

Here's a Tip: Don't—
An Argument Against Tipping in American Restaurants

by

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Introduction

For restaurant servers reliant on tips as income, the demands of their workplace require them to perform extensive emotional labor to not only keep their job but earn enough in tips to pay their bills. While some may believe that tips serve as supplemental income to service workers, tips account for a significant portion of server's incomes because of their surprisingly low federal minimum wage.

In the early 20th century America during Prohibition, restaurant owners adopted a method to save money during times of economic distress by cutting server's wages and allowing them to receive tips from customers to account for the difference in income. As of today, American service workers who receive tips are only required to be paid a minimum of \$2.13/hour, an absolute unlivable wage unless supported by a large and consistent number of tips. As it stands, the restaurant industry is also the lowest-paying employer in the United States: seven of the eleven lowest-paying jobs and the two absolute lowest-paying jobs in the United States are restaurant jobs (Jayaraman, n.d.). Having to perform for potential tips is made worse by the fact that while one in twelve Americans currently work in the restaurant industry, many of them fall below or near the poverty line unless supported by another household member or job (Jayaraman, n.d.). On top of the duties a service job normally requires, servers must perform considerable emotional labor and impression management to hopefully earn enough tips to make ends meet. As servers are forced to rely on two separate sources of income, one of them unreliable and inconsistent, the other insufficient enough to survive on, is it time to reconsider the existence of tipping?

Although tipping exists in other countries across the world, tipping in America is far more compulsory and obligatory as compared to other restaurant cultures to the point that, as we will

come to learn, it is an ingrained social norm that is worthy of scrutiny. Additionally, it is such a minor transaction in our everyday lives that we may not think twice about it as it is an established restaurant norm to leave some amount of tip for the person who served you, whether one likes it or not. However, the microtransaction of tipping holds much more weight than it appears, especially for the servers earning the tips, not only is it an economic transaction, but a social one as well. The restaurant business is one of the largest businesses in the country, and yet, many of its' workers who keep the business running live below the poverty line. Because of both the financial and emotional stress that tipped restaurant workers endure, their relationships with employers and customers are experienced from an inherently inferior standpoint.

This research will attempt to explore the arguments of whether or not tipping should continue to exist in American restaurant culture by examining existing research covering how tips function, why people tip, and the benefits and deficits of tipping. In addition, keen emphasis will be placed on the perspective of tipped servers, but will also consider how tipping affects customers, employers, and the restaurant itself. It is this research's primary assumption that tipping as an institution negatively affects servers because of their reliance on tips as a primary component of their income, and if servers were paid livable wages, they would be able to function without the compounded stress of wage insecurity and having to constantly please customers. Restaurant servers should not exist as an anomaly in the workforce as they must simultaneously work hard for their employers and customers just to make ends meet, whereas most other workers simply perform the duties of their job and are compensated fairly. While there are other jobs that accept tips such as bartenders, hair dressers, mechanics, and valet drivers, they are at the very least paid the federal minimum wage of \$7.25/hour with tips on top, unlike tipped servers who can be paid as little as \$2.13/hour and heavily rely on tips as income. It should be noted that the tipped

minimum wage has not been changed in 30 years and the federal minimum wage has not increased since 2009, meaning a large population of workers, especially those that are tipped, are struggling to make ends meet with the consistently rising cost of living in this country.

To establish a proper argument for the abolition of the tipping system, we must establish and understand the existing literature on tipping and what researchers have to say about its effectiveness and functionality within the restaurant. We will come to understand multiple schools of thought on tipping research, including its existence as a dominant social norm, methods for servers to earn more tips, what variables influence a customer's tip, and various arguments for and against the continuation of the tipping system. Examining existing research will be the primary methodology for this paper's intended research as it will greatly inform our argument that tipping is inherently detrimental to the lives of restaurant servers. Once existing research and the methodology have been considered, we will begin the argument against tipping by presenting supposed benefits of the system and explain why they are insufficient and far outweighed by the deficits of the tipping. The inherent problems of the tipping system will then be discussed at length, followed, and concluded by potential solutions or alternatives to the current system and the likelihood of their success if implemented. While various solutions and alternatives will be discussed, this research will likely favor a solution that is best suited for the improvement of servers' lives on a national level because the current tipping system, as we will come to understand, has left one of the largest population of workers to struggle below the poverty line.

Literature Review

In order to come to decide whether or not tipping should continue to exist, we must understand what makes a customer tip their server more or less, as well as the social and economic dimensions of the tip. Much of the existing literature regarding restaurant tipping centers around what tactics servers have at their disposal to earn better tips, what variables lead customers to tip the way they do, and how tips affect the restaurant as an institution. It is imperative to understand tips from the perspectives of economics, psychology, business, and behavioral economics so that we can recognize tips as a complex phenomenon that exists within restaurant culture.

Once we develop an understanding of the variables and business aspects of tipping, we can shift our focus towards research that explores tipping from the perspective of servers and how they are affected by tipping systems. The research we will explore covers the importance of server agency, their perceptions of control and fairness in the workplace, and whether or not tipping helps or harms servers. By examining tipping from the primary perspective of the server, we can better understand whether or not the benefits outweigh the inherent problems that exist in tipping systems; and through examining existing literature we have a foundation from which to start questioning whether or not tipping should continue to exist in restaurant culture. Most researchers that attempt to answer this question often let on that dismantling tipping in restaurant culture may be harder than it would seem, as it is already an entrenched social norm that can be symbolic of a customer's appreciation, a server's hard work or friendly personality, or a means for customers to ensure better service. Although asking the question of whether or not tipping should be abolished will be examined from both sides of existing research, this study will operate from the perspective that while tipping *can be* beneficial to servers, the restaurant system as a whole would benefit from simply paying their staff appropriate, livable wages in lieu of receiving tips.

(1) What Influences a Tip? – The Many Variables of Tipping

Most existing research on tipping attempts to understand what factors into a customer's decision to tip, whether it be the quality of service they receive, their positive/negative interaction with servers, or underlying social norms compelling people to tip habitually, regardless of the service they were given. While sifting through research on tipping, it is apparent that uncovering what variables are most influential in the tipping process is the most popular method of studying this phenomenon in recent years. Despite this, many researchers conflict with each other over what grouping of variables is truly the most influential to customers, as there are a vast number of them that come into play in this small monetary transaction. For clarity, the research will be divided into three primary schools of thought: (1) tipping is most influenced by the customer-server interaction and the customer's perception of the server, (2) tipping is most influenced by the restaurant's qualities other than the server i.e., food quality, seating location, and cost, and (3) tipping is motivated by social compliance and the existence of tips as a norm within restaurant culture.

