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THE CARL AND WINIFRED LEE HONORS COLLEGE

CERTIFICATE OF ORAL EXAMINATION

Anne Wisneski, having been admitted to the Carl and Winifred Lee Honors College in Fall 2000 successfully presented the Lee Honors College Thesis on April 16, 2004.

The title of the paper is:

"The Effect of Female Server's Attractiveness on Restaurant Tipping"

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tom Ford", written above a horizontal line.

Dr. Thomas Ford, Sociology

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Gerald Markle", written above a horizontal line.

Dr. Gerald Markle, Sociology

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul Weiner", written above a horizontal line.

Dr. Paul Weiner, Sociology

Running head: SERVER ATTRACTIVENESS AND RESTAURANT TIPPING

Effect of a Female Food Server's Attractiveness

On Restaurant Tipping

Anne M. Wisneski

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of a field experiment designed to test the hypothesis that restaurant patrons (particularly men) would leave larger tips for an attractive versus unattractive female server. I manipulated server attractiveness by varying my own appearance (attractive, unattractive) before my shifts as a food server at a popular restaurant. Contrary to my hypothesis, patrons (both men and women) left comparable sized tips in the attractive and unattractive server conditions. Explanations for this null effect are discussed in the context of research on the effect of server attractiveness on tipping and perceived tipping norms.

Effect of a Female Food Server's Attractiveness

On Restaurant Tipping

Many servers in restaurants across the nation employ different strategies in an effort to earn larger tips. Rarely do these strategies include giving better or faster service. Indeed, variables that related with good service delivery do not have significant effects on the size or percentage of the tip (May, 1978). This is counterintuitive since the primary reason that tipping service workers began was to acknowledge their ability to provide the patron with a service, (serving them a meal or driving them to a destination; May, 1978).

Tipping is a voluntary action on the part of the patron; there is no formal obligation to tip the server. Thus, servers work diligently to endear themselves to their customers as a means of maximizing their tips. Many studies have demonstrated the effects of various server behaviors on the size of the tip that the patron chooses to leave (Davis, Schrader, Richardson, Kring, and Kieffer, 1998; Hornik, 1992; Garrity and Degelman, 1990). This research supports the general consensus among servers - engaging in behaviors that make a server seem more likable to the patron will lead to larger tips (Davis et al, 1998; Hornik, 1992; Garrity and Degelman, 1990).

Although social scientists have studied the effects of server behaviors on tip size, much less attention has focused on the effects of nonbehavioral server characteristics on tip size. In the present research, I explore the possibility that a nonbehavioral variable (server's physical attractiveness) affects the tip size left by the patron.

*Tipping: Theoretical Framework**Norm Focus Theory*

Social norms regulate tipping behavior. Many times the tip is based on the amount of the bill; social norms today suggest that a patron should tip the server between fifteen and twenty percent of his or her total bill. Cialdini's norm focus theory (Cialdini, Reno, and Kallgren, 1990; Cialdini et al., 1991; Kallgren et al., 2000) provides a framework for understanding how tipping norms can affect the behavior of the patron.

Norm focus theory recognizes two different types of norms: injunctive and descriptive. Descriptive norms characterize the perception of "what most people do." They serve as a source of influence by indicating what is a sensible or successful course of action in a given context. Descriptive norms are found in advertisements that state the "fastest growing" or the "largest selling" product on the market. These commercials do not promote the quality of the product, only that everyone is already buying it. These types of norms influence tipping behavior, and might take place when patrons of a restaurant feel no obligation to the server but instead wonder what other patrons are leaving, regardless of the server's approval. This might happen in large parties with all separate checks, when the service is bad, or if the server is unfriendly.

In contrast, injunctive norms characterize the perception of "what most people approve or disapprove of" or what one *ought* to do. Injunctive norms more explicitly communicate social sanctions or punishments for a given action (Cialdini, Reno, and Kallgren, 1990; Cialdini et al., 1991; Kallgren et al., 2000). According to this taxonomy, tipping typically represents an injunctive norm. Most people feel some degree of

obligation to the server for waiting on them and cleaning up after the meal (e.g. “I ought to tip fifteen percent”).

