, it brings customers in (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 389; Nickson and Warhurst 2007: 156). The hiring practice described above could be attributed to the 'customer demand' for attractive service staff and the hiring practice was a part of 'sanctioned' or 'subscribed' sexualization of the workplace by owners and management (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 389, 399).[41] Rather than sex work, where 'sexuality is explicitly being sold', in restaurants and bars sexuality is often implicitly sold either by the worker (entrepreneur) and/or the business (Wolkowitz et al. 2013: 3).[42]

What I found working in restaurants was that sexuality was more blatant than in other workplaces, sexual comments were more accepted, and it was a place where the opportunity for sexual offers was opened up. I have experienced offers for dates, but also more vague sexual proposals – keys to backdoors and opportunities for extra-marital affairs with wealthy men. Again, there are different dynamics at play for different types of establishment (see Allison 1994 for a parallel comparison), but on the whole the industry is more overtly sexual and accepting of sexual harassment. This is in line with thinking on the restaurant as an 'organizational field', where it is seen broadly as a community where 'members share frequent, [and] significant engagement with each other' (Strom et al. 2021: 4). These 'patterns of interactions, actions, and lore can build up within an industry to produce shared expectations across organizations, which work to shape and constrain individuals' understandings of "acceptable" workplace behavior' (Strom et al. 2021: 4; see also Marquies and Tilcsik 2016).

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[41] Warhurst and Nickson develop the idea that sexualization is either employee driven and 'subscribed'/'sanctioned' by management, or 'prescribed' sexualization that is organizationally driven and part of a management strategy (2009: 393). This is problematic, because the difference in strategy is not simply employee or organizationally drive, but that the sexuality is found within the contradiction between them. Sexualization is an industry standard and its implementation varies between establishments. It is also a part of the embodied labour and personhood of each worker, and the extent to which each worker deploys a sexualization has to do with their willingness (mobilization) to sell their sexuality within an entrepreneurial framework and a neoliberal logic, especially when working for commission or tips. Sexualization is also, between establishment and worker, something created by the customer (as per accepted norms within the industry and norms of sexual objectification).

[42] Wolkowitz et al. note that 'beyond the sex industry, as workers' bodily presentation and aesthetic representation are systematically incorporated into consumer landscapes, sexualisation becomes increasingly common across the service sector' (2013: 9).

This acceptance also impacts one's success within the industry and 'may be contingent upon habituation to sexualized work environments and desensitisation to sexually harassing behaviors' (Strom et al. 2021: 5).

Hampton Bistro is a casual restaurant. Sexuality exists, but it is not as structurally blatant in the business as say a nightclub or a bar would be. It is a restaurant open for lunch and dinner, where food and drinks are served to individuals, couples, varying types of groups including families, etc. Our uniform was not explicitly sexual either. However, we did not wear uniforms that fully covered us as you would at an indoor fine-dining establishment. Instead, because we worked outside in the sun and heat, we wore shorts (some shorter than others) and branded T-Shirts and tank tops. At Hampton Bistro there was no policy to sexualize workers explicitly, except for the 'tendency' to hire attractive people.[43] The sexualization came from individuals and customers. However, the organization benefited from this sexualisation. The way individual workers tailored their uniform could emphasize or de-emphasize sexuality. If we look at how Nicole and Maggie talk about this, we can see the difference in emphasis. For Nicole, it was part of an entrepreneurial logic, a way to sell something to make tips and she describes sexualizing herself saying **'I will wear those tight shirts, I will wear those lower cut shirts for tips…'**.

Whereas Maggie describes not wanting to be 'provocative' at work, whilst balancing the competing demands of the heat with the demands of the job (leaning over, bending down, etc.) necessitating comfort and coverage.

> **Maggie:** I mean leaving over, but I would always wear the one [t-shirt] that goes up to here (points to her neck), or that v[-neck t-shirt] but it's not a low-v at all. I always make sure that I'm never wearing a push-up bra, not that I need to I already have big boobs, but I would never want them to be more, because then when you are talking to people…you know then they are having a conversation with your chest. Make sure shorts are an appropriate length because I know I'm a tall person and when I lean over I don't want my butt cheek hanging out of the bottom. I don't put on as much makeup because it's summertime and you're just sweating it off, I'll wear basics like mascara or

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[43] There was never any encouragement to sexualise ourselves by management or owners, but we were never explicitly discouraged, and the sexualization that did occur benefited the establishment.

whatever. I feel like with that, I don't know, not that eye-liner is provocative, but I'm not wearing a ton of makeup…

Ashley describes the need to look the part and be 'attractive', as well as her occasional rebellions against this.

> **Ashley:** I mean every morning when I get up and have to take a shower and blow-dry my hair and curl it and put on makeup and find what outfit looks good. I'm like, is this not that hard in other businesses? Like you always have, you know you have to be looking a certain way… Yes. It's hard you have to sell a look, you have to, it sucks too because some people are getting hired on a certain look, some people are not getting hired because they don't have the look. Luckily we are, I've always worked in a restaurant that have hired multiple different styles of human, but you still have to be at the end of the day, a pretty face and you have to be put together. You have to be kind of done up, and sometimes it's a struggle. Yeah, sometimes it's a struggle, and sometimes I don't want to put my face on, and sometimes I don't shower in protest and I don't shave my legs and wear shorts to work, in protest. In my own little silent protest. Because yea, you do, you have to sell.

Ashley brings up two important points. The first is the 'different styles of human', meaning different types of appeal. As Hochschild (1983: 97) noted, there are varying types of emotional labour, and thus varying types of embodied labour (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 390). What these variations in 'type' or 'kind' do is appeal to different personalities and 'market segments', based on a 'typology of looks' and personalities (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 390). At Hampton Bistro, we all had different styles, looks, and personalities that appealed to different customer bases, and we maintained our own 'regulars' that benefited the whole staff (described previously in the chapter). This was not a wholesale plan, it was something that happened through the learned embodiment of varying labours, recognition of individual attributes, and entrepreneurial mobilizations of those labours and attributes.[44]

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[44] Whilst some corporate restaurants have training programs that employees must go through, smaller business, in my experience, have no 'training program'. You get trained in the ins and outs of the business, how to write a ticket, where to put the tick in the kitchen, how to place food down and clear it away, etc. I have never been taught how to manage my emotions or those of patrons through a training program for a restaurant. Among interview participants, there is the idea that 'either you have it, or you don't'. When someone new comes in to 'train', we can tell within fifteen minutes if that person will make it in the industry. It is a tough industry, physically demanding, but it also takes a certain type of person. You have to be able to be personable, control your emotions, and interact with others. Where

Second, Ashley points to the importance of selling attractiveness, and how a majority female staff creates a certain kind of sexuality, 'you have to look a certain way'. So whilst we all had varying 'types' there was still a general base to our appeal. The baseline for appeal for some customers required a level of sexuality that would flirt, or be overtly sexual. Whilst some participants did not mind the emotional labour of 'strategic flirting' for tips (Deshotels and Forsyth 2006), it was something that I and some others tried to avoid if and when we could. The contradiction between discourses of empowerment and exploitation, and 'coercive or consensual' sexualization, arise here (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 386, 400). I wanted to do a good job and engage people, but the idea of selling sexuality, for me, was not something I wanted to do, and to sell food and drink and *have* to sexualize myself (beyond looking 'put together') did not equate. It was exploitative, and felt like a 'coerced sexualization' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 386) that could create problems in the workplace. Others were happy to employ a flirtatious and sexualised disposition, and it could be very financially rewarding. Nicole mentioned one of these potential problems and the difficulty in 'desexualising' a situation (Wolkowitz et. al. 2013: 10).

> **Nicole:** Or (they will) think you're like a bitch or something like 'oh you stuck up bitch'. I've gotten that before, if I don't flirt back with someone, because I'm like you are making me feel uncomfortable, just you know staring at my tits the whole time as you're ordering your fifth beer…

Creating a sexualized space, based on service and appealing to the customer, is problematic, because drawing a line is not so clear cut. There are no clear cut rules like those outlined in strip clubs, for example. Telling a customer to stop in an attempt to 'desexualise' the encounter could result in them not tipping you, them not coming back to the restaurant, and it might

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is this skill taught, if not in training? It is societal norms, often associated with femininity and servility, but also an outward ability to engage others, that is required for success.

Indeed, this is fine-tuned in the workplace(s), and over time, but the essential abilities and baseline conditioning have to already be there, in order to be successful when working in service, and especially service for tips. This can be referred to as 'corporeal capacities and attributes that favourably appeal to the senses of the customers', but what is contested here is the extent to which these attributes 'are then organizationally mobilized, developed and commodified through training, management and regulation to produce an embodied style of service' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 389). Instead, the mobilization that occurs, in the tipped relation, is through the possibility frontier of making tips themselves. Workers often self-mobilize relying on an internal governmentality. Workers figure out what works and what does not work on the job, and in particular, what their particular attributes are and what the needs are for different customer types.

even put you in a dangerous situation (described below by Jason). Desexualizing goes against the 'enchanting myth of customer sovereignty' (Korczynski 2013). At one point, Nicole is willing to draw attention to her chest, but then at another, the staring at her chest is problematic. Creating a sexualized space can create problems not only for one individual, but for other members of staff as well. To the first point, what if you start flirting with a customer, but they start to go too far after their 'fifth beer'? To the second, what happens when a customer (who is used to a sexualized waitress who happily flirts), sits in the section of a waitress who is uncomfortable with this behaviour? Will they think she is a 'stuck up bitch' and punish this unwillingness to participate in a sexualized exchange with a poor tip, even if the service was 'good'?

Whilst individual servers could sexualize themselves, it was also often customers who would sexualize us without our approval. It became normal or 'expected', as Nicole describe said 'I don't want to say I like it when customers sex-appeal me, but it's so normal to me I kind of expect it. You know'?

Being sexually objectified becomes an everyday occurrence. It is normalized and 'through constant exposure to sexually harassing behaviors, [it] signals that these behaviors are acceptable' (Strom et al. 2021: 5). Many of the research participants started working in the sexualized space of the restaurant at very young ages, and were thus exposed to the sexuality of the industry, but also the gaze and objectification of customers. Almost all female participants described some kind of sexual objectification at a young age (under the age of 18), while working in a restaurant. Nicole provides a good description of this in relation to her previous comment of it being 'normal'.

> **Nicole:** So I started in the restaurant business when I was twelve years old, very early, a little too early… you know at twelve years old I didn't look twelve, I probably looked fifteen, sixteen, seventeen. There was, I didn't know this till years later… I was like bending over in front of Bob and his friend one day (two customers), and the friend… he said 'yummmm that Nicole', and Bob said 'she's twelve years old'!… I'll never look at the guy the same again, because he sex-appealed me at twelve years old.

Whilst many of us have internalized the sexuality expected in the restaurant, sometimes the things customers said were just outlandish despite the expectation. Jessica had an interaction with a customer that is worth noting. She says

> [I was] just doing my job asking my customer how their entrée or appetizer was, and then being told you know, 'the only thing that would make it better is to take a bath with you in the broth'. And for someone who is outspoken and gets a rise out of ruffling someone's feathers, I was just… taken back! Yeah, so that was a form of sexual harassment, it's disgusting… Who even fucking says that! And I get it working in this industry; there is a level of that…

Jessica recognizes the level of sexuality in the industry, and is acknowledging letting certain things go, but this particular run-in was shocking for her. Sexual harassment objectifies the person being harassed, and it becomes an object potentially for sale in the tipped system.[45] Sexuality is a 'subordinate goal' within the dining experience, with other forms of service being a priority, but it is present (Hearn and Parkin 1987: 68). It is also not surprising, given that serving is a predominantly feminized occupation, and is a job that 'traditionally' encompasses a 'taken-for-grantedness of sexual harassment – as in institutionalized flirting situations' (Hearn and Parkin 1987: 84).

Most of the time, if the servers receive comments, or if something inappropriate happens, we just laugh it off, because as Ashley noted, 'in the moment there's no time to address it'. Or there are moments where we just do not know how to react. For April, the 'shock' of the situation prevented her from confronting the issue. She said 'I had someone stick their fingers in my mouth… that was a complete shock and I just froze…'.

Whilst all the female servers experienced at least some sort of uncomfortable sexual interaction with customers, Jason had different experiences.[46] His sexualization was always a joke, or a part of an entrepreneurial logic, and he never felt uncomfortable or in danger. He says

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[45] 'Harassment could be interpreted as an attempt to create some human contact as part of or in reaction to…alienation, or just another alienated working act. In short, sexual harassment may be a *form of labor in which women become commodities for men*, as a "reserve of sexual labor"' (Hearn and Parkin 1987: 85).

[46] 'It needs to be appreciated that men, as well as women, are expected to respond in such ways by customers' needs and this expectation may become an issue in need of researching as the number of men working in hospitality increases' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 400).

there was a big gay clientele you know, so like there was you know always remarks, always remarks, but I just you know laugh it off, like, I mean even play into it sometimes too, because it's like I don't care. You know like nothing's ever gonna happen, you know, so… I never felt threatened or pressured. It was just a playful flirt, that's how I make my money sometimes…

There is often an unwritten rule in bars and restaurants, where female bartenders are not allowed to 'close' by themselves, because owners feel not only that is there is a potential for a robbery, but also for a rape. Jason is familiar with this unwritten rule and said 'I've been told that a bunch of times at different restaurants. Like I have to close, they (female staff) can't close. That's terrible. That's a horrible place to be…'.