Assuming that tips are decided based on customer-server interaction and the customer's perception of the server is a fair assumption, likely one held by many people who have not been on the receiving side of tipping. This is the basis for research into how server's characteristics, performance, and attitude affect tip size.

General characteristics of servers are generally looked at as a primary influence on the size of the tip as a person's own biases play a role in the process of tipping. As found in *Feeding America: Immigrants in the Restaurant Industry and Throughout the Food System Take Action for Change*, race and a person's accent play a critical role in the hiring process at high-end restaurants

as employers likely want to build a staff that they deem suitable to interact with their customers, thus manufacturing and reinforcing a “type” of server that is appealing to customers. This instance of institutional racism can lead many customers to view servers of color or restaurants owned and operated by people of color less favorably than their white counterparts, especially when, “forty percent of all tipped workers are people of color, and over 23 percent of all tipped workers are immigrants, a disproportionate number compared to the 16 percent of immigrants in the total workforce (Restaurant Opportunities Center 2013),” (Jayaraman, n.d.).

Researchers like Conlin, Lynn, O’Donoghue, and Speer found that tips are mostly dependent on the quality of the service they receive and overall performance of the server, such as the speed of service and server’s attentiveness, rather than the server’s characteristics like race, gender, and appearance. Their research sought to understand the efficiency of the tipping system and found that the percent tip depends most on service quality. It makes sense that the more efficiently a server performs for a customer, the higher the tips they would receive, but unfortunately it is not that simple as other researchers like Chu-Mei suggest that the most powerful influencer is each customer’s own perspective on tipping. In *The Perceptions of Waiters and Customers on Restaurant Tipping*, Chu-Mei uses data from two surveys that compare perceptions of tip size variables between servers and customers. For the most part, both groups agreed on which factors were most important in the tipping decision. However, their research found that servers were able to better identify more influential variables in the restaurant and were more likely to deem variables out of the server’s control such as the quality of the food, the cost, and table location as more influential, whereas customers viewed them as less influential. Because of this difference, Chu-Mei concludes that perhaps the most influential factor is each person’s personal idea of how

to tip. Afterall, “American culture includes few ground rules about when and how to offer gratuities for services rendered,” (Speer, n.d.).

Although the idea that each customer has different preconceived methods of determining tip size can be disheartening to those looking to increase their tip size, there is a wealth of research into how servers can manipulate the customer-server interaction to earn better tips. Koku and Savas find that emotional contagion, which is one’s susceptibility to other’s emotions when interacting with someone, “has a stronger effect on their tipping intentions than the operational (measured by such items as cleanliness, food quality and the physical environment) aspects of the delivery,” at least for countries where tipping is not obligatory, like it is in the United States (Koku & Savas, n.d.). Their findings suggest that because emotional contagion is positively linked to tip size, servers who are friendlier and provide a pleasant experience for the customer are more likely to receive a better tip. Which is furthered by Seiter and Weger’s research: *The Effects of Generalized Compliments, Sex of Server, and Size of Dining Party on Tipping Behavior in Restaurants* which found that a server’s use of compliments, as simple as praising their food choice, can lead to an increase in tips regardless of sex. However, the effectiveness of the compliments on the tip size decreased as the size of the party grew. Seiter and Weger emphasize that this is just one form of impression management that servers have at their disposal, and that controlling the customer-server interaction through the use of impression management is key to increasing server’s incomes through tips. While the variables in play that affect tip size are innumerable, the variables that servers have control over, if used efficiently, can provide more income and an increased sense of agency in a position with little control over the workplace, which we will further discuss in later research.

(2) Tipping as a Social Norm

While most researchers believe that the most influential variables of tipping have to do with the customer-server interaction, the operational aspects of the restaurant, or an individual's own perceptions on tipping, there is a large sect of research that posits tipping exists as a social norm ingrained in our culture. Rather than tipping because of service quality or because they felt a good connection with their server, researchers like Conlin, Crespi, Lynn, Platt, and O'Donoghue believe that tipping has become a habitual part of the restaurant experience where people only tip out of guilt and shame. As for why people believe they have to tip, Crespi, Platt, and Speer found that people tip mostly because they want to help servers make a livable wage, and those who choose not to tip are ridiculed and shamed by their peers because of the knowledge that servers are generally underpaid. Tippers who tip because they believe they are helping servers to earn a livable wage are given the name "humanitarian tippers" by Crespi as these people have become so entrenched in tipping as a social norm that, even if they receive poor service, they will tip anyway because they are aware of how important tips are to server's income. Crespi views humanitarian tippers as an individual sect of the tipping public who are generally exempt from research dedicated to finding the motivations of tippers because of their fairly straightforward reasoning for tipping. Their existence, however, should not be overlooked in that they are indicative of a population of tippers who are aware of the unfair wages servers receive and only participate in the tipping system in order to help them.

Tipping restaurant servers is an anomaly not only compared to other countries, but in comparison to other tipped professions in America such as barbers/hair stylists, parking valets, cab drivers, etc. (Speer, 1997). Why is it that customers at a restaurant are willing to tip their servers much more and often than they would for these other services? It is likely because of restaurant

tipping's deep roots as an American social norm that is just not as prevalent for other professions, regardless of how much these other workers may rely on them.

While attempting to conduct an experiment in New York City where he would only tip based off of service quality, Platt found himself at a dinner with multiple issues during the night and was planning on leaving a smaller tip or no tip at all because of it, but his friends shamed and pressured him to do otherwise because one thought the server was nice enough. "I did what New Yorkers are conditioned to do in this increasingly anxious, tip-saturated age. I took out my pen, calculated the usual 20 percent, and meekly signed the check," (Platt, 2014). Platt suggests that people that act as he did have become "tip zombies" who automatically tip 15-20% regardless of other factors simply because they believe they have to, less they experience backlash or receive less preferential treatment from their peers or even the servers.

Even other researchers who find different variables more influential in tipping have some understanding that tips have become a social norm that is an obligatory part of the dining experience, such as Koku and Savas who found that in addition to emotional contagion, customer's compliance with social norms was also an indicator of greater tip size. It is evident that, in addition to all of the variables in the restaurant experience, tipping is a socially accepted and reinforced norm that places the burden of underpaid servers onto customers who are expected to tip well regardless of their individual experience because it is the right thing to do.

