EXPLORING THE GENDERED DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE SERVICE INDUSTRY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of the
North Dakota State University
of Agriculture and Applied Sciences

By

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major Department:
Sociology and Anthropology

November 2016

Fargo, North Dakota

North Dakota State University
Graduate School

Title

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The Supervisory Committee certifies that this *disquisition* complies with North Dakota State

University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

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ABSTRACT

For this study, I sought to understand the demands women face in their everyday lives and how these demands may impact how differing genders perform their jobs in the service industry. I utilized qualitative research methods to analyze focus group transcripts and examine servers who worked in Fargo, ND. For this study, I set out to understand two research questions: 1) Do women and men's gender performativity impact their work as servers and/or bartenders? and 2) Do the differences in performativity impact servers' and/or bartenders' perception of gender equality in the workplace? I found that men and women experience their jobs as servers differently. This is shown in the gendered performances that are expected of servers. I found, through my research, that the gender of a server is connected to the way they perform. Both genders perceived that they must perform in particular ways to be successful in their work.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my great-grandparents, Eugene and Arlene Strand. You both have always supported me in everything I do. I cannot thank you enough for the ultimate gift of supporting me in achieving a higher education. Your words of encouragement, and your confidences, have propelled me to complete this project.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Working as a server and bartender at a steakhouse, a pub, and a local food and brewery while putting myself through my undergraduate and graduate degrees at North Dakota State University, I have witnessed and been involved in several thought-provoking interactions between coworkers, management, and customers. As a sociology student since 2011, I have been captivated by the subtle-but-not-so-subtle ways that women and men differ in their actions and behaviors, as well as their beliefs and involvement in societal appearance norms. The societal expectations of men and women seem to overload individuals with high expectations that tend to be unrealistic and unattainable. Through my research, I strive to understand the types of demands women face in their everyday lives and how these demands impact how both women and men perform their jobs in the service industry.

For the sake of being concise, I use the term *server* interchangeably with both servers and/or bartenders throughout this document. As a way into understanding the differences between the way men and women perform their duties as servers, I explore the perceptions that servers have about the expectations of their work, particularly in terms of gender differences. In addition, I explore their perceptions about the advantages and/or disadvantages of being a certain gender while employed in this line of work. A major focus to my research is to understand the servers' day-to-day routines as servers through Erving Goffman's (1978) dramaturgical theory as well as Judith Butler's (1988, 1999, 2002) theory of performativity. Dramaturgical theory can be described as the elements of human interactions that change with time, place, and audience (Goffman, 1978). In other words, to Goffman, the self is a sense of who one is, a dramatic effect emerging from the immediate scene being presented. In introducing the second theory used for my analysis, I turn to the concept of performativity. Performativity can be explained as the act of

power that produces an identification (Butler, 1988). In other words, one is socialized to subconsciously perform their identity, leaving them unable to recognize that they are doing it. In using this particular theory, I work to explain the way servers perform and act out their gender while on the job and the effects this has on their work. Specific research questions driving my research are 1) Do women and men's gender performativity impact their work as servers and/or bartenders? and 2) Do the differences in performativity impact servers' and/or bartenders' perception of gender equality in the workplace? I then further explore the importance in which men and women present themselves to others while working within the service industry. Gaining access to the perspectives of individuals who work as servers allows us to understand the extent to which gender affects work ethic and performance while on the job. Understanding if there are differences in the way men and women perform their duties as servers allows us to understand the nuances in the way men and women perform gender, not only in their personal lives, but also in their work at service-industry type jobs.

Despite the large number of individuals who work, or have worked, as a server, little research has been conducted regarding servers' perceptions of their own performativity while working on the job. Of particular interest is a deeper understanding of the role gender plays and how participants leverage societal expectations in their role as servers. My research provides insight into how gender norms and societal beauty standards and expectations play an important role in the perceptions and resulting performative strategies that servers use in their work as servers. The gender of a server is connected to the way they perform or act on the job. Through my findings, we can start to understand how my participants' perceptions of themselves, along with their work ethics and confidence, connect to their appearance and/or attitude to the amount

of tips they make. In a sense, I work to explain the way that doing your job well in the service industry means that you are doing your gender well, and that the two are directly correlated.

In order to explicate these core findings, I ground my research in the field of gender to provide an understanding of how individuals constantly act out gender as a result of socialization. Comprehending the power of gender as an institution provides a platform to develop this research. In addition, I discuss the significant role gender plays in the service industry through an examination of the history of serving and bartending and the gratuity system as a form of payment for customers as well as the main source of income for servers and bartenders in most U.S. states (Lynn & Graves, 1996). Doing so illuminates the sociological relevance of this particular topic, as gender is largely socially constructed. Following the literature review, I outline the methodological process used to conduct this study, and, finally, I provide an analysis of the data in order to support my overall findings.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In order to ground this research, I focus on Goffman's dramaturgical theory, as well as Butler's theory of performativity. Utilizing these two theories to examine individuals who work within the service industry provides a useful framework to understand and examine how people change their attitude, behavior, or look overall when performing their duties as servers. What follows in this literature review is a brief overview of the social construction of gender and an explanation and analysis of the two social theories used to examine my research. Following the theoretical section is a brief history of gratuity wages as well as a breakdown of previous research that has been done regarding workers within the service industry. I then examine the concept of emotional labor, which is disproportionately seen in women-related fields, and spend some time discussing my epistemological approach to my research, which relies on feminist methodology.

Constructing Gender: A Brief Overview

The literature on gender is extensive, so it is important to conceptualize my use of gender in this project. Key to my approach with gender is the concept of the social construction of gender (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Individuals are taught, from a very early age, how they should act or carry themselves in order to put forth an image that allows them to fit in with their culture and societal expectations. Gender is everywhere and we are so accustomed to it that we do not even realize it is around us anymore, like a fish surrounded by water (Lorber & Farrell, 1991). Gender is not something we are born with; it emerges out of social interactions and is therefore socially constructed rather than a natural occurrence (Lorber & Farrell, 1991; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender, in other words, can be understood as the social organization of sexual difference (Shaw & Lee, 2012).

Femininity and masculinity are social categories that might mean different things in different societies and in different historical periods (Shaw & Lee, 2012). Sexual difference and gender shape the way we think someone ought to look, think, feel, dress, and in general, how they should be (Butler, 1999, 1990; Lorber & Farrell, 1991; Shaw & Lee, 2012). This leads to vast inequalities within the realms of gender that continue to create societal expectations of the genders, which can lead to a lack of a sense of belonging or being part of a larger culture. This can lead to feelings of self-doubt or create hostility or even discrimination toward those who do not abide by social norms (Butler, 1990). Furthermore, men and women act differently in accordance to the social expectations of the environment in which they are involved (Connell, 1987). Identifying the role social influence has played in determining human behavior has empowered researchers to look beyond the primitive concept of biological factors being the primary driving force of gendered behaviors. It has been shown that there is, indeed, a connection between social structures and individual personalities through agents of socialization (Connell, 1987). In being socialized into their "appropriate" gender roles, men construct an identity of masculinity and women construct an identity of femininity. This approach grounds my use of performance and performativity as a theoretical frame.

Performance and Performativity: Developing a Theoretical Framework

Utilizing dramaturgical theory (Goffman, 1978) and the theory of performativity (Butler, 1988), I am able to focus on the day-to-day experiences of servers and how their perceptions of gender and gendered expectations in their jobs shapes the how they perform in their work settings. What follows is a discussion of both Goffman and Butler and the ways in which their theoretical frameworks support my research.

Goffman's Dramaturgical Theory. Dramaturgical theory can be described as the elements of human interactions that change with time, place, and audience (Goffman, 1978). In other words, to Goffman, the self is a sense of who one is, a dramatic effect emerging from the immediate scene being presented. Understanding this theory allows sociologists to examine the many ways individuals put forth a certain image of their self in order to fit a specific situation at any given moment. This is useful to not only servers and bartenders, but to people, in general, in order to fit societal guidelines of how to behave and act in an acceptable manner.

Goffman's (1978) dramaturgical theory focuses on the theatricality of the way individuals present their identity to others in any given setting or social situation, which pertains closely to those who work within the service industry as servers. Goffman argues that individuals put on performances, which may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion, which serves to influence other participants (Goffman, 1978). Individuals who work as servers typically try to present themselves in a positive light in front of their customers. According to Goffman, every individual is an actor on a stage, performing for an audience. The *front stage* is where the performance takes place, using various impression management tools to articulate particular images to the audience. *The backstage*, he argues, is where the protected self resides (Goffman, 1978). Goffman theorized that individuals build a strong barrier between the front and backstage, partly because the individual is vulnerable in the backstage but also in order to preserve the authenticity of the front stage performance. According to a theatre metaphor for identification, restaurants have front and back stages and customers are an audience for the servers. There are specific scripts, literal or cultural, that servers and bartenders are expected to follow (Goffman, 1978). An example of a social script, in accordance to gender, may be that women servers are expected to wear make up and work to present a feminine appearance before

entering the front stage of serving customers. Sometimes individuals will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing themselves in a given way in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke a specific response (Goffman, 1978). This is seen in the way servers and bartenders engage in cheerful and friendly manner to customers in the front stage when they might be feeling unhappy or sad in their back stage self.

Goffman (1978) elaborates more on the front stage, explaining that an individual's performance in the front stage regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance. In the service industry, the part of the restaurant or bar in which the customers can see the servers is seen as the front, whereas the back could be, for example, the kitchen, a supply room, or even the bathroom. Servers and bartenders cannot begin their performance until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place (the front) and terminate their performance when they leave it. A main purpose of this is that performances highlight the common dominant values or norms of the society in which it occurs; it is an expressive reaffirmation of the moral values of the community (Goffman, 1978).

Connecting Goffman's dramaturgical theory with inequalities that may lie within the service industry, it is important to look at not only the differences between men and women's performance, but also how that relates to their general social status. With women servers in particular, it can be argued that the emotional labor they provide may be more harmful, rather than beneficial, to themselves in the long run. Caring women tend to reinforce men's status through a variety of "bodily displays" including "the sympathetic cocking of the head; the forward inclination of the body; the frequent smiling; the urging, through appropriate vocalizations, that the men continue his recital, hence, that he may continue to commandeer the woman's time and attention," (Tong, p. 159, 2014). Men do not accord women similar status,

however, and because they do not, women's care of men amounts to "a collective genuflection by women to men, an affirmation of male importance that is unreciprocated," (Tong, p. 159, 2014). Furthermore, the epistemic and ethical consequences of women's unreciprocated care of men are most worrisome. Women do not need yet another reason to lose their sense of self or to doubt their own vision of reality and version of the truth. Men and women's interests are not identical in a patriarchal society, and it is important for women to realize this (Bartky, 1993). When looking at the general hierarchal difference between men and women, Goffman can be used to further examine the way individuals act and behave in order to put on a more appropriate act.