He also pointed to experiences where he had to get involved, as a man, to help female co-workers. Jason said

I worked with women in a different town where like they were, I always walked them to their cars, you know because they were worried about certain customers, um and I, it's that's a scary place to be. I know that there is that, that gap… I remember there was a few customers… where the bartenders (female) had their 'Fanclubs', you know and they were scared to leave by themselves at the end of the night. I would have to step in and you know, as a young person, eighteen, nineteen, and kind of be like 'come on man'… I actually try to have conversations with adult men at the bar that were crossing a line, you know and I was super young and being like 'come on man, you are making her feel uncomfortable'.

Jason, as a male, even at a young age was valued by female co-workers as a protection against male customers, whether in his chaperoning them to their cars, or his interventions into situations where female bartenders could not get the customers to stop crossing the line. His pleas, as a man, were also taken by male patrons to be more serious than the female bartenders, even at a very young age. Experiences of sex and gender were also differentiated according to whether or not workers had children. Parenthood is experienced differently by Jason and Kristin. Kristin, while pregnant often felt uncomfortable at work. She said 'Well I did kind of feel a little uncomfortable sometimes in the sense that I felt like people were looking down on me more, that I didn't have like a 'real job' and here I am with like, a, a baby…'. Whilst Jason,

the only male of the group interviewed, notes that, 'when my daughter was born I had so many gifts for her (from customers) and all this…'.

The pregnant body of a woman becomes a problem in a space where women almost have to be sexualized, whereas a man can be a father and that does not disrupt any sexualizing of him. Kristin, although she felt uncomfortable, would still be deemed worthy of tips as she would be someone to be pitied or deserving of charity. She mentioned to me during her pregnancy that she made extra efforts to wear her wedding ring, an attempt to make sure her pregnancy seemed 'acceptable' to customers.

The sexualization of the customer interactions, and the general sexualizing of the restaurant, spills into co-worker dynamics. Sexuality becomes 'normal' and 'expected' and infiltrates to co-workers among the front of house staff (mostly women). These jokes and anecdotes were fine, but sexual harassment from the back of house or management often go too far. I have experienced advances from both a head chef and a manager that I had to navigate at previous workplaces. I told both I was not interested, but the advances did not stop. I could not tell anyone, because they were at the top of the food chain. I just had to tolerate it. Jessica experienced something similar with a cook.

> I'm ok with casual workplace flirting, like that happens we're all friends here we all spend a lot of fucking time [together], I don't care if there's a wink here and there or you look good today, or you look nice, if its polite and not sexual and creepy. But when you start putting your hands on me after I tell you to stop, respect those boundaries… There was occasions where like I would walk through the kitchen and he would pretend to accidently touch my ass or like bump into me…

As with Loe's (1996) ethnography that views workers at 'Bazooms' as not merely 'passive object[s]', this research is in agreement and considers the server as a mobilized entrepreneur. Loe describes her co-workers and how, in addition to emphasizing sexual appeal, they emphasize their roles as mothers, students, etc. These are all examples of the mobilizing potential of tips and how the selling of the self, within the appropriate and deserving sexual frameworks, are entrepreneurial strategies directed at making tips and part of the game described above.

Sexualization by the worker might simply be viewed as an autonomous decision to 'sexualise themselves through their aesthetic labouring for personal benefit' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 393). However, the situation is more complicated than that. When commission or tips are involved, the tendency to mobilize and strategize towards economic remuneration becomes a part of something wider, a neoliberal logic, and in viewing these assumptions through the framework of this logic they are more complicated. This strategic employment of sexualizing could be viewed as part of playing 'the game' that was described earlier, whereby, through learned and internalized social structures, actors perform in a way that maintains 'the underlying conditions of domination [that] make the game possible' (Burawoy 2008: 4).[47]

It is in the *habitus* of the research participants to know how to operate within the tipped relation. Economic gain, centred on personal gain, in this arena is the ultimate achievement. Operating as entrepreneur is not articulated explicitly, but is instead how one interacts and understands the social world that they are in. Restaurant owners rely on workers selling themselves, creating an experience or atmosphere, a management of the self, and embodying a servile but positive disposition in relation to the customer.[48]

This subject formation through the neoliberal framework produces experiences of exploitation, domination, and appropriation. What exists then is an 'internalisation of ways of being that engage and act upon positive drivers towards purposive action' (Purcell and Brook 2020: 397). Workers are 'reflexive individuals', are 'possessive of agency', and there is a need and attempt for them to 'seek and secure a dignified sense of the self within a labour market and welfare system that continually threatens to discipline and punish non-compliance by plunging them into poverty' (Purcell and Brook 2022: 397).

7.4 The Toll of Tipping

This internalisation and performance at work takes its toll on workers not simply at work, but away from work. In the busy months of the season, time away from work becomes simply a time to recharge for work, and the removal of personal interaction from that time off is a way

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[47] Recall the sexualization the female participants experienced at a young age, and how their continued participation in the sexualization of the self in the restaurant (with the aim of getting tips) maintains the acceptance of the same non-consensual sexualization they experienced previously.

[48] This does not have to mean 'meek'. Many customers wanted us to perform in a 'sassy' way for them. I had this experience with one of my regular customers, who enjoyed this performance from me. I gave them what they wanted, not what I wanted.

that tipped workers enable the sale of their persona(e). Valerie's days off are spent away from other people. She says that on her days off, 'I don't talk, I don't do anything, the only person I hang out with is my boyfriend. That's it. Like people have asked me to walk with me in the morning. No, I don't want to'.

Valerie goes on to describe the persona at work as an 'outfit'.

> **Valerie:** Having the outfit on every day, it's like a fake outfit that I'm not. And some of my personality shines through with the customers, like I obviously don't speak freely, but I don't take away all of my personality, you know. Um, but it is very, I every single year say I don't know if I'm going to do it this year…

Ashley describes her level of investing in the work process of selling herself and the need to recover from giving too much of herself.

> **Ashley:** I always try to sort of be mostly authentic or as authentic as I can be, obviously people that I'm waiting on aren't getting all of me…but I think you know, for me at least if I'm in this and being this and doing this, a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot of hours that week, that day, when I have off to myself I'll have a 'me day' where I just sit in my house, by myself, don't want to do anything, don't want to talk to anybody… not have to…sometimes you just want to not talk. You know? Yeah, so like I think that's probably how [it is] when I'm being too much 'me' for too many hours at work then I shut myself off, and to like recharge, recoup for sure. I don't know if I ever necessarily come here, and or can, or have come to a tipped job and just been a worker (without investing part of herself).

The difficulty of selling yourself and wearing the outfit takes its toll over time, and many participants that I worked with described (especially toward the end of the season) not knowing if they wanted to work in the restaurant business anymore (this is a yearly occurrence). Jessica gets herself through difficult times by telling herself that

> I feel like I just tell myself that this isn't your forever, I have to tell myself that this isn't something that I plan on doing for much longer or forever and that usually you know like, that's a constant reminder… that I have to tell myself.

Kristin also notes the emotional toll it takes on her.

> **Kristin:** But again, like I said in the past two years I've been feeling those effects more. Yeah, whereas I'm like, I can't, I can't keep doing this because, because then I bring it home, I take it out on my kids, you know…

Working for tips in the restaurant industry takes a toll on the server. It is physically demanding, but also emotionally and psychologically demanding. To give so much emotion at work, we often had little left to share with friends or family. Additionally, to work under a condition of deference is no easy task, and as workers age (into their 30s and 40s) this becomes more difficult.[49] Kristin specifically talks about how 'tough' this becomes.

> **Kristin:** I'm not a very social person. I like to be alone, I you know so, which is weird being in the restaurant industry for as long as I've been in. Um, but yeah, I'm definitely, I've realized as I've gotten older, I'm definitely more of a loner like I've always forced myself to be social and being at the restaurant you know, there are certain days where I'm just like, I don't feel like dealing with people, but it's my job, I have to. So that's, that's really tough.

The participants often described experiences in terms of 'real' or not real in an attempt to separate the conflation of their personal investments at work with their lives outside of work. April found that she needed to create a significant distance between her 'real life' and work, and keep her 'real self' safe from the self she needed to be to create experiences for diners.

> **April:** So, I just set a really strict boundary with myself. I don't care how much I get made fun of for it, I am able to come to work and operate at 100%. I think this came with experience… So if anything ever happens at work, I love my personal life, I love my home life, work is not real to me… Um we're a show [at the restaurant], we're a circus show right. You go into work you have no feelings, no emotion, you have no personal real life. You are there to just, I'm sure you have gotten this before, 'you

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[49] Like domestic service, many servers leave the occupation as they age. This logic is similar to that of domestic service historically. Hill writes that servants, if they could, 'left service before they were 40', because of the constant need to be deferent and servile (1996: 38). Whenever other occupations became available that resisted the master/servant relationship, they moved on, especially male servants.

should smile more', like you've definitely gotten that comment or something about why you're not this or that. So like things like that, you go to work and you have to be on. And a lot of it, especially for a recluse or someone that's introverted, it takes DAYS for me to recharge from that. I can't just be an active member in society during the day and go and do my job (at night). That is just extremely chaotic, the energy is just very fleeting. And in life, in my REAL life, I do not feel like I am like that. I feel like I get into a job like that or the industry and it's a part all the time. People come for the experience, they come for you to give them the experience and it doesn't matter what you have going on. It doesn't matter who you are, they are there for the experience, and you are to create that for them, and deliver it.

Jessica also described a 'split' between behaviour in her 'real life' and behaviour when working at the restaurant. The temptation and availability to drink alcohol is ever present in the restaurant business, and at Hampton Bistro we were all (over the age of 21) allowed to have a 'shift drink' at the end of our shift. Jessica said

I do not drink in my actual real life that much. And then a shift will end and I'm like give me a fucking beer, I need to just like decompress. I mean it's hard to deal with society and people in general and then to like, and something, this is what comes up in therapy a lot. She (the therapist) says it a lot, she's like you are a server, you are literally a servant to somebody and I can only imagine how they treat you because of their status, because of their money. And it's true. Some of these people, yes, we have some great customers that treat us like human beings and love us and would probably invite us over for a holiday meal if we didn't have somewhere to go and I 100% believe that. And then there are some people who are just so incredibly rude and mannerless and you're just like, who the fuck are you?

7.5 Conclusion

This ability to maintain a subservient or even neutral disposition is no easy task, and in just the same way that workers invest parts of themselves into the role, parts of the role bleed into the subjectivity of the worker. Subserviency taps into asymmetries of class, gender, and race and norms within those positions are often emphasized by workers. As workers invest parts of themselves into the role of server, they are further incentivized to use parts of their

personalities, demographics, or body that are conducive to the workspace. This is especially true in the restaurant industry.

An entrepreneurial logic is a 'technology of power that is focused on the individual body without being concerned with the individual as such' (Hofmeyr 2021: 44). The real concern here is a 'normalization of the population as a whole', according to 'value and utility' not as society and community (Hofmeyr 2021: 44). In the next chapter, there is a move away from the micro experiences of tipping to the wider trends on a macro-scale. Looking to the contradictions between a feudal and neoliberal global political economy connects the micro and meso trends of neoliberal governmentality to the macro structures and powers at play, and is a part of what Burawoy describes as providing 'global context' through 'extending out from micro to macro forces' (2014: 963, see also Schritt 2022: 42).

Chapter 8: Continuities and Ruptures: Neoliberal meets 'Neo' feudal

Tipping is rooted in both feudal and pre-capitalist relations, but at the same time is incredibly effective at controlling labour in our current paradigm. Understanding the continuities and ruptures of tipping in an historical, political and economic framework is thus the task to undertake in this chapter. To further grasp the potencies of tipping, and to expand out from the site of the individual server, the feudal relations embedded within the custom of tipping must be put into conversation with its current form, and in doing so, this points to the contradictions embedded in a neoliberal capitalist logic. Shifting the analytical framework away from simply that of worker autonomy or liberal claims of liberation (Brewster and Wills 2018; Pauls 1991; Ross and Welsh 2022), and pointing to tipping as something between a neoliberal governmentality and a feudal logic, allows for a more critical perspective on tipping. In using this framework, we can see workers as not simply neoliberal mini-entrepreneurs who rely on the market to meet their needs, but as part of the 'new servants' (Görz 2012) who embody a type of servility, sycophantism, and put themselves (and are put) into a relation of feudal dependency to masters on both a micro level and on a more strategic scale. This chapter brings out the contradictions present with the modern/traditional juxtaposition, as tipping embodies both simultaneously, and specifically brings out how: 1) tipped workers navigate quasi-feudal relationships, in relation to dependence, hierarchy, and inequality; 2) capitalist and feudal relations co-exist more broadly; 3) macro feudal tendencies are brought to bear on tipping; and 4) worker resistance in the paradigm of the 'neo-feudal' needs reconsideration.

8.1 Neo-Liberal Meets Feudal

Before entering into the analysis of tipping in relation to the feudal, it is necessary to qualify what is meant by the meeting of neoliberal ideology with feudal relations. Contemporary capitalism posits individuals as 'free and equal actors meeting in the labour market', but this is a 'governing fiction' (Dean 2020: 1), as it presents the 'illusion of an asocial market sphere' (Zelizer 2012: 148). At this stage in neoliberal capitalism what is purported to be the case (ideologically) in many western nations are free, democratic, and equal spaces of market transactions, but what is increasingly being experienced is a 'tending toward neo-feudalism'

(Dean, 2020: 1).[50] Andre Görz pointed to the shift from industrial production to an increasing predominance of services in 'even the most basic daily activities' (2012: 7) across the emerging mode of production, and to the relations between social and economic actors in this transition, or what he called 'the new servants'.[51] Jodi Dean also alludes to this shift in relations, and points to appearance of 'new lords' and 'new serfs' under a 'neo-feudal' regime, whereby 'a micro-elite of platform billionaires and the massive service sector or sector of servants' fulfil their needs, wants, and desires (2020: 1-2).