(3) Defining the Tip

Now that we have some comprehension of how tip size is determined and how the manipulation of the social situation can ultimately lead to a better tip, we must understand how tips are defined. "The word "tip" is believed to originate from 18th-century England, where

coffeehouse patrons were encouraged to put coins in a box labeled "To Insure Promptness," according to Irene Frankel, author of *Tips on Tipping*," (Speer, 1997). While this may be the origin of tipping's purpose, it has evolved over the years to serve as a means to show gratitude for service as well as supplement the income of the server. We have previously seen that tips have been classified as a social norm by researchers studying the phenomenon, but other researchers like Zelizer posit that people define money in unique and diverse ways, including tips. She presents the idea of three broad categories of monetary payments: gift, entitlement, and compensation. Tips fall into the gift category which is described as a clear socio-economic exchange that imply subordination and arbitrariness on the receiver, meaning that the social connotations that we apply to tipping imply that servers are subordinate to the tipping customer in that they may feel pity and tip more, or potentially perceive the server as inferior and tip less or not at all.

Although tips may be socially understood as a form of gift payment, that classification is outdated in legal terms. In Williams' *When the IRS Came to Dinner*, we learn that tips used to be regarded as a gift to the server, but servers were often "coerced into surrendering their tips" by their employers, until workers finally earned exclusive claim to their gifts in the 1942 Supreme Court Case *Williams v. Jacksonville Terminal Company*. Since they were viewed as gifts for service, tips were not actually considered wages, they were classified as a unique form of income that was only subject to income tax. However, decades of legislation in Congress redefined tipping as "supplemental pay, subject to full taxation like any other earned wage," (Williams, 2004). This was followed by a Supreme Court decision in 2002 that ruled that restaurants and their employees were considered a single unit by the IRS, forcing employers to report server's tips for them, eroding privacy and control that servers used to have over their tips. "Tipping is no longer a simple, private

transaction between a server and a diner, a reward for good service. In the hands of the IRS, the gratuity is gone from the tip,” (Williams, 2004).

(4) How does Tipping Affect Servers?

As we saw in Chu-Mei’s research, servers have more intuition when deciding which tip size variables are most important because of their personal experiences working in the restaurant environment, proving that their perspective is a unique perspective. This section will seek to explore and understand how tipping and working in a restaurant directly affect servers which will contribute to this research’s goal of understand the perspective of the server as they are tied the closest to the tipping system.

Without nationwide standards for tipping, most restaurants utilize whichever tipping system that is most efficient for them and their profits. Researcher Ingrid Lin conducted their study *Restaurant Employee’s Perception of Tipping Systems Across Country Differences* comparing employee’s perceptions of fairness, control, and distributive justice among 5 different tipping systems in order to understand which system was favored by employees. The five systems were divided into three groups: 1. Equal sharing of tips without including service fee. 2. Servers retain all the tips. 3. Equal sharing of tips including service fee. The additional two systems come from the inclusion or exclusion of back of the house staff in the splitting of tips; back of house (BOH) staff’s role, or rather lack thereof, in the tipping system will be discussed further as we develop our argument. Lin found that respondents deemed a system in which servers retain all control of tips as the fairest and that respondents emphasized the importance of employee autonomy. From their findings, Lin suggests that a tip system standard be put into place to ensure equality among all restaurant servers, or that restaurants should take into consideration which system their staff considers the fairest.

Although servers generally have no say in which tipping system they follow and very little control in the restaurant as an organization, Brewster and Wills assert that servers experience empowerment and agency in their customer-server interactions. The empowerment side of tipping comes from the server's ability to experience autonomy in customer interactions and strategizing about their presentations of self. Tipping as a source of agency is also present in Gatta's *Restaurant Servers, Tipping, and Resistance* where she asserts that "servers engage in practices in which they resist the tipping system, aware they are forgoing an economic tip, so that they can exercise dignity and self-respect," (Gatta, 2009). Servers' ability to manipulate their customer-server interactions to actively benefit them is an obvious perk of the job, but Gatta points out that the true sense of agency comes from server's ability to choose the level of effort they wish to put in to each interaction. Server agency is integral to the tip system according to Gatta.

While employee agency may be a beneficial part of server's lives within the restaurant, there is a great deal of research to suggest that most restaurant employees fall below the poverty line, risk their health to come into work, and are disproportionately people of color in lower paying positions (Jayaraman, 2014). Jayaraman works with the Restaurant Opportunities Center (R.O.C.) to document and fight against unlivable wages in the restaurant industry, citing the fact that the federal minimum wage for tipped employees has remained at \$2.13/hr. because of a deal between Congress and the National Restaurant Association that froze the wage in exchange for an unopposed moderate increase of non-tipped federal wages. Jayaraman promotes the idea of restaurants taking the "high road" by paying their employees livable wages and better working conditions because it is beneficial to employers and employees as it improves morale and productivity, while reducing employee turnover. Certain U.S. respondents of Lin's study on employee's perception of fairness in tipping systems posited that if they were paid higher wages,

they would potentially prefer a tip pooling system instead of servers retaining all tips, since servers would be less likely to rely on tips as heavily as they currently do to survive. It should also be noted that researcher Michael Lynn discovered that the practice of tipping actually overpays servers compared to servers who are not tipped, and Lynn believes that this money could be better utilized elsewhere in businesses if restaurants started providing higher wages.

(5) Should Tipping Still be Practiced?

After examining the bulk of the prior research, one sees the many advantages and disadvantages of the existence of tipping in restaurants. We now understand that tipping provides servers a means of agency and resistance in a work environment where they typically have little to no control; despite the fact that restaurants can be physically and emotionally demanding while also underpaying their servers enough that they need to rely on tips as their primary source of income. It can be confusing for those outside of the industry to understand whether or not the tipping system helps or harms servers. On one hand, servers are gifted additional pay for various reasons and maintain some control over tip size variables, providing a sense of agency. And on the other hand, restaurant workers disproportionately fall below the poverty line working in restaurants where they can also experience alienation, harassment, or discrimination.