In most societies, there seems to be a general system of stratification in which those in lower status strive, in part, to move to higher status. I do not mean to say that all individuals in lower social status desire for a place of prestige within the community, but rather it is often desired to fit in with the common values of the community. To confirm this point, it is commonly found that upward mobility involves the presentation of appropriate performances (Goffman, 1978). For example, I am wondering if the different values, expected from differing genders on the societal level, impact the way genders perform around one another. We ought to be careful not to idealize certain expressions of gender that, in turn, produce new forms of hierarchy and exclusion (Butler, 1990). It is interesting to me, being a former server and bartender, that women are more often associated with the role of providing service in a restaurant. I remember a specific night at the steakhouse when a man and woman sat at a table and were told their server (who was a man and had a masculine-sounding name, such as Mike) would be taking care of them that evening. The guest then scoffed and demanded that a woman serve him and his wife instead. Being that it was 2015, I thought his outdated mentality must

mean that he was making a joke. He was, however, not joking and one of my woman coworkers stepped in to provide service for the couple. Linking women with caring and, by extension, serving, may promote the view that women care by nature, or the view that because women can and have cared, they should always care, no matter what the cost to themselves (Tong, 2014). It was almost as though the guest in this example believed women are, naturally, better performers when it comes to providing care and that men should not be working as servants (rather, servers), but rather in more well-established and prideful courses of work. This ties in well with the work Butler has provided on gender performance and the way we present our identity to others.

Butler's Performativity Theory. Performativity is the act of power that produces an identification (Butler, 1988). In other words, one is socialized to subconsciously perform their identity in the way that they want others to perceive them. In continuing her explanation of performativitiy, Butler argues that one's performativity does not make up their authentic self, but rather, it puts forth an image that the individual believes s/he needs to act out indefinitely. One could say that there is a metaphorical mask in which individuals use to work to conceal their more private selves (Ausland, 2005). Butler explains that specific acts and behaviors shape the way a person expresses their identity. She goes on to say that performative acts are forms of authoritative speech. Most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and exercise a binding power (Butler, 1999). For example, when a child is assigned a gender at or before birth, the doctor says something like, "It's a girl." In that case, the performative is the speech act "It's a girl" that produces the identification "girl/female." The effect of this performative act is that the child will need to perform the identification in accordance with societal expectations of a girl. These are the performances that derive from the performative. However, we often try to perform these ideal expectations without fully grasping

that they are, often times, impossible standards to obtain. The performative references a cultural script, which is a set of normative guidelines that are culturally expected (Butler, 1988). In this case, imagining what is perfect is considered to actually be ideal, pertaining to differing particular cultures and social situations, rather than a singular reality. In other words, it references an imagining of what femaleness is that cannot ever be actually lived up to. Therefore, there is a gap between the performative and the performance, and in this gap there is room for resistance, change, or to perform differently (Butler, 1998). If a woman server recognizes that she is tipped better when she normatively performs woman, her perception of a choice to perform differently in that gap between her performance and the performative ideal might be limited, at least in the front stage setting of the restaurant. An example of performativity could be that I am mostly unaware that I tend to perform my gender in a feminine way in order to prove to others that I am a woman. Presenting myself with a soft-spoken voice in a caring manner (such as while serving a family at a table), I put forth an identity for my customers to perceive me as an authentic and nurturing woman.

Performativity for Butler not only lodges in the verbal dimensions of human behavior, but also exercises its power through compulsory reiteration (Auslander, 2005). In order for gender to be seen as something that is natural or as the inevitable product of the body's sex, the acts through which gender is created are repeated so frequently that it forecloses recognition of its constructedness. Furthermore, it can be seen that, "Performativity is thus not a singular 'act,' for it is always a reiteration of a norm or set of norms, and to the extent that it acquires as act-like status in the present, it conceals or dissimulates the conventions of which it is as repetition" (Butler, p. 241, 1999). Going further, gender identity is then a stylized repetition of social norms throughout time.

Similar to Goffman's (1978) work of back and front stage performance, Butler considers the relationship between public and private identities of individuals when they perform their genders. Butler, however, has a greater focus than Goffman on the way each gender is expected to perform and the negative consequences that may come forward with viewing gender on a binary scale. It is difficult for Butler to envision how either performance or performativitiy extends beyond the verbal realm into the nonverbal dimensions of human action. Instead, she states that only by assessing the articulateness of bodies' motions, as well as speech, can the interconnectedness between individuals' gendered and sexual differences within and among these bodies matter (Auslander, 2005).

Integrating Goffman's dramaturgical theory with Butler's theory of performativity, I am able to focus in on how individuals not only think of themselves as gendered beings, but also how they express that to others in various social contexts. An individual would behave much differently when they are with close friends than they would while serving a table at their service industry job. I have seen this first hand with my coworkers at different restaurants I have worked at, and I have also expressed myself in an altered manner to put forth a specific face and identity for my customers. By honing in on how servers perform their gender in the front stage and backstage, I can explore the variations of gender performativity that individuals express in their day-to-day lives. A main research question I explore is if there are differences between the way men and women perform their duties as servers and if so, how their work is impacted by those differences. In answering these questions, it is beneficial to use both Goffman and Butler to have a dual look at the way men and women perceive society gender norms, and in turn, the variable ways they present themselves in a public or professional manner. In addition, it is theoretically

valuable to explore the use of both Butler's performativity and Goffman's performance in the context of serving.

Learning early what is expected of each gender enables others to know, in advance, what to expect of someone. Individuals then know how to react to certain circumstances, situations, and behaviors (Goffman, 1978). It is important to realize that although biological distinctions create female and male humans, society interprets these differences in ways that create feminine and masculine people. Institutionalized appearance standards, regarding makeup use and appropriate dress, guide women's gendered presentations in the workplace (Tibbals, 2007). These appearance, or beauty, standards can be also known as expectations that particularly women face from other women, from men, and multiple critical social and economic institutions (Acker, 2006). When women comply with cultural beauty norms, they often feel and are often told that they have accomplished societal expectations. However, when they do not comply with said norms, they can be reprimanded and chided into working harder to fit the beauty norms of their culture or community. It is in this sense that the glass ceiling, a metaphor that describes gender barriers that produce patterns of gender differences that occur within the workplace, exists (Acker, 2009). When we *do gender*, we are doing what we think our culture expects from us and that aligns with our sex and normative gender roles (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Research on The Service Industry

In order to provide a context for my research, I turn now to the existing literature on serving, bartending, and the service industry in general. While I found some previous studies and research on waitressing and the ways women can be negatively affected by the culturally submissive attitudes expected of them, there was not adequate information on gender differences that servers experience or, more specifically, how they feel they must perform on the job versus

in their everyday lives. The vulnerability that servers feel while on the job due to earning tip wages instead of contracted wages has been discussed in a few contexts (Butler & Skipper, 1980; Jacob, Guéguen, & Delfosse, 2012). The literature I found can be broken down into several broad areas. I have found that most research conducted on the topic at hand focuses mostly on three different areas, which can be identified as appearance, tips, and gender segregation.

Appearance. In a few studies, researchers found that servers' physical appearance had a direct effect on the amount of tips they earned from customers (Cavico, Muffler, & Mujtaba, 2013; Jacob, Guéguen, Boulbry, & Ardiccioni 2010). It is apparent that physical appearance, particularly in the sense of attractiveness, is highly favored by society. Appearance discrimination, which can be described as discrimination in favor of people who are perceived as physically attractive and against people who are not physically attractive, has been found to have substantial effects on not only who makes the most tips from paying customers, but even who is hired to do server work in the first place (Cavico, Muffler, & Mujtaba, 2013). Guéguen (2012) conducted a study that examined waitresses and their hair color difference to see if a certain hair color made more tips on average. The study concluded that blonde waitresses made more tips than any other hair color, but only off of male customers. Jacob et.al. (2010) conducted a similar study in which they found that women servers who wore cosmetics were tipped a significant amount more than their coworkers who did not wear any makeup. Again, this study focused primarily on the male customer tipping average. Based on these findings, employers might take steps to build an attractive team to sell their products or their company image (Cavico, Muffler, & Mujtaba, 2013). It is in these findings that attractiveness and gender conformity not only benefits employers but also benefits the servers that may be deemed more attractive, whether they are men or women servers.

Tips. Gratuities are a significant part of the service industry. I provide a brief history of

gratuities (i.e. tips), to set the groundwork for the ways in which men and women perform their

roles as servers. Tips, as discussed in the section below, are a substantial topic of the literature on

serving.

The concept of gratuity, also referred to as a tip, has been largely shaped by the historic

context of the service industry and the ever-changing customs of society at large. Until the early

20th century, Americans viewed tipping in a negative light; it was seen as inconsistent with the

values of an egalitarian and democratic society (Segrave, 1998). Some businesses even saw

tipping as a type of bribery, which was forbidden, or at the very least unethical.

Today, tipping is a widely practiced social custom in the United States. In most

situations, tipping is not required, even though it is customary to tip in certain settings and

locations, such as within restaurant or bar industries. Because it is voluntary to tip, higher tips

may be given for great service and lower tips, or no tip at all, for poor service (Mentzer, 2013).

Many U.S. states are not required to pay individuals who receive at least 30 dollars every month

in tips minimum wage according to each individual state. Currently in the U.S., there are only

seven states (Alaska, California, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington) that require

service industry workers be paid the full minimum wage in that state (Jacob, et al., 2010).

Because there is limited research available on levels of tipping in restaurants and/or bars in

general, and even less regarding the gender and performativity in gratuity-based incomes, it is

significant in understanding if there is a connection.

I found previous research that examined the difference in tips each waitress made when

she made physical contact with the customer in some way or another, such as by a flirtatious

touch of the hand (Stephen, & Zweigenhaft,1986). The surveillance and disciplinary actions that

waitresses experience from management has also been shown to affect the way they dressed and acted while on the job. Information on earning a tip wage rather than a contracted wage was found, but the previous studies are seen to have missing information on how the individual server behaves or acts in front of customers. My research fills the gap on how servers feel they must look, act, and behave in order to earn better tip wages from their customers. I also focus on the way cultural expectations lead to inequalities that can be seen between different genders of servers and the way they express their identity.

Gender Segregation. The differences in work-related duties that waitresses experience in comparison to waiters, also called gender segregation, seen within restaurant staffing has been discussed in several articles and research studies throughout the past (Cavico, Muffler, & Mujtaba, 2013; Hall, 1993; Jacob, Guéguen, & Delfosse, 2012). Job titles and dress codes often differ by gender in the service industry and tip wages are more often given to waitresses rather than male bartenders, which limits occupational integration of the staff. One of the multiple examples found of gender segregation within the restaurant industry is that women are often hired as cocktail servers or put into more public positions in which they are connecting more with customers, whereas men are hired as kitchen staff or other behind-the-scenes jobs (Jacob, Guéguen, & Delfosse, 2012). Many of the articles that discuss gender segregation and tipping wages, however, do not specifically address the other gender inequalities that servers may experience on the job, such as those issues that deal with appearance and gendered work that can require a lot of emotional labor. A large portion of previous research is also missing information that my research would provide such as the expression of identity while working in the service industry and working for tip wages.