Whilst Dean (2020), Varoufakis (2021), and others point to the neo-feudal relations on a macro scale amongst platform owners and their workers and 'independent contractors', the starting point for this research points to a micro relation that has descended from pre-capitalist relations through to the current neoliberal paradigm, where neo-feudal tendencies are becoming increasingly prevalent. This research does not proclaim that we are definitively within 'neo-feudalism'. However, it agrees with Dean's (2020) idea that the identification of techniques, mechanisms, and functions of everyday life, and how they relate to feudal relations in a mode of production, can be helpful in 'drawing out tendencies that help us make sense of the present' (Dean 2020: 9-10). If we think 'in terms of neo-feudalism' it helps 'moves us away from the stage of identity and forces us to confront the impact of extreme economic inequality on political society and institutions' (Dean 2020: 9-10). The aim of this research is to point to some of the specific experiences of tipping, but to then theoretically extend outwards (Burawoy 1998, 2009, 2014) to wider trends in society. In bringing out the 'neo-feudal' tendencies, or the passages of feudalism in the incomplete transition of the mode of production to capitalism, we can see how tipping is connected to wider problems, and is a part of this global shift toward a new mode of production that binds dependency, hierarchy and inequality to it.

This shift simply points to tendencies toward neo-feudalism (or passages of feudalism) and does not purport to represent some kind of neat transition from one mode of production to another. Importantly, a recognition of continuation is an essential element in understanding

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[50] Dean writes that 'it is not quite right to say that the present is an era of peasants and lords, it is right to say that contemporary capitalist society is characterized by an intensification of inequality – more billionaires, greater distance between rich and poor, and the solidification of a differentiated legal architecture that protects corporations and the rich while it immiserates and incarcerates the working class. In the US, the entrenchment of economic inequality is severe: the US has less economic mobility than England, a country with a landed aristocracy' (2020: 5).

[51] Görz asked, 'to what extent is it right to substitute the services of paid professionals for activities which each of us could just as easily perform ourselves if we had the free time to do so' (2012: 51).

this emergence. It is not something that is new (just look at the social history of tipping as something that shifts and changes, but the basic relations remain the same), but something that has continued throughout capitalist modernity from pre-modern origins, which is becoming more apparent in the capitalist mode of production under neoliberalism. The idea of a clear or neat transition from the feudal to the modern is too neat and definitive, and should be eschewed.

Tipping is one such custom that brings out how the 'experience of modernity is profoundly contradictory' (Sayer 1991: 57), and lies at an articulation of the modern and pre-modern. Tipping relies on relations of force from both the market and from the social. It contains within it a persistence of feudal relations and dependencies, whilst also emphasizing the economic individual of modernity (the entrepreneurial self), and just as tipping has continued from the pre-modern through to the present, its feudal relations and imbedded meanings have transitioned along with it, never disappearing and then reappearing.

It is argued here that to understand tipping, we must look at the idea of an 'in-betweenness'. Theories surrounding capitalism often emphasize a totalizing or complete transition to capitalist modernity with a subsequent shedding of the past or the pre-capitalist (Sayer 1991: 1). Capitalism is totalizing in that it incorporates all relations, norms, and customs to enhance the capitalist mode of production with the aim of increasing surplus value. Perhaps we can rethink the totalizing capacities of capitalism as not the draining away of the old and ushering in of the new 'modern world' (Sayer 1991: 6), but instead in the willingness and capacity of capitalism to gain advantage from any and every relation, mode of production, and the comprehensive way in which its dominating capacities are effective as the 'acme of human oppression' (Sayer 1991: 12).

In the last chapter we saw how 'personal dependence characterizes the social relations of production', but this is a factor in the feudal relationship (Marx 1867: 77 in Sayer 1991: 10). It is in this relation that 'the appropriation of another's *will* is presupposed in the relationship of dominion' (Marx 1858: 424 in Sayer 1991: 10). In these encounters, 'individuals, although their relationships appear more personal, only enter into relations with each other as individuals in a particular determination, as feudal lord and vassal, lord of the manor and serf' (Marx 1858: 411 in Sayer 1991: 11). This kind of 'production and exchange' is 'enmeshed in personal relationships' and 'remain[s] subordinated to social control' and not simply the control of the

market (Sayer 1991: 11). This is often, and has been, true for many work forms historically. Feudal relations are necessarily personal and domestic work and services have continued to experience these relations. Tipped restaurant work is one such example.

Although the aim is to point to the feudal in our present, Varoufakis (2021) points out that 'it is not, of course, that traditional capitalist sectors have disappeared'. Instead, he contends that like 'in the early nineteenth century, many feudal relations remained intact, but capitalist relations had begun to dominate' and sees that 'today, capitalist relations remain intact, but techno-feudalist relations have begun to overtake them' (Varoufakis 2021). These relations (feudal/capitalist) have existed, and continue to exist, through an intertwining. Whilst we see the 'personal independence [of individuals] based upon a dependence *mediated by things*' (capitalism), we also see 'relationships of dependence' (Marx 1858: 95 in Sayer 1991: 8). Feudal tendencies and relations are, when intertwined with neoliberal capitalism and brought to the fore, potentially worse for workers, as capitalism exploits 'other modes of production and accumulation' and 'makes them worse, dismantling the conditions to which they were adapted and subjecting them to alien laws' (Dean 2020: 2).

8.2 Dependency, Hierarchy, and Inequality

In chapter 3, the emergence of vails and 'the tip' coincided with the master-servant relationship in the Tudor period. In this time, there were codes, laws, and even manuals (Biscetti 2015) concerned with matters of *noblesse oblige* and the duties one owed the people around them, including servants. The service model around tipping (and neoliberalism generally) denies any required or recommended mode of behaviour and often centres simply around customer satisfaction and market satisfaction. What we see currently, and especially in tipping, is the master-servant relation, but the removal of moral/ethical codes of conduct replaced by market logic. This next section deals with this in-between, whereby tipped workers navigate dependence, hierarchy, and inequality within service work in its current neoliberal form.

Tipping is not simply a feudal custom that disappeared and then reappeared; it has shifted, morphed, and travelled through various instantiations, but has always maintained its inherent features of: 1) dependency, 2) hierarchy, and 3) inequality. These features bear a feudal pretext of social obligation, personal relationships and a limited mode of production, even though they exist within a modern mode of production. Simply put, feudal tendencies and relations

cannot be divorced from our current neoliberal existence and tipping is an illuminating and illustrative feature of our contemporary society that points to this fact. Taking these features and pretexts, this section parallels features of feudal relations with experiences of the tipped relation in its current neoliberal incarnation.

In addition to the Tudor origins introduced in Chapter 3, tipping emerged in Europe when feudal lords 'wanting to get safe passage tossed coins to beggars' (BeomCheol Kim et al. 2015: 17; Schein et al. 1984). Tips then took the form of vails as payment for additional work not covered by wages for servants in aristocratic households. Azar even argued that tipping emerged when the lord of a manor would give their workers a few extra coins for hard work, or if the servant was undergoing severe hardship, illness or 'other social disadvantages' (2004: 752; see BeomCheol Kim et al. 2015: 17). This ties historically tipping specifically to dependence, disadvantage, desperation, charity, gift-giving and even begging. It places the person who is tipped in a relation of need and dependence to a someone with resources (economic) and power (political).

In its modern form, tipping requires this same sort of dependence. Many consumers like tipping, because it makes them feel charitable and in a position of power (Lynn and Withiam 2008: 329; Shamir 1984), creating a necessary asymmetry within the tipped relation. For this asymmetry to exist, there has to be a differential, dependence, and inequality between the customer and the server. During the fieldwork a co-worker noted that many customers noticed and commented on her large diamond engagement ring, and she insisted that she got fewer tips because of it. She decided to do an experiment and turn the diamond side of the ring around so that it was covered, and a simple band appeared to customers instead. She loosely tracked the difference in tips, asserting that she got more tips when the ring looked more modest. Whilst this is simply one anecdote, there are constant examples of the need to have the person who is tipped in a lesser social and economic position to the person who tips (look at the examples in Chapter 3 regarding the emergence of tipping in the US). Additionally, Lynn found that customers were more likely to tip workers when 'the customer is wealthier than the server' (2019: 221), validating this experiment by my co-worker.

As noted in the previous chapter, those who are struggling; students, mothers, actors, etc., become needy of the tip, and the tipping customer acquires the position of patron to a subject worthy of charity. The large diamond ring throws this relation off balance, creating a problem:

why would a customer give extra money (a tip) to someone who obviously has some kind of wealth? What if the worker has more money than the patron? The dynamic of charity and gift-giving is put into question. There has to be a situation of need for people to be motivated to part with their money voluntarily, even if that voluntary economic process is the main form of remuneration for workers. If the relational dynamics of dependency, hierarchy, and inequality do not fit the tipping scenario (economic transaction) then there is a mismatch of the 'negotiated meaning' of the tipped relation and the 'relational package' (Zelizer 2012: 151). My co-worker's concealment of her diamond was part of the relational work of tipping, whereby she tried to create a viable match between the type of economic transaction and the relations necessary for it to be successful. In short, she removed the symbol that identified her as not being in need.

What capitalism does is use the exploitative relation between master and servant (its inequality, hierarchy and dependence), but it replaces the responsibility of the master with an individual self-responsibilising market logic and renders the servant an economic actor equal to the master, because both are economic subjects. This renders inequality, hierarchy, and dependency invisible, as if class relations were no longer in existence. The relational work required of tipped workers reinforces this schizophrenic dynamic and workers often willingly embody conditions of dependence, hierarchy and inequality, but this is reinvented in the mind of the worker in terms of neoliberal logic and entrepreneurial goals (seen in Chapter 6). My co-worker was more than happy to turn her ring around to make her social standing more modest, but she did not confront the problem of necessitated inequality that takes place in the custom of tipping. Whilst market logic blurs the notions of class differences and inequalities, social standing and differences of class are still imbued in the tipped relation. Nicole brings out this tension when she mentions

> if you make me feel like I'm just a waitress and I'm beneath you, I'm going to let you know I work three jobs and I'm in grad school full-time so you know I'm not just a waitress…

The waitress symbolises need, being worthy of charity, and a lack of economic and professional success. In order to displace these feelings Nicole is determined to show that she is worthy. She works more than one job, and is in higher education, but whilst these indicators make her worthy, they also reinforce her position of being in need. Customers view her as a

hard-working, and potentially even a struggling young person deserving of their tip. For some workers, tipped restaurant work is temporary. It is a short-term reality in which they 'create alternative futures of work, employment, and education' or 'aspirational strategies' or 'projective strategies' for the long-term (Hardy and Sanders 2015, 119, 120). For other workers, who cannot easily displace the connotations of dependence, hierarchy, and inequality associated with waitressing and the tipped relation, this displacement is not so easy. For workers who have been in the business for a long time, there is often an uneasiness in their tone about whether or not this work is their career or something that they consciously chose to do long-term, and the struggle to define the merit and worth of their 'real' job is constantly being negotiated with customers. Ashley, Kristin, Valerie, and then April point this out emphatically.

> **Ashley:** And then I guess eventually I realized like, you know after my dad kept telling me, find a real job, find a real job, find a real job, find a real job – wait a minute this is a real job. This is a real job with real money, with real people doing it with a real service to people, because everybody eats and drinks, especially in our like area where we live. So, this might be actually a real job.

> **Kristin:** How many times, how many times did I get asked, what are your plans after this, like what are you going to do with your life, like this wasn't my job…and it has been for 21 years, it's been my only job. I felt like people were like what are you going to do with your life after this?

> **Valerie:** where you know people would say, 'oh it's not a real job, it's not a real job, it's not a real job, what else do you do?' And I'm like you know, fuck you..

> **April:** I have a problem when people say one thing, and it's, I don't know why, and I don't know why it triggers me. It's when people say 'so what do you do for real'? And I say, in the moment I say, 'Um this is my real job, I'm really here with you right now, I'm really doing this like this is my real job', because I feel like, I don't know what they mean to say by that. I don't know if they want to discount what I do as a real job, but like the reality of it is like I did the whole school thing, my degree looks great on my mom's fridge. Unfortunately, that does not give me the life I want to live…

The lack of professional recognition and social legitimacy attributed to serving, especially in relation to tipped work, stem from conditions of dependence, domestic work, and pre-modern tropes in social relations. Whilst dependency, hierarchy, and inequality are mired in the tipped relation from these pre-modern pretexts, the moral and social obligations of those in superior positions are not.

Servers are required to be incredibly polite, patient, and accommodating, but customers have no duty of politeness. This dynamic emphasises the required subservice of the person below (the server) to the person above (customer), but specifically in the relation of the tipped transaction. I turn to Paules, who observed that

> Virtually every rule of etiquette is violated by customers in their interaction with the waitress: the waitress can be interrupted; she can be addressed with the mouth full; she can be ignored and stared at; and she can be subjected to unrestrained anger. Lacking the status of a person she, like the servant, is refused the most basic considerations of polite interactions. She is, in addition, the subject of chronic criticism (1991: 138).