While this research prioritizes how servers are affected by the tipping system, it is important to note that a study by Michael Lynn found that tipping is not financially beneficial for the restaurant as a whole. Lynn finds that servers who earn tips are actually overpaid compared to servers that do not accept tips and suggests that this additional money could be used more efficiently elsewhere in the restaurant. His research finds that while there are numerous advantages and disadvantages to tipping systems compared to other models like service charges or higher service-inclusive menu prices, the system ultimately takes money away from the restaurant.

Although Lynn does not advocate for the complete abolition of tips, Lynn warns that should any restaurants wish to abandon tipping, that they prevent servers from accepting tips whatsoever, as to avoid social pressure from people who prefer to tip that would maintain tipping as a social norm.

Despite this caveat of the tipping system, many people, customers and servers alike believe that tipping should be kept for its many benefits, whether it be the appeal of agency that tips provide servers, or the illusion of control that Platt describes is the “most seductive, potentially addictive tip-zombie quality of all.” Platt’s concept of tip zombies are customers obsessed with the illusion of control that tips provide them, for instance, when customers believe that their tips will make servers show them preferential treatment or that they are actively helping servers earn a livable wage. Similar to the agency server’s experience through tipping, customers experience the illusion of control that makes them feel that their small gift payments to servers give them power. Feelings of control and agency lead both customers and servers to develop positive opinions of tipping that aid in tipping’s existence as a reinforced social norm. Additionally, people like Orn Bodvarsson believe that “If we didn’t have such a system [tipping], as was the case in communist countries, we’d get lousy service,” despite evidence in Platt’s research that would suggest tipping rarely leads to better service or preferential treatment (Speer, 1997).

Methodology

This study initially set out to understand how tipping impacted server’s relationships with their customers and employers rather than asking the question of whether or not tipping should continue to exist. Research would have been done through interviews with tipped restaurant workers with questions focusing on the server’s opinions on the tipping system, their relationships

with customers who tip well/poorly, their relationship with their employer, and how the existence of tipping potentially affect those relationships. However, during the middle of this study, before interviews could take place, the COVID-19 pandemic occurred and limited the availability of potential interviewees as many restaurants closed or laid off a majority of their staff in order to remain open. Interviews would have likely taken place with a variety of tipped servers across the Westchester County area to get a better sense of the social connections servers held with customers and employers. Although these interviews could have been done remotely to prevent any health risks to myself and the interviewees, the connection and social aspect of in-person interviews felt necessary for the purpose of the study. Instead, focus was shifted to asking the bigger question of whether or not tipping should continue to be practiced in restaurant culture. While the importance of the previous research question still remains, it could be pursued at a later date when in-person interviews no longer pose any health risk.

In place of interviews, this research will use a content analysis methodology that examines existing research on the various aspects of tipping. Emphasis will be placed on research that examines the tipping industry from the perspective of servers, as they are the primary focus of this study since their reliance on tips as a main source of income is one of the most important reasons tipping should be abolished. Although, other studies that examine tipping from the perspective of economics, business, and psychology will also be considered to provide a more wholistic understanding of the tipping industry. Research will be gathered from peer-reviewed studies on tipping dating back as far as the 1940's, existing interviews with tipped servers to account for their individual perspectives on the matter, and other studies that examine the restaurant industry and its relationship to tipping. This content analysis will allow for a collection of existing research, including other studies that ask the same question of whether or not tipping should continue to be

practiced, to be used to support this research's argument that tipping is not beneficial to servers, and the practice should be discontinued.

By using content analysis as the primary methodology for this study, we will be able to surmise what present data exists about tipping, who is researching tipping, and what in particular about tipping are they studying. This will allow for a cohesive understanding of tips as an industry within the restaurant business as well as signify what other researchers deem most important about tipping, which is overwhelmingly, how servers can earn more tips and why customers tip. Content analysis of existing research will provide explanations of tipping from both within and outside the restaurant industry as we will discuss accounts of servers, restaurant owners, others in the industry, as well as behavioral psychologists, economists, and business studies. However, it is important to discuss the inherent limitations of content analysis as a methodology, especially when considering this research initially set out to utilize interviews. By relying on existing research, we are limited to what prior studies focused on and must take their implicit biases into consideration, especially when it comes to their answer to this research's question. Additionally, it may be difficult to come to more qualitative conclusions about server's perspectives on tipping without the use of interviews as existing data may not provide the insights this research is interested in. Finally, while some consideration into how the COVID-19 pandemic affects the tipping industry will be taken into account, only a year has passed since it began and concrete studies about its long-term effects are few and far between thus far. Although research on the pandemic's impact will be important for future studies focused on the continuation of tipping in restaurants past the pandemic, this research is predominantly focused on tipping as it existed before the pandemic.

Thesis

With the limitations and strengths of the methodology considered, the research intends to develop the argument that tipping should cease to exist. Current research proves that there are close social connections tied to economic transactions, no matter how small, and that the system of tipping in restaurants is worthy of scrutiny from the social sciences. While other sociologists have examined and studied the world of restaurants and the institution of tipping, there much less research into how the practice harms and prevents servers from earning livable wages, instead existing research would rather suggest how servers can improve themselves to earn more or better tips from their customers. It is this research's assumption that the presence of tipping in a restaurant, while in some ways beneficial to servers, ultimately does more damage than it is worth as servers have to perform extensive emotional labor and impression management to persuade customers to leave better tips and in the end that tip is still not guaranteed. The fact that tips are not guaranteed would not be an issue if tips were only additional pay on top of a living wage, but for many servers, tips represent a major portion of their income and rely on them to pay their bills and survive. In an attempt to contribute to the argument against tipping, this research will examine the debate of tipping from the perspective of servers rather than the customers, employers, or restaurants as whole. Because servers receive a split income between their hourly wages from employers and earned tips from customers, they must work hard for both the customer and their employer, placing great amount of stress onto servers who, as a population, mostly live below the poverty line. As with any other occupation, servers deserve guaranteed income and should not have to rely on customer's generosity in order to earn enough to survive.

It is this research's belief that, while tipping has beneficial qualities that servers, customers, and employers alike find appealing, servers should simply be paid suitable, livable wages instead.