According to Higgins and Sorrentino (1996) and Moretti and Higgins (1999) injunctive norms regulate behavior through one of two self-guides: identified and introjected. Identified self-guides are internalized into our own individual definitions of self. Because they are internalized, they are intrinsically enforced through feelings of pride when we adhere to them, and guilt when we do not. (Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink and Elliot, 1991; Higgins and Sorrentino, 1996; Monteith, 1993; Moretti and Higgins, 1999). On the contrary, introjected self-guides are external expectations of social conduct that we have not fully internalized. Therefore, they are enforced not through self-directed emotions, but through anticipated social sanctions (Devine et al., 1991; Monteith, 1993; Moretti and Higgins, 1999). Thus, “normative social influence” enforces introjected self-guides (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). Consequently, if one leaves an insufficient tip or no tip at all he or she will risk experiencing feelings of guilt (identified self-guides), disapproval of the server and/or restaurant establishment and even disapproval of others at the dinner party or close by (introjected self-guides) because of their failure to adhere to the norm of tipping fifteen percent.

Social Impact Theory

For most, the act of tipping a server represents an injunctive norm regulated, at least in part, by introjected self-guides and is likely to be the result of perceived external social pressure or normative influence (Devine et al., 1991; Monteith, 1993; Moretti and Higgins, 1999). In addition, Social Impact Theory (Latane, 1981) suggests that often variables such as the immediacy of the source to the target of influence can affect the

strength of normative influence exerted by the source (Latane, 1981). For instance, the concept of immediacy refers to “closeness in space or time and absence of intervening barriers or filters” (Latane, 1981). Thus, the closer the server is to the patron, the more normative influence he or she can exert on the patron. As a result, it is possible that server behaviors that move the server closer to the patron prompt the patron to leave larger tips.

Squatting next to the table. Studies have shown that servers who increase closeness to the patron by squatting down next to the table so they are at eye level with the patron during all speaking interactions received higher tips than when they simply stood at the table to take orders (Davis et al, 1998). In Lynn and Mynier’s (1993) studies, the server squatted only at the first interaction with the table and stood for the rest of the meal. They also found that this behavior significantly increased tip size.

Physical touch. Another factor that has been shown to increase tip size is physically touching the customer. For instance, Hornik (1992) found that touch produced a higher evaluation of the server and of the restaurant, and that touching the patron increased the tip size. Lynn, Le, and Sherwyn (1998) also found that customers tipped significantly more when touched than when untouched. This occurred even when the server subjected the customer to a prolonged (four seconds) touch.

In addition, psychological immediacy on personalization of the server to the patron may influence tip size. Insofar as the server engages in behaviors that create a social bond or connection with the patron, the patron may leave a larger tip.

Introductions. One personalization technique that servers use is introducing themselves to the patrons by name. In Garrity and Degelman’s (1990) study one female

server randomly assigned forty-two two-person parties to one of two greeting conditions. In one condition she introduced herself by name and in the other she did not. The experiment was conducted at a breakfast buffet and every party's bill was \$23.21. The researchers found that the server's tips increased by almost eight percent in the conditions where she introduced herself by name to the patrons.

Written messages. Some other ways servers increase personalization are by writing "Thank You" and/or a message about upcoming specials on the customer check. Writing "Thank You" on the checks has proven to have a significant effect on tip size. Rind and Bordia (1995) found that writing "Thank You" on the check increased tip size by almost eleven percent. Written messages may increase tips by creating a social bond between the server and the patron. Thus, an obligation for the patron to tip. There are, however, several theories about this phenomenon. First, thanking the patron before the tip is given creates "a need on the part of the customers to give something in return for the server's gratitude".

Second, thanking the patron may implicitly label him or her as a good tipper. Accordingly, the patron may feel compelled to act in a way that is consistent with his or her self-perception as a good tipper (e.g., Aronson, 1999; Bem, 1965; 1972). The effects of labeling can be seen in Philip Zimbardo's famous prison experiment using the "most normal" students he could find; students who passed a battery of physiological tests. The students were randomly assigned to either the prisoner or the guard role and were told to simply play the part. In less than a week the experiment became frightening and violent; the students were said to no longer be able to separate the real selves from the roles that

they were playing. Placing a restaurant patron in the role of being a good tipper may have a milder, yet similar effect (Zimbardo, 1971).

Lastly, thanking in advance may increase the patron's perception that the server expects and deserves a large tip. Supporting this explanation, writing a helpful message about upcoming specials in the restaurant has been proven to increase tips by creating the perception that the server is doing something extra for them (Rind and Strohmetz, 1999).