Historically, politeness was part and parcel to codified master/servant behaviour and class relations. The fixity of vails/tips existed in parallel to fixed guidelines of behaviour between master and servant (Biscetti 2015), establishing a relationship of distinctions imbedded in feudal requirements of *noblesse oblige*. There were, specifically in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, pamphlets and manuals on the appropriate relationship to be had between master and servant. These codifications increasingly emphasized Christian kindness, as well as bourgeois gentlemanliness and politeness, despite the understanding that masters commanded and servants obeyed (Biscetti 2015: 290-91; Burton 1681: 35-36). Language used by customers, and levels of (im)politeness in restaurants more contemporaneously, are indicators of an imbedded understanding of master-servant relations (a way of expressing perceived hierarchy), but without the codification or responsibility of that hierarchy (Biscetti 2015). Politeness is often performed through interactions among people with shared respect, amongst equals. It is also something that is used in public spaces to provide a civility in society (Biscetti 2015: 288), but also from persons who feel beneath (socially, economically) their interlocutor.

This imbalance and lack of politeness from customers is indicated in the way customers often order by giving a command or simple constative, rather than by making a request. For example,

instead of saying 'I would like' or 'May I have', I noticed customers would often say things like 'You can get me' or 'I'll take'. Another indicator of these relations is a lack of social awareness around interactions and speech in those interactions. We would always approach a guest with a greeting such as 'Hello, how is everyone today'. Our greeting would often be returned with a drink order 'A diet coke', instead of 'good, thank you' or some similar response. Sometimes we would push back and continue to ask how the customer was until it dawned on them how rude they were being, and responded appropriately. This did not happen often, time was limited, and the dangers of disturbing the equilibrium of the dynamic were too great, especially as it could result in a reduced tip. This impoliteness embodies the removal of public civility and brings out the hierarchy, inequality and dependence of the relations of tipping. The following encounter displays this well.

I had an experience with a regular wealthy customer, who came in with his wife and another couple. When it came time to pay the bill his friend beat him in the race to give me a credit card as a form of payment. The rule in the restaurant is, the first person to give you payment gets to pay if they insist. The end. It is a firm rule. I walked away to run the credit card of the friend, the regular followed me behind the bar, a good twelve feet behind the bar and confronted me in a tight corner and continued to insist he should pay. He was in my face, while I explained that I had already run the card through the machine. He punched past my face to the wall behind me smashing a glass frame, hand bloodied and dripping (I had to clean up the glass and blood). He then walked away. I relayed the story to the owner of the restaurant the next day and it just so happened this same customer came back in for lunch on that day. My boss confronted him outside and told him never to make his staff feel unsafe again. The customer apologized to the owner, but he never apologized to me. He did not owe me one. He could be impolite and even threatening to me without consequence. I had to wait on him multiple times after this, and I was always polite.

The codification of pre-modern behavioural norms (and class differences) are less apparent today, and a more mechanized market transaction between consumer and producer/servicer exists in its place. Capitalism encompasses the relation of master and servant, but rejects those codifications and obligations, instead applying market logics to them. Resulting from this is a false equality of actors in the market, and an overreliance on optional moral obligation. This creates a dynamic where inequality exists, but equality is expressed. Whilst unequal and dependent position exists materially, rhetorically every individual is an equal economic player.

This marries economic responsibly (i.e. it is your fault you did not make enough money in tips this week) with personal relationships (i.e. maybe the table did not like you and left you a bad tip), and makes actors complicit in their own domination through the internalized narrative of neoliberal logic and normalised subservience. In the relations of the monetary transaction, the historical features and pretexts of feudalism remain, but with the economic responsibility and exploitation of neoliberal capitalism.

8.3 Capitalist and Neo-Feudal Relations

If the pretexts of dependency, hierarchy, and inequality are constantly a feature of one's work and negotiations of relations at work, how does this affect workers and society more generally? Frédéric Lordon noted that 'the habit of serving leads to losing sight of the very condition of servitude' (2014: ix). This is in line with Dean's notion that 'today the ideal of freely contracted labor that justifies and conceals coercive class relations is untenable. Not even the barest fantasy of freely given consent accounts for the social relations of wealth accumulation today' (2020: 10). Researching tipping, and viewing it within a neoliberal framework, has provided insight and support to this statement. In chapter 6, the embodiment of servitude was present within workers, but in describing their experiences through the individualizing, responsibilising, and learned/unconscious framework of neoliberalism, their predicaments and difficulties were often met without any critique of that framework. I describe a situation below, where I critiqued this framework, but Ashley did not see a problem with it.

There were regulars who came in often and they took a liking to me. I got them their drinks, before they even asked. I let them have little longer when they wanted to wait between their courses, etc. I gave them 'extra care'. Because of this, they would always give me extra money, and this made me feel uncomfortable. They would tip on the bill, but then give me cash (palm-tip), or even write me a check for an extra amount as a 'thank you'. It made me feel like they were giving me charity, and that because they were giving me extra money, I then had to perform this extra service the next time they came in. This resulted in a subordinate feeling, and a worry that I would be too busy to give them this expected service. I explained this to Ashley, and she vehemently opposed my position. She said that I should not feel bad, and if they want to give me extra money I should take it and not think twice about it. I was trying to make a subtle point about how gift giving and charity put people into asymmetric relations,

but because getting more money was the ultimate goal, problems with how money is exchanged and why some people have extra to give and others do not goes unnoticed.

Burawoy explains how in the gift economy 'the gift is experienced by givers and receivers as an act of generosity', but to the 'outside "scientist" it is viewed as 'an act of self-interested economic behaviour that will reap its rewards, or as the spontaneous creation of social bonds of interdependence' (2012: 191; See Bourdieu 1977 [1972]: 1-9). However, gift exchange requires a 'habitus of generosity' as its foundation. This is replaced in the modern economy and society 'by the calculative disposition', which makes 'gift exchange rarer and more difficult to sustain' (Burawoy 2012: 191). In this process, the subjective truth of 'an act of generosity' takes on an objective truth or the 'building [of] symbolic domination or social solidarity' (Burawoy 2012: 1919). However, the relations of generosity and the intimacy of gift-giving are not lost. They are maintained, however 'mystified', but within the dominating matrix of the modern economy. Ashley experienced the situation as genuine gift-giving, as the very nature of tipping increases the verisimilitude of that possibility. As someone who has to play 'the game', she continues to see it that way because she benefits from it and needs it. However, when critically examined, all of the relations of domination and dependence exist within the scenario described above. Bourdieu writes that 'the agent engaged in practice knows the world but with a knowledge which… is not set up in relation of externality of a knowing consciousness… [and] takes it for granted, precisely because he is caught up with it… a form of love of necessity' (2000 [1997]: 141-2). I understood both, a need for the money and a recognition of generosity, but also the structures and relations of control present within the exchange.

Dean points to how in 'neo-feudalism' some workers in service positions 'enjoy the fantasy that our service is creative, that we are members of a privileged class of… workers. Yet much of that work is increasingly done for free, maybe with a chance of pay' (Dean 2020: 11). April discusses the ability to be a good servant, to anticipate other's needs, to put things in their place with care and attention to detail, as 'addicting', as a creative form of 'art' (under the conditions of tipping). She says

> Like there's something about serving on someone, and like the art of it that like, [is] in a way addicting. Ok, like knowing what you like… they were so particular (at her former fine-dining job) that I would like live for it. Like I loved knowing how certain

people wanted their drinks, have it be on the table before they you know arrived. Um, serving in kind of like a fine dining setting where everything was like a dance and an art.

Her desire to be a good servant in relation to the particularity and high standards of fine dining shows how, in serving, a level of servitude becomes embedded in the person serving, and that this practice and addiction is part of her enjoying the 'fantasy' that Dean describes above. When I asked her, 'now do you think that has something to do with your personality, have you always been a pleaser? April's response was 'I think so yeah, I think it's always been a part of me'.

The social conditioning of the domestic space, and subjectivity of the 'people pleaser', is so often equated to the second-sex. This disposition often shifts neatly into serving in restaurants. It is often aligned with how women are socialized to take on more domestic tasks, read others, please people, and wait on those around them. April points to how working with women in restaurants is more conducive to a well-run service. Women are better at being servants, essentially. She says

> I will say that I used to work with an all-woman floor (front of house), I think women handle pressure better, I think we are more proactive in like solving a problem on the spot. I hate working with men because I feel like, not that I want to exploit other women, but they (men) don't make me money. And they (men) bank off of me. You work in a pooled house and I feel like the men that we, the bartender men that we work with… bank off of the women around them. Um and I also feel like we allow them to continue this, to not have to, to have to step it up… I don't have any respect for it and then this person can maybe like hang out behind the bar and think that he deserves, you know, what I make…

Workers develop the ability to serve and be servile in relation to the environment. The Hamptons, social conditioning in the home, and society, all assist in the production of workers capable and willing to serve. In addition to the predomination of women in serving roles, Hampton Bistro employed predominantly women in the front of house. When asked why they felt they knew how to be a server, research participants said family members were involved in the industry, or they knew what to do in a serving capacity from helping out around the house,

or being a people pleaser. Maggie talks about her role in helping out around the house as one of the ways that helped her to become a good server stating 'It definitely comes from my family, I always have been a big help around the house and stuff. So I feel like that definitely, and being part of a big family'.

This familial and often female connection to service and servitude is no coincidence. It is an example of how 'the co-existence of different arrangements of power and production, in particular the overlap of capitalist and feudal modes such that the feudal relations of personalized hierarchy help produce and intensify capitalist exploitation' (Dean 2020: 12).[52] Studies on career imprinting have noted that 'individuals take adaptations that have proven helpful and apply them in new contexts', and this is often taken from the institution of the family into the institution of the workplace (Strom et al. 2021: 5). This also points to behaviours of the public in restaurants, and how they often treat this space as closer to their private homes, or a space outside of public civility. In interviews, the participants and I would often discuss how people behave differently in restaurants as opposed to when they are in a bank, at the grocery store, etc. Ashely noted that in the restaurant, 'People feel too comfortable sometimes'.

The comfort of the restaurant, with tipping added to it, made people behave strangely, to quote Again, Ashley says 'I think that a lot of times they believe that they have some sort of power and control over you…'.

The increase in the proliferation of services requires a workforce of those who serve, and as shown with the relations present in tipping, dependency, hierarchy, and inequality are necessary components of service work. Andre Görz explained the transition to the new economy of services away from industrial production in this way

> A great number of jobs have been created in the service sector; but these are often
> part-time and/or precarious, low-skilled jobs, which offer no opportunities for career

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[52] Historically, the feminization of domestic service occurred during the 18th Century and onwards (Hill 1996: 35). This was helped by an exit of men from service, but also an influx for women through the 'little choice of alternative occupations' (Hill 1996: 37). Women were cheaper to employ and often better servants, for employers it 'was a calculated economic strategy' to employ women (Hill, 1996: 37). Hill also wrote that 'the further down the social scale one descended and the simpler the household, the fewer servants and the more likely it was that all the servants would be women' (1996: 32).

development and bear no relation to what constituted the essence and value of work and the workers in socialist doctrine. It is as though the industrial working class had declined and been partially supplanted by a post-industrial – largely female – proletariat which, by dint of the precariousness of its condition and the nature of its tasks, cannot derive from its work either social identity or a mission to wield economic, technical or political power (2012: 6).

Lordon observed that 'the idea that some are free to use others as means to an end, while others are free to allow themselves to be used in that manner has been proclaimed as the very essence of freedom' and explains that 'the superb meeting point of these two freedoms is called employment' (2014: ix). This points to a problem in the meeting of feudal relations with neoliberal ideology and governmentality. Workers are increasingly complicit in their own domination and exploitation, even happily so, 'but making the dominated happy so that they forget their domination is one of the oldest and most effective ruses of the art of ruling' (Lordon 2014: x).

Workers are 'captured' by the ideology of neoliberalism; freedom, equality, enterprise, autonomy, and possibility, but these are all bound to dependency, hierarchy, and inequality. This capture mutes these binds and gets workers to 'set themselves in motion in the service of the capturer [(neoliberal logic)] *Mobilising* is therefore a constitutive preoccupation' (Lordon 2014: 4). Workers are increasingly seeing their conditions at work as 'working for themselves'. Workers are their own managers, motivators, target-setters, and are increasingly identifying themselves with this logic. This is an example of how 'the rational economic choice for the individual' is 'irrational for the collective good' (Harvey 2022: 9), as those who are unsuccessful 'find themselves ejected on to the margins of a society which has nothing to offer them and with which they have few reasons to identify' (Görz 2012: 60).

8.4 Macro Understandings of Feudal Tendencies

The previous sections discussed the intertwining of feudal and neoliberal logics in relation to tipping, specifically between personal interactions and in the discourses and experiences of workers in this research. How is this intertwining important on a grander scale and do these have implications in relation to tipping? In order to understand the macro implications of the emergent tendencies in the current mode of production in relation to tipped work, it is useful

to relate tipping to feudalism using Dean's four interlocking features that describe 'neo-feudalism': 1) the parcelisation of sovereignty; 2) hierarchy and expropriation with new lords and peasants; 3) desolate hinterlands and privileged municipalities; and 4) insecurity and catastrophism (Dean 2020: 2).