This would lift a major population of workers out of poverty who typically have to bend over backwards for customers that may or may not tip at the end of the meal, regardless of the quality of service. Servers would no longer need to worry about whether or not they will make ends meet and could instead focus on working more efficiently without the need to show preferential treatment to select customers just because they are willing to shell out higher tips. Other countries have long survived without a tipping system and have either utilized fair wages or service charges added to the bill to provide for their workers, rather than relying on the generosity of customers. The agency tips provide servers is valuable and important within the current system, but it operates as a form of control for servers in a system where they otherwise have none and is utilized as a means of making additional money. If instead, servers were given the wages they need to sustain themselves there would be no need for customers to pay that additional money that could be utilized elsewhere. As for now however, tipping remains the supreme system used in restaurants in this country and shows very little signs of wavering, save for the occasional restaurants that attempt to break the norm with varying levels of success. As long as tipping appears to the public consciousness as beneficial for all parties involved, it will likely remain the dominant system, which is why research into it is integral for a future where the restaurant industry is not greatly underpaying their workers.

Body/Analysis

As we've previously established the existing literature that informs this research, it is understood that a majority of existing research on tipping is centered on helping servers maximize their potential for receiving tips through various means, focusing on how they can work *within* the system to improve their conditions. Rather than following in their footsteps, we will argue that the system should instead be reformed to fit the needs of the servers by

abandoning the institution of tipping and transitioning to a better alternative. It must be stated that tipping's existence as a social norm will prove a challenge in overhauling a system that has existed for well over a century in America, but that does not mean the argument is not worth making.

Firstly, we will establish the inherent and implied benefits that the tipping system provides to customers, servers, and restaurant owners in order to understand the reasons others provide for its continued existence. Next, we will list and explain the overwhelming deficits that the tipping system contains, especially pertaining to servers, followed by a discussion on why these deficits far outweigh the benefits. Finally, we will conclude with possible alternatives that have been suggested in place of existing tipping systems, including methods in which the general public could be informed and persuaded to abandon an institution they have been active participants in, willing or not.

The Supposed Benefits of the Tipping System

With servers' perspectives being at the forefront of this research, it makes sense to begin with the benefit of tipping that is most favorable to them, server agency. The ability of servers to decide whether or not they want to put in the effort to receive tips as well as experience autonomy in customer interactions and strategizing about their presentations of self are ways in which servers can experience agency in an environment where they often have little to no control (Brewster & Wills, n.d., Gatta, 2009). As stated in a bulk of previous research, the customer-server interaction can be heavily influenced by the server's presentation of self and their treatment of the customer, two variables that influence the customer's tip size at the end of the meal. Server agency, in this regard, gives servers the ability to choose the level of effort they're willing to put in for each customer. For example, an experienced server may choose to show

preferential treatment by going above and beyond for a customer that has a reputation for tipping well, while on the other hand they may snub or not care as much for a customer with the opposite reputation. Additionally, according to Gatta, “servers engage in practices in which they resist the tipping system, aware they are forgoing an economic tip, so that they can exercise dignity and self-respect,” in situations where servers are pressured, either by the customer, their employer, or social pressure, to overexert themselves for a few extra bucks. It is in these examples that servers experience agency within the workplace which some researchers view as a positive aspect of the tipping system since it gives servers slight control in their typically subservient jobs. However, for the majority of servers who live below the poverty line, their agency is likely limited in that they cannot choose to forego any tip they could potentially receive, as they usually account for a significant portion of server’s incomes.

While the tipping system directly impacts server’s lives, customers also play an important role in the tipping process as they are the primary participants in the system where they get to evaluate their server-experience and tip them accordingly at the end of their meal. As active participants in this system, their role and outlook on the system should not be overlooked while debating its continued existence. In this system, customers have the ability to decide how much their server-interaction was worth based on their own personal preferences, which, as discussed previously, can depend on a myriad of variables. Although their participation is expected because of tipping’s existence as a social norm, which we will discuss shortly, researchers and customers argue that they possess a great amount of positive agency and control in tipping. Many customers find tipping to be a positive experience in which they can reward or gift their servers based on their performance, with some believing their tip will earn them favor with servers that can be seen as a bribe for better service in the future. This sense of agency that customers

experience while tipping is enticing according to Platt, as customers feel an “illusion of control” believing that their “bribe” with a good tip will earn them favorable service or even respect from their peers as larger tips are viewed as an act of generosity and altruism. Customers can experience empowerment through this process as they believe that they are making a difference in server’s lives by tipping “generously” and that their generosity will be rewarded with preferential treatment, though Platt’s research suggests this isn’t usually the case. Despite feeling as though their large tips will be remembered in future visits, research suggests that they generally don’t go a long way in ensuring better service, but the empowerment and agency that customers experience from their “bribes” oftentimes create a positive outlook on the tipping system.

Finally, the last primary example of tipping as a beneficial system is its’ longstanding role as a social norm in America, which we will discuss as both a positive and negative. Existing for far longer than a century in this country, restaurant-goers are socially expected to leave some amount of tip on top of their bill for their server. While the origins of the practice vary from source to source, with some attributing tips as a way “to ensure promptness”, others suggest it began as a way to reward servers for good service, and some stating that tips were adopted to allow employers to pay their servers lower wages to save money during the Great Depression. Regardless of which is the original purpose of tipping, all of them contribute to the contemporary function of tipping with some people believing they will receive better service by tipping, others who view it as a reward or gift to the server, and employers who use tipping to justify paying their servers below minimum wage. Due to its long history in American restaurant culture, many people are accustomed to the obligatory tip and believe it serves a positive function in the restaurant industry.

People like Orn Bodvarsson who believe that “If we didn’t have such a system [tipping], as was the case in communist countries, we’d get lousy service,” are so entrenched in tipping’s existence as a capitalist social norm that he believes it is necessary to keep the wheels of the restaurant industry turning. Bodvarsson views tipping as a positive aspect of restaurant culture and by stating that without it, there would be “lousy service” does a disservice to servers as they are expected to provide quality service regardless of tips (Speer, 1997). Servers are hired and paid by their employer to provide service to customers regardless of a tip and if tipping were abolished, they would still be held to their obligations as employees. Bodvarsson’s perspective of tipped workers implies they are only willing to provide quality service if they are compensated in tips, but when tips serve as a major portion of most server’s income due to unlivable wages, can you blame them for prioritizing customers who tip more than others? If servers were paid livable wages, this supposed service inequality between low and high-tipping customers would not need to exist as servers could instead focus on providing the same level of service for all customers.