Attractiveness: Theoretical Framework

Studies have shown that we like attractive people better than unattractive people, even if they have done nothing to earn this high regard (Aronson, 1999). Perhaps even more than we “like” them more, we attribute more skill and status to them than we would to unattractive people (Dion, Berscheid and Walster, 1972). Furthermore, a source (server) emits greater normative influence insofar as the target (patron) likes or seeks approval from the source (Deutsch and Gerard, 1955). The implications that this has for tipping is that if patrons leave larger tips for servers that they like more, and they tend to have more liking for attractive people, then they will likely leave a larger tip for the physically attractive server. Accordingly, in the present study I altered my own attractiveness in the restaurant/server setting and then investigated whether or not my tips varied as a function of the attractiveness manipulation.

Many assume that attractive people's lives are much happier and more desirable than are unattractive people's lives. Physically attractive people are perceived as possessing socially pleasing personalities, and therefore, should hold more qualities that make them better people than the unattractive (Dion, Berscheid and Walster, 1972). There are two reasons for these perceptions of attractive people (1) we simply attribute

their characteristics (positive and negative) to more acceptable and/or likable things and (2) we have learned to look for these pleasing traits in attractive people therefore creating a self-fulfilling prophecy. This can mean that the flaws of an attractive person are more likely attributed to external factors, while that same flaw in the less attractive person will be attributed to some internal, or permanent factor. Aronson, Willerman and Floyd's (1966) "pratfall effect" study tells us that a high degree of competence makes one appear more attractive than a low degree of competence, however, showing that we do possess some imperfections makes us more even more attractive.

Evidence That People Treat Attractive People Better

Frieze, Olson and Russell (1991) found that male and female attractive MBA's earn more once on the job and that the more attractive women were viewed as more feminine than their less attractive counterparts did. These researchers also concluded "attractiveness communicates much information about personality." The information that is conveyed through beauty is usually positive. In an article by Dion, Berscheid and Walster (1972) it is learned that physically attractive people of both sexes were expected to achieve more prestigious occupations than their less attractive counterparts.

Sigall and Aronson (1969) suggested that people tend to want to please attractive people and want those attractive people to think highly of them. These researchers have concluded that people express more liking for pretty girls who evaluate them positively rather than unattractive girls who also evaluate them positively. However, another finding in their research reveals that those same people like the positive evaluator (attractive or unattractive) more than the negative evaluator. What is even more interesting is that the pretty girl who evaluated the subjects negatively was liked less than

the unattractive evaluator who also gave out negative judgments. This could imply that an attractive waitress who is rude to her table would receive a smaller tip than her rude but unattractive coworker would.

Self-fulfilling Prophecy

It is easy to see how these stereotypes of attractive people can cause people to treat them differently from unattractive people. People viewed as unattractive are found to behave in less friendly and likeable manners than an attractive person would. The stereotype that unattractive people are less socially desirable than attractive people has easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy for these unattractive people brought about by themselves and society as a whole (Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid, 1977). The implications that this has for tipping is the idea that unattractive people may maintain different mannerisms (e.g. speaking softly, less eye contact, less smiling) that could cause a patron to see them as unfriendly or rude. Therefore, the interaction with the attractive person versus the unattractive person may differ in a way that affects the unattractive person's tips negatively.

The Relationship of Attractiveness to Tipping

The previous research has reviewed literature which states that people want attractive people to like them more than they do unattractive people, and attractive people's mistakes are more likely to be attributed to external factors rather than something inherently wrong with them (Sigall and Aronson, 1969; Aronson, Willerman and Floyd, 1966). In relationship to tipping, this could mean that patrons would attribute the mistakes of the attractive server to being busy or not feeling well rather than to their

being a bad server. The mistakes may even make the attractive server more endearing to the patron. Thus, it makes sense that patrons would leave attractive servers larger tips.

Harris (1995) did a study on beliefs and perceptions of server and customers about tipping. She found that fourteen percent of servers felt that an attractive server would receive larger tips and seven percent of the servers' questions felt that having an unattractive appearance would result in lower tips. She also found that people who were not servers felt that having a "nice appearance" contributed to receiving a larger tip.

