

QUICK DRINKS, FAST CASH.

**QUICK DRINKS, FAST CASH: AN ANALYSIS OF THE WORK OF BARTENDERS EMPLOYED
IN NIGHTCLUBS.**

By

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ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this paper is to explore the work of bartenders employed in large nightclubs in the City of Toronto, Ontario. Using existing literature, interviews with five bartenders employed in nightclubs and my own personal experiences in such establishments, this paper explores the nightclub environment, what it is like to work there, and the implications of doing so.

As I argue, nightclubs are much different than other establishments where food and beverages are sold. Clubs are much larger, louder, operate on a different schedule, have a unique atmosphere and cater to the needs of a different crowd than restaurants, fast-food outlets and bars. As such, how bartenders make their most important source of income, tips, in this environment differs from others who serve patrons in more traditional food and beverage establishments. As the fifth chapter reveals, bartenders have devised a number of strategies-some of which are legal, others that are not-that often involve an element of self-exploitation to make the most money possible while working at the club. Furthermore, there is a gendered dynamic associated with these strategies that causes many female bartenders to rely on their looks and sexuality to make money, and not the technical skills required to do the job as their male counterparts in this industry do.

As I discuss in the sixth chapter, working at the club has its good and bad points. Nightclub bartending allows many people to make a decent income in an environment that most enjoy working in. However, issues of sexual harassment, emotional burnout, alcoholism and problems associated with the hours of work are prevalent in this occupation. The final chapter summarizes my research findings and presents potential solutions to the issues raised in this paper.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	6
EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE WORKPLACE	7
GENDER AND EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE WORKPLACE	10
LITERATURE ON TIPS AND THE STRATEGIES USED TO MAXIMIZE THEM	13
IDENTIFYING THE MISSING PIECES OF THE PUZZLE	16
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS	19
INCORPORATING EXISTING DATA	20
PERSONAL EXPERIENCES AND OBSERVATIONS	21
PERSONAL INTERVIEWS WITH BARTENDERS	22
CHAPTER 4: THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT	24
CAPACITY AND HOURS OF OPERATION	24
THE VENUE AND OVERALL ATMOSPHERE	28
PACE OF WORK AND THE SERVICE PROVIDED	32
SUMMARY	36
CHAPTER 5: STRATEGIES USED TO MAKE TIPS	38
DIFFERENT TIPPING SYSTEMS	38
QUICK DRINKS	40
CLEVER AND DECEITFUL TACTICS	41
EXERCISING EMOTIONAL LABOUR IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER	44
APPEARANCE	49
GENDER AND SEXUALITY	52
SUMMARY	55
CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS OF WORKING AT THE CLUB FOR TIPS	57
THE GOOD STUFF ABOUT BARTENDING	57
THE BAD AND THE UGLY OF BARTENDING	61
SUMMARY	67
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION	69
GLOSSARY	76
WORKS CITED	78
APPENDIX A: CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE	82
APPENDIX B: LETTER OF INFORMATION	83
APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM	86
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE	89

Chapter One: Introduction

Meet Your New Bartender...

"A bartender is a pharmacist with limited inventory".
Author Unknown.¹

When I first began my thesis, I got a piece of advice that helped me arrive at the topic I was going to explore: write about something you love. Like most twenty-something urban-dwellers, one thing that I love to do is go to nightclubs. Since the 1980's, nightclubs have exploded on the Toronto, Ontario scene, drawing crowds of 30,000 to 50,000 people into the downtown core on any given evening during the weekend.² Nightclubs are where people go to drink, dance and have a good time. They are places where birthdays, engagements and other life accomplishments are celebrated, where people go to socialize with friends, relish in the end of another work week, meet new loves, or drink old ones off. In general, they have become the place that we go to on a Friday or Saturday night to have the best time possible... for just about any reason one could think of.

But this is not the story that this thesis is interested in telling. Rather, this paper will explore the story from the other side of the bar by asking, what is it like to be a bartender in a nightclub? What is it that they do? And what is the good, the bad and the ugly of doing it? As this thesis will demonstrate, your bartender at "the club" is not like Sam or Carla from Cheers, or Tom Cruise from Cocktails and Dreams. Nightclub bartenders are not the "five-cent" psychologists who listen to patrons while drowning their sorrows in pints of beer, martinis or fruity drinks with umbrellas like these iconic bartenders did. Rather, their success is measured in the number of

¹ Author Unknown. (2007). As taken from Ask Men Website. Accessed: December 18, 2007.
http://ca.askmen.com/dating/dating_top_ten100/146_dating_list.html.

²Balkissoon, D. (2007). "Party Monsters" in Toronto Life Magazine, August 2007, pg. 44-51.
Toronto: Toronto Life Publishing Co. Ltd. Pg. 50.

drinks that they serve, how fast they serve them, and how pleasant and good looking they are while doing it.

Bartenders working in nightclubs located in the ever-growing Entertainment District of Toronto, Ontario make for an excellent case in point, and will be the focus of research. In a piece written for Toronto Life, Denise Balkissoon (2007) notes how Toronto has one of the most concentrated club districts in North America.³ In Miami's South Beach party zone, about one-hundred and fifty clubs are spread across two and a half square kilometers-Toronto has eighty-eight such establishments crammed into one square kilometer bordered by Queen, Front, Bathurst and Simcoe Avenue. In New York's ultra-trendy nightclub neighborhood, West Chelsea, there is enough space to host 10,000 patrons. In Toronto's Entertainment District, establishments are collectively licensed to host 56,000 nightclub goers and an additional 38,000 patrons of restaurants and bars, for a grand total of 94,000 people looking to eat, drink and party in this one square kilometer.⁴ The growth of this district was fueled by zoning legislation passed in 1988 (championed by City Councilor Barbara Hall and the current leader of the New Democratic Party, Jack Layton) that legalized dance clubs and relaxed the process by which a person would obtain a permit to open up such an establishment.⁵

As the number of establishments continues to grow, so too has the number of people employed as bartenders in nightclubs-especially women. Yet despite this fact, there has never been a systematic count of how many people work as bartenders in this particular setting. Labour Force Survey Estimates by Statistics Canada do shed some light on how many people work in the food and beverage service industry in general. In May of 2006, 177,800 people in Ontario, and

³ Ibid. pg. 46.

⁴ Ibid. pg. 47.

⁵ Ibid. pg. 48.

554,400 people in Canada as a whole, worked in jobs in the food and beverage service industry.⁶ When broken down by gender, these statistics also reveal that the majority of people who enter these occupations are women. In the province of Ontario, 111,300 females, compared to 66,400 males, worked in this industry.⁷ For Canada as a whole, women outnumbered men 343,300 to 211,000.⁸ A comparison between the top ten women's occupations in 1961 and 1996 reveals that occupations like bartending and waitressing continue to be an important venue for female labour force participation, rising from ninth place in 1961 to seventh in 1996.⁹

The problem with these statistics, and much of the academic literature, is that it assumes that bartending in a nightclub is similar to other forms of food and beverage service, and does not take into account those factors of the job that make it unique from others. As this paper argues, bartending in nightclubs is different than other forms of interactive service work like serving customers in restaurants, fast-food outlets or pubs. In nightclubs customer interactions are brief, lasting only as long as it takes to mix a drink order, and are frequent, occurring in excess of one hundred times in a night with a wide variety of different customers. The environment that they work in often facilitates this work process. Nightclubs are loud, fast-paced and emotionally charged places to work in, and it is this environment that shapes the strategies that bartenders use to make their major source of income: tips from customers.

⁶ CANSIM. (2006). **Table 282-009: Labour Force Survey Estimates by National Occupational Classification for Statistics and Sex.** As taken from Statistics Canada. Accessed from Estat Website:<http://estat.statcan.ca/libaccess.lib.mcmaster.ca/cgi-win/cnsmegi.exe>. Accessed on May 27, 2007. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Chung, J., D. Cole & J. Clarke. (2000). "*Women, Work and Injury*" in Sullivan, Terrence (eds), **Injury and the New World of Work.** Vancouver: UBC Press. Pg. 70.

To begin to make this argument, I will first review the relevant literature by outlining what has, (and has not), been said about the work that bartenders perform in chapter two. The first section of this chapter reviews what emotional labour is and the causes and consequences of such by drawing upon the work of Arlie Hoschild. Next, this chapter builds upon the work of Hoschild to include others such as Cobble (1991a), Leidner (1993), and Lashley (2002) who have written about emotion management in customer service interactions in the food and beverage industry. Literature about how servers maximize tips by using their emotions and personality is also reviewed, followed by a discussion of what is missing from the literature in general: an occupational analysis of bartenders employed in nightclubs. The third chapter outlines how I plan on saying what hasn't been said by describing my research methodology. The research has largely been drawn from my own personal observations while visiting nightclubs and interviews with bartenders who currently work, or have worked, in these settings.

To begin to understand what it is that bartenders do, it is important to understand where it is that they do it. The fourth chapter describes the nightclub environment and what it is like to work there. Next, I begin my discussion of what it is that bartenders do by focusing on how it is that they make tips in this environment. Chapter five will highlight the strategies and tricks that bartenders use to maximize their tips. As my research demonstrates, bartenders use a wide variety of techniques -from giving away free drinks, to dressing up for work- in order to maximize their income. Oftentimes, these tips are learnt on the job by way of experience, or advice from senior bartenders. In either case, maximizing tips is the name of the game, and it is those people who learn quickly how to play that are the most successful in the industry.

The two final chapters will try and bring some perspective to this discussion by reviewing the positive and negative implications of working for tips as a bartender in chapter six, and what makes the difference between a good and a bad employment experience as a bartender in chapter seven. As I argue, the payment of tips will lead a majority of bartenders to exploit themselves at work. Trying to maximize income in a work environment that is party-like, emotionally charged and fast-paced will often cause bartenders to adopt techniques that exploit their own sexuality, emotions and gender while at work. However, good management that implements policies such as modest dress codes and prohibiting drinking at work can make all the difference in protecting bartenders from the negative implications of self-exploitation and employment in this industry. To conclude my analysis, chapter seven discusses the role of management in mitigating the negative effects of employment in this industry and what can be done to improve the working conditions of bartenders.

As was previously mentioned, bartenders' working in clubs has been neglected by academics who study interactive service work. This paper sees itself as taking the first step towards systematically exploring the work of bartenders, and will hopefully open up the doors for others to do the same. As this analysis demonstrates, there are numerous issues related to emotional labour in bartending that are just waiting to be researched. Now, I welcome you to begin exploring the work of bartenders making quick drinks for fast cash.

Chapter Two: Literature Review.

What the Academics Have to Say... (and Aren't Saying)

“Let Schoolmasters puzzle their brains,
With grammar, and nonsense, and learning.
Good liquor, I stoutly maintain,
Gives genius a better discerning”.
Oliver Goldsmith.¹⁰

Before beginning this project, I had to make sure that there was sufficient information on the topic already available. Knowing beforehand that occupations in the service sector are understudied by academics, I was not surprised to find that I had little to work with. Research focused specifically on bartenders in nightclubs was all but missing from academic literature, and could only be found from primary sources such as the internet and industry magazines (for example, information from the Nightclub and Bar Magazine website, www.nightclub.com). Rather, the focus of academics who study occupations in the food and beverage service industry has been on people employed in sit-down restaurants,¹¹ pub-style/sports bars,¹² cocktail lounges,¹³ or fast-food outlets.¹⁴ While this information does not directly deal with those employed in nightclubs, and

¹⁰ As taken from: Charming, C. (2007). Miss Charming's Guide for Hip Bartenders and Wayout Wannabes: Your Ultimate One-Stop Bar and Cocktail Resource. Illinois: Sourcebooks, Inc. Pg. 135.

¹¹ For example, see: Pratten, J.D. (2003). "The Importance of Waiting Staff in Restaurant Service" in British Food Journal, Vol.105, No. 11, pg. 826-834. United Kingdom: Emerald; Pratten, J.D. (2004). "Customer Satisfaction and Waiting Staff" in International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, Vol. 16, No. 6, pg. 385-388. United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd; Gustafsson, I. et al. (2006). "The Five Aspects Meal Model: A Tool for Developing Meal Services" in Journal of Foodservice, Vol. 17, pg. 84-93. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

¹² For example, see: Williams, C. (1996). "The British Pub" in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 6. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

¹³ For example, see: Spradley, J.P. & B. Mann. (1975). The Cocktail Waitress: Woman's Work in a Man's World. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

¹⁴ For example, see: Leidner, R. (1993). Fast Food, Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinization of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press; Leidner, R. (1996). "Re-Thinking Questions of Control: Lessons from McDonald's" in Macdonald, C. & C. Siranni, (eds) Working in the Service Society. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

in many cases was written long before nightclubs exploded onto the urban landscape, it does provide a theoretical framework from which an analysis of their work can be built upon. As I will argue in subsequent chapters, the same key themes of emotion work, a gendered division of labour, and developing strategies to maximize tips that emerge from the literature on the food and beverage service industry are evident in nightclub bartending as well, but play themselves out in a much different context.

Emotional Labour in the Workplace:

In recounting his experience mixing drinks in the ultra-trendy Meat Packing District of Manhattan, New York, Toby Cecchini (who accredits himself for having invented the Cosmopolitan Martini) sheds some light on what it takes to be a good bartender: *“There is much truth to the cliché that good bartenders are, given their positions, five-cent psychologists, by definition wise to the word, having heard and seen it all”*.¹⁵ Occupational analyses of beverage servers,¹⁶ wait staff,¹⁷ and fast-food workers,¹⁸ almost unanimously conclude that there is more to waiting on patrons than preparing drinks and delivering orders. As Cobble (1991a) has argued, the skills required to be a good bartender is more than the physical effort and technical mastery of preparing and serving

¹⁵ Cecchini, T. (2001). **Cosmopolitan: A Bartender’s Life**. New York: Broadway Books. Pg. 58.

¹⁶ For example, see Cecchini, T (2001); Cobble, D. (1991b). *“Drawing the Line’: The Construction of a Gendered Work Force in the Food Service Industry”* in Baron, A (ed) **Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor**, pg. 216-242. Ithica: Cornell University Press; Spradley, J.P. & B. Mann. (1975).

¹⁷ For example, see: Cobble, D. (1991b); Hall, E. (1993a). *“Waitering/Waitressing: Engendering the Work of Table Servers”* in **Gender and Society**, Vol. 7, No.3, Sept. 1993, pg. 329-346. London: Sage Publications; Lynn, M. (2007). **Waitresses’ Physical Features, Self-Perceptions and Tips**. As taken from the Cornell University website. Accessed July 6, 2007.<http://www.people.cornell.edu/pages/wml3/pdf/ServerAppearance1-2-07.pdf>; Mars, G. & M. Nicod. (1984). **The World of Waiters**. London: George Allen & Unwin; Paules, G. (1984). **Dishing it Out: Power and Resistance among Waitresses in a New Jersey Restaurant**. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

¹⁸ For example, see: Leidner, R. (1993) & (1996).

drinks. Rather, "skill" is defined to encompass the social ability to interact with and meet the needs of customers.¹⁹ "Nurturing" and "caring" for the customer through the usage of emotions and personality derive respect and compensation from the service interaction, just as does the physical strength and "technical" know-how to do the job well.²⁰

Much of this literature on emotions in the workplace takes its roots in the study of flight attendants by Arlie Hochschild (1983), who arguably pioneered the trail for others to study this topic as well. Hochschild's work drew attention to how the emotions of workers are controlled by management in the delivery of a service by providing a comprehensive definition of what emotional labour is, describing the potential implications of engaging in it, and how it is exercised differently according to gender. In defining what emotional labour is Hochschild argues, "*this labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others [...] this kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality*".²¹

Building on the work of Hochschild, the research of Taylor (1998) outlines three key characteristics of the term in the context of the new service economy.²² First, emotional labour can be defined as feeling management which is performed as part of paid work serving the interests of an employer in maximizing profits. Second, because this form of labour is undertaken during social

¹⁹ Cobble, D. (1991a). Dishing it Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Pg. 5.

²⁰ Ibid. pg. 5.

²¹ Hochschild, A. (1983). The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling. Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pg. 7.