The previous research I found that was relevant to the topic at hand was exclusively qualitative and typically focused on data collected via interviews and focus groups. The interviewees were usually individuals who had been working within the service industry as servers, bartenders, and even baristas in coffee shops. This was particularly helpful to my future study in the way that using qualitative methods, such as interviews and focus groups, were assumed to be the most effective methods of finding answers to my research questions.

Emotional Labor

An interesting concept that correlates with my research is the concept of emotional labor. Emotional labor is a requirement of a job that employees display required emotions toward customers or guests (Hochschild, 2003). Some examples of occupations that may require emotional labor are teaching, nursing, and serving. These types of occupations can be traditionally seen as female-dominated fields, which ties into the way that emotional labor is seen as a more feminine type of work. Emotional labor research includes analysis and decision-making in terms of the expression of emotion, whether actually felt or not. The opposite can also been seen (or, rather, hidden) in the suppression of emotions that are felt but not expressed (Hochschild, 2003). This is important to my research because when women are seen as the gender that is caring and nurturing, it can be interpreted as natural for their gender to provide such emotional labor in particular occupations such as the service industry. I use my research questions to examine the way women shape their performativity in the front stage with guests and customers and also the way they may (or may not) carry this expectation of emotional labor with them in the backstage, or their daily routines. The research questions I ask gather the general idea if each subject feels pressure to perform emotional labor on a daily basis and, more importantly, while they're serving for tip wages.

In service industry work, the body needs to be able to combine conflicting capacities; to lure, entice and satisfy on the one hand and to be resilient, fast and astute on the other (Dowling, 2012). These are characteristics and tasks that can be carried out by both genders. However, many cultures are often taught to think of men as more efficient when it comes to athleticism, strength, and even intellect (Jacob et al., 2010). Interestingly, and relevant to the topic at hand, research has shown that the amount of makeup a woman wears while serving is associated with a significant increase in tipping behavior of male customers (Jacob et al., 2010). It is often discussed that servers should make a certain tip amount no matter how the service was, but many customers tip off of other standards (Lynn & Graves, 1996). Although tips are often thought to be an incentive or reward for good service, tipping is a complex behavior motivated by the desires to conform to social norms, compensate for poor service wages, and even to display power or status (Lynn & Graves, 1996). For example, the types of emotional labor female flight attendants typically do often leads to self-estrangement, an inability to identify one's own emotional states, even to drug abuse or alcoholism. To a pay a person to be relentlessly cheerful-to smile at even the most verbally abusive and unreasonably demanding passengers- means paying a person to feign a certain set of emotions (Bartky, 1993). This same sense of emotional labor can be seen in the way servers must perform in order to maintain their appearance and upbeat demeanor during shifts. For example, servers can be seen as hiding in a role that seems to leave no room for choice. Tong (2014) mentions this in explaining, "The waiter will present the wine list with the requisite flourish; he will grimace if the diner selects the wrong combination of courses; and he will behave in an overly solicitous manner should the diner's soup arrive lukewarm. It can be argued, then, that servers act this way not only because their jobs depend on it, but also because their role-playing helps them avoid the fundamental uncertainties and

ambiguities of human existence" (Tong, 2014, p. 147). It is understandable, however, that a person can pretend to be happy only so many times before the person forgets how it feels to be genuinely or authentically happy (Bartky, 1993). Similar work has been seen in the works of Karl Marx. His concept of alienation describes the way individuals become estranged and invariably lose the ability to determine their own lives and destinies (Henslin, 2004). In other words, they become deprived of the right to think of themselves as the director of their own actions; they become alienated from not only relationships with other people, but from the work they perform and even from themselves (Kerbo, 2012). This can be problematic and may start to have negative effects on the servers who work in these types of settings. Furthermore, I am interested if this type of labor affects men or women servers in a greater way. It is within this research study that the typical standards, which revolve around servers' genders, are examined.

By looking at the different ways members of differing genders present their identity while on the job, I examine how cultural expectations of each gender interact with their performativity. Specifically, I interrogate the way servers express themselves on the job, in accordance to their gender and how that contributes to the limited research that has been done in this area. My goal is to deepen the exploration on how gender performance and the expression of one's identity affects ones attitude, behavior, and choice of appearance while earning tip wages.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Overview

In order to best answer my research questions, several considerations were addressed. In this chapter, I work to explain the overall design of my methodological approach. Specifically, I explicate the groundwork used for my focus groups and define the participants included in my study. I then discuss the reason why I included additional resources that I used alongside my own data. Finally, I analyze my findings. By using institutional ethnography, I am able to tap into the day-to-day experiences of servers and how that reveals the way gender shapes perceptions and internalized expectations of my participants.

Research Design

Throughout the following methodological discussion, two studies are mentioned: the initial study and the current study. The initial study, which was conducted in the spring of 2015, refers to the research for a project titled, "Gender Inequality Within the Service Industry." I use the data from this study as secondary data that I analyzed in conjunction with the current study. I collected data for the current study in the summer and fall of 2016. In order to better understand the ways that gender can create inequalities for individuals who work within the service industry, qualitative methods were used for the initial and current analysis. The project was approached with the understanding that researchers cannot accurately explain reality, but instead, can access participants' constructed realities (Smith, 2005) through their communication, interaction, and practices (Tracy, 2013). Qualitative methods best allowed me, as the researcher, to explore the perceptions of the server participants, and to sharpen insights into the gender inequalities the participants faced while working in the service industry.

Initial Study and Design

The initial study entitled "Gender Inequality Within the Service Industry" was conducted at North Dakota State University (NDSU) in 2015 for SOC 700: Qualitative Methods, which was a graduate-level course I was taking. The main objective of the course was to refine qualitative research methods and to allow graduate students to conduct their own research studies to better understand the qualitative process of research. For this initial research study, a total of 13 individuals, who worked within the service industry, ages 20-32, were interviewed. Of the 13 participants, 12 identified as Caucasian, while one identified as African-American. Four of the 13 participants were male, and the remaining nine were female. All participants were employed within establishments that were classified as service industries and worked 20-50 hours per week. Participants' educational degrees ranged from high school diploma to Master's degree.

Three methods of data collection were used for the initial study, including four interviews, three focus groups, and participant observation. A semi-structured question guide with eight main questions was used for the interviews and focus groups. The research questions and sub-questions focused on exploring the participants' experiences of gender differences within their line of work and the emotions that tended to accompany them. Each interview lasted between 30-45 minutes, the focus group between 60-90 minutes, and each participant observation session between 2-3 hours each. While conducting the participant observation, I worked as a passive participant in one establishment and a moderate participant in the other. While being a passive participant, I simply sat at a table and observed the way the servers interacted with customers, coworkers, and managers. There was no actual content with the serving staff. The second observation method I used was a moderate participation method, meaning that I interacted with the servers I was observing by acting as a customer in their

workplace and could observe their mannerisms first-hand. Each method was collected until the best theoretical saturation was reached. To protect the confidentiality of the participants, I assigned a pseudonym to each of the participants to be used in place of their names and the participants had the right to request removal from the study at any point. The interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded and, later, transcribed word-for-word in order to capture exact quotes pertaining to differences between genders that they experienced within their line of work. During the focus groups, I initiated and facilitated the discussion and encouraged the participants to engage in a dialogue with each other and share experiences they have had while working as a server, bartender, or cocktail server. The interview, focus group, and participant observation data collected in the initial study became supplemental sources used for the current study's analysis.

Current Study: Design, Theory, and Methods

In the current study, I also used a qualitative approach to collect data. A total number of 13 participants were recruited for the five focus groups. Focus group one consisted of two participants; focus group two consisted of four, focus group three consisted of two, focus group four consisted of three, and the final focus group, focus group five, consisted of two participants. To protect the confidentiality of the participants, I assigned a pseudonym to each of the participants to be used in place of their names (See Table 1).

Table 1

Participant Demographic Table

Participant	Pseudonym	Participant Gender	Participant Age (years)	Employment Pseudonym
FG1-1	Seth	Man	24-27	Steakhouse
FG1-2	Landon	Man	21-23	Brewery
FG2-1	Ron	Man	24-27	Family Restaurant/Pub
FG2-2	Samantha	Woman	28-30	Pub
FG2-3	Mandy	Woman	24-27	Pub
FG2-4	Abel	Man	31 or older	Pub/Lounge
FG3-1	Sapphire	Woman	31 or older	Pub
FG3-2	Trent	Man	24-27	Pub
FG4-1	Terrance	Man	31 or older	Steakhouse
FG4-2	Luna	Woman	21-23	Brewery
FG4-3	Ella	Woman	21-23	Family Bar
FG5-1	Sharron	Woman	21-23	Pub
FG5-2	Tara	Woman	21-23	Family Bar

To be considered for the current study, the individuals must have been at least 18 years of age at the time of informed consent, and they must have been employed within the service industry for a minimum of one year. Approval for the present study was granted by NDSU IRB (See Appendix A). I recruited participants through personal connections and snowball sampling techniques (Welch, 1975). When conducting the present research during focus groups, I was interested in having the participants tell me their story. Doing so allowed the participants to explain their own feelings and perceptions. This was an important strategy to my findings

because gender in general, as well as the inequalities that often come a long with it, is socially constructed (Tibbals, 2007). All participants were employed within establishments that are classified as service industries and worked approximately 20 to 40 or more hours per week. Participants' educational degrees ranged from high school diploma to Master's degree.

Data Collection

Focus groups were the primary method of data collection used for the current study. As discovered in the initial study in the spring of 2015, focus group members bounced ideas off of each other and better identified with certain feelings or situations that may have arose while on the job than utilizing one-on-one interviews. A semi-structured question guide with fifteen main questions was used for the focus groups. The research questions and sub-questions focused on exploring the participants' experiences of gender inequality within their line of work and the emotions that tended to accompany them (see Appendix C). The focus groups took place in various locations, which ranged from my apartment when the participants were all close acquaintances, to a local coffee shop in South Fargo. Upon arrival, participants completed a consent form and answered a questionnaire that enabled me to gather demographic information (see Appendix B). This included their number of years working within the service industry and whether they are a server and/or a bartender. During the focus groups, I opened discussion by asking conversational questions. Although I studied how servers presented themselves based on their gender when working a job in the service industry, I engaged in questions that asked them to explain their daily routines and what they did to prepare for work. I intended for the focus groups to have a conversational feel so the participants felt comfortable in expressing their honest experiences as servers. The focus groups were audio recorded and each lasted between 50

to 70 minutes. Eventually, I achieved theoretical saturation (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), which resulted in me conducting five focus groups, each consisting of two to four participants.