The Innumerable Deficits of Tipping

With the supposed positive aspects of the tipping systems having been mentioned, we can now turn our attention to the vast deficits of tipping, especially those that negatively impact the lives of servers. First and foremost, we will return to tipping’s existence as an ingrained social norm, this time discussing the ways in which it negatively impacts restaurant culture for both servers and customers. The social code of American restaurants dictates that customers are expected to tip regardless of the quality of service they receive because it is an integral part of the dining process. Conlin et al. and Platt both assert that while tipping exists as an economic transaction, it is primarily a social transaction between the server and customer that has become an expected social norm, rather than an optional gift for quality service.

As previously discussed, Platt's concept of customer's "illusion of control" gives tippers the sense that by tipping they have control over the quality of service they receive, reinforcing the idea that customers *should* tip, despite Platt's evidence suggesting these extra tips do little to provide preferential treatment. They then go on to establish their concept of "tip zombies" who are habitual tippers that tip anywhere from 15-20% simply because they believe they must, refuting any control customers feel they have because of tipping's status as a norm. In many ways, most Americans have become tip zombies because we feel socially compelled to tip for a variety of reasons. Social pressure from both our peers and servers compels customers to leave the customary tip, lest the tipper faces negative social repercussions for not tipping or tipping below average. In the same way that customers feel they gain social clout by leaving larger tips, those who leave smaller tips are typically seen as cheap or disrespectful to servers by breaking the social norm of obligatory tipping. While one could argue that customers have agency and choice when leaving a tip, the reality of the norm of tipping says otherwise, customers are socially contracted to leave at least something for their server as those who don't are ostracized and negatively viewed by both their peers and servers. So, while tipping as a social norm may appear to some as a means to ensure quality service, it is clear from the research that the norm obligates customers to tip regardless of service quality, removing any agency customers may gain from the tipping system.

To develop further on Platt's concept of tip zombies and the norm of tipping, we will discuss Crespi's concept of humanitarian tippers and the role they play in perpetuating the norm. Similar to tip zombies, humanitarian tippers are classified as customers who habitually tip servers because they believe they are helping servers make a livable wage. It should be noted that Crespi's research was done in 1945, post-Depression era America, where customers understood

that servers as a population were generally struggling to make ends meet and strived to tip more because of this. However, it is evident to modern-day Americans that the same issue exists, that restaurant workers are generally underpaid and rely on tips to survive, so there still exist a population of customers who habitually tip out of the understanding that their tips help servers pay the bills. Humanitarian tippers participate in the tipping system because they understand how important tips are to servers' income, thus perpetuating the social norm of tipping and shaming low-tippers and non-tippers who neglect to help servers make ends meet. Although, blame should not be placed on low and non-tippers for not "doing their part" in making sure servers earn livable wages because in the process of making tips a social norm, the responsibility of servers earning livable wages has been shifted from their employers to customers who are expected to tip and servers who are expected to work hard to earn said tips. In any other occupation, employers are expected to provide their employees livable wages, but through the normalization of tipping, restaurant employers have gotten away with paying less than minimum wage because of the promise of tips to compensate the rest.

Although we have already discussed the inherent wage inequality that the tipping system perpetuates, it is imperative to this research's argument that we discuss it even further as it is the greatest reason as to why the tipping system should be restructured or abolished. As the restaurant industry is one of the largest employers in the United States, it is baffling to know that a majority of its' employees live below the poverty line, leading many servers to rely heavily on tips to survive. "On a good day, about 40% of restaurant workers live in poverty. That number is about to go way higher [due to the pandemic]," (Baek, n.d.). Additionally, a 2014 survey of 300 restaurant workers found that one-third of them were food insecure, relying on mostly on food banks to put food on their table for them and their families because the wages they earn are

simply not enough, which was only made worse by the 2020 pandemic (*Surviving an Unlivable Wage*, n.d.). With the federal minimum wage for tipped workers sitting at \$2.13/hr., made legal and frozen by government legislation in tandem with the National Restaurant Association for an unopposed moderate increase in federal wages for non-tipped workers, the rest of servers' wages are dependent entirely on tips (Jayaraman, n.d.). As this is obviously a completely unlivable wage by any standard, it is made worse by the fact that tips are an unreliable source of income as we have already established the innumerable number of variables that contribute to the size of a customer's tip, meaning servers are left with no reliable source of income to survive. It is clear that the current tipping system favors saving money for employers by shifting the burden of living wages onto customers through tips, leaving a majority of servers to survive off of unreliable customer generosity, often falling into poverty.

Although this research is focused on servers in restaurants, it is also important to mention that back-of-house (BOH) staff often experience the same wage inequality that servers do, but their lack of tips are often supplemented by slightly increased wages. Up until recently, BOH staff were typically excluded from tip-pools as they did not participate in "tipped work" and were compensated in higher wages, but a recent (2020) federal ruling declares that they are eligible to be included in tip-pools, potentially taking money away from servers (*Fact Sheet #15: Tipped Employees Under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) | U.S. Department of Labor*, n.d.). This is not to say that BOH staff are undeserving of tips on top of their wages, as they also experience wage inequality in the workplace, especially from a lack of tips, but this ruling may spread tip-pools too thin to make a difference. This ruling was put into place to help employers make BOH positions more attractive as many employers in the last year have had trouble finding

people willing to fill these positions. Perhaps this issue of wage inequality and lack of applicants could be rectified by offering employees livable wages that are not reliant on tips as income.

Additionally, in the same ruling, the Department of Labor has removed the “80/20” rule that previously ensured tipped employee’s work had to consist of at least 80% of tipped work to make sure they could sufficiently earn enough tips in their shift, while the other 20% could be spent cleaning, preparing silverware, and especially in the pandemic, preparing take-out orders. However, this recent ruling did away with 80/20, allowing employers to ask tipped employees to take on more non-tipped work, once again potentially taking away from servers’ income. The ruling was meant to allow employer and employees more freedom in the workplace, but as a result, some worry that this may allow employers to protect their bottom line by hiring more tipped workers but having them work predominantly non-tipped tasks while still paying them tipped employee wages. Overall, this ruling, which is set to go into effect this spring, may likely have negative consequences for tipped workers wage security through tips by spreading tip pools too thin and requiring servers to perform more non-tipped work.

Granted wage inequality and food insecurity are the largest deficits of the tipping system, it would be remiss to not mention the extensive emotional labor servers have to perform on the job as it is predominantly customer service in a high-stress environment. Unlike some jobs where there is considerable down time in an 8-hour shift, allowing workers to relax and step back from their work for short reprieves, restaurant servers are constantly moving from one task to the next most days. This, coupled with the fact that servers must perform a great amount of impression management (the main tool servers have according to Koku & Savas) and customer service to ensure they earn enough tips to make ends meet, servers are constantly working in a high stress environment burdened by the need to please customers to *potentially* receive higher tips.