²² Taylor, S. (1998). "Emotional Labour and the New Workplace" in Thompson, P., C. Warhurst, (eds) Workplaces of the Future, pg. 84-103. London: Macmillan. Pg. 85. *This is but one of many academics that have researched emotional labour in the new service economy, outlining its characteristics, causes and consequences. I have chosen to incorporate the definition by Taylor because the three criteria he provided simplified what can be a complex form of labour to define. For further examples see Newton, T (ed.)(1995); Macdonald, C and C. Serrianni, (eds) (1996); Leidner, R. (1993).*

interactions in the workplace, the product of emotional labour is often the feeling or state of mind that it invokes within another person-most often a customer or client. Third, there must be some managerial attempt to prescribe, supervise and measure the employees' performance of emotional labour. As Leidner (1993 & 1996), Wharton (1993), Lashley (2002), Macdonald and Sirianni (1996), and many others have argued, workers are often given explicit instructions about what to say and how to act during customer interactions, and are monitored by employers to make sure that these instructions are carried out.

It is quite clear from the literature that emotional labour can take a toll on people who perform it as part of their job. As Hochschild (1983) argues, emotional labour can lead to emotional burn-out: a form of stress involving feelings of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and a reduced sense of personal accomplishment. It can also be experienced as a form of "emotional numbness" or loss of access to one's own feelings. In hospitality management literature, it has been proven that employment in the food and beverage service industry can lead to "emotional withdrawal", manifesting itself in health problems that are both physical and mental in nature.²³ Physically, stress and burnout have been known to cause headaches and stomach problems.²⁴ Mentally, these same two factors can lead to problems of job dissatisfaction, anxiety and depression.²⁵

²³ For example, see: Lashley, C. (2002). "*Emotional Harmony, Dissonance and Deviance at Work*" in *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, Vol. 14, No. 5. United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.

²⁴ Gill, A., A. Flashchmer & M. Schächar. (2006). "*Mitigating Stress and Burnout by Implementing Transformational Leadership*" in *International Journal of Contemporary Management*, Vol. 18, No. 6. United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Limited. Pg. 469-470

²⁵ Ibid. pg. 470.

Gender and Emotional Labour in the Workplace:

In *the Managed Heart*, Arlie Hochschild outlines four reasons why she believes that the whole realm of emotional experience or emotion work is different for men and women. This argument is strongly supported by the literature on workers in the food and beverage service industry. As Hochschild argues, women in general have far less independent access to money, power, authority or status in society. With such being the case, Hochschild argues that men and women exercise and experience emotional labour differently than men for four key reasons.

Hochschild first notes that lacking other resources, women make a resource out of feeling and offer it to men as a gift in return for the material resources that they lack.²⁶ This argument is supported by information on the food and beverage industry that demonstrates how women, in particular, use their emotional labour in customer interactions to make tips. Hall's (1993b) research demonstrates how table servers perform according to gendered scripts of good service in their customer interactions. Female servers were expected to behave in accordance with heterosexual norms about the role of women in society by acting flirtatious, friendly and deferent.²⁷ Similarly, Cobble (1991), and Giuffre and Williams (1994) have argued that like airline attendants, waitresses are expected to be friendly, helpful and appear sexually available to male customers in their interactions. As these authors agree, women who are successful in this industry often achieve that success by acting in accordance with heterosexual norms of acceptable female behavior.

The second reason why Hochschild believes that men and women experience emotional labour differently has to do with the fact that each gender is called upon to do different kinds of

²⁶ Hochschild, A. (1983). Pg. 163.

²⁷ Hall, E. (1993b). *Smiling, Deferring and Flirting: Doing Gender by Giving Good Service* in Work and Occupations, Vol. 20, No. 4, pg. 452-471. United States: Sage Publications, Inc pg. 452.

emotion work.²⁸ While women are expected to appear flirtatious and friendly, the literature suggests that men are expected to appear knowledgeable and skilled in each of their customer service interactions. Cobble (1991b) notes that by linking skill with masculinity, women are regarded as incapable of being "proficient mixologists", and have to rely on emotions and looks to be successful bartenders. In recounting how waitressing emerged as a gendered occupation, Cobble further argues that male bartenders lacked the sex appeal that women have, but by virtue of being male, they possessed a superior competence in the technical aspects of mixing drinks.²⁹ This point was also made by Mann and Spradley (1975) in their analysis of "Brady's Bar" in the United States. As they argued, the men who worked at the bar mixed drinks, served customers sitting at the bar, controlled the money and took care of business transactions (such as reviewing inventory of alcohol deliveries). The women, on the other hand, focused their activities on serving the customers who sat at tables. This often involves a sustained period of relationship building over the course of the customer service interaction, rather than a brief service encounter that only lasts as long as it takes to mix a drink at the bar.³⁰ As the research on the food and beverage industry suggests, in accordance with the argument made by Hochschild, women and men enlist different types of skill and emotional labour in their customer service interactions.

In making her third point about the differences between men and women engaged in emotional labour, Hochschild notes how the general subordination of women leaves them with a weaker status shield against the displacement of others.³¹ This point was made by a number of the authors writing about the food and beverage service industry who have taken note of how female

²⁸ Hochschild, A. (1983). Pg. 163.

²⁹ Cobble, D. (1991b). Pg. 234.

³⁰ L. Spradley & B. Mann.. (1975). Pg. 31.

³¹ Hochschild, A. (1983). Pg. 163.

waitresses are frequently left with few devices to protect themselves from the negative recourse of customers.³² As Lashley (2002) argues, the ethos of customer satisfaction in this industry, as well as scripts of acceptable behavior, do not provide a server with any means by which to defend themselves from rude or insulting customers, nor are they able to leave their posts and abandon the patron in light of their hostility and dissatisfaction.³³ Not having a proper status shield has also left many women in this industry more vulnerable to sexual harassment from their customers and employers than their male co-workers. Giuffre and Williams (1994) note that the unremitting sexual banter and innuendos, as well as physical jostling in the workplace, have created an environment of "compulsory jocularity" in many restaurants that makes it difficult for women to label mistreatment by customers as "sexual harassment". These interactions are often normalized and considered part of ones job, and would have to escalate to extreme measures before management would get involved and go against the ethos of "customer satisfaction-above all else".³⁴ Furthermore, Anders (1993) argues that wait staff are frequently the objects of sexual harassment of the very people who are meant to protect them from it: their managers. She notes how restaurants are an informal workplace, to the point that they actually encourage-or at the very least tolerate-sexual banter. This frequently makes it difficult to distinguish when customer, co-worker, or management behavior has crossed the line and become harassment.³⁵

The fourth consequence of the power difference between the sexes that Hochschild presents is that for each gender, a different part of the "managed heart" is enlisted for commercial

³² For example, see: Paules, G. (1991). Pg. 150-158.

³³ Lashley, C. (2002). Pg. 255.

³⁴ Giuffre, P. & C. Williams. (1994). "Boundary Lines: Labeling Sexual Harassment in Restaurants" in Gender and Society, Vol. 8, No. 3, pg. 378-401. Kingston: Sociologists for Women in Society. Pg. 382.

³⁵ Anders, K.T. (1993). "Bad Sex: Who's Harassing Whom in Restaurants?" in Restaurant Business Vol. 92(2), Jan 1993. Illinois: Ideal Media, LLC. Pg. 54.

use.³⁶ Women more often react to subordination by making use of sexual beauty, charm and relational skills.³⁷ By contrast, for men employed in "male" jobs, it is more often the capacity to wield anger and make threats that is sold to the employer, and so it is this capacity that they are more likely to be estranged from.³⁸ While literature could not be found that compares the burnout experience across genders, the fact that men and women perform different forms of emotional labour suggests that they may experience it differently. This is but one of the gaps in the literature that needs to be further researched.

Literature on Tips and the Strategies Used to Maximize Them:

In this industry, there is the presence of a three-way dynamic of control that is a feature of many jobs in the service sector. As Leidner (1996) describes, in interactive service work, there is not a stable pattern of work and managers acting on interests that are directly opposed to each other; rather, there is a complex dynamic in which the customer, service provider and manager each have different interests that may cause one to form an alliance with, or opposition to, one of the other parties involved.³⁹ For example, a bartender and a manager may agree that a particular guest is too intoxicated and both come to the same conclusion that the person should be ejected from the establishment. Conversely, interests with management may clash when scripts of acceptable behavior limit the ability of the server to attend to the individual needs of the customer. For example, a wait person in a restaurant may want to mix a drink for their customer when the bartender is busy, but most restaurants forbid floor staff from getting behind the bar to make drinks.

³⁶ Hochschild, A. (1983). Pg. 163-164.

³⁷ Ibid. pg. 164.

³⁸ Ibid. pg. 164.

³⁹ Leidner, R. (1996). Pg. 39.

The presence of gratuity payments adds an interesting dimension to this control relationship. As both Leidner (1996)⁴⁰ and Ross (2005) argue, customers are in a position to exert control over both workers and management in interactive service encounters, as the payment of gratuities gives them a considerable amount of power to control the behavior of the server. Customers can "reward" workers with generous tips for exceptional service, or "punish" them if the service encounter is not up to their standards by leaving a small tip, if anything at all.⁴¹ Because tips make up a large portion of their wages, a strong incentive exists for the wait staff to ensure that all the needs of the customer are met. As Ross (2005) further argues, in recognizing the relationship between gratuities and customer service, a server will often be conscious of their own performance as their wages are contingent upon the success of each customer interaction.⁴²

As the literature suggests, the payment of tips is also important to the customer who leaves them. Based on their research about peoples motives for leaving tips and the factors affecting the size of them, Lynn and Grassman (1990) argue that customers do it for two reasons: 1) Customers leave tips to make a good impression on servers and fellow diners, as to comply with social norms about rewarding good service, and 2) to maintain an equitable exchange relationship with servers.⁴³ Bodvarsson and Gibson (1994) reached similar conclusions in their research but added a third reason why customers tip: to buy good future service from wait staff (called the "future service hypothesis").⁴⁴ The two pairs of authors concluded that the level of tips left for the wait

⁴⁰Ibid. Pg. 39-41.

⁴¹Ross, S. (2005). "Some Tips on Tips" as taken from The Waiter Training Newsletter, No. 136. Accessed from Waiter Training Website. www.waiter-training.com/newsletter_archive/n136.html. Accessed: December 7, 2006. Colorado: Waiter Training and Sumaro Inc.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Lynn, M. & A. Grassman. (1990). "Restaurant Tipping: An Examination of Three 'Rational' Explanations" in Journal of Economic Psychology, No. 11, pg. 169-181. United Kingdom: International Association for Research in Economic Psychology.

⁴⁴ Bodvarsson, O & W. Gibson. (1994). "Gratuities and Customer Appraisal of Service: Evidence from

person varied positively with the subjective service quality ranking made by customers at the end of their service encounter. Good service was rewarded by generous tips, while customers who found that their service encounter was less than desirable would leave a smaller tip, or no tip at all.

A wide variety of literature exists on how wait staff can increase their tips that range from academic sources,⁴⁵ to primary "how-to" guides written by people who work, or have worked, in this industry.⁴⁶ In general, there are three broad areas of the work process that can be manipulated and/or improved by the wait person to make more tips that emerge from this literature. The first involves delivering exceptional *emotional labour* in the service encounter. Wait staff are encouraged to act friendly,⁴⁷ flirtatious,⁴⁸ deferent,⁴⁹ and accommodating⁵⁰ in each of their customer service interactions to increase their overall tips. The second area has to do with *tips and tricks* that servers can use in their customer service interactions. Flaring bottles of alcohol, opening one beer with the top of another, folding napkins into roses,⁵¹ place a paper doily on side dishes,⁵² wearing something distinguishing to work, and remembering to personally write a "thank you" to each customer on their bill are some of the tips given to servers on how to improve their gratuity

Minnesota Restaurants" in The Journal of Socio-Economics, Vol. 23, No. 3, pg. 287-302. Holand: JAI Press, Inc. pg. 288.

⁴⁵ For example, see: Lynn, M. (2003). "*Tip Levels and Service: An Update, Extension and Reconciliation*" in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, Vol. 42, Dec. 2003, pg. 139-148. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Butler, S. & W. Snizek. (1976). "*The Waitress-Diner Relationship*" in Sociology of Work and Occupations, Vol. 3, No. 2, pg. 209-222. CA: Sage Publications.

⁴⁶ Charming, C. (2000). Miss Charming's Book of Bar Amusements. New York: Three Rivers Press; Charming, C. (2007).

⁴⁷ For example, see: Urqhart, F. (1986). "So You Want to Wait on Tables??". Hamilton: Pathway Publications, Inc. Pg. 74; Mars, G. & M. Nicod. (1984). Pg. 82; Hall, E. (1993b). Pg. 452; Charming, C. (2007). Pg. 72-73.

⁴⁸ For example, see: Hall, E. (1993a), (1993b).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ For example, see: Entrepreneur Press: Lynn, J. (2006). Start Your Own Restaurant and Five Other Food Businesses. California: Entrepreneur Media Inc. Pg. 179.

⁵¹ All three of these examples came from Charming, C. (2007). Pgs. 109, 113 and 105 respectively.

⁵² For example, see: Urqhart, F. (1986). Pg. 52.

payments.⁵³ Finally, a good waitperson or bartender must possess the *technical skills* needed to do the job well. Product knowledge,⁵⁴ being able to mix a good drink,⁵⁵ and keeping the serving area clean⁵⁶ are all important aspects of the job that can lead to higher tips.

Some of the information available suggests that there may be a gendered dynamic embedded in the strategies used by workers to maximize their tips. As both Hall (1993) and Cockburn (1991) have argued, sexual attractiveness and flirtation are institutionalized parts of a wait person's job description that if mastered, can yield a higher income. Consequently, individual employees are often forced to draw the line for themselves to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate expressions of sexuality while trying to make tips at work.⁵⁷ In a similar regard, the research by Lynn (2007) demonstrates that tips are related to the overall appearance and physique of the server. The survey findings of four hundred and thirty-two people working in American restaurants revealed that the wait person's tips increased as their breast size and the blondness of hair increased, and decreased in relation to a higher body mass.⁵⁸ This thesis will further explore the gendered dynamic of strategies used to increase tips in the fifth chapter of the thesis.

Conclusion: Identifying the Missing Pieces of the Puzzle.

Like a bartender arriving for a Monday night shift to find the club empty, I was not surprised by the lack of scholarly publications on their work experiences. In general, occupations in the service sector remain understudied by labour theorists, sociologists, and others who study workers

⁵³ These two examples were taken from: Lynn, M. (2004). **"Mega Tips: Scientifically Tested Techniques to Increase Your Tips.** As Taken From Cornell University Website. Accessed: November 1, 2007. www.people.cornell.edu/pages/wml3/pdf/megatips.pdf.

⁵⁴ For example, see: Spradley, J. & B. Mann. (1975). Pg. 45.

⁵⁵ For example, see: Charming, C. (2007). Pg. 80-83.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Pg. 96-97.

⁵⁷ Giuffre, P. & C. Williams. (1994). Pg. 382.

⁵⁸ Lynn, M. (2007). Pg. 2.

and their workplaces, so I knew finding information on this particular group was going to be challenging. Furthermore, as was mentioned in the first chapter, going to large nightclubs is a recent trend. Academics may not yet have picked up on the numerous issues that make this occupation ripe for analysis, and the characteristics that make employment in a nightclub setting unique from others where food and beverages are served.

In principle, bartenders in nightclubs exercise emotional labour, encounter gender issues, and try to maximize tip income just like other food and beverage servers in both their workplaces and customer interactions. As such, the information available on these topics drawn from research on occupations in restaurants, bars and lounges is still very relevant as it provides a background and general understanding of these workplace issues. It also provides a theoretical foundation upon which to design a research method for studying bartenders in nightclubs, as will be described in chapter three.

But in practice, these topics differ because of the context in which they are carried out. As my interviews and on-going experiences revealed, nightclubs are fast paced, emotionally-charged, loud and intense places to be in. Customer interactions are brief and frequent, meaning that while emotional labour is exercised, it is often a short, concentrated effort occurring upwards of seventy-five to one-hundred times in a shift. Bartending in these establishments is also highly gendered, and strategies to maximize income by both the employer and the employee incorporate notions of femininity and sexuality in them. The fourth chapter will contextualize the experience of bartenders in night clubs by highlighting its similarities and differences to other types of food and beverage establishments. This discussion will help to see why gender, emotional labour and income

maximizing strategies are different in the nightclub setting in chapter five, and the implications this has for workers in chapter six.