As mentioned previously, demographic information was collected prior to the start of the focus groups. This allowed me to better track the participants during the transcription process through understanding their age, years working in the service industry, and many other demographic points. Each participant's name was then correlated to an assigned pseudonym before the focus group discussions begin. These pseudonyms were then used throughout the transcription process to ensure anonymity to the participants. A list connecting subjects' names to assigned pseudonyms was stored with the original data in case a participant desired to have their information removed from the study. The participants had the right to request removal from the study at any point, although no participants did request so. The interviews and focus groups were transcribed word-for-word in order to capture exact quotes pertaining to gender inequality they experienced within their line of work. My collection of focus group data from the current study became the primary source used for this study's analysis.

Data Analysis

Each transcript was read through and searched for the emerging themes I used to construct a preliminary codebook. A form of exploratory analysis was used, including open coding (Saldana, 2013). Codes were created in reference to the themes emerging dealing with gender inequality within the service industry. The codebook was then used to code the remaining transcripts. Any new codes discovered were examined and added to the codebook when found to be in several transcriptions. Following completion of the codebook, all transcriptions were recoded in relation to the updated version. The transcriptions and codes were compared for consistency once coding was complete. The initial study data was used to further my thoughts as

a researcher and to see what codes were relevant across the board or which codes seemed to be continuous in the data.

The theoretical ideas that were used in the initial study were carried over to the current study. Theoretical work that was used in both studies includes, but is not limited to, Butler's theory of performativity and Goffman's dramaturgical theory. The initial study's themes were then compared and contrasted to the findings of the current study and shaped to better fit the current study at hand. Current themes stemmed from furthering my research into each theory, resulting in three major themes titled Front stage/Back stage, Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry, and Appearance. Within these major themes, several subthemes emerged. I created two subthemes, titled Suits and Bitches and Keeping a Game Face: The Gendered Front Stage, within the major theme Front stage/ Back stage. The third major theme, titled Appearance, also had subthemes emerge, which were titled Confidence, Comments, and Internalized Expectations.

Ethics

Throughout my research, there was a possibility of some ethical matters that I could have encountered. An issue that could have risen during research is that I currently still work as a part-time employee within the service industry. An ethical matter that could have come from that is the issue of potential biases. Many of the participants who I used for my research study are coworkers, friends, and acquaintances, which could be seen as an ethical issue in reference to scholarly research. However, having rapport with some of my participants helped establish a more comfortable setting for the focus groups. Because I am a server, I knew several people in the area that had served or bartended for tip wages, which I anticipated would make recruiting people for research readily available. My experiences as a server also enabled me to understand

and respond to my participants' discussions in a way that drew out a deeper discussion of their experiences. This minute ethical matter, of knowing many of my participants outside of my research study, likely did not have an effect on my findings. However, I mediated these potential issues by creating pseudonyms for each focus group member, as well as enforced the consent and confidentiality forms each participant signed before beginning each research session.

Epistemology

The process of knowledge production that characterized my research endeavor is important to consider. To start out, it is important to understand that knowledge is never True, but rather it is co-produced between the researcher and the researched. It is contextually constructed and *truth* is a matter of narrative, or the stories people tell throughout time (Powell, 1996). In interviewing my subjects, I gathered their narratives that they saw as truths, turning them into research findings based on how they interpreted their own identities and experiences while on the job.

The epistemological approach used for this particular research project relied on feminist methodology that does not try to avoid subjectivity and personal experience (Powell, 1996). In understanding my own interpretations and behavior in the research, it is clear that my personal experience of working as a server for several years had a great impact on my research. It is understood that additional ethical dilemmas may arise when doing research in one's own professional culture, where the researcher and professional roles may conflict (Olesen, 1994). This was evident in that there was a sort of tension being an insider and working to analyze my research findings by interviewing acquaintances that were working in the same line of work that I have for quite some time.

Continuing to work as a server, while conducting focus groups and analyzing my findings, was a challenge. I never seemed to be away from the service industry and found it difficult to stay on task when serving, due to my constant inquiry of situations I witnessed and experienced first-hand. At the same time, this helped me as a researcher by continuing to expose me to the service industry. Constantly being embedded in my research environment allowed me to further witness the gendered performances of other servers. It also pushed me to address my own gendered performativity and the way I acted while in front stage, or in front of customers. Ultimately, utilizing a feminist epistemology leads me to prefer not to be defined as a researcher per se, but as a narrator who tells someone else's story (Olesen, 1994; Powell, 1996). The stories that I narrate help tell the story of how participants understand women and men's gender performativity and how it impacts their work as servers.

Overview

The findings presented in the following section are divided into three sections: Front stage/Back stage, Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry, and Appearance. These core themes emerged and helped address the way men's and women's gender performativity impacts their work as servers, as well as the way these differences impact their perception of gender equality in the workplace. What these themes tell us is that there are gender differences, yet both men and women experience a unique set of gendered expectations even as both genders perceived that they must perform in particular ways to be successful in their work.

The findings presented in the Front stage/Back stage section explicate the differences found between the two genders interviewed in this study and the personalities tied to each group. The write-up of the Front stage/Back stage section begins with the conceptualization of the two categories, Suits and Bitches and Keeping a Game Face: The Gendered Front Stage, which emerged within the data. This section, and its subsections, addresses the differences in the way servers act in the front stage while serving customers of specific genders, as well as keeping a certain professional gendered persona and appearance under intense circumstances. The findings discussed in the section titled Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry pertain to the stereotypical gendered performances derived from the focus groups that were analyzed in this study, in relation to the front stage and performativity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Appearance, which includes three categories: Confidence, Comments, and Internalized Expectations. The findings of this section discuss the impact of appearance to both genders within the current study, as well as the confidence that comes along with their appearance on the job, comments received while working, and their internalized expectations connected to differing

genders in the service industry. In combining the categories and subcategories together, it is important to understand the way Goffman's dramaturgical theory initiates understanding of the way the participants enact their gender in the workplace. This sets up a deeper explication, using Butler's performativity, of how participants' understanding of normative gender roles shape how they move through their front stage and back stage actions as servers. More so, it is important to understand how the front stage can be juxtaposed with gendered performances, and gendered appearances, that the participants carry out while working in the service industry.

Front Stage/ Back Stage

Some servers described their personality at work as different than their personality in their everyday lives. During one focus group, the comment, "[Management] tells everyone that they want us to be ourselves around our guests" (Mandy, pg. 6) was expressed. It was clear to me, however, as each focus group went on, that servers felt that they could not actually be themselves. Certain comments such as, "You learn really fast that you have to be very outgoing to get the attention of your guests, and you have to be nice no matter what the circumstances are" (Ella, pg. 13) and that as a server, what is often put forth is, "a fake personality. I mean, your conversations and what you talk about is a script and just what your guests want to hear. You say what you think you're supposed to, to make them happy" (Seth, pg. 16) resembled the way Goffman's (1978) dramaturgical theory, or more specifically his concept of presentation of self, is seen within the differing jobs, bartending versus serving, in the service industry. Presentation of self enables sociologists to examine the many ways individuals put forth a certain image of their self in order to fit a specific situation at any given moment. Understanding how servers enact their jobs provides deeper insight into not only being a server, but also what it means to be

a man or woman in the serving industry. Furthermore, utilizing Goffman's theory can show how servers shift their front stage attitude to fit their customers' wants and needs.

Luna mentioned that at work, her personality is, "Definitely more bubbly and upbeat than normal. I'm not giddy in my normal life. I'm way more high energy at work" (pg. 3). The servers reported feeling as though the more outgoing, upbeat, and caring they seemed to customers, the better tips they made. Ella stated, "Even if you want to cry, you have to make sure you're nice to [the customers] and you aren't crying in front of them. When you go back into the server alley, you can cry and bitch and someone will be there to listen" (pg. 3). Terrance agreed with Ella's comment by stating, "As much as someone may be rude or a complete ass to you, you have to sit there and smile and take it" (pg. 4). Another participant expressed his frustration of feeling like he had to be someone else on the job by mentioning, "I used to be more fake with tables rather than with my coworkers, but now I'm finding that I'm just fake with everyone" (Ron, pg. 6). When connecting these participants' statements to Goffman's front stage/back stage concept, it is clear that, while at work, they feel that they focus on putting forth their front-stage selves, all while concealing their back-stage feelings and personalities.

Some participants considered the differences between men and women servers and the way they tend to act in front of customers (or the front stage). Abel did this by stating, "But I think chicks put up with more than guys do. Girls tolerate a lot more" (pg. 18). The servers went on to describe that the culture they live and work in creates and demands the gender expectations that they and their customers expect of them. It is important to understand that there is a literal back stage and front stage in the service industry. As stated previously, the part of the restaurant or bar in which the customers can see the servers is seen as the front stage, whereas the back stage could be, for example, the kitchen, a supply room, or even the bathroom. Servers and

bartenders cannot begin their performance until they have brought themselves to the appropriate place (the front stage) and terminate their performance when they leave it (Goffman, 1978). It also became evident, while studying my participants' comments, that a large part of the front stage itself is intertwined with these stereotypical gendered expectations that they have of their customers. In beginning the upcoming subsections, the gendered way servers tend to approach their customers in their front stage persona is discussed.

Suits and Bitches. Some servers mentioned that their at-work personalities tend to differ not only because of their own gender, but also depending upon the gender of the customers they are serving. A number of participants spoke directly toward using their gender to their advantage of earning tips.

As Sharron explains,

[My coworker Ron] and I will be working together and we will have an understanding that if a table of all women come in, he gets to take it. And if a table of all men comes in, it's mine. Just because, women are going to react to a guy serving them differently and the guy customers will react to me differently […] I feel like he will make more money off of the women and I will make more off of the men. A table of suits, like 50-year old men, will like me a lot better than [Ron].

It is clear that Sharron recognizes her own gendered appearance in relation to the customers, and that impacts her front stage persona. The participants tended to feed off of the customers' gendered appearance in order to better understand how they should, or could, present themselves to each group of customers. This is relevant to Goffman's concepts of front stage/ back stage in the way that servers, as well as actors on a stage, tend to bounce ideas and actions off of each other in an impromptu-like setting. Several servers mentioned they intentionally have

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conversations with each other when new customers sit down at a table. They do this to decide which server would be more likely to connect with each new group of customers, and in turn possibly earn more tips. Sharron reiterated how gender directly affects her role, along with her coworkers' roles as men or women servers, by stating, "Yeah, males respond better to female servers and female customers are just bitches" (pg. 11). She continues to differentiate between men and women customers by including women customers are, "the worst out there. They're less bitchy if they have a cute guy server" (Sharron, pg. 11). Sharron's bluntness was particularly interesting to me in the way she degraded women customers. I realized, through comments like Sharron's, how deeply gendered stereotypes are embedded in our culture. Using specific language to describe differing genders was part of their gendered socialization. The way that the servers performed their socialized gender in their day-to-day lives impacted the way in which they then performed their job. Whether directly or indirectly, every participant examined in the current study spoke about the significance of gender and its affect on tips as a server. Other participants discussed the divided way men and women servers decide who works with what customers.