First, the 'parcelisation of sovereignty' (Anderson 1974: 19; Wood 2008; Kennedy 2011: 313; Dean 2020) consists of a 'political authority and economic power' blending together (Dean 2020: 3).[53] This is most apparent in the blending together of *imperium* (absolute power/law) and *dominium* (property power), whereby those with ownership and/or property power seek to end their struggle against the rule of law by influencing or creating law in their interests, often resulting in a 'hierarchical notion of citizenship' (Kennedy 2011:312).[54] For example, lobbyists and interest groups spend significant sums in an attempt to have their financial interests realized through the passing, or not passing, of specific legislation. One such group, the National Restaurant Association, describes itself as 'the largest foodservice trade association in the world. We represent and advocate on behalf of more than 500,000 restaurant businesses' (National Restaurant Association 2022). This association spent the following sums, and had the following number of lobbyists lobbying Congress:

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[53] Kennedy remarks on the parcellisation of sovereignty by saying, 'In this feudal context, the fusion of public power with private appropriation is perhaps most apparent, resulting in the interpenetration of relations of political and juridical status with the powers of exploitation and surplus extraction and the eclipse of any well-defined public authority' (Kennedy, 2011: 313)

[54] 'While democracy is a Greek invention, it is the Roman case – with its mixed constitution that masks oligarchic power, its inclusive citizenship that stresses formal legal equality over substantive social equality; to its differentiation between a public and private sphere, where class-conflicts are confined to the latter through the development of private law, and to well-developed relations of private property that clearly differentiate between *imperium* (rule) and *dominium* (ownership) – that is more instructive to understanding the development of modern liberal democracy' (Kennedy 2011: 312). The Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission (2010) U.S. Supreme Court decision that equates corporate donations to political campaigns as protected free political speech under the first amendment is a perfect example of this struggle, and the overcoming of this struggle through the parcellisation of sovereignty.

Table 7 NRA Lobbying Spending

Year	Spending	Number of Lobbyists
2015	$4.25 million	40
2016	$3.93 million	37
2017	$3.27 million	32
2018	$2.65 million	37
2019	$2.89 million	36
2020	$2.55 million	27
2021	$2.95 million	40
2022* 1st Quarter	$670,000	34

All information presented in Table 7 was taken from Opensecrets.org, their calculations are based on data taken from the Senate Office of Public Records.

In the last seven years (2015-2021), one interest group alone spent $22.5 million dollars lobbying congress in relation to legislation influencing the restaurant industry. One of the bills that it lobbied against was the Raise the Wage Act of 2021 (S.53), which seeks an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938) with the aim of initially increasing the federal tipped minimum wage from $2.13 per hour to $4.95 per hour with yearly increases to the latter wage over time (Raise the Wage Act 2021, S.53: 117th Congress 2021-2022). The significance of this bill should not be understated. The federal tipped-minimum wage has remained the same since 1991 at $2.13 per hour. Additionally, the regular federal minimum wage of $7.25 has not increased since 2009 (Jayaraman 2021).

These lobbying efforts (economic private interest/ownership) have had significant political implications for federal legislation, and on the daily lives of workers subject to legislation (law/legal protection). A feature of the feudal enterprise was the direct political and economic power possessed by those in charge,[55] and the 'new lords' exist in a two-fold manner in relation to tipping, both on a macro and micro scale.

On a macro scale, oligarchic private interest has the power to make its economic will realized through political action (over twenty years of sub-minimum wage for tipped workers and before this, no minimum wage requirement federally (Jayaraman 2021)), which is pushed by interest groups comprised of restaurant owners. Sums vary, but Suarez estimates figures upwards of $40 billion are exchanged in tips in restaurants each year (2009: 308). The interest

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[55] 'Feudal lords extracted a surplus from peasants through legal coercion, legal in part because the lords decided the law that applied to the peasants in their jurisdiction' (Dean 2020: 3).

of restaurant owners to keep tipping in place and continue to subsidize wages to the tune of billions of dollars is apparent.

On a micro-level each individual patron becomes a mini-lord in determining the extent to which they will reimburse the servant in front them, thus giving them a) economic power in their decision making around reimbursement through tips, and b) political power when voting on legislation/propositions to local/state laws that would increase the tipped minimum wage, most recently seen in Initiative 82 on Washington D.C. ballots in 2022 (states and other jurisdictions have the power to change their minimum wage laws over and above the minimum set at the federal level). Additionally, many consumers in the US like tipping as it gives them 'self-perceived freedom' as economic actors, and provides a philanthropic reward to customers, as they feel they are 'helping servers' (Lynn and Withiam 2008: 329; Shamir 1984), both of which are political. Philanthropy is arbitrary and market freedom is the result of political will and legislative outcomes.

To the second interlocking feature, the 'hierarchy and expropriation with new lords and peasants' is present within tipping throughout the United States. Specifically in this research, we see in the Hamptons an 'immense concentrated wealth' that has 'its own constituent power, the power to constitute the rules it will follow or not' (Dean 2020: 3). The concentration of economic power in the Hamptons creates increased political power and hierarchy for the wealthy. The year round locals are held to a type of ransom during the summer season, as the wants, needs, desires, and wills of the wealthy need to be met. A relation of inferiority and superiority is imbedded in the tipped relation, and more particularly within the subjectivity of the server. There is an unspoken hierarchy that develops when one person has the power to give money to another, especially outside of the typical economic transaction – think of charity and philanthropy. We see the haves giving to the have-nots, and the problematic relations present within this are, to say the least, complicated. The subjective choice of who gets the money and what parameters define who is, and is not, deserving lends to inequality via subjective preference and choice. Tipping is no different. It relies on hierarchy, subjective preferences, and the necessity of deference to those with power and money. In order to do this, one must coordinate their behaviour in an attempt to appeal to those with power, you 'need to make yourself useful to those who, unlike you, wield power... by subordinating yourself to them in whatever way will win their engaged attention, and with it, rewards' (Keeler 2021: 21).

In this research, expropriation is seen in the buying up of homes and property by the wealthy in the Hamptons, where land is consumed through market mechanisms to the benefit of the wealthy. House prices have soared in the buying up of properties previously discussed in chapter 4. This creates an increase in house prices, and an increase in property taxes for the average person. Often property tax prices serve as an incentive (along with the increased income from the market price of one's house) to sell, and move away to where life is more affordable. This increasingly denudes the area of average working people and adds to the privatization of land.[56] The increased presence of the wealthy mirrors gentrification in that 'their presence drives up rents and real estate prices, driving out affordable apartments, small businesses, [and] people' (Dean 2020: 5). These land/home purchases are not simply homes for the wealthy, but investment properties of second-home buyers as Alicia, the estate agent, described, 'We have a group of buyers who are intelligent and don't want to make a poor investment'.

This makes workers increasingly reliant on those with power. The increase in housing prices makes the region in which workers work less and less affordable. Workers are therefore more reliant on the income from the wealthy who have expropriated them, and more vulnerable to exploitative practices at work, as workers increasingly 'need' those jobs to make ends meet.

Additionally, if we look at mutually shared feeling and interaction as a part of society and community, which is something freely entered into between equal citizens, and persons as 'common', and in seeing that as something which people share, we can then look to the way an incentivized selling of feeling is an example of how something that 'was common becomes private, [and] expropriated from us' (Dean 2020: 4). When this happens, an emphasis on services as the major mode of production creates a need to provide pleasant feelings for those with purchasing power. This attenuates the feelings of those providing the service for the amplification of desired feelings of the person purchasing service.[57] The appropriation of feeling is to the benefit of both the purchaser and the owner of the business. Platforms (e.g. Uber, Deliveroo, etc.) have increasingly become the owners of the business, but create the

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[56] 'Contemporary processes of land privatization, rather than providing bases for capitalist development, tend toward its transformation into something worse, a neo-feudalism where billionaires buy and hoard massive amounts of land' (Dean 2020: 6).

[57] 'Our lives and interactions have been turned into resources for capital accumulation. Capitalism has not been able to maintain its rate of profit by exploiting productive labor. It now exploits consumption' (Dean 2020: 13).

myth of individual workers as the owners (freelancers, independent contractors), and 'what was personal property becomes an instrument for the capital… accumulation of the lords of the platform' (Dean 2020: 5). Both platforms and land privatization tend 'toward the hierarchy and expropriation characteristic of neo-feudalism' (Dean 2020: 5).

In providing service in the restaurant, the worker owns the means of the production of service (affectivity, emotions, intelligence, body, etc.) and the worker's body is 'the bearer of labour power… the target of power… [and] the embodiment… [of] forms of social hierarchy' (Wolkowitz et. al. 2013: 8). Dean points to how the 'tendency toward becoming-peasant, that is becoming one who owns means of production but whose labor increases the capital of the platform owner' (Dean 2020: 5). If we think of the owners of restaurants as providing a 'platform' or the specific space on which workers produce and sell their labour, we see a feudal and rentier relationship. Land (or increasingly platform) ownership is accessible to the wealthy, and through the mechanism of a legislated (political) sub-minimum wage (and the tendency to rely on tips as the majority of income, even if a full wage is present), owners extract and appropriate the labour of tipped restaurant workers. One's person becomes an instrument of capital accumulation – this creates problems for the 'property in person' described in the previous chapter.

The third concept of 'desolate hinterlands and privileged municipalities' introduced by Dean is entirely relevant to tipping and its hierarchical tendencies. Pointing to the regional and geographic hierarchy of tipping discussed previously (chapters 3 and 4), and its notions of 'cities and hinterlands' brings out certain disparities (Dean 2020). There are areas where great wealth concentration makes the tipping system lucrative for some. However, for those without access to these zones of wealth concentration, they are not as economically successful. The United States, like many other countries has regions of wealth and regions of poverty. Some states are wealthier than others, and within states there are regional areas of wealth concentration. Looking to **Map 2.0** we can navigate the income of servers in the United States in relation to U.S. States.

Map 2.0 Annual Mean Wage of Waiters and Waitresses, by State May 2021

Annual mean wage of waiters and waitresses, by state, May 2021
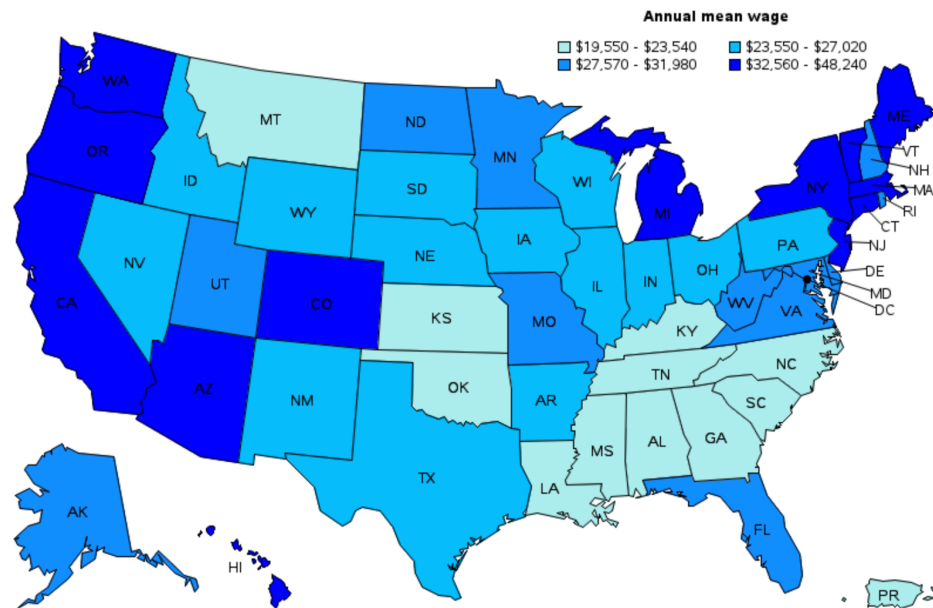
(U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022a)

Whilst living and having access to wealthier states helps tipped workers (especially in terms of the tipped minimum wage), having access to wealthy regions within those states, and further to that, higher end restaurants, creates more of a hierarchy of benefits. In **Map 3.0** we can see the regions of wealth concentration in New York State. Notice the wealth concentration in obviously places such as New York City, but also the Hamptons.