Chapter Three: Research Methods.

The Research Method Mixology

**“Do not allow children to mix drinks.
It is unseemly and they use too much vermouth”.
Steve Allen.⁵⁹**

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, information written about bartenders employed in nightclubs is all but missing from academic literature written about interactive forms of service work. There has yet to be a systematic analysis of the work of nightclub bartenders that discusses what it is that they do, how they earn their income, and the implications of working in an environment where most people go to party, not to earn a living. What has been written does provide a broad theoretical understanding of the emotional labour required to do the job successfully. Furthermore, primary sources like the *Miss. Charming's Guide for Hip Bartenders and Way-out Wannabe's* provide some insight into what sort of skills one would need to be a good bartender. But even when taken together, the theoretical data on emotions at work and the primary sources on what it takes to be a good bartender still do not tell the whole story. To fill in this gap and develop a holistic understanding of bartending in nightclubs, my research method mixology involves three components: an analysis of existing literature, reflection on my own personal experiences at nightclubs, and in-depth personal interviews with bartenders. This chapter will outline each research method used and how the data was interpreted and integrated into this paper.

⁵⁹ Charming, C. (2007). Pg. 134.

Incorporating Existing Data:

When selecting data to use in the research process a considerable amount of attention was spent assessing the source of the information (who wrote it), and how accurately it represented the subject of discussion (what was said). The quality of the literature was assessed according to the four criteria set forth by Scott (1990) in Bryman and Teevan's (2005) book, *Social Research Methods*:

1. *Authenticity*: Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
2. *Credibility*: Is the evidence free from error and distortion, produced by a reliable source?
3. *Representativeness*: Is the evidence typical of its kind, and if not, is the extent of its uniqueness known?
4. *Meaning*: Is the evidence clear and comprehensible?⁶⁰

The internet offers unlimited opportunities for research, and can be a great resource for finding information that exists on the fringes of mainstream labour studies literature. It was a great source of information about bartenders, and was a useful tool in finding books and journals beyond what the McMaster University library offers its students. But because just about anyone can publish information on the internet, one must be wary and critical of the sources they choose to incorporate into a research project. Information obtained from the internet had to satisfy the above-stated criteria before being asked a second set of questions designed by the publishers, Prentice Hall, to assess online and database sources:

1. *Is the author well-known and well-regarded?*
2. *What are the authors' credentials (position, institutional affiliation)?*
3. *Was the author in a position to have access to pertinent facts?*
4. *Has the author been screened, or being supported, by some organization?*
5. *What are the likely biases?*
6. *How scholarly and fair has the author been?*

⁶⁰ Bryman, A. & J. Teevan. (2005). Social Research Methods: Canadian Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press. Pg. 122.

7. *Is the information timely and up-to-date?*⁶¹

All data used in this thesis satisfied the above stated criteria. Each question was carefully asked when assessing an individual piece of literature before incorporating it into the final project. When I was in doubt, I would discard the information and begin the process of finding something new and creditable to take its place in the final project.

Personal Experiences and Observations:

Information in this thesis has also been drawn from my own personal observations and experiences at nightclubs in the city of Toronto. Initially, I wanted to engage in *participant observation*: a systematic approach to data collection in which a researcher is immersed in a social setting for some time, observing and listening to behavior with a view to gaining an appreciation of the culture of a social group.⁶² My request to do so was rejected by the McMaster University Research Ethics Board who felt that I may have been deceiving and infringing upon the right to privacy of the people I would be watching. Instead, I was granted approval to incorporate information based on my on-going experiences in such establishments. With this being the case, I was unable to go into a club with the intention of engaging in research and data collection. Rather, after going to the club with the intention of drinking and socializing with friends, I could incorporate information that I could recollect into the project. As the author of this thesis, I was left questioning how this approach was any more-and could arguably be even less-ethical than participant observation. But as a student, I was left with little time to question the decision of the Research

⁶¹ Payton, M. (2004). The Prentice Hall Guide to Evaluating Online Resources. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc. Pg. 19-20.

⁶² Bryman, A. & J. Teevan. Pg. 145.

Ethics Board. In any case, I did what I was told and incorporated my own personal experiences in Toronto nightclubs during the spring and summer months of 2007 into this project.

Personal Interviews with Bartenders:

The data that I primarily relied on to fill in the gaps in the literature is that drawn from personal interviews with five bartenders who have worked, or are currently working in, nightclubs located in the city of Toronto. Interviews have served as a means of collecting data by many others who have studied occupations in the food and beverage service industry. For example, Leidner (1993) used participant observation and interviews to collect data about McDonald's workers and insurance sales agents for her book, *Fast Food, Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinization of Everyday Life*. Giuffre and Williams (1994), and Hall (1993b) also used personal interviews to collect data about wait staff in restaurants. Based on the fact that so many other authors have used interviews when studying workers in the food and beverage service industry, I felt that it would be a reliable and valid method of collecting information to use in this research project.

After receiving ethical clearance from the McMaster University Research Ethics Board,⁶³ I began conducting my interviews with five bartenders who are currently working, have worked, or in one case, has tried to get work in, a nightclub. Three of the bartenders are female, and two are male. All are between the ages of twenty to twenty five. Interviews were conducted between July 2007 and September 2007, taking place at a time and location that was most convenient for the participant. Participants were solicited using a form of snowball sampling. I would ask friends who

⁶³ Before beginning my project, I had to submit a research proposal to the McMaster University Research Ethics Board to make sure it met their requirements for researching human subjects outlined on their website: http://www.mcmaster.ca/ors/ethics/faculty_guidelines_handbook.html. After a month long negotiation process, the McMaster University Research Ethics Board granted ethical clearance on May 9th, 2007. I have attached a copy of the Certificate of Ethical Clearance to Involve Human Participants in Research as Appendix A.

work, or have worked, in the industry to refer me to someone whom they thought would like to participate. Then, I would contact that person and see if they would be interested in participating in my research project. I have attached a copy of the Letter of Information used to solicit research participants as Appendix B.

A considerable amount of attention went into protecting the confidentiality of the research participants: each was given the opportunity to choose their own pseudonym, and I was the only person who knew of their true identity and had access to the tapes and transcriptions of their interviews. I have attached a copy of the consent form which best outlines the steps taken to protect the identities of the research participants (please see attached appendix C).

Each interview I conducted followed an interview guide that was divided into three groups of questions (please see attached appendix D for a copy of the interview guide). The first set of questions were designed to solicit information about the working conditions of bartenders in nightclubs and how they are similar to, and different than, other places that they may have worked such as restaurants, pubs or sports bars. The second set of questions was about how bartenders try to maximize their tips while at work, and how the working conditions shape the strategies used to do so. The third set of questions had to do with the overall level of job satisfaction bartenders in nightclubs have, and provided participants the opportunity to contribute any additional information that they may have thought was important to the study. The information gathered through these interviews make up the substantive basis for chapters four, five and six.

Chapter Four: The Working Environment.

It's Not at all like Cheers: the New Nightclub Setting

A guy walks into the club and orders 10 shots of tequila. The bartender sets him up, and the guy takes the first shot in the row and pours it out on the floor. He then takes the last shot and does the same. The bartender asks, "Why did you do that?" And the guy replied, "Well the first shot always tastes like crap, and the last one always makes me sick".⁶⁴

In order to understand what bartenders do at work, it is important to understand the setting that their work takes place in. While bartenders at the club strive for customer satisfaction to maximize their tips, how they do it differs from servers in restaurants, fast-food outlets, pubs and cocktail lounges. This is largely a result of an environment that is fast-paced, loud and filled with patrons who are there to party and have a good time... not relax and enjoy their food and drinks. The purpose of this chapter is to understand what it is like to work in a nightclub, and how it is different from other establishments where food and drinks are served. By comparing the capacity, hours of operation, venue, atmosphere, service provided and the pace of work between the two different types of establishments, one can understand why the tips and tricks that bartenders use to maximize their income differ from one type of establishment to another.

Capacity and Hours of Operation:

The sheer size of a nightclub is much different than a restaurant, pub or sports bar. Clubs are quite large and hold hundreds, sometimes thousands, of people. Restaurants, by contrast, are much smaller, intimate, places to gather. One of the nightclubs that I observed was one of the

⁶⁴ As taken from: Charming, C. (2007). Pg. 116.

largest and oldest in the city, holding up to two-thousand people on a busy Friday or Saturday night. The club was absolutely jam-packed full of people, making it difficult to navigate oneself to the bar to get a drink, go to the bathroom, or get your "groove on" while on the dance floor. One research participant, Ryan, noted that one of the biggest differences between the two different types of establishments is the number of people that they hold:

"The biggest difference is the size. In the restaurant I now work at, we only have fifty or fifty-five tables, meaning that we can serve, at most, a little over two hundred people. It's a 'finer-dining' restaurant, so maybe that's why it's so small. But the club I worked at was much bigger... like four or five times bigger. It held well over a thousand people".

Tia, another participant who currently works in the bottle service section of a club also commented on the size of the establishment she works in, adding that the number of people that show up to the club really depends on what night it is:

"... it depends on the night. Usually on a Friday night we would have about a thousand people show up. On a Saturday night it's a bit quieter... we would get about seven to eight hundred people".

Nicole made a similar observation about the club that she is currently working in located in the heart of the Entertainment District:

"The club can hold a thousand people, but we usually have between two-hundred to seven-hundred and fifty show up, depending on what night it is".

As both my research and years as a patron of nightclubs revealed, they are really only ever busy if you show up on the right night. Otherwise, nightclubs are as desolate and empty as a place can be while still being able to break even for the night. For example, this summer I went to a club on a weekday night because a friend's birthday fell on a Tuesday. We arrived at a large club that can hold up to one thousand people to find it practically empty with the exception of a few other

parties and the staff on hand. As most of the people I interviewed noted, clubs are mostly busy on the weekends. Jack, a research participant who previously worked in a nightclub as a bar back and is now employed as a bartender in a restaurant, notes how this fluctuation in the numbers of patrons isn't as prominent a feature in restaurants as it is in clubs:

"I find restaurant work more consistent. In a restaurant, you're there to feed people. People will always have to eat. Whereas in a nightclub, people don't always have to go out and party. People will always need to eat and drink. Nightclubs depend on promoters, what's hot at the time, and what night it is. A nightclub can open down the street and take away all your business. The consistency level isn't always there. Obviously a club like [NAME OMITTED] has been there for ten years... if you work there, that's pretty consistent. But not many clubs have been there that long".

Restaurants are able to maintain some sort of a steady flow of customers throughout the week because of the nature of service that they provide customers. As the comment by Jack suggests, people have to eat no matter what night it is. Customers can go out to dinner on a Monday night and not have to worry about showing up to work on Tuesday morning hung over. Nightclubs, by contrast, are mostly busy when the weekend rolls around. Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights are when the money is made, with people crawling out of the woodworks and into the downtown core to party.

It is important to note that these establishments are called nightclubs for a reason... all the action takes place at night. In comparison, a restaurant, pub or sports bar can draw patrons in at an earlier hour to have lunch or dinner, and slow down as it gets later on into the evening. Most clubs are only starting to get busy when most restaurants start to slow down and close. Furthermore, people go into work to start their shift behind the bar when many others are heading home to bed. Most of my research participants started their shift in and around ten o'clock at night,

and ended anywhere from two to four in the morning. In recounting her last shift worked, Tia mentioned that:

"Hours are typically from 10:30 [p.m.] until 3:00 in the morning. I usually arrive around 10:15 [p.m.]".

Ocean and Nicole both stated that their hours of work are similar to that of Tia's:

"Usually Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights. I would arrive between 5:00 and 7:00 [p.m.] to get the bar ready and open it. Other times, you arrive at 10:00 [p.m.], get your section ready, and away you go. Most nights, by the time I am done closing, it's around 4 in the morning".

"A typical work week is from Thursday to Saturday night. I normally work from 9:45 [p.m.] until 2:30 [a.m.]. The last shift that I worked, I arrived at 9:45 [p.m.] and left at 3:00 [a.m.]".

By contrast, as Jack states, the shifts at a restaurant begin and end much earlier:

"Where I currently work, you are either in the morning or at night. You either work 10:00 [a.m.] until 5:00 [p.m.] or you are working the dinner shift from 5:00 [p.m.] until the restaurant closes. You normally get out of work around 1:00 or 2:00 in the morning. About an hour after the restaurant closes".

Ryan, who up until recently was a bartender in a prominent nightclub in Toronto, commented on how the hours are much more "humane" in a restaurant:

"Man... when I worked at the club... I just don't know how I did it. I'd be at work at the same time that my dad was going to bed. And then I'd be getting home when he was waking up. Then I would sleep all day. Now, I get up around 11, get to work by 3:45 [p.m.] and start working at 4 [p.m.]. I still finish kind of late, I get out at 1:00 [a.m.], but it's more humane than the club ever was".

While clubs are larger in size and are able to serve more patrons simultaneously, restaurants are open longer, are profitable seven days a week, and can draw in a crowd at a much earlier hour than a nightclub ever could. Restaurants are able to cater to the needs of people

during the daytime by offering lunchtime service, while it is unlikely that anybody is looking to "hit the club" in the middle of the afternoon. Thus, while clubs may hold more people at a given period of time, it is unlikely that they are able to serve the same number of patrons that a restaurant does over a sustained period of time.

With such being the case, the service provided by a bartender at the club and a server at a restaurant, bar or fast-food outlet differs tremendously. While bartenders at the club only work two to three nights per week, they have to provide faster service than their counterparts in these types of establishments. Because people can really only go to the club to party on the weekend, large crowds show up each night on the weekend to party. As such, there is normally a long lineup of people waiting at the bar to get their drinks that bartenders have to serve at a rapid pace with a great deal of customer turnover. This greatly impacts how emotional labour is exercised. As will be further discussed in the fifth chapter, this kind of labour is deployed in short, concentrated amounts with hundreds of different customers over the course of a shift.

The Venue and Overall Atmosphere:

The venue and atmosphere of nightclubs in the Entertainment District have changed drastically from their modest and humble beginnings. As Balkissoon (2007) describes, throughout the 1980's, the old Victorian manufacturing warehouses in "the District" were filled with squatting artists during the day, and came alive at night with newbie house dj's and wannabe promoters drawing in crowds of a thousand plus people into the empty warehouses to party.⁶⁵ In recognizing that nightclubs were here to stay, Toronto politicians passed zoning legislation in 1988 legalizing

⁶⁵ Balkissoon, D. (2007). Pg. 47.

dance clubs in the old industrial quarter of the city.⁶⁶ More significantly, the city encouraged the growth of the Entertainment District by allowing clubs there to have more floor space than anywhere else in the city where clubs were beginning to appear (such as Yorkville), often by two and a half times the lot size, inviting the arrival of the multi-storied "megaclub".⁶⁷

Walking into a club now, it's hard to believe that they got their start in warehouses. The interior of a club is often carefully designed to attract and retain particular groups of nightclub goers.⁶⁸ Take for example, Cantina Charlees. This club carefully caters to the needs of the young and just legal crowd going out to celebrate newly acquired fake ID's or relish in the fact that they can now actually use their own drivers license... and not their older siblings. On their website, the club actively promotes the fact that it has a Caribbean, beach-like atmosphere with a waterslide and a shower in the middle of the dance floor. Oftentimes they will have a "foam party" whereby they flood the dance floor with wet, soapy bubbles for the crowd to get wet and wild while partying. Male bartenders serve drinks in board shorts and no t-shirts, while females wear bikini tops and low-rise jeans. The club is loud, hot, and jam-packed full of late teens and early twenty-something's pounding back \$2.50 beers in plastic cups and shots with names like sex-on-the-beach, blow jobs and slippery nipples.

On the other end of the spectrum are the clubs that cater to the "older" crowd, requiring that patrons be at minimum, twenty-one to twenty-five years old in order to get in. These clubs have the class that their counterparts catering to the young crowd lack. These clubs are more refined, elegant, and most importantly, more expensive. I went to three such clubs during my

⁶⁶ Ibid. pg. 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid. pg. 48.