As Tara explains,

One of my guy coworkers and I do the same thing [as Sharron and Ron]; if we're behind the bar together, we have this pact. I mean he's a pretty attractive guy, so he always takes the girls that sit at the bar rail and I take the guys. The money is going to be different.

While having this conversation, neither Tara nor Sharron seemed aware of the way societal gender expectations shaped how they perform their front stage duties while serving.

Sapphire was yet another participant who voiced she could use her gender to her advantage in order to earn more tips. She voices that she typically tries to present herself in a positive light in front of her customers by stating, "I feel like I'm the cheery-peppy person who is hoping to put others in a good mood. Like, bubbly and the mother hen, almost. I have a lot of energy. I am positive" (pg. 2). She continues with, "If I'm having a bad day or someone just made me mad, I keep that to myself. Well, if something made me mad, I'd bitch to a coworker, but I'd never tell a customer that" (pg. 3). According to Goffman (1978), every individual is an actor on a stage, performing for an audience. The front stage is where the performance takes place, using various impression management tools to articulate particular images to the audience. In explaining her front stage at work, she stated, "If I'm waiting on a table of men, I tend to flirt a little more. I flirt heavier with guys. They tip me a little more if I put up with their shit" (Sapphire, pg. 12). She continues to explain her strategy in earning higher tips when it comes to serving a table of men versus a table of women.

As Sapphire declares,

If [the men I am serving] are making rude- well not rude comments but like, funny- jokes and stuff, I will laugh. I don't take abuse by any means. No one is going to touch my ass or do that kind of stuff but I might flirt a little more to get a little more money.

I find it important to point out Sapphire's way of fumbling and backtracking through the way she describes some men's comments. Her first instinct was to describe men's comments as rude. However, she very quickly rephrased in saying that the men's comments were more like funny jokes. This is a supplementary example of how different genders tend to interact with one another. It also shows the differing societal norms surrounded around how men and women behave and are treated, and gendered performances in general.

Another point I find useful to connect with Goffman's front stage/ back stage is that Sapphire articulated this experience in a setting where she could have stated her view on some men's comments as 'rude.' She was not at work as a server while participating in the focus group, so she could have disclosed any information she desired, in any way she saw fit. However, she caught herself mid-sentence and, instead of sticking with her original speech on how rude some men's comments can be, she chose to label the comments as 'funny.' This shows how culturally engrained Sapphire's rationalizations are, to the point where she censored some of her opinions about how she should be treated as a server.

A few participants spoke up on the difference between men and women servers and the way gender effects not only their personalities, but also their assumed duties, on the job. One participant in particular explained how customers view women servers in a more favorable light by stating, "I feel like people forgive women more when they're serving. Like, oh the cute waitress forgets something, but she is still cute though. But the guy forgets something and he is the guy that didn't do his job. He's a slacker" (Landon, pg. 13). Other participants continued to chime in with their experiences dealing with differing genders and therefore the way in which their feminine or masculine personalities aid them on the job.

Keeping a Game Face: The Gendered Front Stage. Although the specificities of their exact reasoning may have differed, every participant in the current study shared the common thread of gender being a major underlying factor of who has what kind of duties while on the job. When looking at the general hierarchal difference between men and women, I use Goffman to further examine the way the participants acted and behaved in order to put on a more appropriate act for their gender, specifically as their front-stage persona.

During the focus groups, discussion of this 'fake' presentation came about. Several of the participants discussed having a different tone of voice when serving. When the participants in the focus groups were asked to explain what they meant, Landon stepped forward and revealed, "If I have a table of older guys, I will force myself to talk in a more deeper voice. I don't give them my personality; I just give them the things they need and very firm service" (pg. 14). This was Landon's way of performing in his front stage, using various impression management tools to articulate particular images to his audience, while he protected his back-stage self from his customers (Goffman, 1978). Other servers brought forth this same way of engaging with customers in stating, "We have to impress our tables so they come back. I have more energy in my voice at my tables and have a script that I say every time" (Sharron, pg. 3) and mentioning that they are "used to being nicer and being like, 'oh yeah, not a problem sir, I'm sorry'" (Ron, pg. 5). Some servers even mentioned that they fake their knowledge to their customers in order to be more pleasing. Trent declared this in his comment, "I act like I know more than I actually do to guests and coworkers. You want to keep your game face on for customers and you want to stay politically correct, you know? You can't show that you are having a bad day to a customer" (Trent, pg. 3). I found Trent's comments particularly interesting, as they tie into the stereotypical masculine ways we expect men to act. By using a sports reference in explaining his composure, such as keeping his 'game face' on, it is clear that he felt he could not show his real emotions to his customers. However, almost all of the participants shared this kind of view when explaining their serving performance style, regardless of gender. Ella also admitted to hiding her bad days or bad moods from her customers. She stated, "Even if you want to cry, you have to make sure you're nice to them and you aren't crying in front of them and then when you go in the [server alley] you can cry and bitch" (Ella, pg. 4). While no men participants admitted to emotionally

breaking down due to stress while on the job, the women participants were more inclined to disclose that they sometimes complain to coworkers or even cry on the job, which is stereotypically seen as a more feminine reaction. This shows that sometimes individuals will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing themselves in a given way in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke a specific response (Goffman, 1978). This is seen in the way servers and bartenders engage in cheerful and friendly manner to customers in the front stage when they might be feeling unhappy or sad in their back stage self.

When asked to expand on the way they act in front of customers, most participants mentioned that they sometimes felt like they were actors and behaved differently than they would in their everyday lives. Continuing Trent's concept of a 'game face,' Sapphire acknowledged this in her remark, "I put on more of a game face when I'm at work. We are entertainers" (pg. 4). Other comments such as, "At the end of the day, you're just kind of putting on a show" (Trent, pg. 4) confirmed that multiple servers felt their job was simply to amuse or answer to others. A few participants directly spoke of Goffman's (1978) presentation of self and the feeling like they were wearing a mask in front of their customers. Statements such as, "I feel like I have a mask on in front of my tables that I don't have to wear when I'm in the server alley" (Luna, pg. 4), confirmed this idea of hiding from customers in plain sight. Terrance's quote meshed with Luna's thoughts as he said, "You have to fake it. You have to put on a mask and pretend everything is sunshine and rainbows. As much as someone may be rude or a complete ass to you, you have to sit there and smile and take it" (pg. 4). According to Goffman, this can be attributed to any kind of private-public behavior we do as human beings. The idea that some servers felt they were wearing a mask can tie to the servers' way of expressing their appearances

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that they put forth to their customers while on the job. When discussing the service industry, there are limitations of simply understanding how men and women perform in the front stage.

Gender is a social structure (Lorber, 1994), and when analyzing a line of work such as the service industry, which is heavily saturated in gender-stereotypical expectations, gender performance is seen as even more powerful (Butler, 1988). Tying Goffman's concept of front stage/back stage to Butler's theory of performativity can allow us to better understand the way the participants felt the need to express their performances based on their gender.

Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry

Butler's theory of performativity came forth during the interviews. For example, many participants admitted to feeling the need to perform in accordance with stereotypical societal expectations of their gender while on the job. Landon was very straightforward and honest in saying, "My identity is not my personality at work. [In the service industry], you aren't a person almost (pg. 15). This separation of the participants' identities and their performativity continued in comments such as, "I feel like a lot of people [in the service industry], especially new servers, are robots. They just do what they're told to do" (Terrance, pg. 5). Multiple participants revealed that they felt stripped of their own identity due to the facade that they felt the need to present to their customers. In using performativity theory, it is important to understand that the performative references a cultural script, which is a set of normative guidelines that are culturally expected (Butler, 1988). From this understanding, it was reasonable to connect performativity and the way the participants seemed to feel pressure to perform, on a stereotypical level, the gender they knew that was considered culturally ideal. The statement, "I can't mess up so I can have a great tip. Smile and nod to get through the shift and make your money" (Mandy, pg. 6), validates the way the servers' personalities were separated from their identities. Comments such

as, "You lose a little bit of your soul [in the service industry] when you just have to smile a nod" (Seth, pg. 3), and "Yeah, you get jaded after awhile," (Abel, pg. 5), also demonstrate the separation of the participants' identities from their work within the service industry.

Explaining differences between genders in the service industry, a participant stated, "I feel like women and men are seen in two different lights when it comes to serving and bartending" (Terrance, pg. 15). Another participant explained the idea that differences between men and women servers are innate by stating, "Guys are stronger so they're going to be doing more heavy-duty work like carrying buckets of ice and lifting and working back-of-house jobs" (Trent, pg. 12). He continues his thought in saying, "I mean, but both [genders] are good at giving customer service" (Trent, pg. 12). Terrance sustained his thoughts on separating server duties based on gender when he stated, "Males are supposed to belong in the kitchen or in the bar. That's it" (pg. 8). Using Hochschild's (2003) notion of emotional labor, I assert that there are deep assumptions about the type of emotional labor that is expected from servers versus what is expected of bartenders. This difference plays into why men are more likely to see themselves as bartenders, but struggle with their role as a server. Emotional labor is a requirement of a job that employees display required emotions toward customers or guests, such as the serving jobs held by my participants (Hochschild, 2003). In the discussions to come, it is examined the way the participants saw serving as a woman's job, or more emotional labor, while seeing bartending as a more masculine, or a less nurturing, job.

Some participants broke down each gender and the type of work they should do within the service industry. When explaining the way genders can be segregated as servers or bartenders, Ron declared, "Bartending is a lot more expected of a guy. When you're bartending, no one's going to second-guess that. Everyone knows it's okay for a guy to bartend" (pg. 23).

Mandy agreed with Ron in continuing the conversation that, "When people see a woman behind the bar, it's like they second guess that. It's like people expect the norm that women should serve and guys should bartend" (pg. 23). It was almost as though participants, both men and women, believed women are, naturally, better performers when it comes to providing care (or emotional labor) and that men should not be working as servants (rather, servers), but instead in more well-established and prideful courses of work. One participant even spoke of being uncomfortable when carrying out, what he viewed as, a feminine type of job. He mentions that he is, "going to be honest; there is probably a bit of an emasculating feeling that goes along with taking tables and I don't like it. I mean, 'Hey, I'm [Abel]. I'm going to be your waitress tonight'" (Abel, pg. 22). When voicing his script that he would use to greet to the table, Abel spoke in heavy sarcasm. He continues on in saying, "I know I felt uncomfortable doing that, but once I started bartending it got better. It's hard being the only guy server when there are like 20 chicks serving along side you" (Abel, pg. 22). Ron mentioned that he also feels this way at times when he stated, "Even I have fallen victim to that way of thinking. I've felt that it's odd when a guy is serving while a woman pours the beers he needs for his table" (pg. 23). He then quickly remarked, "But then I remind myself that it's normal and okay" when other participants around the table began to agree with him. I found it interesting that the idea was so engrained, in both men and women participants, that women perform better emotional labor and provide better care. These statements and discussions around performative stereotypes were thought provoking; I wondered if the participants saw bartending as more masculine due to the creative skills required to perform well as a bartender. This was the general opinion of many of my participants, even though just moments before, they all agreed that their server script is simply an act. They simply conform their gender performativity to the way they think the customer would want and hope for

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higher tips. But still, performing his or her gender in the stereotypically correct way was very important to each participant.