Map 3.0 Income Inequality in New York State
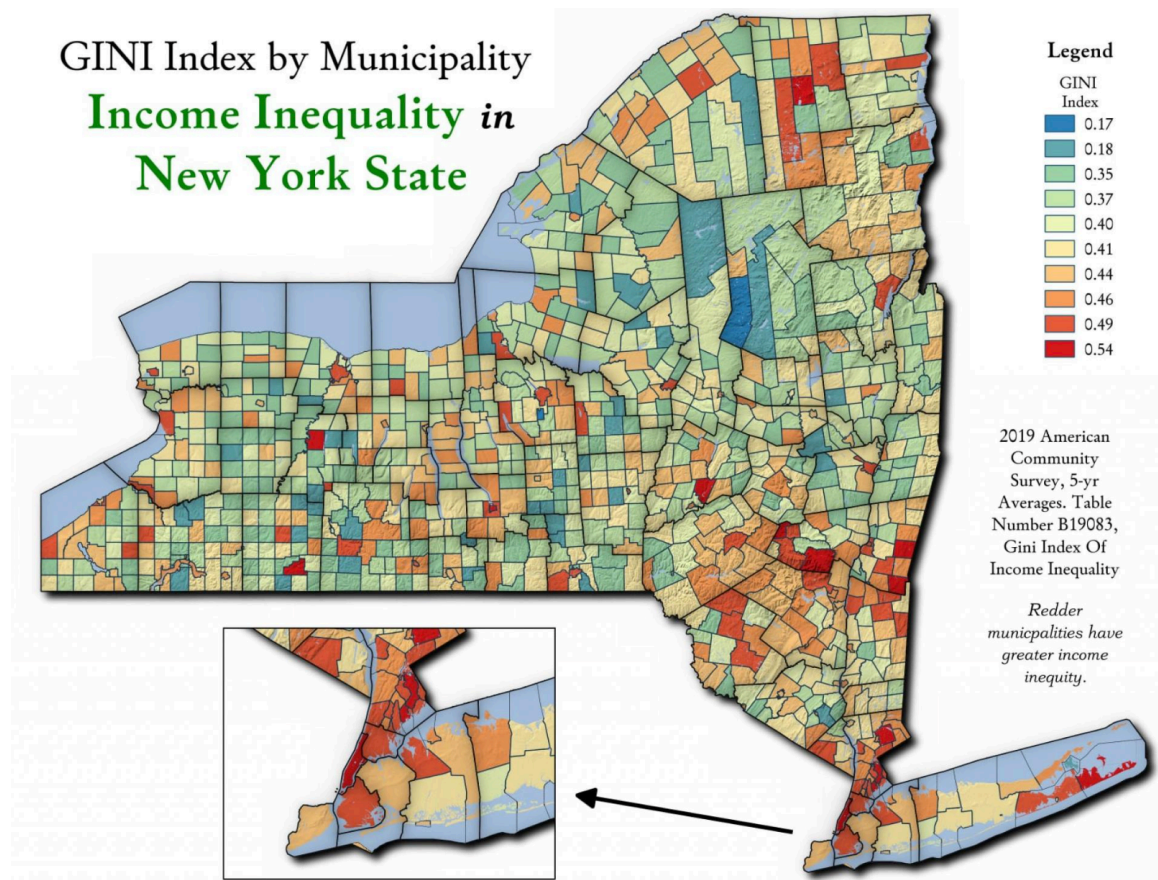
(AndyArthur.org 1997-2022, Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 License)

These state and regional hierarchies create geographical, social, economic and political 'desolate hinterlands' and 'privileged municipalities'. Recall Valerie's experiences working in a restaurant in North Carolina versus the Hamptons. Access to the Hamptons, and to well subscribed restaurants within it, gives tipped workers the ability to benefit from this 'privileged municipality', but the maintenance of tipping and tipped-minimum wage policies throughout the United States create distinct disparities.

Therefore, the division between 'privileged municipalities' (wealth) and 'desolate hinterlands' (poverty) in the tipping system, creates a hierarchy, whereby workers in a similar field are

disconnected based on their proximity and access to wealth.[58] Even with access to wealth, workers are often unable to 'reproduce the basic conditions of livable life' and this is most notable in terms of access to housing (Dean 2020: 7). Jessica explained that

> It definitely sucks knowing like, yeah I make great money for three months and it all goes down the shitter and hope that I'm going to make enough in September, October, November, and December without having to dip into my savings, which never happens. You can never get ahead because you are not making a consistent amount of money year-round… And that's hard because I feel like a lot of us who do this full-time and live here, some of us have families, some of us want to buy homes, and some of us want to do something more with our lives and you can't get ahead here unless you work more, and it's just not possible [to work more].

Hill pointed out that servants had a close proximity to serfdom, unless they were servants of the nobility or gentry (Hill 1996: 113). The condition of being a servant could improve your standing, if you were in close proximity to wealth and status (the city), as opposed to living away from these wealth concentrations (hinterlands). This is something we see in both the political (wage laws) and economic realities of tipping.

Lastly, the feature of 'insecurity and catastrophism' points to the 'affective' and 'subjective' in relation to 'insecurity, anxiety, [and] apocalypse' (Dean 2020: 8). The informality of the industry, and confusion about the tipped-minimum wage system, creates 'mechanisms of direct expropriation', specifically 'direct wage theft – which is frequent, widespread, and impossible for people who cannot afford lawyers to address' (Dean 2020: 6). This relates to the 'insecurity' associated with neo-feudalism and how 'uncertain schedules and unreliable pay – because wage theft is ubiquitous – are stressful, [and even] deadening' (Dean 2020: 9). It also points to how many of us 'choose' services, because it is one of the only possibilities. Many 'good jobs' are difficult to find, and so we are left with few choices of less than desirable positions.[59]

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[58] Dean (2020: 7) notes that 'hinterlandization' is 'the loss of a general capacity to reproduce the basic conditions of livable life' and this can appear in a variety of ways including 'in the collapsed infrastructures and undrinkable water' something Valerie witnessed in North Carolina.

[59] 'Most of us constitute a property-less underclass only able to survive by servicing the needs of high earners' (Dean 2020: 10).

The COVID-19 pandemic could be considered 'catastrophic' for the U.S. restaurant industry. There were one-hundred-thousand restaurant closures in the first six months of the pandemic (National Restaurant Association 2021). Many workers were laid off, and the UC Berkeley Food Labor Research Center and the One Fair Wage campaign reported that 'since the end of 2019 almost 1 million workers have left the restaurant industry' (2021:1). The shift from full service restaurants to take-out only service resulted in significant reductions in tips. Nicole describes the problems of working during a pandemic saying

> I mean we are probably making half of what we normally make, which to me like I put myself in more of like, this is just a short term situation I hope… But I think I just get more upset when I want to inform people what it's like working in the restaurant business during a pandemic, because you get people that you know tip so generously on to-go's and then you get people that order $300 and they don't tip a thing. Whereas I just ran around for five minutes taking your order, putting it in the kitchen, getting your drinks ready, and handing it to you so I'm still doing you a service, and you are not giving me anything. Anything.

People did not want to tip, if they weren't being waited on, but what many people do not realize is that workers' wages are built around receiving tips. During the second round of fieldwork (in 2020), I often worked 'Window 1', where I took orders from customers and had significant interactions with them. Many would ask if they should tip, and one person even asked me 'why should I tip, you didn't really do anything'. I explained to her that I interacted with her, used my knowledge to answer her questions, took the order, and facilitated the payment. My co-workers were boxing and bagging her items, and making her drinks, etc. In addition, I explained that tipped workers receive lower wages, and this did not change because of COVID-19. Workers still rely on tips, and should not be punished, because of a global pandemic – she shook her head affirmatively and ended up leaving a tip, but many others customers did not.

The One Fair Wage Campaign (OFW), in tandem with the UC Berkeley Food Labor Research Center (2021), published a report in May of that year highlighting the exodus of workers from the restaurant industry, due to the low-pay, decrease in tips, increased harassment from customers, health risks, overburdening of women in care roles due to the pandemic, etc. Jayaraman and Perriello (2022) explain that 'the current worker shortage is really a wage

shortage'. Constant (2022) notes that before the pandemic the restaurant industry was the fastest-growing and the largest private employer in the United States, and points to the sub-minimum wage for tipped workers as a the driving force behind a lack of workers returning to the industry. The sub-minimum wage policy has been discussed previously and is a continuing problem for the industry. This is highlighted by the catastrophic conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic.

This wage differential leaves many workers in the industry in a precarious position. The restaurant landscape is changing, and since the pandemic a lack of workers has impacted the restaurant industry. Many restaurants have closed. There have been changes to service including carry out only, limited operating hours, and there is a strain on workers who remain (some restaurants operating with 25% of the workers needed to run the establishment). Policing pandemic requirements and mandates became the job of an already short, and overburdened staff, inciting pushback, harassment, and even violence from customers. The main argument from workers leaving the industry is that they want a full minimum wage or a living wage with tips on top. $2.13 per hour is simply not acceptable for these workers. Whilst this simple analysis is true, it does not get to the root of the problem: Why has it been acceptable to pay these workers a sub-minimum wage for so long? The fight to increase the tipped minimum wage has been ongoing for nearly ninety years (Cobble 1991), so why did it take a global pandemic to push workers to leave this condition *en masse*? There is little to no critical connection to the ills of capitalism, the contradictions inherent within the industry, or any highlighting of how the industry relieves many of us from domestic responsibilities, whilst over-subjecting others to them. Looking at the feudal relations inherit in tipping is a way of understanding the catastrophe that the industry is facing, but we must also look to the problems of worker resistance in relation to this neoliberal/'neo-feudal' paradigm.

8.5 Tipping and the Problems of Incomplete Transitions

Tipping in the capitalist mode of production successfully applies the alien laws of capitalism to it, while retaining its feudal origins and relations. This has the effect of producing new and potent abilities to exploit workers. When thinking about workers in this quasi-feudal and capitalist space/paradigm, we must think of how this exploitation occurs, and crucially, to rethink resistance and political subjectivity. If we think of the proletariat (and proletarianization) as the starting point for resistance, many tipped workers do not have to

face the competition of large scale industry in the typical sense of becoming proletariat (Marx and Engels 1996 1-5; Hutnyk 2012: 127-129), and do not become 'subsumed under capital' through the wage relation necessarily (Marx 1866:1019; See Sayer 1991: 23-24). Instead, workers get their main source of their remuneration in tips from individual customers, compete amongst themselves within an internal and external hierarchy, and often remain highly individualised in their work. Whilst working for larger corporate and arguably more 'industrial' restaurants sees greater parallels with proletarianisation, tips create a significant break with this process. However, more to the point, the practicalities and mentalities that tipping creates do not necessarily align with the process of proletarianization. Two points of non-alignment arise. The first has to do with value in the labour process, and the second with the process of modernisation in Marx.

First, in dining out there exists not just the production of food and drink, but the production of 'the dining experience' (Dowling 2007), whereby part of going out for a meal is the experience produced in relation to the service received. Think about dining out at a full service restaurant, eating delicious food, but receiving poor or inadequate service. It changes the entirety of the experience. The dining experience as a 'commodity' does not fit within the capitalist mode of production, because commodities must have exchange value and 'exchange value finds its expression as a price' (Sayer 1991: 15). By using 'nominal pricing' or 'price partitioning' (Lynn and Withiam 2008), whereby explicit prices are advertised, but implicit surcharges (i.e. taxes and tips) are not, the tangible products are offered with a corresponding price, and thus value, but the services or 'intangibles' do not have a stipulated price (Tang et al 2021: 9; Lynn and Withiam 2008). Nor is there requirement to pay – there is no price, and no exchange value. What optional service charges do, and more importantly what tipping does, is nullify the dining experience or service commodity as a commodity, because there is no price attributed to it. It does not abide by the law of value (as a category) in that its exchange value or price does not exist other than in custom, preference, and choice. However, it maintains a use-value more easily attributed to what Marx would consider pre-capitalist societies or markets.

Second, Marx and Engels write that the 'age-old relations with their train of time-honoured preconceptions and viewpoints are dissolved…everything feudal and fixed goes up in smoke, everything sacred is profaned, and men are finally forced to take a down-to-earth view of their circumstances, their multifarious relationships' (1996: 4). This: a) overemphasises industrial

production as the main arena of work, and subsequently resistance; and b) assumes that personal relationships, as a strong basis for transactions, will no longer exist. This brings up the problem of how tipped workers (and arguably how other similar workers) will come 'down-to earth' about their circumstances.

If we look at the restaurant as a space in which 'the effect of combined labour is found' (Marx 1867a: 325-6) we see the gathering together of workers as a formation of capitalism. If the work performed in the restaurant was performed in the private home of either one who hires the worker as 'isolated individual labour' (Marx 1867a: 325-6), or within the home of the labourer themselves, this work would be considered the work of a servant or as the work of the domestic space. It is the effect of bringing workers together in this space that creates an ability for a capitalist to extract surplus value from this labour. This work is tied to the pre-modern, but performed in the space of capital. Tips provide both the patronage and servility of the pre-modern, but the possibility of surplus extraction of the 'modern' capitalist mode of production.

Unfortunately, tipping points to how some of the key categories established by Marx are 'an insufficient basis for comprehending the complex set of relations upon which production and exchange of commodities on the base of wage labour - that is, capitalism - has actually rested historically' (Sayer 1991: 19-20). This is not to say the baby should be thrown out with the bathwater, but that accepting this, and that 'not all of the essential relations of capitalist production assume the form of commodity exchanges', provides a wider scope through which we can understand the social, political, and economic conditions of subjects within the current mode of production (Sayer 1991: 20). If 'wage levels are the object of class struggles', according to Marx (Sayer 1991: 20), how then do we understand class in relation to tipping and tipped workers, and where does struggle lie? By critiquing the ambiguity and contradiction implicit within tipped work (and other work forms), possibilities for struggle become possible. It is therefore important to look first at tipping as both feudal and capitalist. Instead of being either capitalist and modern OR feudal and pre-capitalist, tipping should be considered as one of those external concepts that 'capitalism embraces' (Sayer 1991: 30). However, we need to highlight the 'backwardness' that exists within capitalism, or the contradictions present within it (Sayer 1991: 30). Through a critique of tipping, its contradictions are present not simply within individual behaviour, or in relation to a macro analysis of political economy, but are crucially imbedded in relations. These relations exist in practice and within a paradigm of

neoliberalism, and by placing a critique of the contradictions of tipping into a neoliberal framework, its exploitative features are pronounced.