In another study that examined physical attractiveness, Lynn and Simons (2000) found that attractive waitresses earned larger tips than did the less attractive waitresses, and attractiveness of waiters has no effect on the tip size for them. Another conclusion of this study was that the highest tipped servers were attractive women and highly competent men (Lynn and Simons, 2000). In May's (1978) extensive master's thesis entitled "Tip or Treat," she found that highly attractive waitresses received about the same amount of tips when service is bad and when service is good, but unattractive waitresses will earn significantly higher tips when service is good but they still will not match up to the attractive waitresses earnings.

The findings of previous research on server attractiveness do have one common flaw: they do not control for differences in behavioral variables (e.g., interaction style, social skills) between the attractive and unattractive servers. These studies use two different servers for the two attractiveness conditions, thereby, creating an alternative explanation for the differences in tip size. This explanation is that because of their social upbringing, the two servers may have learned and maintained two separate behavioral repertoires, and according to previous research on attractiveness, the attractive server's

will be most desirable (Snyder, Tanke, and Berscheid, 1977; Sigall and Aronson, 1969; Dion, Berscheid and Walster, 1972). Thus, it remains possible that the differences in tip size left for the attractive versus unattractive food servers could have been due to differences in behavioral variables (e.g., interaction style, social skills) rather than differences in appearance.

Accordingly, this study was designed to examine the effect of server attractiveness on tip size in a way that controlled for such problems. I altered the attractiveness of one server and used the same interaction script for every patron in the study. While there may have been some minor differences in the treatment of individual patrons depending on their actions, such differences were not likely to systematically vary with the attractiveness manipulation.

Hypotheses

Consistent with previous research, I have hypothesized that patrons would leave larger tips for an attractive server than for an unattractive server. Furthermore, because the server in this study is female and men are more attuned to a woman's appearance than women are, I expected the effect of server attractiveness on tip size to be greater for male than female patrons.

Method

Participants and Design

The participants of my study consisted of patrons of Kalamazoo's Ground Round restaurant. All participants were patrons with whom I had no personal acquaintance (i.e. friends, regular customers that have gotten to know me, and people who had knowledge of my study, etc.) Furthermore, I limited participants to patrons who paid their bill with a

credit card, because studies have shown that tips given with a credit card are higher than those given with cash (Lynn and Latane, 1984) and also because it was easier to keep track of for myself. Eligible participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions with server attractiveness as the between-subjects variable (attractive and unattractive). Thirty-five participants were in the attractive server condition, and thirty-seven were in the unattractive server condition.

Procedure

Manipulation of Attractiveness. To manipulate server attractiveness I altered my own appearance. In the attractive server condition, I did my hair nicely and wore it down, put on makeup (foundation, powder, eyeliner, shadow and lip gloss) and wore contacts instead of glasses. To contrast, in the unattractive condition I took off all my makeup, pulled my hair up in a ponytail with some "flyaway strands" left in my face and put on glasses. (See Appendix for photographs pertaining to each condition.)

Dependant Measures. I recorded the following information about each patron after each shift: (1) sex of paying patron, (2) bill amount, (3) tip amount, (4) estimated age of the paying patron. In addition, I noted whether anything unusual occurred regarding conversation with me, composition of the dinner party, service quality, etc.

To avoid experimental bias I attempted to use the same script with every table during the research period and it was as follows:

Hi, how are you guys today? (patron responds) My name is Anne and I'll be your server today. Just to let you know that right now we have out our new summer menu. On there is a lot of steaks and ribs and then on the cover of the menu is our Whiskey Peppercorn Tips which are probably our most popular item right now, if you want to take a look at that. But I can start you off with something to drink if you're ready. (patron responds) Alright I'll be right back with that for you, and would any of

you like to start with an appetizer while you look at the menu? (patron responds) Okay, not a problem.

The patron either declines or accepts the offer of the appetizer, and I go into the kitchen to get their drinks, and then bring them back out to the table.

Were you ready to order now or did you need a few more minutes?

Most patrons will order at this time but some still need some time to look at the menu. At this time I will either take their order, offer a suggestion, explain a menu item or simply give them some more time to decide. Whenever they are ready I will ring in their order to the kitchen, bring salads, soups and/or appetizers out to the table as quickly as possible.