When asked to describe the difference between the server personalities of men and women, it was unanimous across all participants that there was, indeed, major differences between genders. Some participants stated that the gendered personalities simply are different in comments such as, "I think guy servers are always a lot more fun and have pretty good personalities for the most part. And they're chatty or funny and can give you that experience more. Girls are a little less personable and less talkative. Less entertaining" (Ella, pg. 15) and "The guy [servers and bartenders] are far more aggressive. There are standards for how both guys and girls should act, but the girls are more likely to follow them. The guys are a lot more vocal about [their opinions], and the girls actually fall in line" (Ron, pg. 13). Abel continues with Ron's notion in stating, "Guys don't take crap as much as girls do. Women are going to put up with more rules and shit like that" (pg. 13). These differences in how men and women in the service industry are treated by management and customers were mentioned by most of the participants.

A female participant commented in a direct manner when she stated, "I feel like women are more disrespected" (Mandy, pg. 17). She continues in saying, "when a guy [customer] walks in, he views the women [servers] as a piece of ass and nothing more. Some guys have the mentality that they can take you home. I think guys come in to check out the servers… and some men are very handsy with the servers" (pg. 17). She later finished her thoughts in saying, "as a whole you see women treated definitely differently from customers, specifically male customers" (Mandy, pg. 18). This relationship between gender and server personality was thoroughly established by a number of participants. Based upon the information provided by the participants

in this study, there seems to be a direct correlation between gender and the treatment from customers. A participant explained the difference between how he can behave on the job due to being a man, versus how his women coworkers can behave.

As Ron states,

When someone is being a dick to me at a table, I can be a dick back. As soon as a girl is mean, they're like 'that girl is a bitch, fuck her.' But as soon as I'm mean they're like, 'Oh, woah. He's assertive. He's holding his ground. Look at him taking charge.' I love that as a guy, I can do that. And I feel bad for you ladies because I would be pissed if I had to sit there and take that shit and then can't even be assertive. I mean that sucks. I feel really had for you girls.

Ron continues to describe the difference in how men and women are perceived by customers by explaining how it directly affects his tips. He continues, "And when I'm a dick, I swear I get better tips. I'm sure if you did that as a girl server, it would be a different story" (Ron, pg. 19). It is interesting to point out that Ron did not feel the need to take care of anyone's emotions, whether coworkers' or customers' emotions, when on the job. Many participants, however, realized that women were much more likely to feel the need to continue an enjoyable and compliant performance while serving, no matter the circumstances. Here, it becomes clear that emotional labor is tied more to women's gender performativity than to men's. What appears to be important to men's performativity is the ability to be assertive and in control, key components of masculinity.

When I asked the participants in one focus group if they agreed the difference between being a bitch and being assertive is simply gender, there was unquestionable agreement. Comments such as, "I have more of a pass to be a dick" (Ron, pg. 19), and "[Girls] tolerate it

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more, because we probably know that if we do say 'fuck you' we'd be known as the bitch of the bar" (Samantha, pg. 19), were made in understanding that women and men servers are treated much differently by customers of any gender. Although after this intensive conversation, the participants seemed to conclude the differences of working as a man or woman in the service industry, a participant closed conversation in saying, "but in all reality, I don't notice a difference [on tips] based on gender" (Abel, pg. 21). The many connections the participants made, to what they could or could not say or do on the job based on their gender, led to further discussion. Most of the participants illustrated using their appearance as a tool in order to be successful at their job.

Appearance

Physical appearance was seen as a large segment of the way men and women perform their gender while working in the service industry. Throughout the focus group discussions, it became clear that men and women had different views and strategies for performing their gendered appearances at work. The theme of Appearance is divided into three subthemes that address the way appearance is linked to the servers' confidence, comments they tend to receive while working, and the expectations they feel obligated to meet. In discussing each subtheme, it is my goal to connect the way servers' overall appearances are linked to their front stage performances, as well as their gendered performativity, while working in the service industry.

The topic of appearance and its influence on wages made within the service industry was a predominant part of conversation in the focus groups conducted. Clear distinctions between men and women in the context of appearance emerged not only in what they wore and how they looked, but it also includes the work they would do to prepare for their work shifts. Appearance highlights the key aspects of Goffman's front stage, as well as to Butler's performativity, in the

way that gender can be seen as a key influence as to why we tend to work hard to look a certain way for our front stage performances. Butler (1988) explains that we are taught gendered cultural scripts, or guidelines that we follow, which can be labeled as performatives. We then act out, or perform, these performatives in order to be socially and culturally accepted. Women participants discussed more heavily of being judged, by themselves and by others, based on their appearances in general. This was particularly evident even when observation was recorded, in that every woman server and bartender was wearing some level of make up. In contrast, men's performatives reflect a bare minimum of focus on their preparations for work.

When the men servers and bartenders were asked, based on appearance, what tasks they performed or products they used for work simply because they are male, Terrance, a male participant, mentioned that he simply "put[s] a shirt on (laughs). I put my socks on, my pants, and my shoes. I brush my teeth, but everybody does that, it's not just a guy thing" (pg. 7). Terrance continued to describe what tasks he performed when preparing for work in saying, "As long as I put on deodorant, I feel like I can out-serve anybody" (pg. 8). Trent's routine when getting ready for work was similar to Terrance's. He mentioned that it is important for him to, "make sure there is nothing stuck in my teeth and that I don't have my lunch on my shirt. Basic hygiene. Just make sure I'm not disgusting" (pg. 5). Another participant, Abel, explained that his routine for work was very minimal compared to his female participant counterparts. He stated, "Yeah you just pick [your shirt] up off the floor, throw it in the steam cycle to get the wrinkles out and call it good" (Abel, pg. 7). This low-maintenance theme continued across the male participants in comments such as, "I just find my shirt and go. Honestly I just try to make sure I look decent and my uniform isn't filthy. I wash it like maybe once a week or two. Just has to smell and look okay" (Ron, pg. 7), and "On a good day I might shave and shower" (Terrance, pg.

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7). Terrance also said, after a long pause, "It's just different for guys and girls" (pg. 8) when I provoked the focus groups to examine what differences there were between the women and men servers in the room and their routines for getting ready for work.

Continuing with gendered appearances of servers within this study is the topic of server uniforms. In most of the restaurants observed, women servers tended to wear low-cut, cleavage-bearing shirts as part of their uniform whereas a majority of men servers and bartenders were often described wearing long-sleeved, crew-neck shirts. The participants were asked to describe their uniforms that they were required to wear while working. It did not take long until the participants spoke up and recognized the blatant difference between men's' and women's' uniforms in almost every restaurant or bar establishment discussed. Mandy mentioned that, at the Pub, the uniforms for men and women were similar, but that, "For girls, there's a V-neck shirt and guys are given crew neck shirts" (pg. 8). One particular participant spoke of her experience at the Family Bar with her required uniform.

As Ella states,

The girls' uniform shirts are very low-cut. But, I guess the guys get to wear regular t-shirts. A bunch of us [girls] have asked if we can, please, wear t-shirts instead of the low-cut ones because after awhile you get sick of people saying things or being super inappropriate when you are just trying to serve them. And we got told by all of our managers that we can't wear any other type of shirt and that [customers] want us to wear low-cut shirts, deep V-necks. If we were to wear a men's regular t-shirt to work, we would have to change into the girls' uniform t-shirt, which is the low-cut one.

This particular conversation from Ella illuminates the sexist ways that women servers tend to be treated in the service industry (Dowling, 2012). In almost every restaurant or bar establishment

discussed by participants, men servers were not ordered by management to show as much skin as women servers, and in turn reported feeling less objectified for the purpose of pleasing customers of the opposite gender.

Another participant discussed her coworker's resistance to wearing the required V-neck shirt. She explained a women coworker of hers, "mentioned that she wished the women's uniform wasn't such a low-V shirt and she wasn't comfortable with it, so she just wears a tank top under it. I'm okay with it, though. It's definitely low enough but it's not too low" (Sapphire, pg. 7). A few participants mentioned their low-cut uniforms meant they made more in tips from male customers in statements such as, "I'm more comfortable in a crew neck shirt. The V-necks aren't too bad though. If I had to have my tits hanging out all the time, (scoffs) not so much. Like, it would be great for my pocketbook, but…" (Mandy, pg. 8), and "When guys get drunk, they'll start getting really inappropriate with me, like, 'you have nice boobs' or something like that. Most of the time I ignore it. I usually go along with it because a lot of the times they have a $200 tab and I know they wont tip me [if I say something about it] and I really need that money" (Ella, pg. 11). Mandy and Ella's comments make it clear that there is an assumption of higher tips with more sexualized performativity of women severs. Comments like these also make it clear that servers depend on tipped wages and are continually silenced on the job in order to maintain higher tip amounts. This especially came forth in discussions in which women servers were dealing with groups of (sometimes alcohol-consuming) men customers. More so, allowing men to make sexualized comments on their appearance, in order to make or keep high tip amounts, shows the way that they perform their gender to their advantage. After putting some thought into the idea of women servers earning higher tips due to their V-neck uniforms, Abel bluntly chimed in with, "I wish I had tits. Think of how much money I'd make if I had tits"

(Abel, pg. 8). This led to further discussion on participants' appearances as a whole while on the job.

Based on the way women and men participants talked about their routines, it was clear that the women took more time on their cosmetics, hair, or other ways they expressed their appearance at work, other than 'basic hygiene.' One participant specified that this is because, "Women in the service industry are viewed more based on their appearance and guys are just there to do a job. I think it's a lot more acceptable to treat a woman, a waitress, in a more sexual manner almost. Or view them in a more sexual way than you would a guy because that's what society has taught you" (Landon, pg. 12). He continues his feelings more unassumingly in saying, "I feel like [girls] get tipped on their looks" (Landon, pg. 13). Terrance had a similar viewpoint on the topic of women servers and their appearance. He declared, "With women, I feel like their appearance equals more money" (Terrance, pg. 15). And, as another participant simply put it, "Girls are eye candy" (Trent, pg. 12). It was clear that most participants determined a more kempt appearance meant more money as a server. In explaining the unfairness he felt within the service industry due to his being male, a participant states, "I think the girls make more money. They have more leeway and can smile and flirt and show their boobs and make more money. But if I do that, I'm just told I'm weird" (Landon, pg. 13). Seth, on the other hand, disagreed with Landon's statement. He speculated, "When it comes to women making more money than men, I don't think they do. I do think they get tipped because they are cute. Now, I'm not going to get tipped for my tits but I'll get tipped because I can talk about things like sports and have commonalities with tables" (Seth, pg. 15). It was this comment that Seth explained having a good personality on the job was more important than how a server appears to their customers. This type of thought was uncommon throughout the focus group process, however.