⁶⁸ Berkley, B. (1997). "Preventing Customer Altercations in Nightclubs" in Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly, Vol 38, Issue 2, April 1997, pg. 82-94. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pg. 83.

participant observation. These clubs were not as intense a place to be in. The crowd was typically between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, dressed to the nines, and prepared to spend a small fortune on drinks like vodka red bulls, cosmopolitan martinis, glasses of wine and bottles of imported beer. What typically draws people to the venue was the feeling of class and elegance that one felt walking into these beautiful establishments. These clubs typically have dark hardwood floors, beautiful wooden and marble bars, crystal chandeliers, soft pastel colours on the wall, and dim lighting highlighted with candle accents. Bartenders are often dressed up themselves and look as if they were there to party as well.

In the nightclub industry, to be successful, a venue has to be able to create this atmosphere while differentiating itself from others to draw in a crowd. No one wants to go to a club that is like all the others they have been to before. Rather, people are looking for a different experience that best suits their particular wants and needs. Older club goers that are between the ages of twenty-five and thirty are looking to go out to a place that is more refined and elegant, whereas younger party animals are looking for a place that is high on intensity, energy and serves cheap drinks. Because younger club goers do not have the access to the same disposable income that older club goers working full-time have, they often cannot afford to go to the clubs that are designed to cater to the needs of the older nightclub crowd.

The different atmospheres and environments that nightclubs create have implications for the bartenders working there. Clubs that cater to younger crowds often have bartenders working who are scantily clad, like the bartenders at Cantina Charlees described above. At these establishments, the sexuality of the bartender is an important factor in the service encounter and is used to make profits for both the management and the person serving the drinks. Conversely,

clubs that cater to older crowds often require their bartenders to dress more conservatively and provide the best customer service possible without blatantly exploiting their sexuality. But in both types of establishments, bartenders have to work quickly to serve the lineups of patrons waiting at the bar. Providing fast service is essential no matter what type of club you work in. The differences and similarities between the services provided by bartenders will further be discussed in the next chapter.

While there are different nightclub environments, there are many common features shared across them. Each nightclub is large in size, and as previously mentioned, can hold hundreds, sometimes thousands, of people. Bars are typically located along the walls of the building, with a large dance floor that is centrally located and easily accessible. But unlike restaurants, there are few places to sit and socialize with friends. Clubs are designed for people to be up moving around, dancing or mingling with other club goers; and not sitting down while chatting with a few friends. Most clubs, however, have a "V.I.P." section with large booths for parties of ten or more people, where bottles of booze can be ordered instead of individual drinks. Tia, a bartender in the lounge section of the club she works at describes it as the following: *"We have a V.I.P section with six sections and bottle service. People come in groups of five to ten people"*. Sitting in the V.I.P. section normally has to be arranged prior to going to the club, and there is often a one to two bottle minimum purchase required to sit in the section.

The lighting and music selection play a large part in creating the overall atmosphere at the club. In one of the few pieces of literature written specifically on nightclubs, Berkley (1997) notes that a nightclub creates a charged environment with pounding music, light shows and special

effects that all can elicit strong emotions among patrons.⁶⁹ Music is used to "shake up" patrons and get them excited at the beginning of the night; as the tempo of the music is increased, the energy level in the club jumps, and people start to go crazy dancing, partying and having a good time. Conversely, at the end of the night, if the tempo of the music is slowed down, people start to relax and wind down. Lighting can be used to complement the music, and has similar effects on patrons.⁷⁰ As most club goers know, nothing signals the end of the night like the lights coming on in the club. Special effects are shut off, dim lighting is suddenly very bright, and the music is turned right down, or off entirely. People begin to flood the streets making their way to bus stops, taxi stands, and cars tucked away in one of the many underground parking lots in the Entertainment District.

Pace of Work and the Service Provided:

As Pratten (2004) notes, in a restaurant or pub, customers expect personalized table service as part of their dining and drinking experience.⁷¹ Customers are greeted at the door, seated at a table, given menus, and have their order taken right at their table by a server who is attentive, polite and demonstrates product knowledge about what is being served.⁷² Servers are allotted a section of tables or booths, and are responsible for taking the orders and tending to the needs of customers who sit in their area. Once the bill has been paid at the end of the meal, the customers have left, and the table has been cleaned, new customers are seated and the service encounter begins again.

⁶⁹ Berkley, B. (1997). Pg. 83.

⁷⁰ Ibid. pg. 89

⁷¹ Prattern, J. (2004). Pg. 386.

⁷² Ibid. pg. 387.

The pace of work and the service provided by bartenders in nightclubs differs tremendously from their counterparts working in restaurants or sports pubs. While all are there to deliver a product, *how* and *how often* they do it differs from one type of establishment to another. In a nightclub, bartenders stand behind the bar and wait for the customers to *come to them* to order their drinks. Some patrons may open a tab, leaving their credit card behind with the bartender to keep track of the total number of drinks consumed to be paid for at the end of the night. Most others opt for, what Ryan termed, *cash and carry* drinks; customers place an order of one or more drinks and pays for them on the spot, returning to the bar to order more drinks once they have finished the ones previously ordered. As such, bartenders in nightclubs probably have more in common with their counterparts in the fast-food industry in terms of *how* they do their work than servers in restaurants. As Leidner (1993) argues, the major difference between restaurants and fast-food outlets is the amount of work customers are expected to do.⁷³ Customers walk up to the counter, place their order, pay, wait for their food and walk it back to their own table. In a similar regard, patrons at the club walk up to the bar, place their order, wait for their drink and walk it back to where they were coming from.

But unlike fast-food counter work, there is a strong skill component needed to be a good bartender. Bartenders mix drinks ranging from highballs, cocktails and martinis, to shots concocted from mixing different types of alcohol, to pouring glasses and pints of wine and beer. As such, they need extensive knowledge of a wide variety of alcohols and how to mix, pour and serve them properly. But to be a good bartender, one has to be able to mix and serve several different types of drinks quickly and on a continual basis. Bartenders mix drinks with a great deal of frequency,

⁷³ Leidner, R. (1993). Pg. 34.

pouring hundreds to well over a thousand drinks a night for thirsty nightclub goers. In asking Nicole about how many drinks a night she would pour, Nicole replied:

"Oh my god... I couldn't even begin to guess. Cause if you count shots, it's a lot. I'll make four or five shots, usually of the same thing. If I had to guess how many drinks I made in a night, I would say twelve hundred".

Ocean made similar observations about her workplace, noting that most people who come up and order drinks are most often ordering more than just one:

"I would say I make over a thousand drinks a night [...] During the night, most people will order six drinks or so. Two shots, and three cocktails. Six beers. Something like that. But I've also had people come up to me and order thirty beers at the end of the night. But what can you do? You can't serve thirty beers. It's not legal. You can really only serve three per person. If they come up to the bar with friends, I can do it then".

Ryan also spoke about mixing drinks with a great deal of frequency, as most people would order several drinks at a time:

"I used to make at least a thousand drinks or more on a night. Especially on a Friday. There's something about Fridays that make people thirsty! Most people would come to the bar and order a shot, or two, or three, and something to chase it with, like a beer or a mixed drink. A lot of people buy drinks for their friends. People take turns buying rounds. So I was always mixing more than one drink".

As was previously mentioned, in the V.I.P. section of a club, customers normally buy bottles of alcohol and share them as a group. Tia, a server in the V.I.P. section notes that on a busy night they will serve multiple bottles:

"I know a couple of weeks ago we had an extremely busy night where we sold about fifteen bottles. We had all six of the bottle service sections full and they each had about five to ten people".

As each of the research participants noted, there is a pace to serving drinks at the club. As their interviews revealed, drinks are served at a slower pace at the beginning of the night as the club fills up and people start getting into the party mood. But after midnight, the pace picks up rapidly and generally stays up until the club closes. As Tia further revealed:

"It's definitely slow at the beginning of the night waiting for the club to fill up. But what I find in bottle service is that once one group has bottle, and others see them, they want a bottle as well. It's usually one after the other once we get started".

Nicole and Ryan both made similar observations:

"Well, the club doesn't really start getting busy until 12:00 [a.m.]. Obviously things start off slow. Then it picks up and stays up".

"The beginning of the night could be soooo boring. I'd mix only a few drinks. Then after midnight, you're praying for the calm again".

Ocean also agreed that the night starts off slow and then picks up, and provided some insight into how many drinks are served during a slow period, versus a busy time of night:

"At the beginning of the night, it's the calm before the storm. I like to call between 12:00 [a.m.] and 1:00 [a.m.] 'happy hour' where everyone just wants to get ridiculously drunk... and they just keep ordering drinks, ordering drinks. It's the most busiest time of the night. It's when shots are ordered. Cocktails of any kind are ordered. At the beginning of the night you would make maybe fifty to sixty drinks per hour. In the middle of the night, happy hour, you would be serving eighty or more drinks an hour, like one a minute. At the end of the night it slows down a bit, but people are still trying to get their last drinks for last call... so maybe fifty drinks an hour".

As my research revealed, being a good bartender meant more than having the technical mastery of mixing and serving drinks. One has to have the endurance to work quickly and sustain that level of effort until the club closes at 2:00 a.m. Taking one thousand drinks as the average number of drinks a bartender makes in a shift, and six hours as the average length of a shift, that

means that bartenders make, on average, two hundred drinks per hour. As the participants indicated, this is pretty easy to do when shots are taken into account. It is not much more difficult to make one shot as it is three.

Summary:

This chapter has attempted to give readers a sense of what it is like in a nightclub, and how it is similar to, and different than, other places where food and beverages are sold. With regards to capacity and hours of operation, clubs are open later and can hold many more patrons than a restaurant. But restaurants are able to remain profitable during the daytime hours when most nightclubs are closed. Furthermore, most nightclubs are open only on the weekend, while most restaurants are open seven days a week. As such, while a nightclub may be able to serve more people at once, restaurants are able to serve people more often as they can offer their services to people during the day.

The venue, environment and overall atmosphere of a club are also much different than they are at restaurants and bars. Lighting, special effects and loud music are all used to create an atmosphere that is fun to be in, filled with people who are there to dance, drink, party and have a good time. Clubs go to great lengths to create an atmosphere that will attract a particular clientele. In general there are two different types of clubs: notorious party clubs where younger adults go and the posh, elegant clubs where people in their early twenties to early thirties go to enjoy themselves. In a similar regard, restaurants also put a significant amount of attention to the décor and ambiance they are creating to draw people in to eat and drink. Restaurants, however, are designed to be places where people go to sit, relax, socialize with friends and enjoy a good meal and a few drinks.

They typically do not have loud music playing, complemented by spectacular lighting shows designed to elicit a high level of energy in people and get them in the mood to party.

Finally, the pace of work and service provided by people employed in restaurants and nightclubs also differs. Bartenders serve customers in a fashion similar to fast-food workers: customers walk up to the counter, place an order, pay, and walk their purchase back to where they were coming from. To do their job successfully, a bartender must possess both the technical skill needed to mix drinks and the ability to do it quickly for a prolonged period of time. While nights typically start off slow, things pick up as the night goes on, and bartenders mix upwards of one thousand drinks a night. The next chapter will explore how bartenders try to make tips in the type of environment this chapter has described.

Chapter Five: Strategies Used to Make Good Tips.

Strong Skills, Nice T\$%S, Big Tips: Maximizing Income while Working at the Club

“The hard part about being a bartender is figuring out who is drunk and who is just stupid”.
Richard Braunstein.⁷⁴

When you're a bartender, it is not the hourly wage that pulls you into work for a shift. In Ontario servers employed in restaurants, pubs and nightclubs are paid a *liquor serving wage* which is \$1.05 less than the legislated minimum wage of eight dollars per hour.⁷⁵ Being paid \$6.95 an hour is hardly enough to do a job that is mentally, emotionally and physically draining. But when tips are included into the calculation of income, working in a club as a bartender seems like a worthwhile and lucrative occupational choice. As my research participants revealed, bartenders can make, on average, four hundred dollars working both Friday and Saturday nights in tips alone. The purpose of this chapter is to develop an understanding of the different tipping systems that are used in nightclubs and how bartenders maximize this important source of income while working in this environment. By focusing on how emotions, gender and sexuality are used, the clever and deceitful tactics that have been developed, and the importance of providing fast and efficient service, this chapter will explore what it is that bartenders do while at work.

Different Tipping Systems:

Tips are, by far, the most important source of income if you are a bartender. As Ryan describes; “*At the end of the night, it's the tips that you want. The \$6.95 an hour you're paid to be*

⁷⁴ Charming, C. (2007). Pg. 133.

⁷⁵ Ministry of Labour. (2007). “*Your Guide to the Employment Standards Act 2000*” as taken from: The Ministry of Labour Website. Accessed: November 27, 2007.
http://www.labour.gov.on.ca/english/es/pdf/es_guide.pdf. Toronto: Queen's Printer for Ontario. Pg. 15.

there isn't worth getting out of bed for". Each of the other participants made similar comments about tips, recalling nights when hundreds of dollars were made tax free; a point that will be explored further in the next chapter. But how each person was allocated their tips differed from one establishment to another. There seems to be three different tipping systems that operate both formally and informally in the workplace.

Four of the research participants worked in a club where each individual bartender got to keep the tips that they had made for themselves. Ryan provided a comprehensive definition of this sort of tipping system: *"In the club that I worked at, each bartender was assigned a section of the bar. You would serve customers in your section, and would get to keep the tips that they left you. You can't go into someone else's section and steal their tips... that really pisses people off"*. This is most often a formal strategy designed by management to make sure that bartenders are spread out evenly across the different bars and to prevent controversies over people stealing customers and thus, their tips.

Nicole, who works in a club like the one Ryan described, notes that at other clubs, *"...it's pretty common for people to share tips. Like... everyone puts their tips in and it is shared"*. In these establishments, tips are pooled together and divided amongst the bartenders who worked that night. Tia works in such an establishment, commenting on how she and her co-workers are *"...really good friends and we will split everything that we make"*. This tipping system can operate both formally (by way of management policy), or informally (as an agreement amongst friends working that night) to share tips evenly.

The third option is for management to automatically add a gratuity to the bill and either give the server a portion of, or the entire, gratuity payment. As Tia describes, *"[...]we have an automatic*

gratuity added on of 20%. But a lot of customers go above and beyond that. Management takes 4.5% of that. So what I normally get is 15.5% of the bill". In terms of what going above and beyond means, Tia notes that:

"I have some people who tip really well and than I have other ones who tip to the dollar [...] some people round up to a normal, rounded number. Others add on an extra 40 or 50 dollars. I've had some people who are really nice!"

Quick Drinks:

An important strategy that bartenders use to make tips is being able to serve drinks quickly. As was described in the previous chapter, customer interactions are frequent, with patrons lining up at the bar to get their drinks. In order to make decent tips, bartenders have to get customers their drinks quickly so that they can serve the next person without having them wait too long. As Jack revealed,

"[...] the purpose of the nightclub bartender is a bit different [than a waiter or waitress]. In a club, there is no time to talk to anybody; you're just mixing drinks as quick as you can. It's more of a speed factor than a customer service factor. A restaurant is more first name basis, you know their children, and you know them. In the club, it's about speed".

Nicole, Ocean and Ryan all made similar comments about how serving drinks quickly is an important strategy to use when trying to earn tips. For the most part, people ordering drinks don't want to stand at the crowded bar and talk to the bartenders. They, themselves are looking to get their drinks and return back to where they were coming from. Clubs are also very loud, making it difficult to talk and build a relationship with customers. As such, providing fast and efficient service becomes an integral part of maximizing income while at work.

To supplement this strategy, three of the participants noted how it is important to remember your customers' drink orders. By remembering orders, patrons wouldn't have to wait as long for their drink. Furthermore, as Ryan added, remembering peoples' drinks makes them feel as if they are important which can also lead to higher tips. As he describes:

"I'll try to remember the guys drinks, so they look like bawlers in front of the ladies, and I'll remember the ladies drinks so that they feel special and beautiful. Really, I am only remembering drinks so that I can go home with more cash in my pocket... I could care less what people drink".