As we've seen in existing research, servers are encouraged to be extra polite while going above and beyond for customers if they want to maximize the amount in tips they receive. They are encouraged to compliment, smile, appear presentable (and in some cases, attractive), serve as quickly as possible, always be available, and bend over backwards for customers, just so they can make enough in tips to survive. Although some people and researchers believe server's ability to manipulate the customer-server interaction to earn more tips is a positive feature, because tips are ultimately not guaranteed, their effort can only go so far. In overexerting themselves emotionally through impression management servers experience a disconnect between themselves and their labor, described by Marx as alienated labor. Since the server's labor is often filled with self-sacrifice and sometimes mortification through extensive impression management to please customers, "the worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and his work feels outside himself," (Marx, n.d.). Server's alienation of their labor only compounds with the wage inequality and insecurity they experience due to their drastically low wages and the unreliability of tips, which creates and maintains a high-stress work environment with little rewards and is likely why the restaurant business as a whole experiences high employee turnover rate. Once again, the negative aspects of restaurant serving jobs could likely be rectified through a rework or abolition of the tipping system as a whole as we have clearly demonstrated the numerous ways in which the system harms its' employees.

Alternatives and Solutions to the Current Tipping System

Making the argument that tipping is a flawed system that systematically harms workers by overexerting them physically, emotionally, and financially, would be incomplete without offering potential solutions or alternatives to the current system as it is easy to criticize without providing any thoughtful answers to the problem. One of the most important factors to mention

when discussing alternatives to the current tipping system is understanding that tipping is a long-standing ingrained social norm in restaurant culture and undoing it is no easy task. Nevertheless, we can use alternatives proposed by other researchers as well as methods in which we can begin dismantling the tipping system.

Long-time researcher in tipping and the restaurant industry, Michael Lynn, has proposed various small ways in which the tipping system can be altered and reformed to better suit the financial needs of servers and other restaurant staff. While he does not support the complete abolishment of tipping, he suggests that restaurants should adopt mandatory service charges in place of tipping that would be added to the bill as an “obligatory tip” that would cover the cost normally received through random tip amounts. Service charges are the normal practice for many countries that don’t have tipping systems and some American restaurants have adopted the practice as it is a secure alternative to tipping that ensures servers earn livable wages without forcing customers to assume or calculate the proper amount to tip. While this alternative still places the burden of ensuring livable wages for servers onto customers, it guarantees that servers take home enough at the end of the day to make ends meet, unlike tips which can vary from shift to shift.

Another similar alternative to tipping proposed by Lynn and others is the adoption of increased menu prices to cover the cost of tips, which serves the same purpose as service charges as it is still covered by the customer but foregoes the customer’s decision in how much they pay in addition to the bill. Both of these proposed alternatives favor both the employer and servers as it prevents employers from having to cover any additional cost in wages and guarantees consistent income for servers, but these solutions may be unfavorable to customers as they lose their agency in the transaction and the costs may be greater than what they would normally tip.

The primary reason for Lynn suggesting these alternatives is that his evidence suggests that the tipping system in place actually takes money away from both the restaurant and customers by expecting customers to compensate low wages through tips, they may be less likely to order more/higher priced food knowing they have to pay a tip on top of their bill (Lynn, n.d.).

Ultimately, Lynn believes these alternatives will properly allocate that “lost” money into other areas of the restaurant, including fair wages for servers. Although Lynn warns restaurants seeking to implement these alternatives that they should have servers reject any tips customers may attempt to leave as to dissuade other customers from feeling socially pressured by the norm of tipping, hopefully ending the practice of tipping within that restaurant (Speer, 1997).

One solution, proposed by Justin Schweitzer, researcher for the Center for American Progress, suggests that the tipped minimum wage should be abolished entirely, forcing employers to pay servers their state minimum wage rather than \$2.13/hour. Only seven states, primarily on the west coast, have eliminated the tipped minimum wage altogether while other states either follow the federal tipped wage of \$2.13/hour or have a tipped minimum wage that is above \$2.13 but less than regular minimum wage (Schweitzer, n.d.). The abolition of the federal tipped wage would see a substantial wage increase for many servers to at least the federal minimum wage of \$7.25/hour, which is an improvement, but is still insufficient to live on in most, if not all, American states. Schweitzer defends his solution by providing data showing that states that have eliminated a tipped minimum wage have seen a decrease in poverty among tipped workers. While this solution is both realistic and beneficial to tipped workers, unless the federal minimum wage is increased, it is insufficient enough of a solution for servers to truly overcome wage inequality as they would just be added to the millions of workers struggling to survive off the federal minimum wage already.

Another, more radical, solution to the tipping system was proposed by Crespi in 1945, who believed that in order to dismantle the norm of tipping, customers should engage in protest that supports fair wages for servers. He proposes that customers should, instead of tipping, present servers at the end of their meal with a note that declares their disapproval of the tipping system and implores the servers' employers to pay them fair wages (Crespi, 1947). Crespi understands that this form of protest would require considerable wide-spread participation from the public and would snub servers of additional income until their wages were made livable, but it is his solution to the widespread wage inequality of 1940's restaurant servers. While this may appear radical and almost silly at first, if the movement generated enough support from restaurant-goers, it could see substantial results that force restaurant owners to pay their servers livable wages, lest their employees quit due to the absence of any tips. Perhaps this is not the most efficient modern-day solution, but we should not discount the role that customers could play in a widespread protest of the tipping system. If humanitarian tippers, who understand that workers are underpaid and rely on tips, were to abandon their habitual tipping in support of some form of protest, there could potentially be substantial change to the restaurant industry.

On the topic of public protest and support of fair wages for servers by the public, substantial change could be made for the livelihood of servers if the public were more aware and better educated on the severe wage inequality servers experience. The existence of humanitarian tippers in the modern day does suggest that the public has a general knowledge of the wage inequality, especially in younger generations, but perhaps if there were more public campaigns for fair wages for servers, the movement could develop more traction. If a significant amount of existing research and online resources are geared towards helping servers maximize their effectiveness in earning tips, why can the same not be done for education and research about

wage inequality? Numerous articles and YouTube videos targeted towards servers provide advice on the various areas they can improve in to impress customers and earn larger tips, what if effort was diverted from these solutions that suggest servers work *within* the system and were instead focused more on helping servers achieve fair wages. If servers had support from the public and were given the proper resources to achieve wage equality, perhaps employers would be pressured into paying their workers livable wages. It must be stated that the margin of profit for most restaurants is slim and it may not be feasible for some employers to provide increased wages in lieu of tips, but with public support and perhaps government support/intervention, a better solution may be possible.