Most of the participants agreed that women being able to directly control their appearance at work, with the use of cosmetics and cleavage, worked to their advantage.

When the women servers and bartenders were asked, based on appearance, what tasks they performed or products they used for work simply because they are female, Luna rattled off a long list of products: "Eye shadow, mascara, chap stick or lipstick, eye liner, perfume, earrings, foundation…" (pg. 7). She continued in saying, "If I decide I want to be pretty that day, I do my hair and put on my make up, maybe even put a bow in my hair and put in my contacts" (Luna, pg. 7). Her comment, regarding her attractiveness when she used the products she listed, becomes a key part of the subtheme of confidence.

Confidence. Confidence is a key subtheme of appearance. For the women in my study, their perception about how good or bad they looked impacted their level of confidence in their front stage work. Furthermore, performing their gender to stereotypically fit the appearance of femininity led to the assumption of earning higher tipped wages, which they stated stemmed from their confidence.

Many of the women servers who were interviewed mentioned that their confidence was much lower if they did not wear make up. It was in this sense that higher confidence was seen to coincide with the amount of make up worn. It was also seen that, as a result, higher confidence lead to the prediction that one was better at their job and therefore made more money during any particular shift. Therefore, wearing make up was seen to influence the servers' ideas of earning more tips in wages.

Some servers conversed that their confidence levels were higher when they spent more time on their appearance, such as if they wore more cosmetics or styled their hair before work. I found a few quotes from servers that show their level of confidence is directly correlated with

wearing makeup and looking good. Sapphire connected her confidence to her appearance in saying, "I want my eyes to look good and I think if I look better, people might like me more and I will be more appealing to them maybe. When I make myself up and spend time on my look, I feel better about myself" (pg. 6). A few other servers were quoted in saying, "When you look good, sometimes you feel better" (Ella, pg. 10), "I wear makeup every day that I work" (Samantha, pg. 10), and "If I spend the time on my hair and makeup, I just feel more ready and confident to go to work that day" (Luna, pg. 10). Taking the time to apply make up was found to be an essential component in women servers' confidence levels. However, as the conversation continued, the discussion moved into how appearance and confidence were also factors in the amount of money they thought they made in tips.

Ella began the conversation when she stated, "I honestly get ready for myself. I like wearing make up and putting on lipstick and doing my hair. I like to look good. And I do it when I feel like I want to. But if people want to tip more for that, then go right ahead" (Ella, pg. 11). When discussing gender roles and the act of performing one's gender, Butler states, "Surely, there are nuanced and individual ways of *doing* one's gender, but *that* one does it, and that one does it *in accord with* certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter," (Butler, pg. 525, 1988). Ella highlights how we respond to social sanctions and rewards in complex ways. Although she dismisses the possibility that she wears make up for more than just herself, shortly before she unknowingly admitted that she did not only 'get ready' for herself, but for the customers she served. "I feel like I make more when I look better. If I'm serving and I get dolled up, I get tipped more from men" (Ella, pg.10). Hence, Ella's gender is an act that she has rehearsed in order to earn more tips on any given shift (Butler, 1988). Another participant made a near-identical statement when she declared, "If I want to make more money, I

spend more time getting ready" (Tara, pg. 4). Mandy also mentioned that she, "noticed that if I am serving a table of girls and guys, the women tip me better because they think they're better looking than me and that way the guys at their table aren't staring at me" (pg. 10). In describing how one alters their expression of themselves in order to get what they want from others, Goffman states, "Control is achieved largely by influencing the situation which the others come to formulate, and he can influence this by expressing himself in such a way as to give them the kind of impression that will lead them to act voluntarily in accordance with his own plan (Goffman, pg. 137, 1978). In this particular quote, "he" would be the server who plans to perform their gender to please their guest and, in turn, earn a tip from the "others," which are the customers at their tables.

Continuing on the idea of earning tips based on their confidence level of their appearance, another participant mentioned that he, "get[s] better tips when I wear my hat. I figure it's just a thing that older guys don't like seeing that I actually have hair on my head" (Ron, pg. 10). Abel was not in agreement with Ron and Mandy, however, as he declared, "You guys think way too much into that shit" (pg. 10). Although Ron and Abel had a brief conversation of altering their appearances to boost their (or their customers') confidence and earn higher tips, it was evident that women recorded spending much more time on their appearance, with cosmetics or hair products, than simply putting on a hat before work. The conversation on cosmetics and their use for servers to amp their appearance, and in turn their confidence levels, was met with Samantha's judgment that, "Sometimes girls wear so much make up, and when they don't wear it one day, you're like 'who the hell are you?' I mean some girls cake it on. I mean, more power to them but there is no way I'd be able to do that shit. Like who are you trying to impress?" (Samantha, pg.11). Abel carried on Samantha's conversation in

saying that he had seen, "some really bad ones. I've worked with chicks before that just cake it on. Fake eyebrows and eyelashes and stuff" (pg. 10). These comments on some servers' appearances show that hostility or even discrimination toward those who do not abide by social norms is sometimes deemed acceptable (Butler, 2002). This is even more so in the service industry where some people believe, "your appearance is your brand" (Terrance, pg. 10). He continues his point in addressing his appearance with his level of confidence.

As Terrance states,

When you actually take the time to make yourself presentable, you're able to go out with confidence and it radiates to your guests that you have that night. So whether it takes 10 minutes, a half hour, or an hour like the girls said, that's on you. If that's what you feel like you need to do to make yourself feel right, then that's what you do. That is how you make your money.

It was clear in this statement that Terrance connected his appearance with his confidence and his confidence with the amount of money he expected to make in tips. Confidence and its importance to earning tips was something both genders felt was important, but we can see from these discussions that the men and women had different ways of accessing confidence. Continuing with Terrance's statement leads us to the following subsection in which participants discussed comments they had received at work based on their appearance.

Comments on Appearance. When participants were asked if management, a team member, or a guest ever approached them with a comment about their appearance, the responses varied. One server discussed that a manager had approached her about her appearance regarding amount her of make up.

As Luna explains,

My [guy] manager told me that I should come to work looking better. Like wear more

make up, do my hair. He actually didn't say it to my face, though. He told my sister (who

also worked there) to tell me that I should come to work looking better. I was pissed. I

was so mad. Like, no dude *you* wear mascara. It sucks. You do that and then we'll talk. I

was really mad.

Understanding how different this interaction would be, or if it would have happened at all if

Luna were a man, is important. It shows the differences in expectations that women and men are

held to, not only in the service industry, but also in every day life. When women comply with

cultural beauty norms, they often feel and are often told that they have accomplished societal

expectations. However, when they do not comply with said norms, they can be reprimanded and

chided into working harder to fit the beauty norms of their culture or community (Acker, 2009).

Not only were the comments on Luna's appearance driven by her management's response

to her gendered performativity, but it can also be assumed that the negative comment directly

affected her level of confidence in her appearance. According to many of the participants'

assumptions, this would have directly affected Luna's tipped wages for the remainder of her

shift.

Another participant mentioned that his "[Management] is always getting after me because

I rarely follow protocol for my uniform. If my hair gets too long, they'll make passive-aggressive

comments on it. They don't demand I cut it, they just prefer it. If they really have a problem with

it, they can come talk to my face and literally tell me to cut it instead of being a pussy about it"

(Ron, pg. 12). The way that Ron talked about reacting to a manager's comment on his

appearance says a lot about how he performs his gender. Through this comment, we see that Ron

does not feel the need to keep up his appearance to the level that his women counterparts do. Ron does not mention any emotion that he may tie to comments on his appearance, like we saw with Luna's reaction to her manager's comments. Yet he does feel some pressure to keep his appearance within societal expectations that men have short hair. It is important to note, though, that he does not mention any link of his appearance to the tip wages he earns at work. Interestingly enough, Ron's comment was met with "I mean, that's kind of sexist. They wouldn't say that to a girl" (Samantha, pg. 12). It is interesting to note that comment was made toward Ron when he mentioned being reprimanded for his appearance, but no comment of the sort was made when Luna expressed the way her management approached her due to expectations of her appearance while on the job.

Internalized Expectations. Based on information found through analysis of the focus groups, another subtheme is that of the differing expectations of men and women based on appearance. Appearance expectations can be linked to the way servers internalize gendered expectations and how that impacted their front stage presentation while serving, as well as their gender performativity in general. While the women servers were sometimes talked to and reprimanded by management or coworkers for not having enough make up on their faces, men were not spoken to on the same basis about their appearance. Sharron mentioned that she felt pressure to apologize for her appearance before someone else pointed it out first. She disclosed, "When I work a double [shift], I'll go up to my table and apologize for looking tired and like a mess" (pg. 7). This is a clear example of the appearance expectations servers put on themselves, specifically women servers.

These expectations of different genders came through in sometimes blunt comments such as, "The girl uniform shirts are lower cut to show off our boobies" (Sharron, pg. 5). It was clear

in this matter-of-fact statement that Sharron was well aware of the expectations attached to her as a woman, and the gendered performance she felt she had to carry out as server in the Pub. Tara disclosed a conversation she had with a coworker, stating, "One of my coworkers told me that she went and talked to a manager from another restaurant in town and he said straight-up that he doesn't hire fat women. He said he only hired skinny girls" (Tara, pg. 12). This is a clear example of appearance discrimination, which can be described as discrimination in favor of people who are perceived as physically attractive and against people who are not deemed physically attractive. It has been found to have substantial effects on not only who makes the most tips from paying customers, but also who is even hired to do server work in the first place (Cavico, Muffler, & Mujtaba, 2013). When Tara was asked if her friend mentioned male staff's appearance expectations, she could not recall.

Sharron continued to voice her appearance expectations of herself in saying, "The guys I work with literally roll out of bed and go to work. If I did that, I would get criticized for it. My friends at work or my managers would probably ask me if I was tired or sick or something" (pg. 7). Many of the women participants discussed the unfairness of gender expectations. In the same sense, the men participants did not discuss much on how they felt about their appearance while at work. One participant shrugged as he admitted, "It doesn't take me long to get ready for work because I don't have to do my makeup or hair" (Trent, pg. 6). One participant was unaware that the expectations society had set for the women in the service industry were not mandatory, but she did understand there might be consequences if she did not comply with her gender roles. In her frustration of styling her hair before her shifts, she stated, "If I had Ron's hair I wouldn't have to deal with this fucking mess" (Mandy, pg. 9), as she motioned toward her long, frizzy hair. Mandy could, in fact, cut her hair short like Ron's, but she was completely unaware that

there was that option. These appearance, or beauty, standards can be also known as expectations that particularly women face from other women, from men, and multiple critical social and economic institutions (Acker, 2006). When women comply with cultural beauty norms, they often feel and are often told that they have accomplished societal expectations. In stating that she 'had to deal' with her long hair, Mandy reinforces the societal pressure most women feel to fulfill societal expectations and remain feminine.