Clever and Deceitful Tactics:

Of the five bartenders, two admitted to using tactics that are both clever and deceitful to maximize income. The first option for bartenders is to steal business away from management. Ryan was fired from his job as a nightclub bartender because he used to bring in a bottle of booze that he purchased at the liquor store and either sell it or give it away to customers. He admitted that, *"I knew it was only a matter of time before I got caught. But I made good money doing it. People would give me \$5.50 for the drink, or I'd get huge tips from people I gave shots to. I got a job in a restaurant the very next day after I was fired. So what did I care?"*. The linchpin to this tactic was buying the same brand of alcohol as the establishment and being able to keep your personal belongings behind the bar. At the end of the night, Ryan would either switch an empty bottle with a full one, or would just leave it open and hidden behind the bar, pulling it out as needed. While the recourse for this kind of behavior was losing his job, he was still able to find a new job right away. Although Ryan only worked a total of five shifts before he was fired, he estimates that he made at least two hundred dollars a shift for a total of one thousand dollars and accredits this to pocketing the cash for drinks or giving away free shots.

Ocean was also able to steal business away from management by putting her math skills to work. Ocean quickly realized working on the job that the price that you ring in a drink into the register as, and the price you tell to customers don't necessarily have to be the same. As she describes:

"You can also maximize your tips by taking money away from your employer. You can punch in a drink that is \$8.50 as \$6.00 instead that has the same ingredients. And then you still charge them [the customer] the \$8.50 and pocket the \$2.50 from the drink. Like this one place I worked, a mojito would be \$8.50... all it was is rum, ultimately. So what I would do is punch in a rum and coke that was \$6.00, tell the customer it was \$8.50 and pocket the \$2.50".

Because the mojito and the rum and coke had the same alcohol content, her employer had never caught on to what she was doing. Most customers in a club don't ask for a bill either, so they were unlikely to realize what was going on. As Ocean further revealed, a similar trick could also be used when serving customers beer:

"...a pitcher is less than three pints. So then you punch in the pitcher, and charge them \$6.00 times three for the pints [eighteen dollars]. But the pitcher is \$15.00, so that's an extra \$3.00 in your pocket!"

Both Ocean and Ryan stated that customers often wanted to purchase their bartenders shots while they were working. While this practice is highly illegal, the two participants revealed how it provided yet another opportunity to use clever and deceitful tactics to make extra money behind the bar. As Ocean stated:

"To make tips, I would have customers buy me a shot, and I would pretend to punch in the shot, and charge them for it, and then I would do a shot of water. You don't want to get too drunk too early in the evening! So, you would say it was \$35.00 when it was really \$30.00. You would charge them the normal amount and pocket the cash. No one ever asks for a receipt at the club".

While Ocean would take the shot of water and pocket the cash, Ryan would use the opportunity to bank drinks that he could then give away to other customers. Instead of taking each drink that customers would buy him, he too would do a shot of water, ring in the total sale, charge the customer for the drink, and give the shot away to another customer. As he describes:

"Instead of taking each shot customers would buy me, I would save them and give them away to other customers who had a large, open tab or who kept coming back to me for drinks and giving me good tips."

In so doing, Ryan was able to get customers to keep coming back to him and giving him good tips. This strategy would also help set him apart from other bartenders who were not giving away free drinks to their customers. In this way, Ryan was able to establish a set of regular customers for the night that would reward his "generosity" with larger gratuity payments.

Ocean noted how clever and deceitful strategies such as the ones just mentioned could not be used in restaurants. In restaurants it is much more difficult for employees to steal from their employers. As Ocean describes:

"It's much harder at a restaurant. You're not making the food yourself, and you're not making the drinks yourself. In a restaurant what you pay for is what you get. But in a club, because you are using the computer system, you can usually manipulate the bill in your favor, as opposed to giving what's accurately supposed to be on the bill [...] in clubs, you can always have that shot of water with the customer. [In a restaurant] if you punch in four steaks, you get four steaks. In a restaurant you will see... there's too much of a paper trail. As a bartender, you don't want to get into that situation where there is a paper trail"

In a club, workers have far greater control over their work process and are able to manipulate it in their favor. Bartenders mix their own drinks and ring in their own sales, leaving them plenty of opportunity to cheat the system by ringing in a pitcher instead of three pints, or charging for a shot

of water and pocketing the cash or banking the shot. Conversely, in a restaurant, wait staff ring in their food and drink purchases that someone else like the cooks or bartenders prepare. As such, it is much more difficult to exploit opportunities to cheat the system without leaving yourself open to getting caught.

Exercising Emotional Labour in the Service Encounter:

Emotional labour is very important when trying to make tips. Like servers in restaurants, bartenders use their emotions and personality in the delivery of the service. Emotions, gender and sexuality are all used, and derive respect and compensation for the job in the same way the technical skill of mixing a drink does.⁷⁶ It is not enough for a bartender to know how to mix drinks. Rather, a good bartender knows when, and how to use their emotional labour, gender and sexuality in the customer service encounter to maximize the amount of tips made.

As three of my participants revealed, an important part of the job involves getting a "feel" for the customers and identifying what kind of service they are looking for. Some patrons simply want fast service. They want their drink as quick as possible and are not at all interested in talking with their bartender. Others are extremely social, and enjoy chatting away with the person mixing their drinks. As Tia mentioned:

"I mean... it depends on each person. Some people don't like that interaction. Some people like that a lot. Others just want you to come in, get their drinks, clean up their stuff and get out. So you have to be yourself, get a feel for that person and what they want, and build on that".

Delivering the correct kind of service is important for a bartender looking to make good tips.

Customers who are there with a large group of friends may be irritated by being held up at the bar

⁷⁶ Cobble, D. (1991a). pg. 5.

by a bartender chatting away. Such customers would be more likely to reward fast service, rather than a service interaction where the bartender is outgoing, friendly and trying to build a relationship with them. Similarly, other customers who are more social may regard the bartender as being rude if they simply prepare a drink without asking if they were having a good time and enjoying themselves. With such being the case, a good bartender must be able to decipher what kind of service a customer wants and provide it accordingly.

How emotional labour is exercised in the club is much different than how it is exercised in a restaurant or pub. In these two settings, there is an opportunity to build a relationship with customers over a period of a meal or a few drinks. During the early stages of the customer service interaction in a restaurant, the role of the wait staff is to make the customer feel welcome and offer assistance in selecting an entrée or beverage that will satisfy their individual tastes and preferences.⁷⁷ Once the meal is served and the food and beverage expectations of the customers are satisfied, wait staff are frequently instructed to provide "silent service".⁷⁸ Employees are not to disrupt the dining experience by constantly checking back with the customer. Rather, they are to observe the dining experience from a distance and use visual cues such as changes in body language or an empty beverage glass to find subtle ways to intervene. As the encounter commences, employees reaffirm the relationship with the customer by using statements such as, "I hope to see you here again". While the relational building skills used are different than the ones employed by bartenders, they are designed to achieve the same end result: ensure that the

⁷⁷ Gustafsson, I. et al. (2006). Pg. 89.

⁷⁸ Ross, S. (2004). "The Two Minute Rule" as taken from: **The Waiter Training Newsletter**, No. 129. Accessed from Waiter Training Website. www.waiter-training.com/newsletter_archive/n129.html. Accessed: December 7, 2006. Colorado: Waiter Training and Sumaro Inc.

customer has a positive service encounter, tipped their server, and has left with a favorable impression of the establishment and its servers.

Conversely, in a nightclub, it's difficult to build a relationship with customers over a period of time. Nightclubs are loud, making it difficult to talk to customers for a sustained period of time. Furthermore, clubs are also quite busy, with lineups of customers waiting to get a drink. As such, taking time to talk to each and every customer may result in fewer tips, as people would get frustrated waiting and go to a different bartender. As such, bartenders must use their emotional labour with a great amount of discretion. Striking the right balance between taking the time to be friendly and personable with customers and delivering their orders promptly is the key to making the most tips possible.

While it is difficult to talk with customers, each of my respondents noted how it is important to take the time to say hello, ask the person how they are doing, and if they are having a good time. Such small talk is integral to providing good service in the bar without being overbearing and keeping people waiting in line. As Ocean describes:

"It's important to try and become friends with people as soon as they walk in. You greet them with a smile. You encourage them to come back. For certain people, like if they are on vacation, you try to make it extra special. Ask how they are doing, if they are having a goodtime, stuff like that. You don't have much time to talk to people but when you do, you have to be bang on. No ones going to tip you if you are a bitch".

Nicole also mentioned the importance of being nice and friendly in customer service interactions.

She identifies providing this kind of service as a feature that sets her apart from other bartenders:

"That's it. That's what I do. Most bartenders aren't like that. They just expect you to tip them. As a result, they are just monotone. Some of them are very rude".

In terms of deciding whom to interact with, Nicole notes that she waits for the customer to start talking to her before she strikes up a conversation. If the person wants to have a conversation, Nicole would follow their lead, talking to them while mixing their orders and settling the tab. Otherwise, the focus is on providing fast and efficient service to as many patrons as possible to make the most tips.

When interacting with customers, it is essential for bartenders to seem as if they are having a good time at work and are enjoying what they are doing. In an environment where people are going to party, the last kind of person they want to interact with is someone who is miserable, hates their job, and does not want to be there. In clubs, wait staff are frequently trained to have a high level of energy and enthusiasm throughout their shift to create and sustain the overall "party mood" of the club.⁷⁹ Nicole, Tia and Ocean all noted that they add to the environment that they work in by having a goodtime themselves while they are there. As Nicole describes:

"I think I add to it [the environment]. If I am having a goodtime, than the people I serve will have a goodtime as well. But our staff, as a whole, we make the environment what it is. We add to it, and contribute to the culture together".

In order to seem as if they are having a goodtime, bartenders frequently have to manipulate their own moods and emotional state when they get to work. If a bartender arrives at work in a bad mood, it is important that they leave that all behind them as soon as they step foot behind the bar. Oftentimes the difference between a good night when hundreds of dollars are made and a bad one is in the attitude of the person serving drinks. Bartenders have to smile and look happy in their service interactions, as to not let the customers know how they are really feeling. As Ocean describes:

⁷⁹ Berkley, B. (1997). Pg. 86.

"People come in and feed off your energy. You have to give a certain percentage to everyone. At the end of the night you feel emotionally drained as well as physically. It's a physical job. It's physical labour. You can't come in with a broken arm or a broken foot. You also can't come in in a bad mood. You have to be on your game all the time. You have to always have a smile on your face; otherwise you aren't getting a tip. And that's what you're working for".

Tia made similar observations when reflecting on the emotional aspects of her job stating:

"If I went to work and I was a complete bitch than I am probably not going to make much money [...]. I find it really hard some nights [to go into work] because you really have to put aside anything in your personal life. Because, you know, you're face to face with customers and they can see it in your face that something isn't right. You basically have to block out anything that is wrong in your life and think that you are there to party".

As Ryan revealed, checking your mood at the door can be really difficult in light of some of the challenges that life can throw at you. As he describes:

"When my grandpa died, I had a hard time going into work. I really didn't want to be there, but I needed the money so I had to be. I took a few days off, but it takes longer than that to stop thinking about it, you know? So I just went into work, pushed through it, made some money. It helped to drink, but you're not supposed to do that. I did it anyway".

One of the more difficult aspects of being a bartender is providing fast, friendly service to customers who are not in a good mood. Sometimes people at the club have purposely gone there to cheer up and enjoy themselves and arrive in a bad mood. This sometimes can be a real problem for bartenders who are trying to keep the mood upbeat and lively. As Nicole describes, to be a professional bartender, you have to treat the good, happy customers the same as the bad, cranky ones:

"You have to know how to swallow it. Unless it's inappropriate or it crosses the line, but if people are just rude than you just can't act differently. You keep it consistent; you can't be in a bad mood

because of a customer and let others know it. I can't stress that enough. You have to have the ability to not be confrontational, do not be aggressive... you leave your attitude at the door".

While being nice to rude people is extremely difficult, it is also very important. Customers who are miserable and have a bad attitude also tip bartenders, so it is important to be friendly to them as well. Furthermore, helping someone get into a good, party mood may also provide another opportunity to earn decent tips. People may reward a bartender who helped to improve their mood generously, as they may have said or done something that brightened up their evening.

Appearance:

In the nightclub industry, the looks, gender and sexuality of a bartender are evaluated, manipulated and sometimes, exploited, by management to attract a particular type of clientele. As Hall (1993b) argues, hiring young, attractive wait staff and having them dress in a way that highlights their sex appeal is commonplace in the food and beverage service industry.⁸⁰ Nightclubs are no exception to this rule. Managers often hire young, attractive and sexually desirable people to work behind their bars. Each of my five research participants were very good looking and accredits some of their success in this industry to how it is that they look. One of my research participants went as far as to say that if you aren't good looking, you are not getting the job in the first place. As Ocean describes, it is expected that bartenders are good looking when they first apply for the job, and their appearance is carefully scrutinized by management in the hiring process:

"It's an appearance thing. Even if it's just a really buff guy over a modest looking girl, you're going to go to the guy... whether you're a guy or a girl. It's a sexual appearance thing. You're not going to turn on the TV and watch Ugly Betty when Baywatch is on. Like,

⁸⁰ Hall, E. (1993b). pg. 456.

anyone is going to watch beautiful people at any point in time. And the people that you hire to work at the club are part of the experience. It's like a piece of furniture that you buy. You hire good looking bartenders. People who are esthetically pleasing [to look at]".

The expectation that bartenders will be good looking is reinforced at both the industry and workplace level. Each year, Urban Male Magazine hosts both a Toronto and Canada's Hottest Bartender competition. Girls are selected by the magazine to appear at their contest whereby club-goers vote who is the hottest bartender in the city. No real objective measure is used. Winners are chosen based on who gets the loudest applause and the winner gets to walk away with the title of the hottest bartender. At the level of the workplace, many clubs advertise how "hot" the bartenders are in promotional material and on websites when trying to attract a particular type of clientele. Most often, these are the clubs catering to the young and hormonal ready to spend their entire paycheque at the club. For example, the club Mink, located in the Entertainment District has two pages on its website of its female staff members clad in tiny bikini tops, smiling, hugging each other, and mixing drinks as a means to entice people to come to the establishment.⁸¹

Conversely, at some clubs, management encourages employees to keep their clothes on while at work. Clubs that are more refined, classy and elegant are often staffed by bartenders who are not only young and attractive, but are also impeccably dressed. Management will often implement dress codes and guidelines such as wearing all black when coming into work. By wearing all black, bartenders create a sense of uniformity amongst co-workers and appear more professional than if they were to each wear something of their own choosing. Furthermore, choosing black as the colour to wear has a practical element to it as well. Most people have black

⁸¹ For example, please see Mink Nightclub website. www.minknightclub.com/staff.

clothing already, and thus do not have to go out and buy a whole new wardrobe to wear when going to work in the club.

Both Ryan and Tia worked in clubs where management encouraged employees to come into work dressed up in all black. Ryan stated that he would wear a black long sleeve shirt and dress pants to work, while Tia stated that she would wear a skirt or pants and a top, or a dress to work depending on how she felt. Nicole's boss did not have a formal dress code for their workplace, but it was expected that employees would show up dressed for work as if she was going out to the club that night to party.

At the other end of the spectrum are the clubs that require people to take it off for the job. One such establishment is the notorious party club described in chapter four. At this club, female bartenders wore bikini tops and low-cut jeans, while male bartenders would wear board shorts with, or without, shirts. Ocean applied for a job at this club and described her experience as the following:

"Well... I went in and it was a job fair so there were a lot of girls and guys waiting there. It was a pretty long wait; like half-hour, forty-five minutes. They were just constantly rotating, five minute interviews. And I talked to a lot of girls and none of them were as beautiful, and were kind of ugly looking. Can I say that? Ok. They weren't like, really beautiful but they were ready and willing to take off their shirts for money... for tips. Because part of the uniform is to just wear a bikini top and jeans, or for the boys, no shirt and board shorts. And they ultimately would like beautiful people but sometimes that cant happen. Because of their uniform they were taking just anybody who was going to wear it. So when I was there I had the interview with the manager, and we had a pretty good interview. Every question I answered bang on, she was impressed. And then she said, 'so how do you feel about working in just a bikini top?'. I said, I am not comfortable with that and that is not something I would like to do in my career. And she said, 'ok, thank you for your time'. I was just like, I'll see you later".

As Ocean's description suggests, bartenders enter jobs knowing what is expected of them. Right away, bartenders are given the opportunity to make the choice to take it off for tips, or keep it on and find a job with a more suitable dress code. Jack also made the point that people who work in clubs where they are required to be scantily clad most often choose to be there:

"Definitely appearance is a big thing. But it all depends on where you work, right? Like a lot of places you wear all black, long sleeves, and it doesn't matter if you are a male or a female, right? But then there are places where you wear the least clothing as possible and as much glitter and makeup you can back on. So again, it's all about where you work. It's all in the atmosphere that you put yourself in. I don't feel that anyone is forced to work anywhere.... They know what they are getting themselves into. If they choose not to work there it's their own prerogative on things".