Contemporary movements for wage equality for servers have advocated that servers should receive tips on top of fair wages which is likely the most favorable solution for servers as they would retain all the benefits and autonomy that tipping provides them with, while also having a secure income through better wages. If tipping was restored to one of its original purposes, as a gift or reward for quality service without the need for it to serve as a primary source of income for servers, there would be no obligation on the part of the customer nor stress on servers to worry about making enough to survive. This solution is obviously the most optimistic and favors servers heavily, but it may not be the most realistic goal for servers as it would require substantial support from the government and the public to be implemented. However, that does not mean it is impossible and should still be fought for as one of the largest populations of workers deserves income security and fair wages that they have been denied for decades.

Conclusion

Although none of these solutions and alternatives are flawless, it is evident that the current system in place is not working for servers and has only been worsened by the ongoing pandemic. Servers are not the only underpaid workers in the United States, as wage inequality is clearly a systemic issue of our current economic system, but their unique reliance on tips as a primary form of income separates them from other occupations. As one of the largest populations of workers in the United States, the fight for wage equality is possible with widespread support and potential unionization, but that can only be accomplished if people are aware that change is possible. Servers and customers have the power to dismantle this long-standing social norm in restaurant culture if they realize the ways in which it harms them. Education and awareness about how tipping perpetuates wage inequality and takes away money from customers and restaurants while still being unsubstantial for servers is integral to progress in this movement. As long as tipping *appears* to be beneficial to all parties, change isn't possible. This research has made it clear that alternatives and solutions to this problem do exist and are possible, all it takes is a movement strong enough to enact change.

The 2020/2021 COVID-19 pandemic had a monumental impact on the restaurant industry as a whole and, most importantly, shed a light on the wage inequality and reliance on tips that servers experience as a lack of customers in restaurants led to a significant decrease in tips for servers. Widespread accessibility to the internet allowed servers to share their struggles to make ends meet with the rest of the world and were met with applause, sympathy, and were considered heroes as they, among other essential professions, were on the “frontlines” of the pandemic. However, while the public and government hailed restaurant workers as heroes and essential, little was actually done in terms of uplifting this population of people from poverty and

struggle. Aside from the few stimulus checks the government provided some of its citizens, these “frontline heroes” were left to rely on their already low wages and sparse tips to make ends meet while risking their lives in a pandemic to serve food. At the beginning of this year, 2021, a \$1.9 trillion COVID relief bill was passed by the Biden administration without the inclusion of a minimum wage increase to \$15 that was proposed but did not pass in the Senate. Despite millions of Americans clearly struggling through the pandemic, the U.S. Senate saw it fit to reject the proposed minimum wage increase, leaving the federal minimum wage still unchanged for over a decade. Although, hope is not completely lost. The Raise the Wage Act has been proposed following its rejection from the COVID relief bill, which would see the federal minimum wage and federal tipped wage gradually increase over the next five years resulting in a \$15/hour minimum wage by 2025 and a \$14.95/hour tipped minimum wage, which would be a substantial increase for both tipped and minimum wage workers if passed.

In addition to the proposed Raise the Wage Act of 2021, the past month of April has seen an increase in service workers quitting their jobs because of unacceptable working conditions and unfair wages leading to a labor shortage for many fast-food and restaurant companies that greatly underpay their workers. This widespread labor shortage has been viral on social media platforms with people posting pictures of signs on restaurant doors stating that there are no employees to keep the restaurant running with many disgruntled employers claiming that no one wants to work anymore because of unemployment. Despite their claims, it is evident that service workers are finally standing up for themselves and quitting their low-paying jobs to pursue better jobs with better pay or live off of unemployment which pays more than tipped/non-tipped minimum wage. While employers are claiming workers don’t want to work because they’re lazy and would rather collect unemployment than work for them, it is clear that these employers are

not sufficiently compensating their employees for their hard work, otherwise they would not be leaving in droves. Although this supposed labor shortage is a recent development at the time of writing, there is already an organized strike in multiple states by McDonald's employees set for mid-May, and while they are not tipped workers, their fight for fair wages will likely benefit tipped workers who are also greatly underpaid. If there is widespread organized strikes and protest in support of fair wages for service workers, it is possible that an increased minimum wage could be on the horizon if the government listens to the people.

While the outcome of these strikes and the Raise the Wage Act are currently unknown, future research into both the restaurant industry and the tipping system will likely focus on the impact that these events and the pandemic will have on servers, customer, and employers alike. Future researchers should continue to focus on how the tipping system affects servers in particular if they are still forced to rely on tips for income in lieu of fair wages because continued research can hopefully advocate for better wages for this long-exploited population of workers. On the other hand, should servers finally achieve fair wages and tips return to their original purpose as a gift for service instead of supplemented income, researchers should focus on how the social aspects of tipping are affected by this shift in purpose. If, however, tips are no longer deemed necessary and are abolished as a social/economic practice, research could focus on how servers and customers are treated without the expectation of a tip/bribe, would servers treat customers better or worse and vice versa. The customer/server interaction is perhaps unlike any other social exchange in a business setting as it currently revolves heavily around the existence and expectation of tips, so how would it change if tips were no longer a factor? There are many different research paths that could build off this research, but they are likely dependent on the future of tips and the minimum wage in America, so we will have to wait and see.

Though the future of tipping and the minimum wage is unclear, what is clear is that the current system of tipping in America is detrimental to the economic and social health of restaurant servers, and change *is* needed. It is this research's belief that the abolition of tipping and implementation of a sufficient federal minimum wage will lead to the betterment of servers as a population since the current system exploits their work financially and forces them to overperform for customers so that they may *potentially* receive tips. Restaurant servers should have the same income equality and security as other professions in America and their existence as an anomaly in the workforce is exploitative and unnecessary. Hopefully, this current labor strike by service workers and the Raise the Wage Act can work in tandem to achieve better economic conditions for one of the largest populations of workers in the country that have historically been overworked and underpaid.

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