To conclude this section, it is important to understand the expectations of appearance that the participants felt. Both men and women servers acknowledged the way in which the service industry demands a certain look. At the same time, the women in particular internalized these expectations to such a degree that they would sanction themselves if they felt they were not living up to that ideal. Tara verbalizes this outright in her comment, "I think certain jobs, especially jobs where you make tips, require you to look a certain way" (pg. 13). Eventually, one participant even mentioned, "I mean, it's about the appearance of the person providing a service" (Sharron, pg. 12). It is in this final quote I discovered that, according to the participants, appearance, rather than skill or personality, is what the service industry is all about.

In closing this chapter, I stress that the participants' front stage actions, as well as their gendered performances and appearances, impacted their work as servers and/or bartenders. I divided the findings into three themes: Front stage/Back stage, Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry, and Appearance, which emerged the fact is that there are indeed gender differences. However, both men and women experience a unique set of gendered expectations, even though both genders perceived that they must perform in particular ways to be successful in their work.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this, the concluding chapter, I speak towards the overall outcomes of this study. Furthermore, I include my recommendations for future research within the areas I have explored. Finally, I address the limitations my current research encountered and reflect on how those limitations could have affected my findings.

Two specific research questions drove my research: 1) Do women and men's gender performativity impact their work as servers and/or bartenders? and 2) Do the differences in performativity impact servers' and/or bartenders' perception of gender equality in the workplace? I then further explored the importance of how men and women present their genders in different manners to others while working within the service industry. In summary and in regard to research questions of this study, it is evident that men's and women's gender performativity impacts their work as servers and/or bartenders. In particular, the way in which men and women understand and enact their gender in their everyday lives deeply impacts how they present themselves as servers. This was made clear both in their front stage and back stage serving practices. By utilizing Butler's theory of performativity I was able to explore how participants' understanding of normative gender roles shapes how servers move through their front stage and back stage actions. The way my participants talked about customers and the expectations they placed on themselves as men and women help us understand how gender permeates our lives.

The participants examined in this study provided detailed- and oftentimes personal-accounts when collectively describing their experiences of working in the service industry. I would speculate with some certainty that had the participants in the study simply been interviewed without the option of meeting in dual-interviews or focus groups, the information

obtained would not be as descriptive and significant as it ended up being. There is, however, further research that I could conduct to better understand the culture of the service industry in depth.

Limitations

Although I am confident in my findings generated in this study, there are a number of limitations that must be addressed. First, my research was drawn from a low sample size of thirteen. Despite this potential limitation, the information derived from the thirteen participants examined in this study proved to be enough to extract solid, saturated themes in the coding process. The depth of the data, and the ubiquity of the gendered patterns found in the findings, speaks to the strength of the research at hand. I am, however, making the recommendation that further research be conducted to continue the discourse and theoretical development on serving and gender, particularly exploring the perception of gender equality within the service industry.

Furthermore, adopting Lorber's concept of constantly doing gender (1994), I was not able to turn off my gender lens when conducting the interviews and processing the codes. I would be naïve to claim that the assumptions I had made in my head had no correlation with my own experience as a woman server, or that previous conversations with acquaintances who work within the service industry did not happen before this study, and in turn, did not have an effect on my coding process. Consequently, it is likely that I applied – or in some instances, intentionally challenged – stereotypical feminine and masculine descriptions when applying codes to the data I analyzed so they would provide clearer findings.

Future Research

Research to be considered in the future relates to the lifestyle and culture of the service industry. In an ethnographic study titled *Urban Flow*, Kidder (2011) discusses the lifestyle that

can accompany certain lines of work that may otherwise seem alienating, specifically focusing on bike messengers in major cities. While conducing focus groups for my research, I was reminded of the way Kidder (2011) examined the lifestyles of his bike messenger participants and the way they were similar to my participants who worked in the service industry. In future research, I would explore the service industry subculture, similar to the way Kidder did for bike messengers. I would examine this in the way that all of my participants were friends with mostly other servers and tended to gather together in server-dominated groups outside of work, mostly in bar-type settings. It would be beneficial to look at the enjoyment that servers receive from working in the service industry, which often lead to each of my participants serving for many years of their life. This would enable to me to expand on how much gender impacts the way this subculture takes shape and how their work in the front stage informs their daily lives beyond the workplace. Through this expansion, I would work to explore a deeper understanding of gender, which would assist in my overall goal of this research.

Other future research I would like to conduct would be to look at servers who are over the age of 30 and who choose serving as a lifestyle instead of a stepping stone to help pay bills while they look for a different career. Sapphire was a prime example of living out the 'server lifestyle' that I correlate with Kidder (2011), and would like to further research.

Conclusion

From the data and analysis, I assert that doing your job well in the service industry means that you are doing your gender well and that by doing your gender well, you are doing your job well. It became clear through the core themes and subthemes that gender performativity and perception of quality of work are directly correlated. The findings of this research strongly support the value of examining the relationship between gender performativity and the ways in

which men and women do their work in the service industry. This claim is supported by the development of three significant themes that arose during this analysis which follow the perspectives of individuals who work within the service industry.

Through the themes of Front Stage/ Back Stage, Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry, and Appearance, I was able to explicate how normative gender patterns worked to reinforce their perception that if they did their gender well, then they were doing their job well. The servers were steeped in gender norms in the front stage of their serving work, that they were oftentimes unable to see how deeply those gender norms shaped their back stage practices and the ways in which they talked about gender in the focus groups. The focus groups for this project resulted in rich data because of the way in which my participants worked back and forth in their discussions with one another.

Through the course of this study, it was determined that women's and men's gender performativity is impacted by their work as servers and/or bartenders. Through the work of Goffman (1978) and Butler (1988, 1990, 1999), it was discovered that women and men both perform to fit stereotypical gender expectations of their culture while working in the service industry in order to receive more tipped wages from customers.

Furthermore, it was evident that the perceived differences in gender performativity impacted servers' perception of gender equality in the workplace. Every participant throughout this study disclosed the idea that men and women servers experience their jobs differently. I have demonstrated through my research and analysis that men and women portray themselves differently in their front stage/ back stage actions, as well as in the specific and differing ways they perform their genders, while working in the service industry. The continued implementation and development of this research would be a definite asset to the social sciences.

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL OF PROTOCOL

NDSU | NORTH DAKOTA
STATE UNIVERSITY

May 24, 2016

Dr. Christina Weber
Department of Sociology & Anthropology

IRB Approval of Protocol #HS16270, "The Impact of Gender Differences Within the Service Industry"
Co-investigator(s) and research team: Mariah J. Bartholomay, David Kurtti

Approval period: 5/24/2016 to 5/23/2017
Continuing Review Report Due: 4/14/2017

Research site(s): NDSU Funding Agency: n/a
Review Type: Expedited category # 6, 7
IRB approval is based on the revised protocol materials (received 5/20/2016).

Additional approval from the IRB is required:
o Prior to implementation of any changes to the protocol (Protocol Amendment Request Form).
o For continuation of the project beyond the approval period (Continuing Review/Completion Report Form). A reminder is typically sent approximately 4 weeks prior to the expiration date; timely submission of the report the responsibility of the PI. To avoid a lapse in approval, suspension of recruitment, and/or data collection, a report must be received, and the protocol reviewed and approved prior to the expiration date.

A report is required for:
o Any research-related injuries, adverse events, or other unanticipated problems involving risks to participants or others within 72 hours of known occurrence (Report of Unanticipated Problem or Serious Adverse Event Form).
o Any significant new findings that may affect risks to participants.
o Closure of the project (Continuing Review/Completion Report Form).

Research records are subject to random or directed audits at any time to verify compliance with human subjects protection regulations and NDSU policies.

Thank you for cooperating with NDSU IRB procedures, and best wishes for a successful study.

Sincerely,

Kristy Shirley
Digitally signed by Kristy Shirley
DN: cn=Kristy Shirley, o=NDSU,
ou=Institutional Review Board,
email=kristy.shirley@ndsu.edu,
c=US
Date: 2016.05.24 12:28:12 -05'00'

Kristy Shirley, CIP, Research Compliance Administrator

For more information regarding IRB Office submissions and guidelines, please consult www.ndsu.edu/irb. This Institution has an approved FederalWide Assurance with the Department of Health and Human Services: FWA00002439.

APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONAIRRE

What is your age?

- 18-20
- 21-23
- 24-27
- 28-30
- 31 or older

What gender do you best identify as?

- Man
- Woman
- Other (specify) _____

What is your sexual orientation? _____

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Some high school
- High school or equivalent
- Vocational/technical school (2 year)
- Some college
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Other (specify) _____

Ethnicity/Race:

- American African
- American Indian
- Asian
- Hispanic
- Caucasian
- Other_____

Are you currently employed as a server or bartender?

Yes

No

Where are you/have you been employed as a server or bartender?

_____

What is the gender of your current management?

- Man
- Woman
- Other (specify) _____

How many years have you worked as a server or bartender?

- One year
- Two years
- Three years
- Four or more years

How many hours do you work as a server or bartender on a weekly basis?

- Less than 10 hours
- 10.1-15 hours
- 15.1-20 hours
- 20.1- 25 hours
- 25.1 to 30 hours
- Greater than 30 hours

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW/FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Background to Service Work

1. Tell me about your first service industry job.
    a. Why did you choose to work there?
    b. How old were you when you first started?
2. What do/did you like about this job?
3. Why do you think you are still working in the service industry?
4. What are some advantages/disadvantages of working in the service industry?

Doing Service Work

5. How would you describe your personality as a server/bartender?
6. How do you act around your customers?
7. How do you act around your co-workers?
    a. Do you think you act differently with co-workers than with customers?
        i. If yes, why do you think that is? And what are some of those differences?
8. What differences do you see between yourself and your co-workers?
9. How do you interact with your management?
10. Do you behave differently than you do in your life outside of work?
    a. If yes, why do you think that is? And what are some of those differences?

Preparing for the Job

11. Can you describe your normal routine for getting ready for work?
    a. Why do you do that?
    b. How long does it usually take?
12. Describe your usual look when you are working.
13. Does your appearance differ at work than it does in your day-to-day life?
    a. How so?
14. Have you ever had comments or reactions about your appearance?
    a. From your boss, co-workers, customers?
    b. How did you react?

Perceptions of Work and Self

15. What does a good shift at work look like for you?
16. Do you think you are good at your job?
    a. Why/why not?
17. What do you wish you could improve on in your job?
18. Do you think there are other servers at your workplace who are more successful than you?
    a. What do you think they do that makes them so successful?
19. How important are tips to your feelings about how your shift went?

a. Do you think about what you might need to do to improve your tips?
   i. If so, what sorts of things to you try to do better?

20. Do you think women experience serving differently than men?
    a. If yes, how so?

Categories:	**Front Stage/ Back Stage**	**Performative Stereotypes in the Service Industry**	**Appearance**
Subcategories:	1) Suits and Bitches 2) Keeping a Game Face: The Gendered Front Stage		1) Confidence 2) Comments 3) Internalized Expectations