Whenever I bring an item out to a table I ask if it is okay and if I can get them anything else with that. If they do not need anything else I say "Okay, Enjoy" or come back with whatever they requested. After delivering the main course I come back a few minutes later and ask "Does everything taste okay for you?" (patron responds) "Do you need anything else?" If the guest needs something else with their meals then I come back with the item, place it on the table and leave them to eat. Most every time I walk by the table, I check to see if everything is still okay and replace drinks as needed.

When I start to notice that the table is finishing up with their meals, I go over and ask if I can take any plates. Once a majority of the plates on the table are cleared, I ask if I can set anyone up with dessert. If the table declines dessert then I ask if they are ready for the bill. Then I either ring in their dessert and print up a bill or simply bring them the bill.

On the bottom of the bill I circle the amount and write Thank you (heart) Anne, fold it in half and place it in the center of the table. As I put it down I say, "You guys are all set, I'll take that up for you whenever you're ready." Whenever I notice that they have put their payment out I go over to the table, and say "I'll be right back with this."

I will take the card to the back to run it and print up the receipt. I put the receipt, the card and a pen back on the table in front of the person who gave it to me and say, "You are all set, have a good night, thanks for coming in."

At this point, I am done with the table and they leave the receipt, with the tip written in, on the table for me to pick up.

As to be expected, it became necessary to alter the script if the patron interrupted, asked a question, if the restaurant got busy, when the summer menu changed to winter, etc.

However, I did my best to treat every table with equal levels of hospitality.

Results

Analysis of tip size as a function of server attractiveness

Recall that I hypothesized that patrons would leave larger tips for an attractive server than for an unattractive server and that this effect would be greater for male patrons than for female patrons. To test this hypothesis, I subjected the tip size (calculated as the percentage of the total bill for the table) to a 2 (server attractiveness: attractive, unattractive) x 2 sex of patron (male, female) analysis of variance (ANOVA). Table 1 presents the means for this analysis.

<Insert Table 1 about here>

Contrary to my hypothesis, the main effect of server attractiveness was not significant, $F(1, 70) < 1.0$. Patrons left comparable size tips for the server in the attractive condition ($M = 17.43, SD = 6.78$) and the unattractive condition ($M = 18.75, SD = 8.44$). In addition, the predicted server attractiveness x sex of patron interaction effect failed to reach significance, $F(1, 67) = < 1.0$. This finding suggests that the sex of the patron does not regulate the effect of server attractiveness on tip size. In addition, a planned comparison revealed that males did not leave larger tips for the server in the attractive condition ($M = 17.67, SD = 6.99$) versus the unattractive condition ($M = 17.53, SD = 4.13$), $F(1, 67) < 1$.

It is possible that the effect of the server attractiveness manipulation on tip size would be greater for younger men—men closer in age to the female server. To test this

possibility, I examined the effect of the attractiveness manipulation on tip size for only men under 35 years old. I subjected the tip size to one-way ANOVA with server attractiveness serving as the between-subject factor. Contrary to my hypothesis, the effect of server attractiveness was not significant, $F(1, 2) < 1$. Men gave comparable tips to the server in the attractive condition ($M = 16.61, SD = 3.31$) as in the unattractive condition ($M = 8.35, SD = 3.19$).

Test of injunctive norm to tip 15-20% of total bill

Earlier, I suggested that there is an implicit injunctive norm for patrons to tip between 15% and 20% of the total bill. To determine if patrons in the present study were indeed particularly likely to tip between 15% and 20% of the total bill, I examined the frequency (percentage) of patrons who tipped (a) less than 15% of the total bill, (b) between 15% and 20%, and (c) more than 15% of the total bill. These frequencies are presented in Table 2.

<Insert Table 2 about here>

As can be seen in Table 2, the majority of patrons did tip between 15% and 20% of the total bill. Fully 50% (36 out of 72 patrons) tipped between 15% and 20% of the total bill; whereas only 19% (14 out of 72 patrons) tipped over 20% and 31% (22 out of 72 patrons) tipped less than 15%. A chi-square test revealed that this pattern of results is unlikely to occur due to chance alone, $X^2(2) = 10.33, p = .006$. My explanation for this finding is that patrons perceived a normative standard of tipping between 15% and 20% of the total bill and they largely complied with that norm.