8.6 Conclusion

What this chapter has done is to show how tipping is not only a neoliberal technology, but holds onto pre-capitalist and feudal relations and pretexts that contradict capitalist logic as it relies on bonds, ties, patronage, and personal relationships. However, the neoliberal logic of contemporary capitalism, along with the increase in service labour, results in an increased acceptance and colonization of these relations and pretexts, which become even more potent at exploiting labour and atomizing workers. This research has already shown how potent and effective tipping is at: 1) Internalizing neoliberal governmentality at the site of the individual, making complicit and willing subjects in their own domination; 2) incentivizing workers to appropriate their labours; 3) using informal operating structures within the workspace and within industry to exploit labour; and 4) frustrating workers ability to organise collectively, according to typical norms of class consciousness and proletarianization, due to the feudal/capitalist nature of tipping. This chapter has pointed to the hierarchies, inequalities and relations of dependence within the industry, crucially, in relation to feudal tendencies and norms that have continued to exist within the mode of production as an incomplete transition, and how these tendencies are increasingly becoming the norm. What is essential then is research that indicates where and how these tendencies exist and how they have been overlooked, in order to understand fully how workers continue to be exploited within our current moment and what problems might arise in understanding modes of resistance to it.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

This dissertation presented an ethnographic analysis of tipping in the restaurant sector of The Hamptons of Long Island, New York. It was based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with co-workers and on my own in-role observations. This ethnographic encounter gives us access to the experience of tipping and the parallel processes of subjectivity formation in relation to it. By delving into the situatedness of tipping, I have brought out how it is not just a simple custom, but a social practice that has an economic, relational, and symbolic 'force' (see Marx 1867: 751 in Sayer 1991: 22 and Bourdieu 1998). Tipping is a technology of control within the current mode of production that is particularly suited to the neoliberal paradigm of accumulation, and which dominates, exploits, and appropriates labour. Whilst tipping is a technique of labour control that conforms to the parameters of neoliberal political economy, it also maintains quasi-feudal relations of dependency, hierarchy, and inequality. Tipped workers labour under ambiguous conditions and within contradictory relations, conforming both to an informal post-Fordist logic that relieves employers of paying full wages to workers, and a neo-feudal master/servant logic of personal dependence and social subordination. This research has shown how this contradiction forces workers into an asymmetric relation outside of market neutrality that astutely dominates, exploits, and appropriates workers and the surpluses they produce.

This study has critically analysed the relations of tipping, so as to expose how the practice functions not just on the micro scale but on a more strategic scale, in an attempt to find opportunities for struggle and analytical engagement beyond the refrain of 'capitalist realism' – 'there is no alternative' (Fisher 2009; Welsh 2020: 60). Instead, this analysis has brought out how tipping is situated within particular class interests that are reinforced through a 'discursive hegemony' realised in material practices and reproduced by particular social relations within advanced post-industrial capitalism.

9.1 Analysis

With specific emphasis on the server in the restaurant industry, the primary objective of the dissertation has been to reveal what the practice of tipping means for the generation of new social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation within contemporary capitalist societies, and how it specifically reproduces those relations. More specifically, we can return

at this stage to the five subsidiary research questions outlined in the Introduction and briefly summarise the findings of the research in relation to those questions:

1. <u>How does tipping function, and how is it ordered and organized?</u> In light of the research, we can now understand how tipping functions through legislation, policy/legal parameters, and in the daily practices it emplaces between individuals. The sub-minimum wage for tipped workers in the United States illustrates not only the acceptance of tipping in the United States, but also the acceptance of inequality in terms of basic wage remuneration. It also displays the way that tipping has a political and geographic complexity that facilitates asymmetric difference and inequality.

   Adding to this, the organization of the restaurant industry (on macro and micro scales) produces systems of hierarchy, informality, and competition that sustain the practice. Precarious, unstable, and fragmented work environments place tipped workers under conditions of arbitrariness and uncertainty that compel them to labour. Since tipping is ambiguous, and has a quasi-legal existence, its implementation and practices are productive of unequal dispositions that emphasise individuality, competition and informality.

2. <u>How does tipping fit into a labour process analysis, and how are workers exploited?</u> Situating tipping into a labour process analysis provides us with a better understanding of how tipped workers are exploited. Surplus value is extracted from workers in the production of the dining experience. In doing this, we can see how workers rely on tips for the majority of their remuneration, relieving the owners/capitalists from paying full wages, which facilitates their extraction of surplus value. Additionally, workers are exploited through their corporeal, affective, and emotional labour performances.

   Tipped restaurant work, and the production of the dining experience, requires that workers sell themselves – their looks, personalities, affective interactions, etc. With no reimbursement or even recognition, restaurant proprietors are able to appropriate from this labour. Additionally, this type of labour often requires a subservient disposition that places the tipping customer in a superior social and cultural position

over the tipped worker, reinforcing wider social asymmetries of class, gender, and race, as well as hegemonic social norms that the worker must then reproduce and display.

3. <u>What are the wider implications of tipping in the United States? How can we relate these effects to similar emerging work-forms and organizations in the 'gig economy' and into the a wider trends in political economy?</u> The wider implications for studying tipping in the United States reveal a system of inequality, hierarchy, and exploitation. As new work models have come to incorporate tipping, this system of domination, exploitation, and appropriation will only spread further. Tipping is often attached to precarious and responsiblizing work forms that emphasize individuality. We can see the prevalence of tipping spreading to businesses such as Uber, Deliveroo, etc. In these models and businesses, workers internalise hegemonic norms, are incentivised to work for reward, and are individualised in terms of their economic responsibility, self-management, and in their own commodification. Under these circumstances, workers are encouraged to become their own bosses, and are viewed as individual private contractors who have the freedom and flexibility to work when they want to.

As the terms 'freedom', 'flexibility', and 'independence' are growing synonymous with alterative work forms of self-employment, precarious work, platform work, etc., we must confront what these terms mean and whether they provide accurate descriptions of the work performed under their signs. These discourses should be critiqued, and the ideological claims within them be subjected to critical analysis in light of actual social practice. This is more than a matter of theory; it is one of critical praxis. McNay raises an important question: 'if individual autonomy is not the opposite of or limit to neoliberal governance, but rather lies at the heart of disciplinary control through responsible self-management, what are the possible grounds upon which political resistance can be based' (2009: 56)? Can a self-definition that is neoliberal in its ideological assumptions and attachments (i.e. in its vocabulary and ideals) challenge the exploitation of workers, or does it merely fuel exploitation and mask it toward positive ends for capital?

4. <u>What are the social and political effects of tipping on the server, and how does tipping shape the subjectivities of those exposed to its logic?</u> Tipping has significant social and political effects on workers. Researching the experience of tipped workers reveals the

process through which workers are individualised and subjectified in relation to neoliberal rationality. This rationality mobilises and incentivises workers to commodify themselves under the pressures of market forces, economic logic, and through discourses of individual responsibility. This commodification is accompanied by a process of consent that makes workers complicit in their own exploitation, domination, and appropriation. Neoliberal market logics are internalised and applied to conditions at work. This incentivizes workers to accept their conditions at work, work harder, invest more of/in themselves, all of which is exacerbated by the practice of tipping.

Whilst neoliberal logic is enterprising, often autonomous, and is productive of dynamic subjects, this subject 'is someone who is eminently governable' according to that same logic (Foucault 2008: 271 in Hofmeyr 2021: 271). Practices like tipping can shape subjects 'according to market process', making them 'calculable', 'predictable' and 'subject to indirect manipulation' (Becker and Stiegler 1995: 7 in Hofmeyr 2021: 43). Tipped workers deploy 'the body as machine' by integrating it 'into systems of efficient and economic controls' (Foucault 1976: 139 in Hofmeyr 2021: 43), making not only their practices, but also their bodies and personae, manipulatable. The logic, autonomy, and liberty involved in the entrepreneurial self are all components of biopolitical control and neoliberal governmentality (Foucault 2010a, 2007).

5. <u>How is the ambiguity of tipping part and parcel of its contradictory logic as something that is both feudal and neo-liberal?</u> Tipping is an usual form of labour remuneration with an idiosyncratic history that is significant for understanding its social and political role. The ambiguity of tipping is part and parcel of its force as a technology. Whilst it is incredibly adept at reinforcing neoliberal norms, it also retains its pre-modern/feudal relations, which it establishes through its practice. Understanding tipping as part of the incompleteness of transition in the mode of production from feudalism to capitalism allows us to get to a macro understanding of tipping in relation to political economy, and to wider implications for understanding the custom in relation to the conditions of work more generally. Looking at work in relation to the incompleteness of transitions, we can see an ambiguity in the mode of production that is generative of conditions at work. These conditions rely on unequal personal relations and affective forms of labour, whilst proselytising the equal, free, and individual market sphere.

So, where do these insights bring us? Tipping is a political technology of control within the neoliberal paradigm. It reinforces market ideology as a central feature of it, but exacerbates social dependency in practice. Reinforced through this technology are features of hierarchy and competition, the atomisation of workers, the expression of social power to the benefit of 'those whose interest it expresses', short-termism in relation to profit maximisation, flexibility of work and remuneration, individual responsibilisation, a rational domination of work that is over-involved and performed under conditions of high stress, informal and precarious conditions, a diminishing of the labour contract, the sanctification of the power of the market and 'reward' for hard work and investment, the severing of the economy from lived social realities, and economic agency as *the* expression of the individual (Bourdieu 1998).

Despite the historic transition of tipping through time, it transcends paradigm shifts, and continues on as a unique form of worker exploitation. Although the origins of tipping are found in master-servant tutelage, the custom has remained intact through modernity, and is an example of how capitalism accepts, includes, and contains elements of feudalism 'on its own terms' (Dean and Carver 2021: 389).

A view of capitalism as the complete transition away from the pre-capitalist overemphasizes sociality in relation to the economy and the state, and the meeting of equal individuals within that social framework (Sayer 1991: 1). This view of sociality lacks an understanding of the real experiences of personal and social dependencies, and the exploitative, dominating, and appropriative effects of these seemingly non-modern relations. It is important to this analysis of tipping that both forms of relations (feudal and capitalist) are recognized. Situating tipping within and between this modernity of capitalism and the pre-modernity of feudalism is an essential component of the analysis. Whilst the tipped worker is individualised as a calculating, modern economic actor within the marketplace and the capitalist 'mode of life' (Sayer 1991: 2), they are at the same time subject to relations of subordination and personal dependency according to social norms and rules of pre-modern origins.

With tipping, the state (governmentality) and the market (commodification and entrepreneurialism) are internalised within the individual worker, who is incentivised to play the 'game'. The '*economic* process of producing' the dining experience is constituted 'as a game' (Burawoy 2012: 194). It is both 'a *political* process' that reproduces 'social relations' and 'an

ideological process of producing consent to those relations' (Burawoy 2012: 194). This is 'made possible by the relatively autonomous internal state and internal labour market' realised within the worker themselves (Burawoy 2012: 194). Here we see Gramsci's hegemony as coercion and a 'naturalization of domination', whereby 'hegemonic regimes are the necessary and sufficient condition for the mystification of exploitation' (Burawoy 2012: 194, 196). Prompted by neoliberal ideological suggestion, workers often claim to experience a sense of freedom or autonomy in tipped work, but can there be freedom in relation to necessity and are these claims short-sighted?[60]

This is an example of how 'the rationality of freedom has been reduced to the instrumental pragmatics of short-term strategic success', often performed 'in the name of self-preservation' and found in the 'instrumental pragmatics' of 'economic rationalism' (Hearfield 2004: 3, 4 See also Adorno and Horkheimer 1986). Harvey (2022) expresses this when he writes that 'while we may all passionately believe ourselves to be free individuals, we are in practice ruled in our daily lives by the abstractions of capital'. These abstractions of capital influence workers to 'contribute to their own exploitation through the very effort they make to appropriate their work, which binds them to it through freedoms – often minute and almost always "functional" – that are left to them…' (Bourdieu 2000 [1997]: 203). This is done through a process of 'participatory management', whereby workers increasingly manage themselves and find 'symbolic rewards' and 'intrinsic profit' from the control over themselves. However, this is all within the process of surplus extraction from themselves (Burawoy 2012: 196; Bourdieu 2000 [1997]: 204-5).

As subjects who labour and define ourselves by our work, income, and ability to consume, we are making sense of ourselves within a historically specific moment, and by employing an enterprising logic to everything we do, we are adopting 'a[n] historical and critical ontology of ourselves' (Foucault 1984: 44; in Hofmeyr 2021: 42). This research has tried to recognise the limits imposed on us as historical subjects, in an attempt to 'interrogate our contemporary reality' in terms of that reality, our experiences of that reality, and the contradictions present within that reality, in order to locate 'where change is possible and desirable' (Foucault 1984: 44 in Hofmeyr 2021: 42). Many will interpret the autonomy, flexibility, and freedom of

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[60] Arendt maintained that labour produces life and not surplus, and that human necessity is opposed to freedom (Arendt 1958: 88 in Hofmeyr 2021: 50). To claim freedom from something one does out of necessity is therefore incompatible with this logic.

enterprising but simplistic accounts given of tipping according to an internal logic that reaffirms itself (Brewster and Wills 2013), but this research questions the limits of this autonomy and points to the wider implications in accepting this position without critical reflection. At this historical juncture, the logic of neoliberal economics 'mobilizes individual liberty', but at the same time it manipulates the 'range of choices at the individual's disposal' (Hofmeyr 2021: 42). It is important to keep in mind that as historical subjects we have limited choices, in relation to historical conditions, but this does not mean we have to be accepting of those conditions or that we should not critique them with the aim of going beyond them.

9.2 A Way Out

The booming service sector requires not only workers, but workers who undergo a commodification of the personal to meet labour market demands (Jensen and Prieur 2015). These are the 'new servants' (Görz 2012). Within this service paradigm, sociological research must look at how the labour power capacities of capital expansion 'in response to competitive market conditions,… [create] capital's demand for enhanced service via the recruitment and training of specific personality traits and corporeal *display* qualities' (Brook 2013a: 4). The exploitation of workers is not restricted to the conditions of work, or to the process of surplus extraction, but can be found in the relations of work and in the increased embodiment of labour market demands inserted into workers themselves in practice.