Gender and Sexuality:

While dress codes apply equally to men and women, appearance and sexuality are more important for women in this industry than men. Take for example the Toronto's Hottest Bartender competition described earlier. This event showcases attractive, young women who are voted for based upon their looks. Conversely, other industry level events such as the Flairco Cup flair bartending competition held each year in Toronto is dominated by men who are evaluated on the basis of their skill, and not their appearance. According to the All the Flair website, the top ten bottle flairers in Toronto were male.⁸² This is consistent with the information on gender and emotional labour discussed in the literature review. As Cobble (1991b) argued, by linking skill with masculinity, women are regarded as incapable of being "proficient mixologists", and have to rely on emotions and looks to be successful bartenders.⁸³

⁸² All the Flair Website. Accessed: December 1, 2007. <http://alltheflair.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=88>

⁸³ Cobble, D. (1991b). pg. 234.

How women exercise emotional labour in the workplace also seems to differ from their male counterparts. As was further argued in the literature review, men and women are enlisted into the food and beverage service industry for two different reasons. While men were expected to have the technical mastery of mixing and serving drinks, women were expected to possess the "soft skills" of being friendly, flirtatious and deferent in customer service interactions.⁸⁴ This argument is also a valid criticism of the nightclub setting in particular, as management will often encourage and facilitate displays of skills in accordance with gendered scripts of acceptable behavior.

Ocean was by far the most forthcoming about how she has used her looks and sexuality to make tips, describing how management has encouraged her in the past to exploit these aspects of oneself. At one of her previous workplaces, management would actively encourage bartenders to flirt, dance on the top of the bars, and play into the lesbian fantasy of heterosexual males. In recounting what management would encourage her to do at this at work, Ocean stated that:

"At [name omitted] they would tell me to wear less clothing, to dance around so that I could get more tips from customers. They would say, 'grind with the girls' to make the customers have a better experience. But they would say it in more racy terms. Or, some girls would kiss.... I wouldn't do that. It's not my personality. Umm... you basically, literally, have to whore yourself out. That's what it is. You're selling an experience, but you're also selling your body in a certain way".

In this environment, Ocean would occasionally act in the highly flirtatious and sexually aggressive manner that management wanted to make tips for herself. For example, on one occasion Ocean stated that she:

"One night, the other bartender [name omitted] and I would dance around and we had these guys in from Mexico. So, they were like,

⁸⁴ Hall, E. (1993b). Pg. 452.

'hey lets do body shots!' and I said, ummm, ok. You give us ten dollars and we'll do the body shots off each other. They were like, 'well, that's not very fair!'. And I was like, well do you want to see it or not? It was more about a lesbian fantasy than a drinking experience because we were taking shots out of every cleavage you could imagine. And it worked. We charged them ten dollars to do shots of water. They didn't know if it was alcohol or not. It's vodka, I swear!'

It is important to note that while some managers actively encourage the behavior described by Ocean, others have taken a more modest, gender neutral stance on how their employees should interact with customers. As both Tia and Nicole described, while they could go out and flirt with the clientele, management has never once encouraged them to do so. Instead, the focus is on making sure people are having a goodtime and are enjoying themselves, not turning them on. Both male and female bartenders alike would ask people if they were enjoying themselves and would make small talk with clientele. At these establishments, men and women would have similar dress codes, with both having to wear all black to work or come in dressed as if they themselves were going out to party at the club.

But the vast majority of clubs still use female sexuality and attractiveness to draw in a crowd. While each of my research participants worked in a club where there were males behind the bar, they all noted that the vast majority of bartenders in the nightclub industry are female. Where Tia works, seventy-five percent of the bartenders are female, and the club that Nicole works for currently has a few males working for it as well. Both Ryan and Jack felt that it was harder for guys to get into the industry. Jack, who had tried many times to get into a club as a bartender before and ultimately decided to go work in a restaurant, describes how men have to put in their time and pay their dues working at the club before being able to get behind the bar:

"I think that as a male, you have to work your way up from the bottom. You would have had to of worked in the nightclub for a long time and

have that older, more mature feel to you. You would have to barback for a while before they would put you behind the bar. I didn't want to work from the bottom up, so I went at it from the restaurant side of things, and will go from there".

Overall, the gendered norms about emotional labour and sexuality described in the literature review seem to be present in nightclub bartending as well. Management is more inclined to hire females willing to behave in a flirtatious and friendly manner than men in general. Furthermore, in some instances, management will often encourage employees to exploit their own looks, emotions and sexuality to draw business into the club and maximize revenue for themselves and the establishment.

Summary:

This chapter has explored how bartenders in nightclubs earn tips. Tips make up the majority of a bartender's income, as the hourly wage of \$6.95 paid by management is hardly enough to sustain oneself. How workers are allocated tips differ from one establishment to another. In some places, management automatically adds a gratuity to the bill and gives some, or all, of that money to their bartenders. At others formal or informal tip pools exist, whereby all tips are pooled together and divided amongst employees. But at most places, employees get to keep all the tips that they themselves had brought in that night.

Bartenders have developed a number of strategies for maximizing their income. Some patrons reward bartenders with generous tips because they received fast service, while others are looking for a chance to engage with the bartenders and reward friendly and flirtatious service. Bartenders who are most successful in this industry know how to differentiate what kind of service a customer is looking for, and provide it accordingly. In addition to using their emotional labour, and providing fast service, bartenders have also developed a number of clever and deceitful tactics to

maximize their income, spanning from charging customers to do shots of water, to stealing sales away from management.

Ofentimes the gender, sexuality and appearance are manipulated by both management and the bartenders themselves to make the most amount of money possible. Management will frequently hire women that are young and good looking to work behind their bars and have them dress according to what kind of establishment it is. In some extreme cases, management will encourage female employees to use their own appearance and sexuality to entice customers and make the most tips possible. Other employers have adopted a more gender neutral approach to customer service that does not involve the exploitation of sexuality, gender or emotions.

While men are held to many of the same standards as women with regards to having to be young, attractive and conform to dress codes in order to work in this industry, they are more likely to be praised for their skill, and not their looks. But because men lack the sex appeal and flirtation that women have, it is often harder for them to break into this industry. Most men have to work from the bottom up before they ever get a chance to serve a drink behind the bar. The next chapter will explore the implications of the tips and tricks used to maximize income, and the positive and negative effects of employment in a nightclub.

Chapter Six: Implications of Earning Tips.

The Good, the Bad and the Ugly of Working for Tips at a Nightclub.

Let's go out for dinner, I'm in a rotten mood,
I'll insult the waitress, and complain about the food.
I'll snap my fingers in the air, and whistle for my cheque,
And if it's not delivered prompt, by God I'll give her heck.
She'd better smile and be polite, or she won't get a tip.
I will not take any hassle from such a little snip.
Well, after all, was it not said: 'the customer's always right?'
I'll just let off a little steam...it could be quite the night.
Frances Urquhart.⁸⁵

As this thesis has argued, bartenders work in an environment that is fast-paced, loud, large and filled with people who are drinking, dancing and having a good time. To make an income in this environment, bartenders have developed a number of strategies (some of which are illegal and deceitful) to maximize tips in each of their customer interactions. Some customers enjoy and reward fast service, meaning that bartenders make the most money by serving drinks quickly. Others are looking for an interactive encounter, prompting the bartender to use elements of themselves such as emotions and sexuality to deliver the best service possible. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the good, bad and ugly of working in the nightclub environment for tips. By reviewing the positive and negative implications of earning tips and working in a party environment, this last chapter will try to put the experience of bartenders in perspective.

The Good Stuff About Bartending:

One thing that really struck a cord with me while doing my interviews was how happy my participants were with their jobs. All five of the bartenders loved their jobs for three reasons. The first was leaving work after each shift with a wad of cash in their pockets, the second was being

⁸⁵ As taken from: Urquhart, F. (1986). Pg. 60.

able to work in an environment that is fun, plays good music and is filled with people who love to party, and the third was the hours that they worked.

Once I began gathering information about how much money bartenders actually made working in the club, I was ready to abandon this thesis and my Masters degree altogether and jump behind the bar myself. Each of my participants reported that on a good night, they were leaving with at least two hundred dollars in their pockets at the end of the shift. For four to eight hours of work, depending on when they started, that's an impressive amount of money to make in one night. Over the course of a weekend, working Friday and Saturday nights, both Tia and Nicole stated that they could make up to five hundred bucks. As Nicole revealed, on a typical weekend, *"...I will probably make anywhere from three to five hundred dollars, depending on the weekend and how busy it is"*. Similarly, Tia revealed that in the last two shifts worked, *"I probably made about five hundred dollars"*. See why I was ready to stop researching about bartending and take it up myself?

While impressed and blown away at the thought of making five-hundred dollars in a weekend, Ryan noted that on some weekends, more than that could be made. On one occasion, Ryan left the club after his shift with seven hundred bucks in his pocket. He was quick to note that this was an exceptionally good night, but commented that most bartenders have a "good night" every once in a while. On this particular occasion, Ryan described his experience as the following:

"One night I was at work and this bachelorette party came in. They were all cute, having a good time, and were looking to get totally wasted. I played right into it. I had the bride up dancing on the bar with her friends, were giving them shots, the works. They just kept saying how much they loved me, thought I was hot, and kept giving me money, giving me money. The club was packed that night, and I was serving other customers as well. So when I left that night, from other customers and the bachelorette party, I made seven hundred bucks. I almost shit myself when I counted how much money I had made that night".

One important factor to keep in mind when looking at the amount of tips made is that it is tax-free. As Ocean notes, *"On a really busy Saturday night, you would make, like, two-hundred, two-hundred and fifty... tax free. I'd have to make like four hundred bucks to clear two-hundred and fifty after taxes and deductions"*. While bartenders are required by law to report the amount of tips made when filing income tax, most don't. Bartenders usually declare their hourly wages because of the paper trail associated with pay stubs and T4 slips, and maybe a small percentage of their tips just to prevent themselves from being audited and having to pay back taxes. But for the most part, the income made at the club gets to stay in your pocket, and not go into Mr. Harper's.

The second reason why many bartenders enjoy their jobs is because of the environment that they work in. As Ocean stated, *"I would rather be a bartender at this point of my life than be stuck in an office from nine until five doing paperwork. At least I am not stuck behind a computer"...* a point made very clear to me as I was stuck behind my desk, working on my computer, hammering out this thesis. Clubs don't have the rigid structure, rules and policies put into place that can suck the fun out of work. Rather, clubs actively try to create an enjoyable, party-like atmosphere that is pleasurable for most to work in. As Nicole stated in her interview:

"It's the environment that I love. It's very easy-going, relaxed, especially amongst coworkers... not once you're behind the bar, it's crazy. Wearing whatever you want, good music, good people. What's not to like?"

Similarly, Tia stated that:

"I love my job. I love the people I work with. You meet new people every night and most of them are really nice. You get to hear a lot of really crazy stories and meet some crazy people too!"

Interacting with new people, coworkers and friends at the club is part of what makes being a bartender so great. Most bartenders seem to enjoy their customer interactions as it provides the opportunity to meet new people, hear a few crazy stories and socialize. Furthermore, clubs are just a fun place to be. The music is great, most clubs are gorgeous inside, and the crowd is there to party. What extraverted, party-loving, twenty-something wouldn't love to walk into this work environment? As Ocean so eloquently put it, who would want to work behind a desk when you could work at the club?

A third reason that a few of my participants revealed as a reason why they like their jobs has to do with the hours that you work. As Nicole, Ocean and Tia all agreed, working at a club is the perfect job while you are a student. Because all of your work takes place late at night on the weekends, your weekdays are free and open for you to go to class and get your work done. As Nicole stated, *"It's the only way to work if you are a student. It's the only way to survive as a student. My school work gets done during the week and then I work all weekend"*. Instead of trying to balance between a part-time job that requires you to work during your school week, you have five weekdays free to study and go to class. Then, when the weekend rolls around, you can go into work for four to eight hours for two shifts and make comparable, if not better money than other students who work during the week.

Tia raised an interesting case in point when reflecting on her experience as both a student and a bartender. As an avid sports enthusiast, Tia plays on her school's varsity soccer team. To be on the team, there are a number of practices, games and tournaments in other cities that one has to commit to in order to be on the varsity team. Tia noted that she *"...had to travel for soccer a lot and I can do it with this job"*. Bartending at night on the weekends gave Tia the flexibility in her

schedule to participate in extra-curricular activities that she may not have been able to do if she had a "typical" part-time job that requires one to work during the week.

The Bad and the Ugly of Bartending:

With the good, positive aspects of any job comes the bad, and bartending is no exception. While the money, the environment and the hours all have a good side to them, there is also the other side of the coin that has to be considered. With regards to the money, on good nights, hundreds of tax-free dollars can be made. Bartenders are able to leave work with a pocket full of cash after each shift, and don't have to wait until payday for money. Bartenders can also count on a cheque from their employer for their hours worked. As was previously mentioned, bartenders are paid a minimum liquor serving wage of \$6.95 an hour... a full \$1.05 an hour less than minimum wage.

But on bad nights when the club is slow, bartenders make next to nothing. As Nicole stated, *"On a bad night, I can walk out of the club with twenty dollars, and I still worked for five hours. And we do get paid hourly, but its nothing"*. As I argued in chapter five, the hourly wages paid to bartenders hardly make it worth getting out of bed for a shift. It's the tips that you work for, and when the tips are bad, so too is your take home income. As Jack stated, most bartenders are reluctant to discuss the nights when next to no money is made:

"It's like going to the casino. I could go to the casino and tell you about the thousands I win, but not tell you about the thousands I had dropped before. Same thing at the club.[...] I always hear about the big nights. I never hear about the nights where they make only thirty or forty bucks. And they are paying twenty dollars for parking and it's pretty much not worth the time".

As Jack touched upon and Nicole also revealed, going to work downtown at the club isn't cheap. Paying for gas, wear and tear on a car, and downtown parking which can run you anywhere

from fifteen to twenty-five dollars a night, can all add up. Furthermore, looking good doesn't come at a low cost. Having to buy appropriate work clothes, make up and an arsenal of beauty supplies to look your best when going into work can be quite expensive. When you walk out of the club having made only twenty bucks, you have technically paid to go to work and have wasted your time being there.

The hours of work also have their drawbacks. While it allows you the flexibility and freedom to engage in school related activities and work during the week, it does cut into your social life. As Nicole describes, *"I don't have a weekend. Most students have the weekend to study and party and I can't do that"*. Because bartenders work on Friday and Saturday nights, they often cannot go to the club themselves with their friends to party, unless they have the night off. Given that clubs are dead during the week and the fact that most people work during the weekday, it's difficult to find friends to go out and party with you during the week. No one wants to get drunk on a Tuesday and have to go into work on a Wednesday. Thus, by working in the industry, most bartenders have to forgo the opportunity to party at the club with their friends.

The hours can also make it difficult to sustain relationships with family members and significant others. As Ryan mentioned in chapter four, the hours that he worked meant that he was coming home from work and going to bed as his father was waking up to go to work himself. As this suggests, working all weekend and sleeping late into the day can make it difficult to spend quality time with ones partner or family members on the weekend. Conversely, when a bartender is free to spend time with others during the weekdays, most people are working.

The hours also can be a real drawback during the key "crunch" times of the school year. Most students need the weekends to intensely focus on studying for midterms and exams at the

middle and end of the school semester, as well as time to write papers, do labs and complete other home-based coursework. If you're a bartender, the option of using the time on the weekends to complete this work or study is unavailable. Given that most bartenders don't finish work until sometime around three in the morning and don't arrive home until sometime after that, a vast majority spend the next day sleeping until they have to wake up and go to work again. As such, school work is crammed into five days so that the weekends are available for working at the club.