Discussion

A non-behavioral variable (e.g. attractiveness of a female server) was examined that might play a significant role in the server/patron relationship, particularly tip size. In addition, I attempted to determine whether this variable had a greater affect on men than on women. Previous studies that examined the attractiveness of a server did so using different servers for the attractive and unattractive conditions. The problem with this kind of design is that it does not control for behavioral differences that might occur between attractive and unattractive individuals. The present study was designed to contribute to the literature on effect of server attractiveness on tip size by using the same server for both conditions, thereby holding constant behavioral variables (e.g., interaction styles) that could play a role in the server/patron interaction.

Contrary to my hypothesis, the results of this study failed to provide evidence that the level a female server's attractiveness, in and of itself, affected the size of the tip patrons left. There were too few women to adequately test for the server attractiveness x sex of patron interaction effect. However, analyses among men and just men under the age of 35 revealed that men of any age left the attractive and unattractive server comparable size tips. This is noteworthy because I predicted that the female server's attractiveness would have a particularly strong effect on men's tipping behavior.

The present study may have failed to support my hypothesis for a number of reasons. First, the effect of the attractiveness manipulation on tip size may have been overwhelmed by the strong injunctive norm to tip between 15% to 20% of the bill. Only 14 out of 72 participants (19%) left a tip greater than 20%. This suggests that bill size has such a huge impact on tip size that the server attractiveness manipulation was not

strong enough to permeate this powerful relationship. It is clear that patrons complied to this normative standard independent of the server's attractiveness.

A second, but related reason is that the manipulation of attractiveness was not strong enough (strong enough to overcome the injunctive norm to tip between 15% and 20% of the total bill). It is possible that server attractiveness really does affect tip size, but that the manipulation of server attractiveness in the present study (the difference in attractiveness between the unattractive server and attractive server conditions) may not have been strong enough to empirically demonstrate its effect on tip size. However, the manipulation of attractiveness was as strong as I could make it given company policy. It would have been against company policy to become more unattractive than I actually did. Adding a step to the procedure such as having participants rate the two conditions to see how much they actually differ from each other would help assess the effectiveness of the attractiveness manipulation. This could be done as a manipulation check in the context of the study itself, or as a pretest with separate participants in the selection of the attractive and unattractive conditions.

Third, other researchers have found a significant relationship between server attractiveness and tip size. Those studies did not control for differences in behavioral variables (e.g., interaction styles, social skills) between the attractive and unattractive servers. This study controlled for such behavioral variables between the attractive and unattractive servers and found no effects of server attractiveness on tip size. Thus, it is possible that those behavioral variables, not physical attractiveness in and of itself, are responsible for the apparent relationship between server attractiveness and tip size.

Furthermore, it is possible that the effect behavioral variables shown to increase tip size (touching, smiling, squatting by the table, etc...) could be accentuated for an attractive server. Indeed, Hornik (1992) found that male patrons evaluated their food server positively when the server was an attractive woman who touched the patron. They gave the lower evaluations to an *unattractive* female server who touched them.

Conclusions and Future Research

The present research failed to support the hypothesis that the attractiveness of a female food server affects the size of the tip patrons (particularly men) are likely to leave. While other studies have shown that attractiveness does have an effect on the tips that are received, this study differed in that it controlled for all behavioral differences among servers, which can have a significant effect on a server's tip. However, there are possible methodological limitations of the study that may also be responsible for this null effect. Besides addressing the methodological limitations, new research could focus on many aspects of attractiveness and how people respond to attractive and unattractive individuals. For instance, future research could more fully address whether the effect of server behaviors (e.g., touching, smiling, squatting by the table) are affected by the attractiveness of the server. For example, if an attractive server squats next to a patron, it may lead to a larger tip than would be received by an unattractive waitress engaging in the same behavior. Other behavioral variables might consist of touching the hand of the subject, eye contact, smiling, etc. In any event, it is hoped that the present research demonstrates the importance of further investigation on the relationship between server attractiveness and tip size in restaurant settings.

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Table 1

Mean tip size as a function of server attractiveness and the sex of the patron

Sex of Patron	Server Attractiveness					
	Attractive			Unattractive		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
Male	17.67	6.99	31	17.53	4.13	20
Female	16.21	5.98	6	20.37	12.04	15

Table 2.

Frequencies and percentages of patrons who tipped less than 15%, between 15% and 20%, and over 20% of the total bill.

Tip Amount	Percentage	Frequency
Less than 15%	31	22
15 – 20%	50	36
Over 20%	19	14

Appendix

Photographs of Attractiveness Manipulation

Attractive



Unattractive