However dismal this may sound, Burawoy points us in a direction that has the potential for dissent. He contrasts Bourdieu's conception of 'misrecognition', which comes about through the 'inculcation of social structure and the formation of deep unconscious habitus', with his own idea of 'mystification', which 'rests on individuals being inserted into specific relations' (2012: 198). If we look to relations and social structures to unpack the nature of those relations, we can see how neoliberal governmentality and hegemony operate within them. Here lies a starting point for dissent from the power or force of tipping. This research has critiqued the technique of tipping, how it was established, how it is practiced and how it is embodied in relations. This critique is a form of dissent to a powerful technique that is maintained through its acceptance in theory and practice.

There is tremendous power in the practice of tipping, especially within the restaurant industry. Both workers and the owners of restaurants rely on tips, however imbalanced or unfair the

practice is systematically. As a highly convoluted social practice, tipping cannot be addressed without a complete change of the restaurant industry, which in turn would require a total change in how the public views service work. Including the cost of service (at a living wage) into the price of a meal (and having the public accept this change) would require a paradigm shift that recognizes service labour as having greater social value and (crucially) increased exchange value. Short of that, what practical steps can offset the problems imposed by tipping?

One clear practical step would focus on the abolition of the tipped minimum wage. Abolishing the tipped-minimum wage at the federal level, and requiring a full minimum wage for restaurant workers with tips on top, would provide a stronger and more reliable base wage for workers in terms of financial planning and collective organisation. This would also give workers more power to push back against customer abuses, because they would not be so dependent on tips. Ross and Welsh highlight the importance of this legislative change.

> Abolishing the tipped minimum wage raises the income floor for those most vulnerable without removing the ceiling for other tipped workers. What it does do is to remove the tip credit system, the space the latter provides for abusive practices, and in doing so it will internalise employer costs into a formality that is more germane to democratic and legal oversight by government. As to the practice of tipping itself and the longer term interests of workers, whether material or immaterial, this highly complex and very political matter will require much deeper and extensive study (Ross and Welsh 2021: 206) .

For many workers, getting rid of tips (without a complete overhaul of the industry) would be disastrous. Many tipped workers would not welcome working for wages of $15-$20 an hour. In the comment section of one ROC-United Facebook post, one restaurant worker wrote the following:

> Restaurants cannot afford to pay servers $26 an hour. Which is most of the time around what I'm making at my job. About $20 an hour from tips and $6 hourly before any taxes. Serving for a lousy $15 an hour wouldn't be worth it, and restaurants would suffer soo much and many would be out of business. We already had to raise prices because our food costs were through the roof. And if something like this happened, many would probably leave the profession because it wouldn't be nearly enough

money to support themselves as they were used to. Or they would just financially suffer. In addition to compensate for the changes in salary, restaurants would have to employ far less servers and have way fewer on the floor which means the servers will be spread thin between many tables and not able to give as good service, and the cost of food would also raise more at the restaurant, probably about the same as you were tipping. So it's best to just leave the system the way it is, because it works fine…

Many workers who benefit economically from tips do not want to see them abolished, and understandably so, as it provides them with income above subsistence levels. This position is similar to the hierarchy of servants that received vails in wealthy households. When the abolition of vails in England was underway, many footmen, who were the most powerful of servants, fought to maintain them, as they benefited the most from the existing system (Hill 1996: 27, 31). This points to how insidiously tipping works. It places workers into an antagonistic relation with one another. If tipping were to be banned, wages would need to increase drastically. This keeps workers within a tense set of relationships, but it also perpetuates the non-recognition of the thing around which workers can unite – better wages and working conditions. Restaurant workers are notoriously difficult to organise (Ferraro 2022). If workers are fighting over tips, they probably are not uniting and fighting for better wages.

9.3 Limits and Future Research

The limitations of the research are both statistical and theoretical. Whilst this project undertook an examination of work experience, the experiences analysed were limited in both number of participants and places. Theoretically, tipping was critiqued in terms of neoliberal ideology in an attempt to point to the contradictions of tipping within this paradigm. Further research on tipping that looks at its relationship to domestic work would be particularly fruitful in bringing out these contradictions even more starkly. Additionally, research that studies tipping and the rise of technology in restaurants and other spaces would provide interesting and important insights.

This dissertation focused on one physical location of tipped work. Like Burawoy, I chose the site 'not for statistical representativeness but for theoretical relevance' (1985: 17). I took Katz's (2001) model of 'topography' as an inspirational example of how to deal with the problem of

specificity. She uses specificity of place and experience to point to how issues of exploitation unfold in a very tangible way, then she relates this functioning to similar instances of exploitation in what would otherwise be considered a dissimilar space or experience. Although only one space was researched in this dissertation, a comparative analysis with other spaces could provide further insights into the custom. Her study (and this research) used the specificity and description of particular place not simply to explain a particular space or instance or to 'valorize… experience or the local, but, quite the opposite, to reveal a local that is constitutively global', revealing 'situated knowledge' in a way that can develop a politics between 'situated social actors in a range of geographical locations' (Katz 2001: 1214).

Whilst spaces produce and are produced by social relations (Lefebvre, 1991), they are also produced by and through specific paradigms and junctures in history and within particular tangible geographies. Social science research that bears this in mind is capable of producing and articulating 'geographies of contention' (Jessop, Brenner, and Jones 2008: 397). The point of this research is not to fetishize the experience of tipping in the Hamptons, but to recognize its particularity on a plane of other spaces. Articulating experiences of tipping in this particular locality is an attempt to point to hierarchies, but also to create connections across the geographical plane, in order to establish similarity in the experience of tipping and for further investigation into its contentious politics and the potential for organisation. Asserting the importance of space in critical social theory is not new. However, it is more important than ever to approach space reflectively and critically (Jessop, Brenner, and Jones 2008: 398), and that is what has been done here.

To conclude, tipping is an ambiguous custom that finds its origins in feudal relations, but has continued throughout economic and social paradigm 'shifts' into its current form as an informal means of labour remuneration. This continuation is an example of the incompleteness of economic and social transitions, specifically between feudalism and capitalism, and gives insight into the problem of framing worker resistance, the exploitation of work, etc., around class consciousness, proletarianization, and worker collectivity. According to Suarez, 'the omnipresence of money (and the rationalizing force it purportedly carries) is matched only by its omnipresent intermingling with the cultural, social, and moral substrate of human interaction', and tipping is a fascinating case to explore this 'intermingling' (2009: 336). The ambiguity of tipping as a technique, and its position between binaries of feudal/capitalist, traditional/modern, public/private, and market/personal, points to the

difficulties of non-standard work forms more generally in our time. It also shows how work, and specifically tipped work in the United States, is generative of worker subjectivities that incorporate these ambiguities. The technique of tipping is then difficult to navigate/control/legislate, as it proves economically and politically advantageous for some, but not others. Its desirability is dependent upon access to concentrations of wealth and patronage, how it is situated in a quasi-labour processes, and how it is generative of subjectivities more conducive to a neoliberal paradigm. Exploring tipping in its emergence, legislative existence, local instantiations of form, labour process and organisation, and experiences of the custom, illuminates how tipping has an imbedded 'in-betweenness' that makes it a necessary topic for further social science research.

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Participant Information Sheet.

Project Title: **Tipping and the New Servants: Labour, Gender, and Subjectivity in the Global Political Economy.**

Research Summary for Participants:

The research is primarily about the *experience* of being a tipped worker particularly within the restaurant industry. My aim is to use my experience (previous and current) of being a tipped worker and combine it with theoretical, historical and statistical information to inform an analysis of the experience of the tipped worker. This includes their daily experience at work, techniques and methods of providing service, relations of service, and the effects and affects of tips.

In order to conduct an objective analysis my research will seek out the experience of other tipped workers in the restaurant industry to compare their experiences and broaden the scope of the research. The research will document the experience of tipped workers through observation and through interviews. The wider scope of the research aims at inserting tipping culture and the effects of tips into discourses around, freedom, gender, precarity, sexual harassment, Foucauldian discourses of power, global political economy etc.

The data will be used to write a doctoral thesis and may be used in future policy research. Participation in this research will be invaluable and contribute to an increased understanding of a method of payment which is culturally, socially and historically significant.

Research Question: What can the technique of 'tipping' with specific emphasis on the Server in the restaurant industry, reveal about the generation of social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation?

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Consent Form for: Tipping and the New Servants: Labour, Gender, and Subjectivity in the Global Political Economy.

Please tick the appropriate boxes

I confirm that I am 18 years of age or above…………………………………………………….. ☐

I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 07/05/2019……………… ☐

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project…………………………. ☐

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed
and recorded (audio)………………………………………………………………………………. ☐

I understand that my taking part is voluntary; I can withdraw from the study at any time and
I will not be asked any questions about why I no longer want to take part…………………….. ☐

Select only one of the next two options:

    I would like my name used where what I have said or written as part of this study
    will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I
    have contributed to this project can be recognised. ………………………………… ☐

    I do not want my name used in this project. …………………………………………….. ☐

I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed
to people outside the project. …………………………………………………………………….. ☐

I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other
research outputs but my name will not be used unless I requested it above………………….. ☐

I understand that the University of Bristol will use the data I provide for no purpose other
than research…………………………………………………………………………………………. ☐

_____ _____ _____
Name of Participant   Signature   Date

_____ _____ _____
Name of Researcher   Signature   Date

Jacqueline Ross SPAIS
11 Priory Road BS8 1TU

28/5/19
Dear Jacqueline,
Re: Research Ethics Approval

Igne Barkauskaite
SPAIS
11 Priory Road
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Tel: +44 (0)117 331 0607 www.bristol.ac.uk/spais spais-ethics@bristol.ac.uk

This is to confirm in writing, as previously advised, that the School Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your submitted documents, and is pleased to give full ethical approval for your project.

You are advised to take particular notice of the regulations concerning data storage and data encryption. The Information Commissioner has made it clear that *personal* data subject to the Data Protection Act must be encrypted whenever it is "transported" or "conveyed". This includes data stored on physical media (laptops, CD/DVDs, USB drives, etc.) as well as data transmitted electronically (email, FLUFF, etc.). Failure to do so is a breach of the 7th data protection principle and could result in action being taken against the University in the event of data loss.

- Definitions of personal data and sensitive data can be found here:
  http://www.bris.ac.uk/secretary/dataprotection/glossary.html .
- Information about data storage can be found here:
  http://www.bris.ac.uk/infosec/uobdata/research/.
- Information about data encryption can be found here:
  http://www.bris.ac.uk/infosec/uobdata/encrypt/.

You are encouraged to maintain contact with your supervisors and Dr Filippo Dionigi, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee, informing them of any changes that may occur to your plans or to your research. Should you have any queries or concerns, the Ethics Committee will be pleased to help and support you in any way possible.

Yours sincerely

Igne Barkauskaite

On behalf of SPAIS Research Ethics Committee

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Interview Guidelines and Format.

Research Project Title: Tipping and the New Servants: Labour, Gender, and Subjectivity in the Global Political Economy.

Research Question: What can the technique of 'tipping' with specific emphasis on the Server (waitress) in the restaurant industry, reveal about the generation of social relations of domination, exploitation, and appropriation?

Interview Guide: This project uses Ethnographic Methods (O'Reilly, 2004) as a basis for research. The interviews conducted will be semi-structured and in depth. The aim of the interviews will be to allow conversation to flow whilst trying to hit 'target' themes and questions. I will let conversations emerge naturally but try to keep interviewees on track by bringing them back to the target themes. My aim is provide a comfortable, conversational and safe environment to the interviews. This will require emotional work in the form of sympathising and relating to my interviewees whilst keeping control of the situation and maintaining a professional decorum.

Themes: *Emotion, Harassment, Motivation, Waged/Salaried Work, Positive/Negative Views of Tipped Work, Effects of Serving on Personal Life, Customer Interactions, Objectification, Responsibilastion.*

Questions: The interview process will have limited formal questions as I would like the interviewees to freely speak about *their* experiences. I will begin by asking: *Please tell me about your experiences being a tipped worker.*

If necessary prompts will be used such as; When did you start?, how long have you been a tipped worker?, have you worked in good places?, bad places? Why were they good or bad?, What are some of the positives and negatives about working for tips?, Have you ever been sexually harassed?, What did that feel like?, How did you deal with the situation? Etc.

Risks: The interviews may bring up difficult situations and if a traumatic event, or the interviewee becomes distressed, I will stop the interview and ask if they would like to stop. If they need assistance finding the appropriate services, i.e., the police, a counselor or a crisis hotline, I will provide them with the corresponding contact information.

Other Prompts: How many restaurants have you worked for? What were some of the most memorable experiences good or bad?

Sample Interview Questions

1. How long have you been a tipped worker?
2. How many restaurants have you worked in? Can you describe any of them for me?
3. Did you have good experiences or bad experiences at any of these establishments?
4. Have you ever experienced harassment while working as a tipped worker – sexual or otherwise?
5. Do you know what the rules are surrounding the tipped minimum-wage and has this ever been explained to you at a workplace?
6. Do you have any tips or tricks when preparing yourself to come into work?
7. If you could make the same amount of money you make now, but in a salary, would you rather work for tips or for a salary?
8. Do you have any interactions with customers that stand out in your mind?
9. Would you work in a restaurant for tips in another state or region? For example, Ohio, North Carolina, etc.?