The working environment is another thing that bartenders have to take the good with the bad. While clubs can be fun places to work given their atmosphere, ambiance and the crowd that they serve, this too can be problematic. The first and one of the most obvious drawbacks of working in the nightclub environment is that it makes it tough not to drink, and in some cases, can facilitate alcoholism. As academic studies have demonstrated, wait staff in restaurants and bars are more prone to excessive drinking than the normal population.⁸⁶ Further research by Kjaerheim, Mykletun and Haldorsen (1996) has linked these increased rates of alcoholism amongst wait staff to their selection into the industry based on their personality characteristics.⁸⁷ Such workers were found to be more extroverted than the general population based upon their high scores of extroversion on personality tests. Wait staff that were extroverted were found to be more prone to drinking on the job in order to enhance their work experiences.

It is easy to imagine how an extroverted bartender could easily find themselves in such a situation. As was previously mentioned, it is the role of the bartender to create the overall "party mood" in the establishment and to evoke feelings of enthusiasm and enjoyment in their

⁸⁶ Davies, J. (1981). "Drinking and Alcohol-Related Problems in Five Industries" in Hore, D. & M. Plant (eds) **Alcohol Problems in Employment**. London: Croom Helm. Pg. 38-59.

⁸⁷ Kjaerheim, K., R. Mykletun & T. Haldorsen. (1996). "Selection into the Restaurant Business Based on Personality Characteristics and the Risk of Heavy Drinking" in **The Journal of Personality and Individual Differences**, Vol. 21, No. 4, pg. 625.

customers.⁸⁸ Working in an environment where patrons are drinking to have a good time may cause some bartenders to "join in the fun" and drink themselves. As two of my participants revealed, they frequently indulge in drinks with the patrons that they serve. As was discussed in the last chapter, drinking with patrons can also provide an opportunity to make extra money by ripping off customers buying them shots, or can induce the proper mood needed to be at work in the club. In the words of Ocean, *"Drinking is all part of the job. No one forces you to do it. It's all a matter of choice. But when you work in a place where people are partying and having a good time, it's hard to make the right one"*.

Consistent with the information discussed in the literature review, sexual harassment can be a problem, especially for female bartenders, given the environment that they work in. Female bartenders are most often young, attractive and either scantily clad or impeccably dressed, serving men who are more than likely drunk and emotionally charged having spent a prolonged period of time in the club. On some occasions, bartenders can use this to their advantage and exploit their own sexuality for these men to make more tips. As Ocean described in the previous chapter, she would take body shots off other girls or dance with them on the bar to make more money from the male clientele. But sometimes, male patrons cross the line and take it upon themselves to sexually harass the bartenders that are serving them. As Tia revealed, *"I've had customers try to pinch my bum, pat my butt, you know, stupid things like that. I would just tell a bouncer and the guy would be thrown out"*.

In most cases, management wants to protect the people that serve for them and will take every measure to remove the person once an act of sexual harassment has occurred. But, on the

⁸⁸ Berkley, B. (1997). pg. 84.

flip-side, management often encourages their female bartenders to dress and act a certain way that can provoke such incidents. Furthermore, in some cases it is the manager who is doing the harassing. As Nicole described, *"People are scandalous. You will get hit on in interviews. I've been hit on, and I've said no, and they have been like no, sorry there are no positions, I can't take you"*. Nicole was quick to note that not all managers are like this, and that the manager at the club she currently works at would never look at the girls who work for him that way. But in other instances, the very people who are responsible for protecting you from such harassment are the very ones doing it in the first place.

When serving patrons at the club, bartenders are prone to many of the same damaging effects of emotional labour that research has shown to occur in other forms of interactive service work such as flight attendants,⁸⁹ or window workers at McDonalds.⁹⁰ As Ocean described, working at a club can be:

"...emotionally draining. People come in and basically suck your energy. You have to give a certain amount of your persona to everyone. At the end of the night you feel emotionally drained as well as physically".

Having to interact with hundreds of different customers while appearing as if you are happy enjoying yourself in each of those interactions can be a difficult task. In hospitality management literature it has been noted that exercising emotional labour in customer interactions can lead to feelings of stress and emotional withdraw.⁹¹ Ryan noted how at the end of his shifts at the club, he was often left feeling stressed out and wound up too tightly to go home and relax:

"It's hard sometimes. When it's busy, it's tough to keep up with people ordering drinks. People just keep on ordering... it seemed like it would

⁸⁹ For example, see: Hochschild, A. (1983).

⁹⁰ For example, see: Leidner, R. (1993).

⁹¹ Gill, A., A. Flaschner & M. Shachar. (2006). Pg. 469-470.

never end. It would get really stressful sometimes. You want to give people good service, but it's hard when there is so many of them. Then, it's as if it just stops. After last call, you stop and start cleaning up. But you're wound up so tight it's hard to slow down. People are heading home to sleep, and you're still revved to go. I wouldn't be able to fall asleep until hours after I was done my shift. My head would be pounding from the music, I would be buzzed (laughing). But seriously, it's hard to relax after a shift. It can be tough some nights".

As was also discussed in the fifth chapter, it can be difficult and stressful to come into work when you are in a bad mood. Having to put on your "happy face" to deal with customers can be tough in light of some of the challenges that life can throw at you. As was previously mentioned, Ryan found it difficult to go into work after his grandfather died. While he felt a great deal of sadness at his passing, he was unable to display these emotions once he was behind the bar. While management may not have said anything to him about his mood, a poor performance at work would have resulted in fewer tips and less take-home income. This too, can be a great deal of stress as bartenders who, like every other member of the working population, rely on their income to survive.

Finally, relationships with family members and significant others can also become strained in light of the requirements of the job. It may be difficult for a person to accept the fact that their boyfriend or girlfriend is headed to work looking their best to be friendly and flirtatious with the customers they are serving. This may raise issues of jealousy and insecurity in the person watching their partner walking out the door to bartend. Relationships with family members may become strained as well. Mothers, fathers and siblings may not approve of the occupational choice that the person has made. For example, what father or brother wants to think about his daughter or sister heading to work in a mini skirt (or worse) to dance on a bar and serve drunken club goers?

Summary:

As this chapter has revealed, working in a club has its good and bad points. On the positive side of things are the money, the hours and the opportunity to work in an environment that is energetic, plays good music and filled with people looking to party. Bartenders at the club make, on average, five hundred dollars on a weekend serving drinks in an environment that most of them love to be in. The hours that bartenders keep can also be a real asset. Because most of the work takes place in the evenings during the weekend, weekdays are free to do school work, go to class and participate in extra-curricular activities.

But there are also a number of downfalls to working at the club. While hundreds of dollars can be made, on a bad night, next to nothing is made. In fact, the argument could be made that bartenders end up paying to go to work on a night when the club is slow. In addition, the hours can also be a real pain. While working at the club leaves one the weeks free for school work, there are those times during the semester where having the weekend free to write papers, study or do other home-based coursework would be appreciated. Furthermore, by working at the club, it's hard to go out with friends as most bartenders are stuck working when most people are looking to go out and party.

While the nightclub environment can be fun to work in, it can also give rise to three significant problems: alcoholism, sexual harassment and emotional burnout. Furthermore, relationships with family members and significant others may become strained due to the highly sexualized and emotional nature of the job being performed by the bartender. This chapter has briefly outlined how and why bartenders at the club are prone to such problems as a result of their working conditions. Further research is needed to clearly link these problems to the conditions of

nightclubs and to develop an understanding of the implications that alcoholism, sexual harassment and emotional burnout carry for bartenders.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion.

The Last Call...

“I think that everyone should go to college and get a degree and then spend six months as a bartender and six months as a cabdriver. Then they would really be educated”.
Al McGuire.⁹²

The purpose of this paper has been to explore the work of bartenders employed in large nightclubs in the city of Toronto. Nightclubs are a relatively recent phenomenon, as it wasn't until the 1980's that they really became a prominent feature of the Toronto nightlife scene. Now, Toronto has one of the most concentrated club districts in North America, with 88 nightclubs crammed into the one kilometer square that makes up the Entertainment District in the downtown core.⁹³ Yet despite their strong presence on the urban scene, they have not made an appearance in academic literature. This paper has attempted to shed some light on the numerous issues in nightclub bartending that are worthy of further academic study.

There is, however, a large body of knowledge on emotional labour and has been some study of other food and beverage establishments such as restaurants, pubs, sports bars and fast food outlets that can be used to design a theoretical framework and research model to study workers in the nightclub setting. The information incorporated into the literature review helps one to understand what emotional labour is, its gendered dynamics, and the causes and consequences of performing it. Further information on gratuity payments is also useful, as it helps to understand why tips are important to both bartenders and the customers who leave them, as well as the techniques that wait staff in general have devised to maximize this important source of income. This paper has

⁹² As taken from: ThinkExist Website. Accessed: December 20, 2007.
<http://www.thinkexist.com/quotes/with/keyword/bartender.com>.

⁹³ Balkissoon, D. (2007). Pg. 48.

attempted to use this information as the foundation to study how bartenders maximize their income while working at the club.

The first goal of this paper was to describe the nightclub setting. As I argued in the fourth chapter, nightclubs are large, loud and filled with hundreds to thousands of people looking to party. In general, there are two different types of nightclub settings. The first are the notorious party clubs that cater to the needs of younger club goers. The second type of club setting are those that cater to the "older" crowd and are more classy, refined and elegant than their counterparts who cater to the needs of younger patrons. Unlike restaurants, most clubs are only busy on the weekend during the late evening and early morning hours. Furthermore, how the service provided by the bartender is delivered is different than restaurants or pubs, and has more in common with fast-food workers than wait staff in other types of food and beverage establishments.

Having contextualized the experience of bartenders by describing their work environment, the second goal of this thesis was to describe what it is that they do while at work to make money. As the fifth chapter outlined, there are numerous skills, tips and tricks that bartenders have devised to maximize their income in customer interactions...some of which are legal, and others that are not. Bartenders can manipulate their work process to steal business away from their employer and put extra money in their pockets. How bartenders interact with customers is also an important factor influencing the amount of tips that they made. Some customers simply want fast service, while others are looking for a more engaging, interactive encounter with their bartender. A good bartender has to be able to decipher what kind of service a customer wants and provide it accordingly.

As the fifth chapter further revealed, there is also an element of self-exploitation involved in working at the club. In some cases, bartenders often have to exploit their own emotions, appearance, sexuality and gender to make the most money possible. In other cases, it is not self-exploitation. Rather, it is management actively encouraging their bartenders to use those aspects of themselves that are an integral part of who they are in the delivery of a service. These managers often intentionally hire bartenders based upon how they look, and encourage them to use their sexuality, emotions, appearance and gender to make the most money possible for both the establishment and themselves. In other clubs, managers are focused on providing customer service in a more gender neutral way, hiring both men and women and subjecting them to the similar dress codes and standards of service.

The third goal of this thesis was to put the experience of bartenders in perspective by outlining the positive and negative aspects of working in a club. While the money, hours and environment have their good points, they are not without fault. While hundreds of dollars can be made in a night, on some shifts, you end up making next to nothing. The hours of work also have their advantages and disadvantages. While working mostly on the weekends frees up time to go to class, get school work done and participate in extra-curricular activities throughout the week, it can make it difficult during busy times of the school year. Weekends are unavailable for writing papers or studying for tests and exams. Furthermore, by working at the club most bartenders have to forgo the opportunity to party at the club themselves. Being a bartender can cut into your social life as you are stuck working when most of your friends are looking to go out and party at the end of the week.

The nightclub environment is the major reason why most people love to work as a bartender, but this too can be a great source of problems. As both the academic research and my participants revealed, it can be difficult not to drink while at work. Working in an environment that is filled with people who are partying and drinking may cause some to join in the fun and drink themselves. Sexual harassment is another problem that is shaped by the environment. Managers often hire young, attractive females and encourage them to use their sexuality in such a way that leaves them vulnerable to harassment by customers, co-workers and managers. Finally, emotional burnout is another problem some bartenders encounter. Having to exercise emotional labour over and over again with hundreds of different customers can be a challenge, leading to feelings of stress and emotional exhaustion at the end of a shift.

There are some options available that can be used to mitigate the negative effects of employment at the club. First and foremost, management can implement workplace policies and practices that can protect workers from alcoholism and sexual harassment. In the clubs that Tia and Nicole worked at, management would fire or suspend employees who were caught drinking on the job. Most bartenders don't want to miss out on the opportunity to make tips and won't drink out of fear of being taken off the schedule or fired entirely from the establishment. As such, both Tia and Nicole would never drink on the job like Ryan and Ocean did. Sexual harassment may also be mitigated through dress codes that require bartenders to come into work fully clothed, unlike Cantina Charlees or Mink where bartenders were required to be scantily clad in bikini tops. Furthermore, by emphasizing the importance of customer service instead of the appearance and sexuality of the person serving the drinks, management can begin to address some of the gendered issues and dynamics of bartending described in the fifth chapter.

While some argue that the psychological effects of providing emotional labour are an inherent feature of interactive service work,⁹⁴ it is important to explore how these effects can be minimized for workers. One idea to consider would be to implement sessions with social workers or councilors to teach workers how to cope with stress and emotional exhaustion. Such training could teach stress reduction strategies such as meditation, yoga or deep breathing exercises. -- Sessions could also be used to teach workers about the negative effects of long-term alcohol use and how to recognize the symptoms of alcoholism in themselves and fellow coworkers. Individual counseling sessions could also be made available to workers who seem to be suffering from feelings of stress or burnout, or who may be engaging in excessive drinking while at work.

While such an idea may be easy to dismiss on the grounds that it would be too costly, one must consider the costs associated with doing nothing. Lawsuits brought against the employer for issues such as sexual harassment or for allowing an intoxicated worker to leave the club, drive home drunk and injure themselves or others in a car accident could really eat away at the bottom line of club owners. Furthermore, having to constantly fire people for drinking at work could increase costs associated with having to hire and train new employees. But above and beyond the costs, there should be an ethical obligation on the part of the employer to protect their employees from the negative effects of employment in the nightclub environment, especially with regards to alcoholism. Employers should be required to monitor their employees and make sure that they are not falling victims to the very drinks that they serve while at work.

There is also something to be said for increasing unionization amongst this group of workers. To date, unions have not made any significant in-roads organizing bartenders working in

⁹⁴ For example, see: Lashley, C. (2002). Pg. 257.

nightclubs in Canada. United Food and Commercial Workers, Service Employees International Union, and UNITE HERE have all managed to organize a small percentage of bartenders working in restaurants, pubs and sports bars, but no example of an organized nightclub could be found. For example, UNITE HERE represents men and women in the hospitality, tourism and related industries with its members working at hotels, restaurants, bars, entertainment venues, golf courses, airports, race tracks and sporting arenas.⁹⁵ No where in the UNITE HERE literature could an example be found of an organized nightclub, nor was their mention on any of the websites of the three unions listed above of trying to organize workers in this setting.

Bartenders in nightclubs could benefit from increased unionization. Unions could provide the space to address some of the gendered issues and dynamics of this form of employment, as well as provide a means to take proactive steps to prevent sexual harassment and alcoholism. Collective agreements could be used to set suitable dress codes and hours of work, put counseling sessions in place to deal with the effects of emotional labour and alcoholism, and provide a means for workers to air their workplace grievances with their employer. But for this to be successful, unions have to overcome some of the obstacles that they face in their larger struggle for union renewal. Unions would have to educate themselves about this workplace setting and what makes it unique from other places where they have managed to organize bartenders. Unions would also have to re-evaluate their organizing strategies in light of the unique working conditions. For example, organizing drives would have to take place late at night and into the morning hours, as you are unlikely to find a bartender in a club during the day. Furthermore, they would have to learn how to effectively communicate the purpose, goals and benefits of belonging to a union to a group

⁹⁵ Unite Here Local 40 Website. Accessed on December 20, 2007.
<http://www.local40union.com/joinlocal40.html>.

of young employees. Once organized, unions would have to make sure that they have a proper understanding of the workplace challenges associated with nightclub employment so that they may serve their purpose of improving working conditions for this group of workers.

Overall, what is needed is further research on bartenders working in clubs. In order to devise proper solutions to their workplace challenges, we first have to make sure we understand what it is that we are talking about. At the most basic level, large scale surveys are needed to collect demographic information about this group of workers. Such surveys could calculate how many nightclub bartenders there are, the gendered composition of the workforce, how much money they make, the hours of work, and information about the work process such as the number of patrons served and drinks made on a shift. Further in-depth personal interviews could also be conducted with a larger sample size to link the implications of working as a bartender discussed in chapter six with the working environment. Such research could focus on fleshing out one of the many issues raised in this thesis to develop a more thorough understanding of the challenges associated with being a nightclub bartender.

This point brings me to the final goal of this paper: to inspire others to write about this topic. Whether people agree or disagree with my analysis, it is my hope that others will pick up on the issues that I have raised and write about it in more depth than I could go into at this point in time. Bartending is an occupation that has been around for quite some time, and needs to be further explored in the new nightclub setting. Ultimately, what we need to develop is a systematic appreciation and understanding of the work of nightclub bartenders. And it is on this note that I leave you with my one final "tip" for club goers and academics alike... leave a good one for your bartender, because they are working hard for it.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS:

BARBACK: A barback is like an assistant bartender that is responsible for performing the more physical and strenuous tasks associated with bartending. Some of their responsibilities include: running around collecting empty bottles and glasses, changing kegs when they are empty, re-stocking alcohol, ice and pop, and making sure that the bartender has everything that they need to serve customers. A vast majority of barback's are male due to social norms that equate "strength" with "masculinity", and are there to help out the female bartenders with the more physical tasks associated with their jobs.

BODY SHOT: A body shot is a shot of alcohol that is consumed by a person off of another persons' body, usually from erogenous zones such as the belly button or breasts. There are three different ways to do a body shot. In one version, a person places a shot glass in their cleavage for it to be retrieved by the person taking the shot with their mouth. In another version, using a shot of tequila, the person taking the shot holds a shot glass in one hand, while the person giving the shot hold a lemon wedge in their mouth. The person taking the shot then licks a part of the persons giving the shot, sprinkles salt on that body part, and then licks the salt off. The person then quickly drinks the shot and retrieves the lemon from the person giving the shots mouth, using only their mouth. Finally, a person can take a shot out of the belly button of another person lying down.

BOTTLE SERVICE: Many nightclubs have sections reserved where patrons can order bottle service. In bottle service sections, patrons can order entire bottles of alcohol for personal consumption. Bottle service often includes a private waitress, a reserved booth for the patrons' party, and all the necessary fixings needed to make a drink such as glasses, ice and mix.

MOJITO: A classic mixed drink containing rum that was made popular by the writer, Ernest Hemmingway.

To make a mojito, you need:	1 oz. Lime Juice/Bar Mix	1 tsp. Sugar
	4 loose mint leaves	2 oz. light rum
	2 oz. club soda.	

Combine lime juice, sugar and loose mint leaves in glass. Stir well. Crush mint slightly. Fill glass with crushed ice. Stir in light rum. If desired, top with club water.

PARTY ANIMAL: A person who loves to attend parties and/or go out to nightclubs and bars. A party animal takes every opportunity that they can to go out and have a good time.

PARTY SCENE: Loud music, dancing, people enjoying themselves and having an all around good time.

PARTY MOOD: To be in the proper mental and emotional state needed to have the best time possible while out at the club. Most often occurs after a person has had several drinks and are moderately, to excessively, drunk.

SHOOTER/SHOT: A "shooter" or "shot" is a one to two ounce alcoholic beverage. Sometimes shooters or shots are taken of straight, unmixed alcohol, such as a shot of tequila or zambuca. Other times, shots or shooters are concocted by mixing, layering, blending or shaking two, or more, different kinds of alcohol together.

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Appendix A:

Certificate of Ethics Clearance from the McMaster University
Research Ethics Board.

McMaster University Research Ethics Board (MREB) c/o Office of Research Services, MREB Secretariat, GH-305/H, e-mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca CERTIFICATE OF ETHICS CLEARANCE TO INVOLVE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH			
Application Status: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> New <input type="checkbox"/> Addendum <input type="checkbox"/> Renewal <input type="checkbox"/> Project Number <input type="text" value="2007 053"/>			
TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders in Industrial Night Clubs			
Name(s)	Dept./Address	Phone	E-Mail
Faculty Investigator(s)/ Supervisor(s)			
C. Yates	Labour Studies	27061	yatesch@mcmaster.ca
Student Investigator(s)			
K. Marchesky	Labour Studies	905-526-0514	marchek1@mcmaster.ca
The application in support of the above research project has been reviewed by the MREB to ensure compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and the McMaster University Policies and Guidelines for Research Involving Human Participants. The following ethics certification is provided by the MREB:			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved as presented without questions or requests for modification. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved as revised without questions or requests for modification. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> The application protocol is approved subject to clarification and/or modification as appended or identified below.			
COMMENTS AND CONDITIONS: Ongoing approval is contingent on completing the annual completed/status report. A "Change Request" or amendment must be made and approved before any alterations are made to the research.			
Reporting Frequency: <input type="text"/> Annual: <input type="text"/> Other: <input type="text"/>			
Date: <i>May 9, 2007</i> Dr. D. Maurer, Chair/ Dr. D. Pawluch, Vice-chair: <i>[Signature]</i>			

Appendix B:

Letter of Information used to Solicit Research Participants.

LETTER OF INFORMATION

PROJECT TITLE: Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders in Industrial Night Clubs.

INVESTIGATOR: Karen Marchesky- Master of Arts Candidate
Work and Society, McMaster University
1280 Main Street West, KTH/717
Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4M4
marchekl@mcmaster.ca

SUPERVISOR OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Dr. Charlotte Yates
Labour Studies Program, McMaster University
1280 Main Street West, KTH/719
Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4M4
(905)525-9140 ext. 27061
yatesch@mcmaster.ca

To: Potential Research Participants working as Bartenders in Night Clubs.

PURPOSE

You are being asked to participate in a research project entitled, **Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders in Industrial Night Clubs**. This study will involve bartenders working in large, industrial night clubs in the city of Toronto, Ontario. The purpose of this research project is to develop an understanding of the work bartenders perform, the environments in which it is carried out, and any positive or negative implications of employment in this industry.

PROCEDURE

Your participation will involve taking part in an interview lasting approximately one hour at a time, date and location that would be most convenient for you. Interviews will follow an interview guide, which can be made available to you prior to the interview. The questions that you will be asked are designed to gain an understanding of the work you perform as a bartender, the type of environment you work in, and the positive and negative effects of employment in this industry. Examples of questions that you maybe asked are:

- *What is it like to work in a night club with regards to a) hours of work b) customer interactions 3) pace of work 4) pay for work performed.*

- *How is working in a night club similar to, or different than, other places that you have bartended?*
- *How much would you say you made in tips last week?*
- *Do you think that your sexuality is an important factor influencing the amount of tips that you make?*

With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed.

POTENTIAL RISKS

It is unlikely that you will be harmed in any way as a result of participating in this study. Some of the questions may lead you to talk about work experiences that you find stressful. You do not have to answer any question you prefer to skip. You may also worry about others finding out what you have said. To lessen this risk, I will treat what anything you say as confidential (see below).

POTENTIAL BENEFITS

The benefits of this study lie in the contribution it will make towards a better understanding of the experiences of workers in this industry. Your participation will help bring awareness to the academic community about what it is that bartenders do, and the positive and negative aspects of employment in this industry. You may also appreciate the opportunity to discuss and reflect on your work as a bartender.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Every step will be taken to ensure your confidentiality should you decide to participate in the research project. An alias will be used in place of your real name for the duration of the research project and in my written work, and no information will be used that could potentially identify you as a research participant. Interviews will take place, if you wish, in a location where we can speak privately. All data related to the study will be locked away and the researcher is the only person who will have access to them. They will be destroyed one year after the completion of the study.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study would be voluntary. You would have the right to turn off the tape recorder at any point in time, slow down the pace of the interview, skip any questions you would prefer not to answer, or end the interview entirely. You will also have the right to ask the researcher that any portion of the interview, or the interview in its entirety be removed from the project. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all notes, tapes and transcripts connected to your participation will be destroyed, unless you indicate otherwise.

RESULTS

I expect to have the study completed by approximately December 20, 2007. If you would like to receive a summary of the study results, please let me know and I will mail a copy to you.

If you are interested in participating in this research study, please contact the researcher, Karen Marchesky at marchekl@mcmaster.ca, or at the above stated mail address as soon as possible.

I thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Karen L. Marchesky
Masters of Arts Candidate, Work and Society Program
McMaster University

Appendix C:

Consent Form used in Interviews with Bartenders.

CONSENT FORM

PROJECT TITLE: Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders in Industrial Night Clubs.

INVESTIGATOR: Karen Marchesky- Master of Arts Candidate
Work and Society, McMaster University
1280 Main Street West, KTH/717
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SUPERVISOR OF RESEARCH PROJECT: Dr. Charlotte Yates
Labour Studies Program, McMaster University
1280 Main Street West, KTH/719
Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4M4
(905)525-9140 ext. 27061
yatesch@mcmaster.ca

PURPOSE OF STUDY:

You are being asked to participate in a research project entitled, **Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders in Industrial Night Clubs**. This study will involve bartenders working in large, industrial night clubs in the city of Toronto, Ontario. The purpose of this research project is to develop an understanding of the work bartenders perform, the environments in which it is carried out, and any positive or negative implications of employment in this industry.

PROCEDURES INVOLVED IN RESEARCH:

The interview will take approximately one hour and will be conducted at a time and location most convenient for you. Interviews will take place in a location that will not allow co-workers, friends, etc., to learn of your role as a research participant. Interviews will follow an interview guide. The questions are designed to gain an understanding of the work you perform as a bartender, the type of environment you work in, and the positive and negative effects of employment in this industry. Examples of the questions you will be asked are:

- *What is it like to work in a night club with regards to a) hours of work b) customer interactions 3) pace of work 4) pay for work performed.*
- *How is working in a night club similar to, or different than, other places that you have bartended?*

- *How much would you say you made in tips last week?*
- *Do you think that your sexuality is an important factor influencing the amount of tips that you make?*

Should you wish to see the interview guide prior to participating in the interview, please contact Karen Marchesky. With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded and transcribed.

POTENTIAL HARMS, RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS:

It is unlikely that you will be harmed in any way as a result of participating in this study. Some of the questions may lead you to talk about work experiences that you find stressful. You do not have to answer any question you prefer to skip. You may also worry about others finding out what you have said. To lessen this risk, I will treat what you say as confidential (see below).

POTENTIAL BENEFITS:

The benefits of this study lie in the contribution it will make towards a better understanding of the experiences of workers in this industry. Your participation will help bring awareness to the academic community about what it is that bartenders do, and the positive and negative aspects of employment in this industry. You may also appreciate the opportunity to discuss and reflect on your work as a bartender.

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Every step will be taken to ensure your confidentiality should you decide to participate in the research project. An alias will be used in place of your real name for the duration of the research project and in my written work, and no information will be used that could potentially identify you as a research participant. Interviews will take place, if you wish, in a location where we can speak privately. All data related to the study will be kept in a locked desk drawer. Karen Marchesky is the only person who will have access to them. They will be destroyed one year after the completion of the study.

PARTICIPATION:

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You have the right to turn off the tape recorder at any point in time, slow down the pace of the interview, skip any questions you would prefer not to answer, or end the interview entirely with no repercussions. You will also have the right to ask the researcher that any portion of the interview, or the interview in its entirety be removed from the project. If you choose to withdraw from the study, all notes, tapes and transcripts connected to your participation will be destroyed, unless you indicate otherwise.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY RESULTS:

I expect to have the study completed by approximately December 20, 2007. If you would like to receive a summary of the study results, please let me know and I will mail a copy to you.

If you have any questions or require more information about the research project itself, please contact the Researcher, Karen Marchesky, or the Supervisor, Dr. Charlotte Yates, at the above stated e-mail addresses.

This project has been reviewed, and has received ethical clearance from the McMaster University Research Ethics Board. Participants with questions or concerns about their involvement in this research study may contact:

Ethics Secretariat, C/O Office of Research Services
McMaster University, 1280 Main Street West, Gilmour Hall, Room 306
Hamilton, Ontario L8S 4S4
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 ext. 23142
E-Mail: ethicsoffice@mcmaster.ca

CONSENT:

I have read the information presented in the consent form about the research project being conducted by Karen Marchesky of McMaster University. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement in this study, and to receive any additional details I wanted to know about this study. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time, if I choose to do so, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Printed Name: _____ . Signature: _____ .

Date: _____ .

Appendix D:

Interview Guide used in Personal Interviews with Bartenders.

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PROJECT TITLE: Quick Drinks, Fast Cash: An Analysis of the Work of Bartenders Employed in Industrial Night Clubs.

INVESTIGATOR: **Karen Marchesky- Master of Arts Candidate**
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marchekl@mcmaster.ca

SUPERVISOR OF RESEARCH PROJECT:
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Labour Studies Program, McMaster University
1280 Main Street West, KTH/719
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(905)525-9140 ext. 27061
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INTRODUCTION:

1. As was described on the consent form, none of the research generated from this interview will have your legal name attached to it. Instead, an alias/pseudonym will be used. What would you like your alias to be, or would you like me to assign one to you?

ALIAS TO BE USED IN RESEARCH PROJECT _____.

2. Would you please circle the gender and age bracket that is most applicable to you:

GENDER: Female Male

AGE: 18-21 21-24 25-28 30+

3. Are you currently employed in an industrial night club?
 - If so, where do you work and how long have you been employed there? Have you worked at other night clubs in the past? If so, where and how long were you employed?
 - If not, have you previously worked in a night club? Which one? For how long?

4. Have you bartended at establishments other than night clubs? For example, have you served drinks at restaurants, sports bars or pubs in the past?
 - If so, where did you work? What type of establishment was it? How long did you work there?
 - If not, proceed to question five.

WORKING CONDITIONS:

The next set of questions is designed to gain insight into the working conditions of bartenders employed in industrial night clubs.

5. The next few questions I am going to ask are about the working conditions of the clubs that you are both currently employed at, and have worked at in the past. What is it like to work in a night club with regards to:
 - Hours of work: When did you work last week? Is this a typical work week for you? When did you arrive and leave work on the last shift that you worked? Were you working behind the bar, or serving customers on the floor?
 - The number of patrons: What is the capacity of the club/how many patrons does the club hold? How many people do you think you served on your last shift? Is that the typical number of people you serve on a shift?
 - Frequency of interactions: How many drinks do you think you serve in an hour, at the a) beginning, b) middle, and c) end of the night? Do you have enough time to talk to customers when you are serving them? On a busy night, do you often serve the same person twice? How do you get that person to come back to you for service? Do repeat customers tend to tip better?
 - Pace of work: How would you describe the pace/speed of your work? Why?
 - Overall atmosphere/working environment: How would you describe the clientele who come into the night club? What about the overall atmosphere of the club?

If the respondent answered YES to question four, proceed to question six. If not, skip question six and proceed with question seven.

6. How is working in an industrial night club similar to/different than other places that you have bartended with regards to:
 - When it is that you work
 - Interactions with customers
 - Pace of work
 - Overall atmosphere and environment
7. Overall, how satisfied would you say you are with your working conditions? What aspects do you like? What aspects do you not like? Why?

EARNING TIPS AS A SOURCE OF INCOME:

The purpose of this set of questions is to gain insight into how bartenders try to maximize their tips while at work, and how the working conditions shape the strategies used.

8. The next set of questions has to do with the tips you make at work. How much would you say you made in tips last week? Was that a typical week for you? How much would you say you make in tips in an hour at work?
9. How do you maximize your tips while at work? Do you have any sort of techniques that you use? Do you have any sort of strategies that you use to set yourself apart from the other bartenders?
10. This question is about whether or not the personality of the bartender is an important factor in making tips. Do you think that your personality/behavior at work affects the amount of tips you make? Why, or why not? Can you give me an example of how you would use your personality in a customer interaction?
11. Does management encourage you to behave in a certain way while at work?
 - What sort of "culture" or "environment" does the management want to create?
 - Do you play a role in creating the culture or environment of the night club? How so?
 - Who decides how you will dress when you come to work... you or management?
12. Do you think that your sexuality is an important factor influencing the amount of tips that you make? How so?

If the respondent answered YES to question four, proceed to question thirteen. If not, skip question thirteen and move on to fourteen.

13. How do the tips and techniques that you use working in a night club similar to, or different than other places that you have worked?

CONCLUSION:

14. Overall, how satisfied are you with your job? Do you enjoy being a bartender? What do you like about the job? What do you dislike?
15. Is there anything else about working in a night club or earning tips that you would like to add to this interview that I may not have addressed?

Thank you for your participation.

END.